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The World of the Adat Aceh
A Historical Study of the Sultanate of Aceh

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Thesis submitted for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in the
Australian National University.

January 1984

This thesis represents the results of my own research. Where I have drawn on the work of other scholars, due acknowledgement has been made in the text.

F. Ho.

To my wife
and
to my mother

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Although the work in this thesis was carried out at the Australian National University itself between 1978 and 1983, preliminary research had been conducted for two years (1976-77) in the Netherlands. Because of this situation, I am in debt to a number of institutions and scholars for helping this thesis towards completion.

Firstly, I should like to express my gratitude to Professor G. W. J. Drewes, who has inspired me to undertake a study on the history of Aceh and proffered invaluable tuition and guidance for two years at his home in Noordwijk, a period of general study which formed the foundation upon which I was able to build this work. Inadequate though it may be, I sincerely hope that this dissertation is to be evidence that not all his guidance and advice has been wasted.

I am most grateful to the Australian National University, which has enabled me to undertake the research finally embodied in this thesis, and has given all the help to me in the completion of my work.

To my own supervisors, Professor A. H. Johns of Southeast Asia Centre and Dr. A. Kumar of Asian History Centre, the Faculty of Asian Studies, in particular, I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude and appreciation for all their constant kindness and assistance. Both Professor Johns and Dr. Kumar helped me unceasingly with intellectual stimulation, encouragement and guidance. They patiently and painstakingly have gone through every word of the thesis in its final form, owing particularly to my poor English. Once again, I thank

them for their boundless patience with my difficulties, without which this work never have been finished.

I am also indebted to Dr. A. Reid of the Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Dr. V. Matheson of Southeast Asia Centre, and Dr. L. Castles for all the help and advice they gave. I have also benefited from discussions with other academic staff of the Faculty. Any errors and shortcomings in the thesis are, however, my own responsibility.

For assistance and courtesy in collecting the materials used in this dissertation, I am indebted to the officials of the Algemeen Rijksarchief, 's-Gravenhage, of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden, of the Leiden University Library, of the Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, and of the Menzies Library. Thanks are particularly due to Dr. M. E. van Opstall and Mr. S. F. M. Plantinga of the Algemeen Rijksarchief for their help in consulting archival materials for me, and to Mr. W. G. Miller of the Menzies Library.

Finally, many thanks go to Mrs. S. Bail, the former secretary of Southeast Asia Centre, and to my friends Dr. C. J. A. Jörg, curator of the Municipal Museum of Groningen, Dr. Tjar Koiter and Mr. L. C. Duindam in the Netherlands.

ABSTRACT

In this dissertation varying sources relevant to the 17th century history of Aceh are linked together for the first time. These include not only the traditional historian's sources written by European traders and administrators in the region, but also the more forgotten indigenous materials.

The Sultanate of Aceh had become a very powerful Islamic state by the middle of the 16th century, and was an ardent champion of Islam in the region, and played a significant part in Asian trade. Although some light is thrown on the earlier period, the main emphasis in this work rests on the 17th century, when Aceh was extremely important centre for trade and communication of ideas.

In an attempt to provide a new image of the Sultanate of Aceh, Aceh is exposed from various angles: the political framework, new light on the significant occurrences and events over a period of one century, and the membership of the top echelons of the administration. Another focal point is that of the port administration; by bringing together all information available on the port bureaucracy, taxes and duties levied on foreign trade, and some aspects of the trade of Aceh, features of the Acehnese state hitherto not known to historians are brought into view.

In the same vein Islamic rituals centred at the court are examined to understand the nature of the religious establishment. The position and role of Islam versus the ruler and traditional legal practices form another main theme of this dissertation.

Altogether the different aspects reinforce each other, and the diversity and developments/changes are revealed step by step as new angles are investigated. Previously held views have often been adjusted as a result of many new findings, and in other instances hypotheses of earlier scholars are substantiated.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AA Adat Aceh
- Bustan Bustanu's-Salatin, Bab II, Fasal 13.
- BKI Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
- B & V Begin ende voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsch Ge-
octroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie, vervat[t]ende de voor-
naemste reysen, bij de inwoonderen der selver provinciën
derwaerts gedaen... (1974 reprint, four volumes).
- EI Encyclopaedia of Islam (New edition).
- IG De Indische Gids.
- JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and
Ireland.
- JMBRAS Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- JSBRAS Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- JSEAH Journal of Southeast Asian History.
- K.A. Koloniaal Archief. Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague.
- SEI Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam.
- TBG Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde uitge-
geven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunst en Weten-
schappen.
- TNI Tijdschrift voor Neerlandsch Indië.
- VKI Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-,
Land- en Volkenkunde.

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INTRODUCTION

The Sultanate of Aceh existed from the 15th century to the beginning of the 20th when it was finally subdued after a long colonial war. It reached its apogee in the 17th century, and during this century and the preceding one it was one of the most formidable powers in the Malayo-Indonesian archipelago. The capital of the Sultanate, Banda Aceh Dar al-Salam, became the most important emporium in the region on both sides of the Straits of Malacca a few decades after the Portuguese capture of Malacca in 1511, and was also a major centre of Islamic studies in the region.

The history of Aceh in the 16th and 17th centuries is a subject of great significance, not only as a case study of an indigenous Southeast Asian state before colonisation but also because of the intrinsic and in many ways exceptional interest of Acehnese history during this period.

For the study of Acehnese history during this period there exists one particularly valuable indigenous source. In 1958 Prof. Drewes and Dr. Voorhoeve published a Malay manuscript belonging to the India Office Library, in facsimile, with an elaborate introduction and the variae lectiones between the India Office Library manuscript and three other ones kept in the ^eLyden University Library, under the title Adat Atjèh.¹ Soon after its publication, another manuscript of this text was found by Dr. Voorhoeve at New College in Edinburgh. This manuscript is said to be the one from which the India Office Library manuscript was copied.²

The AA was compiled into its present form in the 1810s to provide the English at Penang with necessary background information for the drawing-up of an Anglo-Acehnese commercial treaty. It is an extremely important collection of raw materials relevant to the Aceh of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century. It comprises four parts. Parts one (pp.1a-27a) and two (pp.28a-48a) deal with 'Regulations for Kings' and 'Genealogy of the Kings of Aceh' respectively. Part three (pp.48b-103a) describes religious and court ceremonials in some detail. The fourth and last part (pp.104a-174b) tells of administrative rules and practices at the port of the capital Dar al-Salam.³

There is little doubt that this source has attracted scholarly attention because of the exceptional nature of its contents, - especially the third and fourth parts -, and because of the invaluable and comprehensive materials in it. During the last decade and a half research on the AA has been undertaken by some scholars: Denys Lombard in his work Le Sultanat d'Atjéh au Temps d'Iskandar Muda, 1607-1636, the late Mia Lagerberg in her honours thesis, "Some notes on the port of Atjéh Darussalam in the 17th century", and A. Hasjmy in his work Iskandar Muda Meukuta Alam.⁴ It should also be noted that Teungku Anzib Lamnyong, in collaboration with the Pusat Latihan Penelitian Ilmu-ilmu Sosial in Aceh, transliterated the AA in 1976.⁵ Yet the AA has been used only for limited purposes;⁶ in many ways it is virtually unstudied. This is because of the evident methodological difficulties involved in its adequate treatment and study as a historical source. This unsatisfactory situation with regard to research on the AA inspired me to attempt a more detailed study of it.

Aceh has actively been studied since the 1870s and many scholars have made great contributions to the understanding of Acehese history. In 1893-94, Snouck Hurgronje published his work De Atjehers.⁷ This is a monumental work on Aceh as well as one which first brought forward the importance of studying the adat law of the indigenous societies of the former Netherlands East Indies. Although his prime concern was 19th century Aceh, partly to furnish Dutch colonial policy makers with information on the state they were subjugating, he also made many judgements on the history of Aceh in the 16th and 17th centuries, particularly on the political system and the role of the Sultans. He constructed an image of the early Sultanate based largely on his observations of 19th century Aceh and partly on a few indigenous manuscripts which came into his hands, and which included the AA.⁸

The extremely influential and convincing propositions about the early history of the Sultanate advanced by Snouck Hurgronje have long been considered beyond question. However, many of his propositions appear in fact to be definitely questionable for the following reasons.

Firstly, in making use of information contained in indigenous sources, Snouck Hurgronje did not adequately scrutinise the dates of manuscripts, even though he himself stresses the need for great discretion in this regard. Consequently, his argument, based largely on an indigenous source, known as the Adat Meukuta Alam, founders, because the Adat Meukuta Alam is not relevant to 16th and 17th century Aceh.⁹ This oversight constitutes the most serious weakness in his description of the early history of Aceh.

Secondly, European sources from this period are virtually completely neglected, even though he considered them as the best source of information for the writing of Acehnese history. Yet he never made a close study of them although he certainly knew that they contained a great deal of valuable data, much of which, however, runs counter to the picture he was to present.

Thirdly, his description of the history is excessively a posteriori, being markedly influenced by the situation of Aceh in the late 19th century. He seems to have deliberately ignored his forerunners' works on Aceh for political considerations in order to make very strongly the point that the Sultanate should be regarded as completely dead and ineffective and treated as such by the colonial government in the pursuit of its interests.¹⁰

Thus the picture of 16th and 17th century Aceh presented by Snouck Hurgronje appears to be a rather skewed and distorted one. It ought to be noted, however, that he was an Islamologist and ethnohistorian whose major interest was, after all, 19th century Aceh. For this reason, criticism of a relatively minor part of his work does not detract from his status as a pioneer. To undertake further enquiry is, in fact, the task left by him to historians of later generations.

Furthermore, European studies of the early history of the Sultanate have focussed, by and large, on its dynastic and political vicissitudes, or have described it in the context of European expansion in the region. The major concerns observed in many of such works are with political and diplomatic history and colonial expansion. Although it must be admitted little remains to be added to such a history of

Aceh, this is not the only area of interest to the historian of this period. As a result, surprisingly little is known of the inner configuration of the Sultanate as an indigenous political entity, which is yet to be examined. All this prompted me to undertake the present research on the history of Aceh from the middle of the 16th century to the third quarter of the 17th century.

In order to make clear the framework of the research, let us consider the sources used. They fall into two groups, indigenous and European.

In the past, there has been a tendency not to give proper regard to the way in which indigenous sources might be used for historical studies of Southeast Asia. The traditional approach of Western historians had been that indigenous sources are unhistorical and 'fantastic' accounts, an approach which came in for strong criticism in the late 1950s, so that the following decade revealed an ever increasing concern with the use of indigenous sources for the writing of Southeast Asian history.¹¹ It is doubtful, however, whether a generally accepted method has yet been established for the proper treatment of indigenous materials.¹²

As far as Aceh is concerned, Snouck Hurgronje had this to say: "Malayan chronicles and the native oral tradition, though furnishing us with much of interest as regards the methods of thought of the writers and their coevals, cannot be relied on as the groundwork of the history. They are but collections of fabulous genealogies, legends and tales, ... which must be subjected to a careful process of filtration before they can be brought into unison with more

solid materials."¹³

These comments, though perhaps moderate in the context of the time when they were written, have unfortunately established a tendency to treat the Malay sources (written in Aceh) as having little value. One good example is the work of Hoesein Djajadiningrat, an indigenous historian well trained in orthodox Western historiographical methods. As the title of his article "Critisch Overzicht van de in Maleische Werken vervatte Gegevens over de Geschiedenis ..." indicates, it was indigenous sources that were to be 'critically' examined and studied with the help of relevant European sources which he used to 'check' the local accounts.¹⁴ It is absolutely essential to the historian's methodology, however, that any sources of information must be carefully be examined before regarding them as 'reliable'. Furthermore, there is an obvious absurdity in the position that indigenous sources may only be used where they can be 'checked' by European ones: that is, they are to be used only to duplicate information which we already have. In fact, however, as those who use them with a more open mind soon discover, indigenous sources supply a perspective which is not to be found in European sources, and reveal to us the terms, categories and priorities with which a society was conceptualized by its own members - something which must be indispensable to the serious historian.

European sources are no exception to this. To exclude European sources from scrutiny would be naive. For European sources, in the present context the English East India Company records and those of the VOC (Dutch East India Company), are, just like indigenous ones, culturally conditioned; they are the products of observers who were

unmistakably influenced by their cultural and historical sphere of their own as well as by their preoccupation with the pursuit of commercial interest in 17th century Asian trade. This special circumstances in which European sources were produced must always be borne in mind.

Thus it is important to clear away old preconceptions concerning indigenous and European sources, and then to link, if possible, information from the two different kinds of sources, a linkage which by no means without difficulties since although, as remarked above, indigenous sources are essentially complement to European ones in that they shed a light on society unobtainable elsewhere, the historian must handle two different types of source whose perspectives and priorities often have nothing in common even where they deal with 'the same subject'. In what follows I have tried to integrate these sources, in the hope that the historical reconstruction which emerges may be richer, and ultimately clearer.

The present study aims to provide a new and clearer reconstruction and history of the Sultanate of Aceh, throwing light particularly on internal rather than external aspects, such as the governing system, Islam and the ruler, and commercial activity at the port Dar al-Salam. This is made possible on the one hand by taking a detailed look at the AA and other indigenous sources from a historical standpoint, and on the other by studying contemporary European sources over a period of nearly a century. The variety in sources makes possible both a synchronic and diachronic approach to the subjects under study.

Since the AA has hitherto largely been overlooked as a source for 16th and 17th century history, a few comments justifying its use

may be warranted. The AA itself gives account of its origin; it relates that before it took its present form there had been three processes of collecting the royal edicts (sarakata), namely the first compilation in 1607, the first year of the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda, the second one in 1055 A.H./1645-46 (in the reign of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din), and the third and last in 1120 A.H./1708-09. A small number of royal edicts from 18th century Sultans was added to the already existing ones in the 1810s.¹⁵ Furthermore, as we shall see in detail in our study, internal evidence in the AA shows that two thirds of the AA relates to 17th century Aceh. Lastly, many linguistic and descriptive parallels can be discerned between the AA on the one hand, and the Hikayat Aceh and the Bustan which were written in the first half of the 17th century on the other.¹⁶

This means that the Sultanate of our period was the world that framed the major part of the AA. It should be mentioned, however, that not all the entries in the AA are analysed,¹⁷ and some material important for the study of Acehnese history during our period is also excluded if it has no direct relevance to the present framework.

This thesis, The World of the Adat Aceh, comprises six chapters and a conclusion. The first three chapters are designed to describe the governing system of the Sultanate. Chapter I begins with a historical sketch of the Sultanate, and describes the royal enclosure, known as the Dalam, and its operation. Chapter II deals with the political structure and the governing apparatus at different levels, with special reference to the governing principles of the Acehnese state as an Islamic polity, as part I of the governing apparatus. Chapter III

continues to look at the same theme. It discusses the judicature, i.e. the administration of law and justice, paying particular attention to Islamic Law and its implementation, and to indigenous legal practices.

Chapter IV examines the religious life in the Sultanate. It is of course closely related to the subject matter of Chapter III which deals with the legal side of Islam, while Chapter IV is concerned with that of Islam as the creed of the Acehnese. By describing and analysing court and religious rituals held in Aceh during this period, we hope to throw light upon the nature of the religious establishment. From here it is possible to look into the relationship which existed between the rulers and the leading religious figures, and the relations between the ruler as head of the Islamic community and state, and Islam.

Chapters V and VI discuss the domestic infrastructure and economic activity in the Acehnese capital as a major emporium of trade in the Malayo-Indonesian archipelago. Chapter V focusses on the administration of the port Dar al-Salam, the only port where foreign merchants were allowed free access, and on various port practices and procedures that foreign traders were required to observe. Chapter VI takes a close look at the system of taxation of foreign trade, charges pertaining to imports and exports, and some specific aspects of the trade of Aceh in the 17th century.

The thesis as a whole is designed specifically to study various important internal aspects of the Sultanate of Aceh, aspects which hitherto have not received adequate scholarly attention.

NOTES

1. Drewes and Voorhoeve (ed.), Adat Atjèh, reproduced in facsimile from a manuscript in the India Office Library, VKI 24 (1958).
2. Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain. A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Indonesian Languages in British Public Collections, p.121, 124. Except for the lack of pages 25-26 of the New College Ms. in the facsimile edition of the Adat Aceh, there are no variants of importance between the two Mss. Thus we may use the facsimile edition as our basic text. In order to avoid unnecessary confusion, the facsimile part of the Adat Atjèh is henceforth abbreviated as AA, while the introduction and notes by editors are indicated by the publication title Adat Atjèh.
3. Drewes and Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, pp.7-32. Of the study on the AA undertaken in the 19th century, see *ibid.*, pp.11-16.
4. Lombard, Le Sultanat d'Atjéh au Temps d'Iskandar Muda, Paris, 1967; Lagerberg, "Some notes on the port of Atjèh Darussalam in the 17th century", unpublished B.A. (Honours) thesis, Monash University, Melbourne, 1969; Hasjmy, Iskandar Muda Meukuta Alam, Jakarta, 1975.
5. Adat Aceh, dari satu Manuscript India Office Library dalam VKI. Jilid XXIV, Aceh 1976.
6. In the case of Hasjmy, he used information obtained without scrutiny from various Malay Mss., including another manuscript copy of Adat Aceh, as factual data in his work. On the other hand, Lombard handled the AA more carefully. Yet no effort was made by him to give the AA an adequate place in his study. He used it simply as an additional source of information.
7. Snouck Hurgronje, De Atjèhers (2 vols), Leiden, 1893-94. In our reference to this work, we use the partly revised English edition, The Achehnese, translated by A.W.O. O'Sullivan, Leiden/London, 1906.
8. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, pp.1-132.
9. van Langen, "De inrichting van het Atjehsche Staatsbestuur", BKI 34 (1888), pp.436-471; Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, pp.4-16; Reid, "Trade and the Problem", JMBRAS Monogr. No.6 (1975), p.55,fn.56.
10. See also Brakel, "State and Statecraft", JMBRAS Monogr. No.6, p.57;

Reid, The Contest for North Sumatra, p.1, fn.1.

11. Hall (ed.), Historians of South East Asia, pp.4-6.
12. The other development is seen in Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia (ed. by Reid and Marr). The main theme of Perceptions was to examine closely how Southeast Asians themselves understood and perceived the past; this was to be based on what is recorded in indigenous writings and oral traditions and to give these sources a legitimate and proper place in the study of the Southeast Asian past in the subjective Southeast Asian historical context. (ibid., pp.1-8)
To place Southeast Asian history-writing into an indigenous framework is a new approach. This approach does not constitute, however, the antithesis of the objective, scientific method of Western historians. Although this new approach ^{offers} a very suggestive perspective, as far as the Aceh of our period is concerned, it appears to be premature to use it in our present study because the fact-finding has first to be undertaken before we are able to introduce it.
13. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, p.3.
14. "Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht van de in Maleische Werken vervatte Gegevens over de Geschiedenis van het Soeltanaat van Atjeh", BKI 65 (1911), pp.135-265. This methodological attitude is also seen in his doctoral dissertation. (Critische beschouwing van de Sadjarah-Bantèn, Haarem, 1913)
15. AA, pp.48b-50a, 118a-119a; see also Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, pp.17-18, 23.
16. See also Drewes & Voorhoeve, op. cit., pp.18-19.
17. Namely, most of the first and second parts, and a number of entries of the third and fourth parts are outside our scope.

CHAPTER I THE SULTANATE OF ACEH

1. A Historical Sketch

The origin of the Sultanate of Aceh may well date from as early as the later decades of the second half of the 15th century.¹ Before the 1520s Aceh was however not more than one of a number of coastal states in north Sumatra.² Some time at the beginning of the 16th century, Sultan Syamsu Syah of the dynasty of Makota Alam established the Sultanate of Aceh Dar al-Salam by uniting^{with} the other dynasty called Dar al-Kamal.³ As is well-known, it was Sultan Ali Mughayat Syah (?-1530) who laid the real foundations of the Sultanate. During his reign its territory was expanded far beyond the valley of the Aceh river, known as Aceh Besar or Aceh Proper, by a number of conquests, Daya to the west (1520), and Pidie and Pasai to the east (1521 and 1524 respectively).⁴ It can be said that the viability of the Sultanate during the 16th and 17th centuries was consolidated by these conquests, and this led subsequent rulers to pursue expansion.

Under the rule of Sultan Ala al-Din Riayat Syah al-Kahhar (±1539-1571) Aceh began to emerge as the strongest Muslim state on both sides of the Straits of Malacca and pursued a strong expansion policy. His reign was important in three ways. One was the jihād against the 'infidels', the Portuguese at Malacca.⁵ This had probably to do with the participation and active involvement of Aceh in the Red Sea spice trade, revived at around the time of the Turkish conquest of Aden in 1538.⁶ Through this trading tie, a sort of political and military cooperation and alliance was formed quite naturally between the Sultanate of Aceh and the Ottoman Turks to protect Muslim interests in the

name of Islam.⁷ This increased commercial activity, and the growing importance of pepper, promoted a vigorous military policy of Aceh to establish its suzerainty over the various pepper-producing centres on the west coast of Sumatra, possibly by the middle of the century. In addition, by the middle of his reign, al-Kahhar's authority extended over the rice-producing region on the east coast as well.⁸ Thus, in so far as the territory of the Sultanate in Sumatra itself is concerned, much of the credit for its enlargement should be attributed to al-Kahhar. Another of his achievements is the establishment of the system of government. However, the Bustan, a Malay history writing which tells us of this, does not explain further what the system was.⁹

The successor and son of al-Kahhar, Sultan ^cAli Ri^cayat Syah (1571-1579) formed a Muslim alliance against the Portuguese among the states of the Malay Peninsula and Java, an alliance which eventually mounted an attack on Malacca between 1573 and 1574.¹⁰

After the death of ^cAli Ri^cayat Syah in 1579, there was a virtual interregnum of some ten years. Political authority passed into the hands of a number of Orang Kaya, powerful political figures, by whom five Sultans, two of them not Acehnese by origin, were in turn dethroned and murdered.¹¹ The governing system set up by al-Kahhar must have been seriously disorganised by these dynastic turmoils. In any case, Acehnese expansion was halted for the first time because of this internal fact since the Sultanate was founded.¹²

Recovery from the set-back thus caused was the prime task of Sultan ^cAla al-Din Ri^cayat Syah Sayyid al-Mukammil, a descendant of the unified dynasty Dar al-Kamal and a distinguished naval leader, who

came to the throne in 1589.¹³ Once on the throne, he had massacred the Orang Kaya who had brought him to power, and re-established a central authority. With al-Mukammil's accession came the dynasty of Dar al-Kamal to power again. It should be noted that during the period of unrest mentioned above, the descendants of the two dynasties, Dar al-Salam and Dar al-Kamal, collaborated closely to protect themselves from domination by the Orang Kaya, probably by means of a marriage between al-Mukammil's daughter, Raja Indera Bangsa, and sultan Mansur, a grandson of al-Kahhar (Dar al-Salam). Out of this marriage the future Sultan Iskandar Muda was born.¹⁴

Following the manoeuvre, in which al-Mukammil's young ward, a son of the Sultan of Johor, ^cAli Jala Abd al-Jalil, and of a daughter of Sultan ^cAla al-Din or Mansur Syah (who reigned from 1579-1586 as the first foreign-born Sultan of Aceh) and a large number of Orang Kaya were massacred,¹⁵ al-Mukammil had to attempt the recentralisation of the Sultanate while withstanding the pressure of Johor on the east coast of Sumatra.¹⁶ This political situation appears to have incapacitated him from undertaking a campaign against Portuguese Malacca. In fact, he tried to bring about a rapprochement with Aceh's sworn enemy, the Portuguese.¹⁷

However, the appearance of the Dutch and English while the negotiations for rapprochement were still in progress, decisively altered their course.¹⁸ To Aceh their coming was significant and welcome mainly because they too were hostile to the Portuguese. This is another landmark of his reign, a landmark which had a profound impact upon the politics of the Malay Peninsula and north Sumatra.

Once again it was due to civil strife that the second set-back of the Sultanate ensued. In a period of about three years (1604-07) there took place the dethronement of al-Mukammil by his son, sultan Muda (= Sultan ^cAli Ri^cayat Syah, 1604-1607), a power struggle between sultan Muda and sultan Husayn (his younger brother), and another between sultan Husayn and Perkasa ^cAlam (the future Sultan Iskandar Muda) upon the death of Sultan ^cAli Ri^cayat Syah in 1607.¹⁹ In addition, severe famines continued to afflict Aceh for three years (1606-08).²⁰ Furthermore, peaceful relations were ended by the Portuguese expedition of mid 1606.²¹

Having triumphed over all these difficulties, Perkasa ^cAlam ascended the throne under the name of Sultan Iskandar Muda in 1607. Although the political and social situation was not entirely promising, not only the recentralisation begun by his grandfather, al-Mukammil, but also the expansion pursued by his predecessors were resumed, and ultimately Aceh reached its apogee during his reign (1607-1636), a period which the Acehnese of later periods always refer to as the golden age.

The Sultanate under Iskandar Muda was fully geared to expand. Making full use of a new situation in the region brought about by the appearance of the English and Dutch East India Companies and winning them to his side, Iskandar Muda restored and even strengthened royal authority within a few years of his accession. Probably the period of reconsolidation ended by the time of the re-annexation of the east coast of Sumatra in 1612.²²

Under Iskandar Muda the domain of the Sultanate in Sumatra itself was extended far to the south on the west coast as well as to

Rokan on the east coast.²³ He also claimed suzerainty over various states in the Malay Peninsula as a result of a series of conquests in the middle of his reign.²⁴ In this regard, it is of interest that judging from the countries and regions mentioned as tributaries of Aceh in his letter to King James I of England in 1615,²⁵ - most of which however had not yet been subjugated -, he seems to have conceived by then a plan of conquering the whole of the Malay Peninsula and the north half of Sumatra.

Victories in a series of campaigns ensured that Aceh became a major entrepot for the export produce of the region. It is hardly to be doubted that the underlying motive for the expansion of Aceh was the commercial interest that Aceh had had in the pepper trade since al-Kahhar's time.²⁶ Apart from this, after 40 years interruption Iskandar Muda resumed the jihad against the Portuguese several times. The 1629 campaign, possibly drawing on the whole national strength, may have been intended to crown his astonishing success in the military field. However, it resulted in a fatal destruction of his forces,²⁷ and this defeat forms really the watershed between the glorious days of the Sultanate and its gradual decline.

Internally, Iskandar Muda's reign can be seen as a period of extremely autocratic rule and intensive centralisation of power, in which the ruler himself was the state and so the ruler's will was the law. Creating new Orang Kaya, he re-organised the governing system based on what may be called quasi-feudalism or patrimonialism, as defined by Max Weber, in which all norms and resources were aimed at the strengthening of the royal power. Commercial policy involved the

exerting of a tight control over the pepper-producing region on the west coast and diverting the pepper trade solely through the port of the capital where the ruler was unchallenged as the principal merchant enjoying the right of preemption and first sale.²⁸ This was the internal infrastructure that enabled the pursuit of expansion. In legal administration, he enacted the laws of the land side by side with the Islamic law.²⁹

Upon the death of Iskandar Muda a prince of Pahang was enthroned with the title of Sultan Iskandar Thani. He had been taken to Aceh as a prisoner of war sometime in 1617-1618 and subsequently married Iskandar Muda's daughter (the future Sultana Taj al-^cAlam Safiyyat al-Din Syah).³⁰ His reign, though relatively short (i.e. 1636-1641), is nevertheless important in the sense that we can observe in this reign certain developments which contributed later to the Sultanate's decline. Internally, it was the beginning of the disintegration of royal power and the gradual aggrandisement of the Orang Kaya.

It was during Iskandar Thani's reign too that significant shifts were taking place in the politics of the region. One was a shift in Aceh's attitude toward the Portuguese on the one hand, and in Johor's policy from pro- to anti-Portuguese on the other.³¹ Following the new ruler's assumption and the release of some Portuguese captives in early 1637, the Portuguese in Malacca proposed a truce, from which ensued negotiations proposing the conclusion of a peace treaty as early as August in that year.³² Even though the negotiations eventually came to an apparent standstill as a result of the detention of the envoy of the viceroy of Portuguese Goa in late 1638, throughout Iskandar Thani's

reign a channel for reconciliation with the Portuguese was left open.³³ The other change was the worsening of relationship between Aceh and Johor arising from their respective claims to Pahang, the legitimate right to which belonged to Iskandar Thani as a prince of Pahang but which Johor had invaded, and later from Johor's alliance with the Dutch during the conquest of Malacca in 1641.³⁴

In addition, it seems that a verbal capitulation to the Dutch in mid 1638 relating to the pepper trade on the west coast of Sumatra³⁵ may have been made by Iskandar Thani out of fear of Dutch reactions to the negotiations mentioned above. This capitulation was subsequently used by the Dutch to justify their making inroads into the pepper trade, inroads which had not only a damaging effect on the trade of Aceh but also far-reaching consequences for the political unity of the Sultanate itself.

If it is reasonable to see the reign of Iskandar Thani as a period of transition from autocratic royal power to a weakened royal authority, that of his successor, Sultana Safiyyat al-Din (1641-1675) can be described as an era during which a substantially new, different political structure circumscribing the sovereign's role gradually emerged, which was to influence Acehnese political life of the following centuries.³⁶

The first thing we know of Safiyyat al-Din's elevation is that for several days prior to her enthronement there occurred in the capital a contention among the Orang Kaya for the throne.³⁷ Perhaps as a result of compromise amongst claimants for the sultanate, Puteri Alam Permaisuri, a daughter of the august Iskandar Muda and the consort of Iskandar

Thani, was eventually chosen as the first female ruler in Acehnese history. Consequently, from the very beginning her authority as the sovereign largely depended on the council of the realm, consisting of four senior Orang Kaya, and partly on the awe and respect earned by her father. Such political authority as she had relied on keeping a balance of power. It was unstable and easily challenged. The frailty of her regime became more and more evident as the Dutch began to pursue an oppressive commercial and political policy in the region.³⁸

Internally, her reign is characterised by the enhancement of the Orang Kaya and the formation of the three Sagi (Aceh. Sagöë), i.e. federation of the district chiefs (Ulëëbalang). Externally, Aceh was continuously exposed to the threat of the Dutch at Malacca, a threat which accelerated the development of political disunity in the Sultanate and led to its economic decline in the long run.³⁹

The brief political history of the Sultanate given above owes much to the work of scholars who have made great contribution to the study of Aceh between the 16th and 19th centuries.

We have exceedingly little knowledge to date of the system of government and the administration of law and justice as part of this, which should provide the basis for a delineation of the political characteristics of the Sultanate during our period. This results, on the one hand, from the lack of adequate efforts to unearth new facts, and from the inadequacy of the relevant sources in certain respects on the other. However, of late two scholars have made investigations into the socio-political aspects of the Sultanate.⁴⁰ As the works both of Lombard and Reid suggest, a satisfactory study will only

be achieved when the inter~~re~~lation between socio-economic life and the rulersystem, namely the relations between the ruling classes and the governed, are sufficiently brought to light. This is, in effect, a highly desirable viewpoint necessary for a better understanding of the history of Aceh of our period. Nevertheless, we must face the fact that information about the governed is hardly obtainable as is often the case for Southeast Asia at this period.

It should also be noted that contemporary European sources are mostly about 17th century Aceh, and there is a serious lack of information relevant to the 16th century. This compels us to draw deductions both from European sources from the late 16th and early 17th century, and also from indigenous sources.⁴¹ In addition, as we have briefly seen in the above, in studying the Acehnese system of government proper attention should be paid not only to internal political changes but also to the impact of European powers on the local scene. Notwithstanding that this latter is an important aspect of Aceh's history, yet to consider it in detail would not be warranted in the context of the major concerns to be pursued here.

On the basis of the various accounts mentioned above, it is necessary to study the ruling system and machinery as fully as possible, so as to present a somewhat clearer picture of a Sultanate long veiled in obscurity. Some may fear that this attempt is destined to produce only a highly hypothetical and tentative description. Yet we believe that under the circumstances and for the sake of advancing our understanding of the system of administration in the Muslim states of Southeast Asia before European colonisation, even a somewhat hypothetical

study is worth undertaking.

2. The royal enclosure (Dalam) and royal household

At first glance, a description of the royal enclosure (Dalam) and royal household may seem not to merit much treatment in a study of the system of government, since the Dalam was not extensive in size and the household itself was a comparatively small entity centered on the sovereign. In fact, however, the Dalam as the residential compounds of the ruler and his (or her) servants was the pivotal seat of the power of the Sultanate, a state in which^a clear line is not easily drawn between the servants of the Dalam and the administrative officials of the realm. It is in fact of great importance to look at the working of the royal household for the understanding of the ruling system. We already have a detailed study of the structure of the Dalam by Lombard and a critical study by Brakel of Lombard's work.⁴² Thanks to them, a relatively clear picture is already available.

The Dalam was situated near the confluence of the Aceh river and Kruëng Darōy, about two and half miles from the sea. Forming the southern end of the city, it was surrounded by ditches.⁴³ Before the reign of Iskandar Muda it is reported to have been a poor construction being fenced only with wooden palisades.⁴⁴ In front of the main gate was an extensive plain or square called Medan Khayyali stretching over to the mosque, later known as Meuseujid Raya or Bait al-Rahman.⁴⁵ As Lombard has shown, in 1613 ^{the Dalam} underwent substantial reconstruction and extension by diverting a branch of the Kruëng Darōy to flow through it.⁴⁶ Its basic structure, along a North-South axis, was not changed, however.⁴⁷

Putting together a description of the new Dalam given by Beaulieu in 1621 and that in the Bustan,⁴⁸ the following general picture emerges.

The new Dalam was an enclosure about two kilometres in circumference and oval shape, surrounded by a ditch 25 or 30 feet deep and broad. On its inner bank was an earth wall. Facing toward the mosque was a large rampart, then still under construction. At the main gate, known as the Pintu Tanni, neither drawbridge nor ditch were to be found. Instead, there stood a small stone wall about ten or twelve feet high to support the raised ground on both sides of the gate, upon which a couple of brass guns were mounted.

On the point where the Kruëng Darōy ran into the Dalam (in the south-west) there stood a stone fort comprising a large round bastion with many guns, and two curtain-walls, to each of which a gate and earthworks were attached. The gateways had no drawbridge or ditch in front. The walls adjoining both bastion and curtain-walls were eighteen feet thick and some twenty feet high. In front of the stone fort, Iskandar Muda had a pleasure garden built, adjacent to which were several fish-ponds and paths.⁴⁹ The garden was enclosed with an earthwork ten or twelve feet high and moated, forming an enclosure which 2,000 or 3,000 men were able to enter. In addition, he also had staircases installed upon the river banks for bathing in the Kruëng Darōy.

As for the inner structure of the Dalam, it consisted of four sections, i.e. the outer court, the middle court, the inner court and the private quarters of the sovereign.⁵⁰ The first three courts were

separated one with another by courtyards and gates. To reach the private quarters, one had to pass through four gates and three courtyards. It seems to have been from the second gate dividing the first two courts that a terrace, 50 steps broad and supported by a building made of bricks, stretches. The terrace, on which many guns were mounted, partly enclosed a grand court situated in front of the ruler's premises. The other side was fenced with four large pavilions and a stone rampart with parapet, which in turn commanded the terrace. In this courtyard between the main and the second gates, known to the Dutch as the first court or outer court,⁵¹ some 4,000^{men} or 300 elephants were able to be ranked in battle array, and sometimes elephant-fights too were held in honour of foreign envoys and visitors.⁵² Therefore, this courtyard can be regarded as the place for ceremonial occasions and entertainment. Thus it was probably an open field with few buildings. The brick building was identified by Beaulieu as the royal arsenal.

Of the rest of the palace, not much is known. The middle court seems to have functioned as the liaison centre connecting the royal household representing the highest political authority, and the administrative officials of the realm. In the 1640s it was called the second court by the Dutch, who noted that there were a hall of justice and the hall of the Bentara.⁵³ It was in the latter hall that foreign envoys usually waited until summoned to audience.⁵⁴ As the existence of the two halls may suggest, it was in this part of the palace that various administrative offices were situated.

The inner court was the place of audience, not only for the envoys from foreign countries but for the Orang Kaya (nobility or senior

administrative officials) on certain occasions. It comprised the audience hall and a hall of the nobility, called the Balai Besar.⁵⁵ In the nobility's hall royal banquets were usually given to important foreign visitors. During the reign of Iskandar Muda free admittance into this court was not allowed even to the Orang Kaya, but later in Safiyyat al-Din's time they were allowed to come to this court at any time.⁵⁶ The audience hall was situated in front of the private quarters, which occupied the innermost part of the Dalam, and the place where the sovereign appeared was raised two feet.

As for the private quarters of the ruler,⁵⁷ one may call it the Harem, though of course this does not apply to the quarters under female sovereigns. It was the centre of the daily life of the royal family, waited on and guarded by male and female servants. Except to the royal servants, it was a prohibited, sacred area. Even though information is not available about its structure, its walls must have enclosed a number of open courts and small gardens as well as the bathing places on the banks of the Kruēng Darōy running through the middle of it.

From the rough sketch of the Dalam given above, it can be said that it was a compromise in structure between fortress and palace and that its novelty is the inclusion of extensive open ground within the Dalam, in the form of a courtyard which was mainly used on state and religious occasions. In addition, its structure suggests that the Dalam was not just the political centre of the Sultanate, but also the centre of religious, cultural and economic life. The influence of Hindu cosmic concepts on the structure of the Dalam is not apparent, contrary to the interpretation of Brakel.⁵⁸ The Dalam extended by Iskanda Muda

was further enlarged during Iskandar Thani's time. On the ground adjoining the Dalam to the west a garden called Taman Ghairah was opened and a building called Gunong Menara Permata was constructed.⁵⁹ Moreover, sometime in the early 1650s the Dalam was renovated.⁶⁰ It will be noted that the basic structure of the Dalam set up by Iskandar Muda can still clearly be seen in the plan of the Dalam from the late 19th century at the time of the outbreak of the Dutch-Acehnese war,⁶¹ though this plan is in fact based on the structure of the Dalam as rebuilt after its destruction by fire in the reign of the second Sultana in the 1670s.⁶²

How then was the royal household and the Dalam run? To present a picture of the running of the household is difficult, for the Dalam was not easily accessible, especially to European strangers, on whose observations we largely rely. In addition, on the one hand, the duties performed by the outward servants of the household were, unlike those of the inner service,⁶³ not exclusively related to palace matters, and, on the other, the different administrative offices were not truly bureaucratic in nature, as a general feature of the governing was entourage-administration. There would be little sense in drawing a demarkation between the outward servants and officials of the administration. In a not significantly depersonalised state, the administrative officials too can be regarded rather as the servants of the sovereign than as officials, since their duty is to serve the direct interests of their master, the ruler, beyond the limits of the royal enclosure.

Let us look first at the running of the household in the time of

Iskandar Muda.

Iskandar Muda is said to have had, contrary to the Qur^ānic prescription, a great number of wives and concubines. Among his wives twenty were daughters of royal fathers taken to Aceh as war-captives.⁶⁴ Despite these numerous wives, his legitimate children were only two as far as is known, i.e. a son who was killed by him in 1636,⁶⁵ and a daughter, named Puteri Seri ^cAlam Permaisuri, who was to become the first female ruler, Sultana Safiyyat al-Din. We also know that he had several illegitimate sons.⁶⁶ Also living in the royal household was his mother, Raja Indera Bangsa.⁶⁷

The servants of Iskandar Muda consisted of three groups, i.e. women, 'eunuchs' and militant slaves. The women and slaves are said to have seldom come out of the Dalam, inside which they had a bazaar of their own for daily necessities as well as law-court.⁶⁸ The female servants, 3,000 in number and divided into groups under captains, were exclusively employed for such inner services as mounting guard in the private quarters or waiting on the Sultan.⁶⁹ These servants (and perhaps his concubines too) came from two main sources. The bringing into the Dalam of unmarried orphan daughters, according to Beaulieu, accounted for the majority of them.⁷⁰ The other source was, as in the case of his wives, war-captives from the conquered Malay states, such as Johor, Pahang and Kedah.⁷¹ The import of female slaves from India may also have been a contributing element, though to a lesser extent.⁷²

No one but the 'eunuchs' was allowed to enter the Sultan's private quarters. His 'eunuchs' are said to have been 500 in number and kept guard at night in the inner court, accompanied by a group of

slave guards.⁷³ It should be noted that the designation of 'eunuch', the 'capado' or 'gelubt' (also 'gelubd'), of European visitors seems to be open to dispute, even though Beaulieu and many other Europeans describe the male royal servants as men who were castrated.⁷⁴ The only explicit reference to the existence of 'eunuchs' in Aceh is made by P.W. Verhoeff in 1608. He states that a man was completely castrated as soon as he came into royal service in the Dalam in order not to work evil upon his female colleagues.⁷⁵ Incompatible with this, however, is a remarkable entry found in the Daghregister for 1631-1634. In referring to the cruelty of Iskandar Muda, it records that on 17 September 1633 two 'eunuchs' (gelubt) were sentenced to the punishment of 'castration' on the charge of delay in carrying out the royal command.⁷⁶ The account of Verhoeff is, as is apparent from his log-book in which it is contained, information based on hearsay gathered during his short stay,⁷⁷ whereas that of the Daghregister is an eyewitness report provided by Dutch merchants during a period of some five months sojourn.⁷⁸ Moreover, castration was indeed one of the punishments used during this period.⁷⁹ Considering all this, the account from 1633 may be considered more reliable and that the 'eunuchs' of the various European sources are likely to denote men in household service. The services or duties they performed we will describe below.

The slaves owned by the household were another important group. Some 1,500 slaves, most of them foreigners and trained as warriors since their youth, were used for a variety of services both inside and outside the Dalam.⁸⁰ Their most important function was to mount the royal guard. A group of 250 soldier-slaves kept an eye on the 'eunuchs' patrolling the inner court at night, and another group of the same

number kept watch at the main gate.⁸¹ The fact that all firearms were stored in the arsenal mentioned above and provided to adult Acehnese mobilised through the Orang Kaya only in time of war,⁸² makes it probable that the slave corps may have been the only standing army of the Sultanate during the reign of Iskandar Muda.

Besides these servants, there was yet another group comprising artisans, some 300 of them goldsmiths who were exclusively engaged in making ornaments for the display of splendour by the royal household. Among the artisans were probably blacksmiths who specialised in manufacturing such traditional weaponry as spears, lances or krisses.⁸³

To these numerous servants, rice alone was provided by their master. Beaulieu further remarks that they had to secure other daily necessities by their own industry.⁸⁴ This shows that they were obviously not fully salaried as was the case of the members of the ruling apparatus.⁸⁵ However, those who worked in the first three courts had in fact an established source of income. This was a sort of additional benefice deriving from the duties or offices they were responsible for. It took various forms, e.g. money paid by criminals for mitigation of punishments, gifts presented, charges and dues paid by foreign merchants trading in the port of the capital, and surcharges of 10% of the total import and export duties imposed on them.⁸⁶ This demonstrates that to a considerable extent the servants of the household were dependent on the economic activity of foreign merchants for their maintenance.

We have suggested that it is almost impossible to make a clear demarcation between the outer servants of the Dalam and the administrative officials of the Sultanate proper. For, as we will see in the

succeeding Chapters, the Sultanate of Aceh of this period was neither purely bureaucratically organised nor an impersonalised political entity. It was a state in which the sovereign was identical both conceptually and institutionally with the state and thus the ruler's will was the supreme law of the realm. This is particularly true of the reign of Iskandar Muda. In such a state as Aceh, the royal enclosure was not merely a residence but at the same time the seat of the administration of the state, and even senior administrative officials were, like the servants of the royal household, the ruler's servants in the broad sense.

Nevertheless, an incipient specialisation of duties or services is widely found in the Malay cultural sphere, to which Aceh then belonged. In broad outline, the court functionaries took charge of matters pertaining in essence to the authority, or more precisely the prerogatives, of the sovereign, while the administrative officials were principally concerned with the actual running of the state, the degree of direction by the ruler depending on his personal strength and skill. In addition, in so far as Aceh is concerned, it may be added that relation between the ruler and outer court functionaries seems to have been based, as a general rule, on a certain principle, in which one may detect a close emotional or familial concept. Such ties appeared to exist between the ruler and his childhood playmate or captives who were appointed to state functions.

It is not possible, however, to systematically describe the duties performed by the court functionaries of the outer service. However, based on what information can be reasonably derived from the AA and what is generally known in various states in the Malay Peninsula,⁸⁷

the following can be presented as a general picture of 17th century Aceh.

The duties of the outer court functionaries of that time can be classified into two major categories. One is the duties relevant to the court etiquette directly connected with the sovereign's prerogatives. The strictly observed etiquette includes that for religious festivals and audiences, and procedures relating to the arrival and departure of foreign merchant ships in the port of the capital. To wait on and accompany the ruler was also a significant part of the duties in this category, and the functionaries in charge of these duties may be regarded as intended to symbolise and make manifest royal power. Among them were heralds, pages, bearers of the state insignia and standards, royal guards and members of the royal orchestra.

In contrast to this are the duties connected with the more practical aspects of royal power, serving specifically for the aggrandisement of the wealth and power of the sovereign. These included recording revenue in the form of tribute, profit from the ruler's own trade, and import and export duties both in the capital and in west coast dependency. An equally important duty was to keep a register of and a strict check on firearms, which were monopolised by the ruler. The personnel comprised a group of scribes, senior court functionaries bearing the title Bentara,⁸⁸ and other literate functionaries, among them men learned in religion. Because of the very nature of these duties, this royal secretariat cum the royal treasury was the office where court functionaries came into contact with the political machinery of the realm. In addition, since there were no signs of the appearance

of a truly bureaucratically organised administration in the Sultanate,⁸⁹ particularly under the autocratic rule of Iskandar Muda, a certain overlap of authority between the secretariat and other ruling machinery was inevitable. A conspicuous example of this overlap can be discerned in the running of royal trade and the port administration by more than one authority.⁹⁰ On other words, arising from a lack of explicitness in defining the competent authority, members of the central political administration also had a part in this branch of the royal service.

The description of the royal enclosure and the way of running the household given above relates mostly to the period of centralised power under Iskandar Muda. Notwithstanding the diminishing of royal power in the years following his death in 1636, most of what had been set up by him continued to be maintained as norms of court administration even under his successors, Iskandar Thani and Safiyyat al-Din.⁹¹ It was unavoidable, however, that in the course of the dissolution of the sovereign's political authority and of the fading fear of the terror now past, royal power became more and more formal, being eroded by the assumption by the Orang Kaya of some the concrete functions of kingship.⁹²

Important changes were taking place within these years. As noted earlier, in the early years of Safiyyat al-Din's reign the Orang Kaya were allowed free access to the inner court, which had formerly been restricted.⁹³ Unmistakably, this resulted from the fact that a considerable part of the political authority was virtually removed from royal hands and transferred to a newly-formed council of the realm led by four senior Orang Kaya, as we will see in detail in Chapter II.

The other change is concerned with the giving of audience to

the administrative officials and other members of the ruling classes. During the reign of Iskandar Muda there was no fixed day for audience,⁹⁴ nor is it clear if the Orang Kaya were to be present at court regularly. On the other hand, the Orang Kaya residing in or nearby the city were obliged to go to court to keep watch every third day and night.⁹⁵ It seems more than likely that except for a few senior Orang Kaya, who were probably summoned ad hoc to the royal presence, they were possibly not honoured with audiences except on state and religious occasions. To Iskandar Muda there may have been no reasons to hold audience regularly for his 'servants'.⁹⁶ It was from the reign of Iskandar Thani that audiences came to be held regularly on Saturdays.⁹⁷ Probably with this strict procedure for audience a seating order in the audience hall was laid down possibly by the mid 1640s. In fact, three entries from the third and fourth parts of the AA, as a whole, describe the procedure and enumerate numerous administrative officials including senior Orang Kaya, court functionaries, warriors (Ceteria) and other members of the ruling apparatus, all of whom were eligible to have audience with the sovereign.⁹⁸ It is hardly possible, however, to deduce from these three entries a clear picture of how an audience was organised during this period. Yet it is to be noted that one of the entries describes that those who have no taraf (a measure of court rank of status) have their seating or standing places on the right of the drum, the symbol of the ruler. By implication, those who have taraf may have had their places on the ruler's left. We know in addition, from Dutch sources of this period, that prominent foreign merchants, such as a chief factor, a captain or the owner of a ship, were given

places on the ruler's right.⁹⁹ In this connection, we know that the Malay words kanan (right) and kiri (left) denote 'senior' and 'junior' respectively, but this appears irrelevant for Aceh. The case for Aceh may well be that 'right' designates 'the outer worlds' and 'left' 'the inner world', seen from the Dalam as the centre of 'the world'.

As Prof. Drewes has suggested,¹⁰⁰ giving seating places at Court to member of the ruling machinery according to a hierarcial order, together with the insitution of weekly audiences, reflects and arises from internal political changes since 1636. The main reason for this can be found in the growth of the Orang Kaya already referred to above. As a consequence, the household was forced to lose ground and gradually became a figurehead of dignity in the Sultanate. One good example of this is a change in the education or training of future royal servants, expected to be loyal to their sovereign, in the reign of Safiyyat al-Din. In 1642 P. Willemsz. writes in the factory's daghregister:

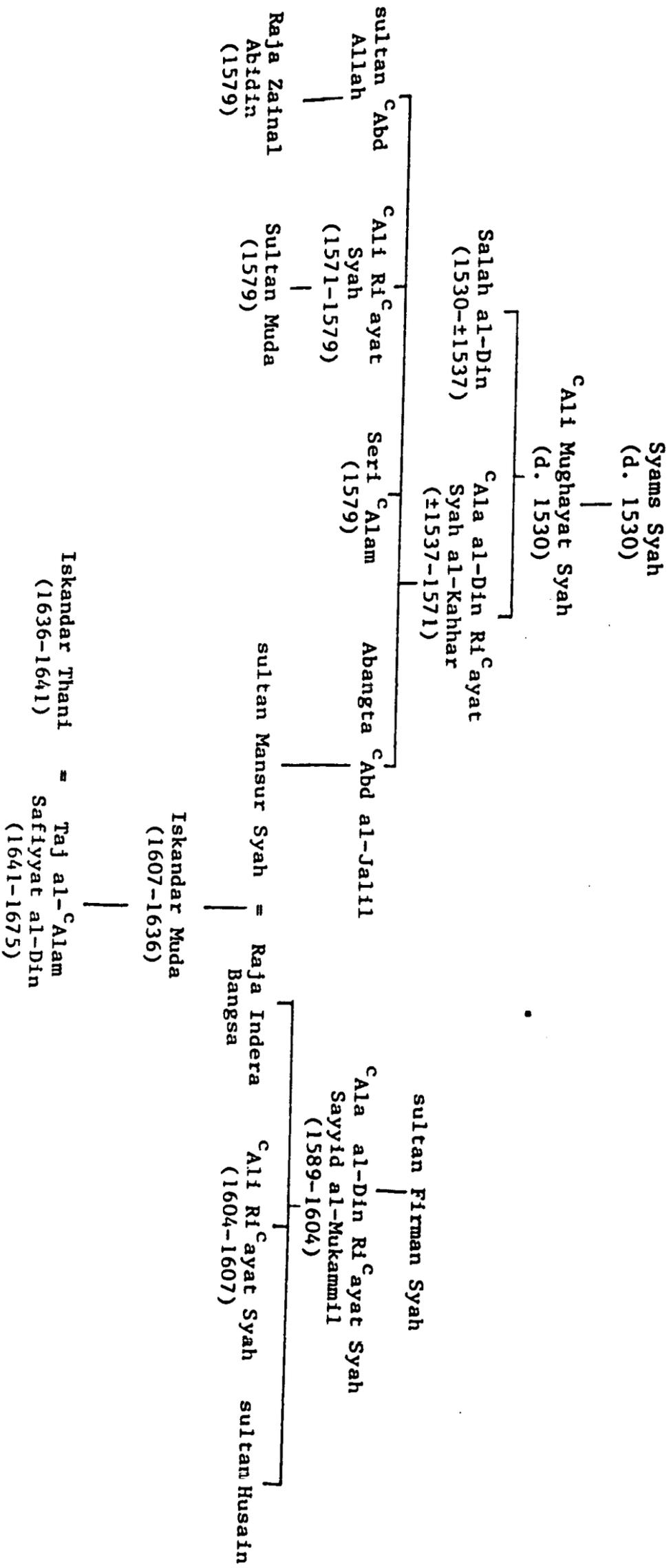
"Her Majesty's secretary announced that 30 young Acehnese had anew been assigned to her as slaves, though her subjects are her slaves; the Queen ordered that they were to be distributed among the Orang Kaya."

He further notes that a certain "Orang Kaya Paduka de Mamentrij" was taking charge of twenty boy-slaves.¹⁰¹ This system, conducted under the influence of the Orang Kaya, suggests a decided contrast with that of the foreign slaves of Iskandar Muda mentioned by Beaulieu in 1621.

GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE SULTANS OF ACEH

DYNASTY OF MAKOTA ALAM

DYNASTY OF DAR AL-KAMAL



NOTES

1. Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, pp.29-32, 37-38; AA, p.28b, 31b-33b; EI, vol.1, s.v. ATJÉH.
2. Pires, Suma Oriental, vol.1, pp.137-145.
3. Iskandar, op.cit., pp.32-39. Iskandar is of the opinion that Sultan SyamsuSyah was the founder of the Sultanate of Aceh Dar al-Salam and his successor Sultan ^cAli Mughayat Syah al-Kahhar the father of greater Aceh.
4. Ibid., loc. cit.
5. Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies, pt.1, pp.43-44.
6. Boxer, "A Note on Portuguese Reactions", JSEAH 10, No.3 (1969), pp. 415-428. According to Meilink-Roelofs, Aceh was participating in the trade as early as 1526. (Asian Trade, p.145, referred to by Boxer on p.417 fn.9)
7. Reid, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", JSEAH 10, No.3, pp. 396-414.
8. Ibid., pp.402-403; Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", pp.154-155. For further details of Aru and Deli on the east coast, see Djajadiningrat, pp.170-171, 179.
9. Iskandar, Bustan, p.31. However, the Bustan does not detail the system established by al-Kahhar. Al-Rānīrī describes the achievements of al-Kahhar in a similar way to what we have mentioned above. (ibid., pp.31-32, trans. by Reid in "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", pp.396-397)
10. Reid, op. cit., pp.407-408.
11. Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.47; Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, pp. 40-41.
12. Externally it was halted as early as the 1540s. (Reid, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", pp.402-403)
13. Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, pp.41-42; Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.48.
14. Iskandar, loc. cit.
15. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht" pp.167-168; Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.111-112; Reid, "Trade and the Problem", pp.48-49.

16. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", pp.170-171. It was during his reign that Aceh again yielded Aru to Johor.
17. Boxer, "A Note on Portuguese Reactions", pp.425-426; Keuning, De Tweede Schipvaart, vol.1, pp.XXV-XXVIII. The chief enemy of Aceh at the turn of the 16th century was not the Portuguese but Johor. (Unger, De Oudste Reizen, pp.72-73; Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.142; Both, "Oost-Indische Reyse onder Admirael Pieter Both", in B & V, vol.2, p.8) A rapprochement was negotiated for several years to no effect, and by the end of 1602 Aceh changed its tune and returned to its former anti-Portuguese policy. (Spilbergen, De Reis, p.73)
18. An English fleet under Sir James Lancaster, dispatched by the East India Company, made its first appearance in Aceh in June 1602. (Lancaster, The Voyages, p.90, 100-102) As for the Dutch their relationship with Aceh from their appearance in 1599 was rather complicated because of the Acehnese attack on their fleet under C. de Houtman in 1599, - probably of the instigation of the Portuguese envoy in Aceh -, and the seizure of pepper by P. Caerden from the foreign ships in harbour in early 1601. (Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.70, 73, 75-78, 81, 89; Both, "Oost-Indische Reyse", pp.13-14) These issues, however, were settled by the end of 1601, and al-Mukammil sent a peace envoy to Holland and the Dutch opened a factory named Zeeland. (de Jong, De Opkomst, vol.2, pp.254-256; Unger, De Oudste Reizen, pp.XLVI-XLIX, 136-137, 139-141) Good will shown by the Acehnese rulers in the early stage of their relations with the Dutch and English are reflected in the written agreements, by which various privileges were granted to them. (Letters Received, vol.1, pp.1-4; Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum, vol.1, pp.19-20, 48-50; Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, pp.42-43)
19. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.112-114; Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", pp.172-175.
20. Verhoeff, De Reis van de Vloot, vol.1, p.242; Iskandar, Bustan, p.34.
21. Boxer, "Portuguese and Spanish Projects", Journal of Asian History, vol.3 (1969), pp.134-135; Danvers, The Portuguese in India, vol.2, p.136.

22. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", pp.177-179. This may be supported by the fact that the year 1612 marks the beginning of Aceh's expansion in this decade. (ibid., pp.179-180)
23. Reid, The Contest for North Sumatra, p.3; Lombard, Le Sultanat, pp. 98-99; Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.49.
24. Lombard, Le Sultanat, pp.91-94.
25. Shellabear, "An Account of some of the oldest Malay MSS", JSBRAS 31 (1898), pp.123-130. See also Lombard, Le Sultanat, p.99 fn.5.
26. Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.49.
27. Lombard, Le Sultanat, pp.96-97; Boxer, "The Achinese Attack on Malacca", in Malayan and Indonesian Studies, pp.105-121. That Iskandar Muda launched an expedition to Pahang in 1635 does suggest that by then his forces may have been rebuilt, even though they were not as strong as they had been before. (Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", p.181; Daghregister, Batavia, 1636, p.3; K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of J. Compostel, f.1214)
28. Reid, "Trade and the Problem", pp.49-51.
29. We know from the AA that in the early year of his accession Iskandar Muda ordered a copy to be made of the edicts of his royal predecessors. (Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, p.17) Beaulieu states that Iskandar Muda newly established various practices and rules. (Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.107)
30. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", p.183.
31. Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern", JSEAH 10 (1969), pp.432-437. Bassett had first brought to our attention the importance in the indigenous political balance of the region of these shifts. When we look at the political history of the region from the Dutch occupation of Malacca (1641) onwards, the four-sided relationship of Aceh, Johor, the Portuguese and the Dutch in the preceding four years (1637-1641) can be seen as the most decisive factor for the future course of the region's history. By their conquest of Malacca, the Dutch were henceforth to play a key role in the politics of the region. On this very account, further study of the developments of these years is necessary. (ibid., pp.438-452)

32. According to P. Mundy, Iskandar Thani is said to have established amicable relations with the Portuguese as early as April 1637. (Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.1, p.119; Documentos Remettidos da Índia, Liv.40, doc.104; Liv.41, doc.81-83; Liv.43, doc.104-105; Tiele, Bouwstoffen, vol.2, p.332)
33. Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern", pp.432-433, 437; Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.2, pp.461-462; Tiele, op. cit., pp.355-356, 364-365; Daghregister, Batavia, 1640-1641, pp.208-209. From the Portuguese side, the relevant documents are: Documentos Remettidos da Índia, Liv.40, doc.16, 78-80; Liv.43, doc.16, 101-103; Liv.45, doc.186; Liv.48, doc.169, 454; Liv.51, doc.27, 47. From the Acehnese side, al-Rānīrī, in the Bustan, records the events of 1638. (Iskandar, Bustan, pp.46-47) See also Lombard, Le Sultanat, pp.97-98.
34. Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern", p.432, 434-439.
35. Tiele, Bouwstoffen, vol.2, pp.354-355.
36. Reid, "Trade and the Problem", pp.52-53.
37. Ibid., loc. cit.
38. Arasaratnam, "Dutch in Malacca", JSEAH 10 (1969), pp.481-483, 486-489; Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern", pp.446-449.
39. Kathirithamby-Wells, "Achehnese Control", JSEAH 10 (1969), pp.465-479; Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern", pp.437-440, 446-450; Arasaratnam, "Dutch in Malacca", pp.482-483, 486-489.
40. Lombard, Le Sultanat; Reid, "Trade and the Problem", pp.45-55.
41. Major indigenous sources are: Hikayat Aceh, Bustan al-Salatin and Adat Aceh.
42. Lombard, Le Sultanat, pp.127-139; Brakel, "State and Statecraft", pp.62-63.
43. Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.148; anonymous, "Journaal van Jacob Rijcx van Opmeer", TNI 3, pt.2 (1873), pp.67-68; Waerwijck, "Oost-Indische Reyse onder den Admiraal Wybrandt van Waerwijck", in B & V vol.2, pp.13-15; Bowrey, A Geographical Account, p.286, 293, 321-322; Dampier, Voyages and Discoveries, p.90; Lombard, Le Sultanat, pp.128-130; Brakel, "State and Statecraft", p.62
44. Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.148; Waerwijck, "Oost-Indische Reyse", p.15.

45. Waerwijck, "Oost-Indische Reyse", pp.13-15; Brakel, "State and Statecraft", p.62.
46. Lombard, Le Sultanat, p.130. An account from P.W. Verhoeff in 1608 says that the royal enclosure was surrounded by strong walls and palisades. (Verhoeff, De Reis van de Vloot, vol.1, p.241) This suggests that the reinforcement and extension of the Dalam probably began as early as 1608 after the Portuguese attack of 1606.
47. Brakel, "State and Statecraft", p.62. The Dalam prior to extension in Iskandar Muda's time consisted of three courts with their respective courtyards. The number of the gates as given in various sources varies. (See Lancaster, The Voyages, p.130; Lombard, Le Sultanat, p.129, fn.4; also sources mentioned in note 43 above)
48. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.49-50, 102-104; Iskandar Bustan, pp.48-51, 61-63, 67-69. Lombard gives a general picture on pp.127-131, based on Beaulieu.
49. This pleasure garden is reported as early as 1616 by W. Keeling. (Keeling & Bonner, The East India Company Journals, p.136) This garden may be identical with a garden called Medan Khairani in the Bustan. (Iskandar, Bustan, p.49) Al-Rānīrī, the author of the Bustan, does not mention who the founder of the garden was. Djajadiningrat is of the opinion that this pleasure-garden, together with a curious building called the Gunongan, was founded by Iskandar Thani. (Djajadiningrat, "De stichting van het 'Goenongan' geheeten monument te Koetaraja", TBG 57 (1916), pp.561-565)
50. Cf. Brakel, "State and Statecraft", p.63.
51. K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury (1642), ff.554v.-555r.
52. Verhoeff, De Reis van de Vloot, vol.1, p.240; K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister of Soury, f.555r. This was the case in the 1640s under Safiyyat al-Din.
53. K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Jan de Meere (1640), f.122r., 134r., 136v.; K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Pieter Willemsz. (1642), f.521r.; K.A.1068, "Copie daghregister" of Joan Truijtmān (1649), f.205r., 214v. On the word Bentara, see note (88) below.
54. K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of P. Soury (1643), f.664v.; K.A.1068, "Copie daghregister" of Truijtmān, f.214v.

55. The Dutch of that time called the inner court the Binnen Hoff or derde Hoff (Passim in Dutch envoys' dagregisters from the 1640s)
56. K.A.1068, "Copie dagregister" of Truijtman, f.215r. Passages in J. Compostel' dagregister from the last year of Iskandar Muda's reign verify the existence of three courts and three courtyards, and the limitation on access to the Dalam. (K.A.1031, "Origineel dagregister" of Jacob Compostel (1636), f.1201, 1221)
57. The Dutch of the 1640s called the private quarters the Binnenste Hoff.
58. See Brakel, "State and Statecraft", p.56, 62-63. Even allowing for some similarity between the Acehnese Dalam and the Javanese Kraton, a generalisation that Hindu cosmic concepts were prevailing characteristics of the royal compounds throughout Indonesia is too problematic. The three-fold division of royal compounds suggested by Brakel is, in fact, not a feature exclusive to Hindu traditions.
59. Iskandar, Bustan, pp.48-49; Djajadiningrat, "De stichting", pp.561-566; Lombard, Le Sultanat, pp.133-134; Brakel, "State and Statecraft", p.62.
60. K.A.1082, "Copie rapport" of Truijtman, 14 Dec. 1652, f.750r., 756r. This renovation was carried out in 1650, but further details are not known.
61. Brakel, "State and Statecraft", p.63, based on Kielstra, Beschrijving van den Atjeh-Oorlog, vol.1, pp.471-472.
62. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", p.189.
63. The 'inner service' and the 'outer service' designate the services relevant to the private quarters and to the three courts, respectively.
64. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.103. Of al-Mukammil, Davis says that "hee hath three Wives, and very many concubines, which are very closely kept." (Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.150)
65. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", p.183.
66. See section (2) of Chapter II.
67. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", p.169; Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.61-62.
68. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.102-103.
69. Ibid., loc. cit. In connection with these female captains, Davis'

account from 1599 is worthy of attention. He notes that "A woman is his [i.e. al-Mukammil's] Admirall, for hee will trust no men." It seems not unlikely that Davis may refer to a female in a similar position to the captains mentioned by Beaulieu. (Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.150) Female royal servants guarding the sovereign are known throughout the 17th century. (Ibid., p.148; "Journal van Jacob Rijcx van Opmeer", p.68; Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.1, p.131; Bowrey, A Geographical Account, p.300) Cf. Lombard, Le Sultanat, pp.137-138.

70. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.108.
71. Ibid., p.103.
72. See further Chapter VI.
73. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.102-103.
74. Of the Dutch accounts, F. de Houtman first makes mention of the existence of eunuchs in Aceh. (Unger, De Oudste Reizen, pp.70-111)
75. Verhoeff, De Reis van de Vloot, vol.1, pp.240-242. This indicates that further castration may not be probable.
76. Daghregister, Batavia, 1631-1634, p.240. This is in sharp contradiction to the castration of whole genitals referred to by Verhoeff. This apart, there is an Acehnese term which may correspond to 'eunuch', i.e. sida-sida (also in Malay). Djajadiningrat gives two meanings to the term: 1. court official; 2. eunuchs - the same meaning as in Malay). (Djajadiningrat, Atjèhsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, vol.2, SIDA) Further study on eunuchs in the Malay-Indonesian Muslim states of our period is needed.
77. Verhoeff, De Reis van de Vloot, vol.1, pp.239-242. His stay was less than ten days.
78. Daghregister, Batavia, 1631-1634, p.236.
79. In fact, both sources do mention castration as a punishment. (Ibid., pp.239-240; Verhoeff, De Reis van de Vloot, vol.1, p.241)
80. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.103, 108. Their duties outside the Dalam will be examined in detail in connection with slavery and the slave trade in 17th century Aceh.
81. Ibid., p.103.
82. See Reid, "Trade and the Problem", pp.49-50, based on Beaulieu.

83. Beaulieu, "Mémoires" p.52, 99-100. On firearms, see further Chapter II.
84. Ibid., p.102, 107.
85. Ibid., p.70, 72.
86. Ibid., p.70, 101. For further details, see Chapter VI.
87. Matheson, "Sovereigns and Scribes: Life as reflected", in Indonesia: Australian Perspectives, pp.183-193.
88. Bentara is indeed a puzzling title. According to Djajadiningrat's dictionary, Bentara signifies: an adjutant of the sovereign, a title of certain official of the same rank as local chiefs (Ulèëbalang). (Atjèhsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, vol.1, s.v. BÉNTARA) Everywhere in VOC records from the 1640s, we come across mention of a group of Bentara, some of them bearing the title Ornag Kaya as well. They are distinguished from the senior 'eunuchs'. There exist two relatively informative accounts. In 1643 P. Soury notes that a certain Paduka Tuan, a Malay from Johor, was promoted from the position of inspector of elephants (Panglima Gajah) to Bentara (and was then called Bentara Seri Paduka) because he had often served on the council of the realm. The other source is a short note of van Oudtschoorn from 1644. He writes that there came to the Dutch factory a Bentara, who was a herald of the Queen. (K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.674r.; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.577v.) It may also be added that Truijtman, a Dutch envoy (1649), differentiates the Bentara from the councillors of the realm and other nobility (edellieden, probably indicating Orang Kaya of junior rank). (K.A.1068, "Copie daghregister" of Truijtman, f.205r.) In an entry from the fourth part of the AA the Bentara are mentioned as distinct from the Ulèëbalang, a term employed to designate a group of Orang Kaya and warriors (Ceteria). (See note (98) below) Even though it is difficult to define what ^x exactly the term Bentara signifies, it is evident from the Dutch sources that bearers of the title were much concerned with matters related to the royal palace and were perhaps of the same rank as junior Orang Kaya. Further investigation may provide a more precise definition.

89. Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.45, 50-51. On this subject, see further Chapter II.
90. This seems to have resulted from the importance of trade as one of the principal economic bases of royal power. (Ibid., loc. cit.)
91. Yet a decrease in the size of the royal household was inevitable. A remarkable decline became evident both in the number of the royal servants and in the wealth of the household during their reigns. (Graaff, Reisen, p.13; K.A.1040, "Copie missive van commissaris Croocq", 3 Jul, 1639, f.1196; K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.569v.; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.603v.; Ibid., "Origineel relaes" of van Oudtschoorn, 1 Dec. 1644, f.548r.-v.; Bowrey, A Geographical Account, p.300)
92. This problem too will be examined in Chapter II. It is to be noted that despite these political changes, the extended family ethos seems still to have been basic to the ruler-court functionary relationship. Of the two elements in this mentioned earlier, however, the war-captive element probably became more dominant because by then the Malay war-captives taken in the middle of Iskandar Muda's reign would have already grown up in Aceh, - as was the case of Iskandar Thani himself who had been taken from Pahang -, and indeed some Malaya assumed important positions in the Acehnese court. Among them, for example, were the Paduka Tuan mentioned in note (88) above (later known as Orang Kaya [Seri] Maharaja Lela); an Orang Kaya Seri Paduka Tuan [Seberang] (his former title: Orang Kaya Seri Maharaja Lela), who had been in the position of Panglima Bandar for some twenty years from the early 1640s; an Orang Kaya Paduka Mahamenteri, a Malay from Johor, in the position of Queen's major (?), who is probably identical with the Orang Kaya Paduka de Mamentrij in note (91) above; and a former Panglima Deli named Enci Rambau in 1652-1653. Moreover, it will be noted that a son of Orang Kaya Seri Paduka Tuan [Seberang] is reported in 1655 to have been a former Panglima Daya. (K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, ff.564v.-565r.; Ibid., "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.518v., 523v.; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.574r., 587v.; K.A.1100, "Originele missive" by D. Schouten, 16 Sept. 1655, f.277v., 279v; Daghregister, Batavia,

- 1653, pp.39-40; Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.3, pp.92-93)
93. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.49-50, 102-103; see also sources listed in note (54) above.
94. There are no signs in J. Compostel's daghregister (1636) that audiences were held on fixed day. (K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, ff.1197-1229) This is in sharp contrast with the fact that Compostel himself was often given audience during his stay there, 10 Oct. - 22 Nov. 1636.
95. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.103.
96. The Orang Kaya under Iskandar Muda were kept under very tight control, (Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.50) A most illustrative example of the tight control can be seen in the severe arbitrary punishments inflicted upon them on various trivial charges. (For further details, see Chapter III) Referring to kingship under Iskandar Muda, Schouten, a Dutch senior official, says in 1663 that "They [the Acehnese] respect their King from a spirit of servitude and slavery and from servile fear, more than from any love they have for him. They have reason to fear his for he exercises a very tyrannical power over them, ..." (quoted in Bowrey, A Geographical Account, p.296 fn.1) The same probably applies to al-Mukammil's rule. (Waerwijck, "Oost-Indische Reyse", p.14, also quoted in Bowrey)
97. As far as is known, the earliest reference to audience on Saturdays is found in an envoy's daghregister from 1640. (K.A.1042, "Daghregister of de Meere, ff.104r.-142v.) From this time on until 1660 (the last year for which an envoy's daghregister is available) weekly audience was given by the sovereigns.
98. Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, pp.20-22. The editors have made clear that an entry with the title Cerita perkataan silsilah taraf berdiri segala hulubalang in the fourth part originally belonged at the beginning of the third part. It may be suggested that another entry, entitled Perkataan hamba Syah^c Alam yang dikanan genderang, also belongs to the third part. A description of the procedure for audience on Saturday is entitled Perkataan hulubalang masuk kepada hari Sabtu. (AA, pp.98b-101b) According to this description, the ceremony takes place in the Dalam, and the sovereign is to be seated

on a platform of stone, called Pra'na seumah (or Peratna Sembah in the Bustan) situated perhaps in the outer courtyard. (Ibid., p.21; Iskandar, Bustan, p.61; Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, p.139) Regarding the precedence in seating order, a group of four Orang Kaya have foremost place and are followed by a group of eight Orang Kaya. This apart, from the daghregister of van Oudtschoorn we know that alongside the gate dividing the outer and middle courts was found a sort of balcony where Sultana Safuyyat al-Din used to appear (sekere vertoonplaatse van de Coninginne). (K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.578r.) The description van Oudtschoorn provides of the audience on that occasion (31 July 1644; it was not Saturday but Sunday; a special arrangement was made for van Oudtschoorn) tallies, to a certain extent, with the above-mentioned entry and another entry about a coronation ceremony, entitled Majlis pada hari raya junjung duli. (Ibid., f.578r.-v.; Drewes & Voorhove, op. cit., pp.20-21; AA, pp.59b-63b) Therefore, it may be suggested that the vertoonplaatse is to be identified with the Pra'na seumah or Peratna Sembah. (Cf. Brakel, "State and Statecraft", p.63)

The second entry, on pp.104a-107b, is called Cerita perkataan silsilah taraf berdiri segala hulubalang. It describes the hierarchical seating order of the Hulubalang (the local chiefs, including Orang Kaya) established during the reign of Safiyyat al-Din. Even though it is not clear what exactly is meant by the word taraf, it probably denotes a court rank or status, as the editors have suggested. As mentioned above, this entry is more relevant to the coronation ceremony and contains a list of members of the ruling classes. It appears, however, that the precedence mentioned in it may have been followed in the audience too. This classifies the ruling members into three rough categories. Those who are classified as the Hulubalang are, for example, Orang Kaya, Ceteria and Menteri, the last two literally mean 'warrior' and 'minister' respectively, but further details are not known. Due to a lacuna in the text the general term for the second category is not known. Those listed under this category are a group of officers responsible for the security of the Dalam, a group of Fakih (lawyer in Islamic Law) who are apparently members of

the legal administration, and several Bentara. The third category consists of a large number of Bentara, including the chief scribe who bears the title Penghulu Kerkun Raja Setia Muda. This entry is extremely important as an index indicating a shift both from centralised royal power to diminishing royal authority and from a personal state to a comparatively impersonalised state, in which a quasi-bureaucratisation or systematisation of the ruling machinery was taking place. Yet the simple enumeration in it of members of the ruling classes does not provide us with enough information for further comment.

The third entry contains the description of the royal servants on the right of the drum (Perkataan hamba Syah Alam yang dikanan genderang). (AA, pp.110a-111b) Among those who stand on the right of the drum because they have no taraf are the Syahbandars and the scribes of the Dalam.

It should be noted that these three entries (or four, if one includes the Majlis pada hari raya junjung duli) were not written at the same time. Judging from the discrepancies among the three and from the evidence of VOC records from the 1640s, they can be chronologically arranged in the same order as we have dealt with them.

99. K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.558r.; Ibid., "Copie memorie" by Compostel, 10 Aug. 1642, f.595r.; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, ff.682v.683r.; K.A.1059bis, "Ccpie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.578r.-v.) Van Oudtschoorn states that the Laksamana, 'eunuchs' and a great number of the Orang Kaya, all attending the audience given in honour of van Oudtschoorn, "very decently took their seating places according to their rank".
100. Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, p.22.
101. K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.523v.

CHAPTER II GOVERNING APPARATUS, PART I

Having studied the Dalam as the centre of power, we now direct our attention to the governing apparatus of the Sultanate. The governing apparatus here includes armed forces and police, the system of land rights, and central and local administration including that of dependencies. The administration of law and justice should also be included because it was entirely dependent on the political control by the sovereign, and in fact formed, like the rest of the governing apparatus, an integral part of the governing system. For simply practical reasons, however, legal administration is separately studied in Chapter III, which forms Part II of the study of the governing apparatus of the Sultanate.

1. Armed forces and police

A military force was the machinery by which the ruler established and maintained his authority, in some cases broadening the scope of his power as sovereign, and securing the national defence against external enemies. In the case of Aceh, we have already mentioned earlier that it was an indispensable institution to the pursuit of an expansionist policy and a prolonged jihad.

The military establishment has already been sufficiently studied both by Lombard and by Reid. It is not our intention, therefore, to go into the subject in detail here. Rather, based on the picture they present, supplemented by other contemporary information, we will examine developments over the 16th and 17th centuries from the point of view that the degree of control of the instruments of force by the ruler decisively conditions the solidarity of his power and thus sub-

stantially the nature of his government.

Let us first examine 16th century Aceh, with specific reference to the introduction and assimilation of military technology and to the system of mobilisation. Substantial contributions to our understanding have already been made both by Prof. Boxer and Reid. Our description below, therefore, largely relies on their works.¹

It is well-known that the use of firearms was already common in the Malay world by the time the Portuguese captured Malacca in 1511. In the case of Aceh, in so far as it is documented, the first introduction of artillery was through the conquest of Pidie and Pasai in the early 1520s. Weapons in the Portuguese forts in both places were taken in the booty by the Acehnese.²

The real influx of guns on a large scale seems, however, to have taken place in about the 1540s with military assistance from the Ottoman Turks in the form of guns and gunners.³ Even more important is the fact that Turkish military aid at the request of al-Kahhar in the 1560s brought Aceh not only a number of heavy bronze guns and many small guns, together with ammunition and mercenary gunners, but also gun-founders and military engineers.⁴ Both al-Rānīrī and Diogo do Couto mention the presence of Turkish engineers and gun-founders in the reign of al-Kahhar, and the former goes on to say that it was at that time that the large guns were cast.⁵ No doubt the Acehnese learned from them various aspects of contemporary military technology, including strategy.⁶ Moreover, from the account of Linschoten in the 1580s it is evident that not only Aceh but also Johor had already assimilated contemporary techniques to such an extent that they could produce by themselves many kinds of firearms, both large and small.⁷

It may be argued that the Acehese weaponry reported by J. Davis (1599) and by J. Lancaster (1602) was a result of accumulation over a period of half a century, and undoubtedly included locally-cast guns. Indeed, F. de Houtman mentions in 1601 the existence of a gun-foundry operated by a number of gun-founders.⁹ It may be concluded that the introduction and subsequent adoption of the military technology brought mainly by the Turks ensured Aceh an offensive position vis-à-vis Portuguese Malacca from the late 1530s onward, as Reid also has suggested.¹⁰

Not much is known about the system of mobilisation for war during this period. The fact that the Acehese campaigns against the Portuguese were more frequent in this period than in the 17th century,¹¹ suggests that a particular mobilising system may already have existed for the pursuit of this jihad. Even though evidence explicitly indicating such a system is not available, there are several accounts, which though literally fragmentary, may still be relevant.

The Acehese attack on Malacca in 1547 was not itself particularly large or significant by Acehese standard.¹² However, it is interesting to note that among the Acehese forces were 500 Orobalones.¹³ Apparently the word Orobalone is a corrupt form of the Acehese Ulëëbalang and was understood by the Portuguese of this period as denoting a noble of military quality.¹⁴ The other Portuguese account relevant here is found in a proposal for the conquest of Aceh, written by Dom Joao Ribeiro Gaio in 1584. According to his proposal, apart from the 300 galley-type vessels, which he did not consider formidable, the real strength of Aceh consisted in the Sultan's 600 trained war-elephants and the fight-

ing spirit of his 30,000 fanatical Muslim warriors.¹⁵ The number of warriors given by him, based on an intelligence report from a Portuguese held prisoner in Aceh for many years,¹⁶ does not seem impossible since it is known that forces between 12,000 and 20,000 men were raised for the campaigns of this period.¹⁷

Other accounts with fragments of information date from the later years of al-Mukammil's time. In July 1599 a Dutch fleet under the command of C. de Houtman, a brother of F. de Houtman, came ^{to} an agreement with al-Mukammil to assist a projected Acehnese expedition against Johor in exchange for a delivery of pepper. The conditions put forward to the Dutch was that they would assist him in attacking Johor for a period of three months from the sea, for which provisions would be loaded in Pidie, and in shipping heavy guns from his castle (the Dalam).¹⁸ F. de Houtman also provides us with a suggestive account that because of the arrival in the harbour of a fleet of unknown nationality in August 1601, al-Mukammil had an alarm-gong (becken) struck to command his subjects to mount guard in the castle.¹⁹

The Acehnese forces in the early years of Iskandar Muda's reign owed much to the efforts of his predecessors in the previous century. This was true especially of the huge supply of artillery and firearms possessed by him.²⁰ As far as the first two decades of the 17th century are concerned, it seems that the prime source of supply was through gifts made both by the English and Dutch to the Sultans.²¹ According to a Dutch factor's report from 1619, Iskandar Muda gave an order to a Portuguese captain, captured in late 1618, to cast ordinance after the model of one originally intended as a gift to him.²² Obviously this

was to learn the method of casting such pieces. Indeed, about two years later, Beaulieu explicitly mentions the existence of gun-founders.²³

In addition, judging from the military technology available at that time, there is every reason to believe that Aceh had been able to produce gun-powder by itself long before the reign of Iskandar Muda since the method would have been accessible around the middle of the 16th century and the raw materials were abundant in Aceh's dominions.²⁴

Despite this, there is an interesting entry in the AA concerning an obligatory gift of gun-powder to the Sultan. According to the entry, European and Christian ships calling at Aceh for trade are required to pay a keg of gun-powder and a roll of cloth as gifts.²⁵ It is known that in 1615 two fleets of the English East India Company presented gifts of gun-powder, shots and guns to Iskandar Muda on three occasions.²⁶ These are the only known examples. Even though further details are not known, it seems not unlikely that this AA entry reflects practices from this earlier period rather than from the time of its compilation.²⁷

This AA entry is not dated. But European accounts of Aceh in the first half of the 17th century clearly show that it was the practice for the rulers to present European visitors with victuals on their arrival or shortly afterward, a present which is described in the entry as a reciprocal gift to that of gun-powder.

Based on Beaulieu's account, Reid has suggested that access to the military technology of Europe and West Asia (including India), and eventual introduction of artillery considerably contributed to the centralisation of royal power and ensured the domination of the so-called city-state or port-state over its hinterland.²⁸ It is also to be

stressed that no less significant for the strengthening of royal power and for the expansion which took place during this period is that Iskandar Muda probably had full control over the products of contemporary military and naval technology, including ship-building.²⁹

This shows that there was no mystification ^{about} / guns in the Sultanate where their adoption was prompted by overwhelming practical purposes to protect its economic interests from the Portuguese in Malacca.³⁰ Despite this, Acehese attitudes when they took over this technology, especially their failure to use gun-carriages may help to account for the relative ineffectiveness of the Acehese artillery, as Prof. Boxer has pointed out.³¹ In fact, there is enough information from the turn of the 16th century onwards, to suggest that the Acehese were aware of this problem.³² According to J de Meere, who was summoned once again to the Dalam after his leave-taking (in an exceptional case), a jack was presented to Iskandar Thani at his request, and was to be used for shifting guns for a planned campaign to Johor. Four or five jacks were requested.³³

As pointed out in the preceding Chapter, there are no indications of the existence of a standing army during the reign of Iskandar Muda, except for the slave and elephant corps.

Beaulieu states that Iskandar Muda's grand forces were a corps of war-elephants, 900 in number at least (according to Beaulieu's estimation). All these elephants were trained for battle. They should not fear fire or gunshots.³⁴ An English logbook of 1616 gives an account of how they were trained. It says that two nobles were responsible for accustoming them to the sound of guns by firing weapons in front of

them at set times. This was regarded as a very important task so much so that the two nobles were nearly punished by castration on one occasion when they were not ready for this exercise.³⁵ In fact, elephant keepers seem to have been liable to punishment in the event of the death of an elephant under their charge, whatever the cause.³⁶ We know from VOC records from the 1640s that officers assigned the duty of supervising the elephant corps were called Panglima Gajah, and that this office was a senior position for those destined to attain eminence as leading officials at the centre of power.³⁷

However, when the necessity arose, massive armies, possibly as many as 40,000 adult men, were raised through the Orang Kaya within Aceh Proper alone, subdivided into groups of men each responsible to a particular Orang Kaya.³⁸ The Acehnese thus mobilised were obliged to serve at their own expense, and even to supply their provisions for a period of up to three months.³⁹ On the side of the ruler, Iskandar Muda provided them only with arms and gun-powder, and with rice only when the campaign lasted for more than three months.⁴⁰

In addition, to administer, fit out and repair the galley-fleet at their own coast was the responsibility of the Orang Kaya, headed by the Laksamana and other senior Orang Kaya.⁴¹ Each of these Orang Kaya had, like a lord in feudal Europe, "a territory (continent de terre) under their authority and justice".⁴² Beaulieu, who tells us of this system, concludes that waging war cost Iskandar Muda nothing, since no Acehnese was exempted from military service at his own expense, and the cost of munitions and rice loaded in the fleet was inconsiderable in relation to the royal income.

It is beyond doubt that a substantial part of Iskandar Muda's forces, both land and sea forces with their munitions, was lost in the disastrous defeat of the Malacca campaign of 1629.⁴³ From our point of view, the reconstruction of forces in the 1630s is interesting in the sense that it may represent a process being analogous to the initial development of Aceh's forces about a century earlier. There are, as it happens, some Dutch accounts from the latter years of Iskandar Muda's time and from the reign of Iskandar Thani.

According to the Daghregister of 1631-1634, Iskandar Muda set out to rebuild his forces in 1633 with the construction of fleet of 30 galleys and a purchase of artillery from the Dutch.⁴⁴ Even though the Daghregister also mentions expeditionary forces to Perak, Aru (on the east coast of Sumatra) and to the west coast in the same year, their scale was in no way comparable to those of previous campaigns.⁴⁵ Year after year the number of ships increased and by the time of Pahang expedition in late 1635 there was an adequate naval force, though not as strong as it had been before 1629.⁴⁶ Four months after the death of Iskandar Muda (i.e. in April 1637), P. Mundy reports that Aceh had some 200 galleys and frigate-type ships.⁴⁷

As we have seen above, it was the responsibility of the Orang Kaya and in particular of several senior Orang Kaya to take charge of the fleet, to fit it out and maintain it. But it appears that their duties went far beyond that and included building galleys too. Indeed, an entry in a Dutch envoy's daghregister from 1640 relates that the dismissal of two most senior Orang Kaya on a charge of neglecting Iskandar Thani's command to build and fit out 30 galleys - this despite his

relatively weak authority as ruler of Aceh,⁴⁸ which gives some indication of how seriously these duties were regarded.

To replenish artillery was another pressing need for the rebuilding of the forces. We know that both Iskandar Muda and Iskandar Thani endeavoured to accumulate guns during this decade. Iskandar Muda purchased 32 guns together with their munitions and carriages from the Dutch during 1633-1636,⁴⁹ though this was not as large an order as the Dutch factors in Aceh had expected.⁵⁰ In addition, it is to be noted that he also bought about 200 bahars of iron.⁵¹ It appears that by the end of his reign a considerable number of guns and firearms had already accumulated.⁵² Yet Iskandar Thani continued to purchase guns from the Dutch and from the English.⁵³ This interest in weaponry was probably because of his rivalry with Johor regarding the question of the title to Pahang, his mother country. J. de Meere, a Dutch envoy in 1640, notes that Iskandar Thani gathered information from him about the methods of founding guns and of making mortar shells and their destructive power.⁵⁴

Reference should also be made to the iron mentioned above. We have pointed out that the technology of founding guns had long been known to the Acehnese. Before the 1630s iron and various kinds of steel were imported to Aceh by Indian merchants from the Coromandel coast and Surat, particularly in the mid 1610s when Aceh had great need of them in preparations for the campaigns against Portuguese Malacca and Johor.⁵⁵ From this and what has been mentioned above, it is evident that the iron purchased by Iskandar Muda was used, together with other metals, to make ironclad for the galleys and to cast guns.⁵⁶

The silence in European sources from 1641 onwards on the subject of the reconstruction of the Acehese forces suggests that it probably came to an end with the death of Iskandar Thani in early 1641. Even though it is not known exactly to what extent the Acehese forces were rebuilt by these two Sultans after 1629, they seem to never have been restored to their former strength and scale, owing both to the difficulties of replacing lost manpower in a relatively short period and to the diminishing royal power after the death of the mighty ruler Iskandar Muda.

It is also worth seeing how the Acehese forces were summoned for action. A Dutch envoy witnessed one mobilisation. While J. de Meere was in Aceh in 1640, a royal command was issued to complete preparations for war, the exact reason for which was not known to him. According to Meere, Iskandar Thani had the gong beaten to summon his subjects for the manning of galleys in preparation for setting out, each of them bringing his own provisions and necessities for a certain period.⁵⁷ It is to be noted that de Meere does not say that they had to bring weapons. Moreover, it is clear that this way of mobilising men for military service resembles the system described by Beaulieu some two decades earlier. There is reason, therefore, to believe that mobilisation for war in this manner was a well-established practice. And this in turn strengthens the assumption that both the system of mobilisation and the duration of campaigns remained broadly the same over the period from the late 16th to the first half of the 17th century.

Apart from armed forces, it is necessary to have some kind of police force responsible not only for the maintenance of law and order

but bringing the sentences passed by judicial authority into effect. This police force had in fact been another arm of the ruler in the execution of the government.

In Aceh, the police force in the wider sense seems to have consisted of two components, i.e. the police force in a narrow sense and a corps of those charged to put royal commands into effect. As we shall see later, around the middle of the reign of Iskandar Muda there were four officers called Penghulu Kawal, i.e. chief of the police force, whose duty it was to keep night watch over their respective quarters. Besides the four Penghulu Kawal, some senior Orang Kaya too were obliged to keep guard over the land and shore at night.⁵⁸ This patrolling force comprised 200 horse guards assigned to each quarter and was on duty only at night.⁵⁹

As for the corps, Beaulieu has this to say: foreign slaves owned by Iskandar Muda, 1,500 in number, were used for carrying out the sentences he passed.⁶⁰ It is of interest that adult thieves were often arrested on a charge of petty stealing in the market places by children of four or five years of age.⁶¹ These children, reported by Beaulieu, seem very likely to have been child-slaves of foreign origin owned by the royal household,⁶² slaves known as budak raja in the Malay Peninsula. Beaulieu goes on to say that this corps was regarded as the most malicious in the whole land.⁶³

The arbitrariness of Iskandar Muda, which will be described in detail in the following Chapters, who was in a position to use the apparatus of the force loyal to him, departed with ^{his} death in 1636. However, the system of the Penghulu Kawal and the influx of slaves into Aceh

continued throughout the rest of the century.⁶⁴ Even though his successors' political authority diminished significantly, the police system built up under Iskandar Muda without doubt also survived long after his reign.⁶⁵

Combining our various sources, the following can be concluded. The introduction of military technology from overseas during the reign of al-Kahhar contributed much to the emergence of Aceh as the most formidable foe of Portuguese Malacca. In this development Turkish military aid in the form of equipment and military personnel played a key role, along with the active policy pursued by these Acehnese rulers. In addition, because access to firearms involved at the same time a potential threat to the authority of the sovereign, tight control over all firearms was necessary, and so far as is known both al-Mukammil and Iskandar Muda had a monopoly over their possession.⁶⁶

This in turn contributed to the increasing centralisation and strength of royal power. The mobilising system may well have been established at a rather earlier period than that at which it becomes known to us in the reign of al-Mukammil, - to be more precise, it may have originated from al-Kahhar's offensive policy against Portuguese Malacca around the 1540s.

2. Three socio-political elements: Mukim, Nanggröë and Sagi

One of the best approaches for the study of the constitution of a state such as Aceh during our period is to study how the land was administered and distributed, since it is, above all, the land that provides a substantial source of income for the ruling classes and the

ruler-retainer relationship in relation to the land may provides some clues as to what is the characteristic nature of one given state.

The Sultanate of Aceh in our period is often described as a port-state with its economy founded on trade with Asian (and later European) merchants. This is certainly part of the truth. However, it relates only to the outward aspects of Acehnese political and economic life. So far not enough attentions has been paid to its internal economic rule. For if we study this carefully, it will become clear that the principal economic found was agriculture, in particular pepper cultivation. It was because of the pepper it produced that Aceh was able to become a major emporium in the region. In addition, great importance must be attached to the production of rice which was the staple food of Aceh.

The smallest socio-political unit in Aceh was the Gampōng (Malay kampung, i.e. village). Immediate above it is the Mukim, i.e. district or township, ^e depending on its geographical location. As the meaning of the Arabic word muqīm indicates, originally it referred to a person domiciling in an area which could provide the prescribed number of adult male Muslims necessary for holding the Friday congregational service in a mosque, and later it developed the sense somewhat comparable to the word parish and was expanded to include not only the inhabitants but also the area of residence itself.⁶⁷

The history of Mukim is not known in great detail, we do not even know for certain which century they came into existence. Van Langen referring to Acehnese chronicles, which he does not specify, claims that Mukim were established in the reign of Iskandar Muda and

that 1,000 men were required to form one Mukim. He also notes that Iskandar Muda built great mosques.⁶⁸ In other words, he sees its establishment in the first half of the 17th century.

Snouck Hurgronje proposes no firm date for the establishment of the Mukim, but suggests by implication that it originated sometime between the last decades of the 16th century and the early 17th century. His view is that its establishment represented a centralising activity on the part of the ruler. He goes on to say that this activity took place due to the instigation of the Ulama^c and other religious representatives and was extended over the whole dominions.⁶⁹

The next level is that of Nanggròë (Malay negeri, i.e. country or district). This comprises a number of Mukim and is administered by an Ulèëbalang. Snouck Hurgronje refers to it as the 'Uleebalangship'.⁷⁰ Although the term Ulèëbalang is cognate of the Malay hulubalang, it is not to be understood in the sense of the Malay word, commander-in-chief. The Ulèëbalang were local rulers, judges and military leaders in their Nanggròë.⁷¹ The origin of this administrative unit is not known. Snouck Hurgronje assumes that it is of ancient origin and was not created but simply confirmed by the Sultans as nominal lords.⁷²

The next level is the Sagi (Aceh. Sagòë, angle or corner), a confederation of Nanggròë based on common interests.⁷³ There are two views as to its establishment. One is extended far into the past long before the Sultanas succeeded to the Acehnese throne (thus long before 1641). The other is relatively recent appearing during the reign of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din (1641-1675).⁷⁴ This question is important

because the Sagi and their chiefs, the Panglima Sagi, played the most significant roles in the political life of the Sultanate in the 18th and 19th centuries.

This classification is very rough and ready. Neither the indigenous sources nor European ones provide us with adequate information. However, even though our attempt to consider the various questions better will be highly inferential and hypothetical, the theme is of great importance and the attempt to understand it must be made. For reasons which have become clear in the course of this study our point of departure has to be the 17th century. It is only then that significant information is available, and it is only on the basis of the study of it we have some hope of discovering statements which may be applicable to the 16th century.

1. Nanggròë and Ulèëbalang

For our present purpose it is necessary to concentrate our investigation at the Nanggròë level. For it is only on this level of Acehnese society that we are able to find evidence relating to the aspect of the administration and distribution of land.

One indigenous source of information for this is the class of indigenous documents, known as Sarakata, bearing the ruler's seal.⁷⁵ Two such documents related to grants of land, were first brought to our attention by Tichelman.⁷⁶ One of them, judging from the royal seal in it, was probably issued by Sultan Jamal al-^cAlam Badr al-Munir (1703-1726). The other dates from the 19th century. In both these Sarakata, although separated by a long period of time, is recorded that in 1613 Iskandar Muda granted a certain Orang Kaya Tuk (Teuku?) Bahra an area consisting of six

Mukim in Samalanga on the north coast. Later during the reign of Safiyyat al-Din this Orang Kaya, referred to by his title Seri Paduka Tuan Seberang, was confirmed in his authority over the territory. After his death in 1658, his son Teuku Ci' di Blang succeeded him.⁷⁷

This Orang Kaya Seri Paduka Tuan Seberang was, as we shall see in the following section and in Chapter V, a historical figure who held the position of Panglima Bandar, executive administrator of the port Dar al-Salam, for many years during the Sultana's reign. In addition, a territorial rearrangement was taking place in the very early years of her reign, to which we refer later. From this standpoint, there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the documents, particularly of the earlier Sarakata, although Tichelman cautiously reserves judgement about them. In the present context, from these Sarakata the following point may be inferred. By the year 1613 the Mukim had already become an established institution. It may well be that the Orang Kaya and senior servants of of the ruler were awarded a number of Mukim by royal edicts. It may be from these Orang Kaya and those in royal service the class of nobility referred to as Ulëëbalang derived. It is important to point out that since the land was granted as a sort of benefice or appanage, the government position which went with it became hereditary during Safiyyat al-Din's reign, and this might have led to the secularisation of various, religious functionaries such as the Imam (of which more below).

Understandably, scant information is provided by the European visitors, to almost all of whom the internal matters of Aceh, whether political, economic or social, were of little importance unless it had to do with their commercial interest in one way or another. Beaulieu however

gives us some valuable information about the land administration and about the Orang Kaya under Iskandar Muda's rule.

According to Beaulieu, in addition to the senior Orang Kaya residing in the capital, there was also a group of Orang Kaya who lived in their territories (i.e. Nanggröe), over which they had jurisdiction and the inhabitant of which were under their authority.⁷⁸ He further states that the subjects of Iskandar Muda had to deliver rice, meat, fish, poultry, oil, sugar, spice and betel to the ruler. Apart from this rice obtained as tribute, the ruler also demanded rice from the territories under the direct control of the royal household, which were farmed by his subjects.⁷⁹

Another relevant account is that of van den Broecke from 1618. He says that Sultan ^CAli Ri^Cayat Syah (1604-07) had prohibited new pepper cultivation around Aceh and compelled rice production instead in view of a number of successive severe famines. But later his successor Iskandar Muda abolished this decree and resumed new pepper planting by having 500 men set to work.⁸⁰

These accounts clearly show that the authority of the ruler was very wide, extending even into the interior, areas more suitable for pepper cultivation than the lowlands. This is at variance with Snouck Hurgronje's view who is of the opinion that the Sultans were nominal rulers and that their power was very limited from the early periods of the Sultanate onwards.⁸¹ In addition, as we shall see in section (3) below, the senior Orang Kaya, among them the Panglima Bandar, were important government officials belonging to the upper ruling class, to whom a benefice in the form of land probably had been accorded, as the two Sarakata suggest.

The same may apply to other Orang Kaya who were newly installed in the early years of Iskandar Muda's reign - of whom more in section (3) below -, and who constituted a local authority in the name of the Sultan.⁸² They, in turn, probably had an obligation to pay tribute in kind, as Beaulieu suggests, just as the office-holder in the capital made annual offerings.⁸³ Moreover, the Orang Kaya seem to have had the responsibility to mobilise men for war, as we will see below. Thus it can be assumed that the upper levels of the division of land were built along the lines of pseudo-feudalism or patrimonialism which according to Max Weber is maximized in the form of Sultanism. According to Reid, in these Orang Kaya the origin of the Uleëbalang (and thus that of the Nanggröë too), who later formed the territorial aristocracy of Aceh, is to be found.⁸⁴ In so claiming he substantially challenges the much earlier origin of them expounded by Snouck Hurgronje. It is too early, however, to discuss this matter further and it is sufficient here to point out that there is a difference of opinion on this subject.

Little is known of the lower levels of the system, however. In general, the Gampōng has its own internal governing organisation, the inhabitants of which were liable to exploitation by the ruling classes in return for the usufruct of land or tenants' right. In times of peace the exploitation was in the form of land-taxes or ground-rents, and in time of war military service was imposed on them.⁸⁵

In the introductory section to Chapter I, we have characterised the reign of Iskandar Thani as a transitional period. We know to some extent the details of the accession of this Pahang prince to the Acehnese throne. However, the precise circumstances that brought him

to the throne is not yet fully known. It may be reasonable to assume that some changes in the division of rights over land took place considering the relative lack of Iskandar Thani's political authority. In other words, to establish himself as ruler of Aceh he may have had to yield territorial dominion to the native Acehnese ruling classes.

The AA contributes to our knowledge of this change. The first pages of the fourth part of the AA contain a description of the boundaries of territories (described as negeri and kawal) and the tributes (dastur adat hasil) payable to the ruler.⁸⁶ This description, though fortuitously included, throws a partial light on the situation after the death of Iskandar Muda.

There are two entries which tell us, even if only in part, Iskandar Thani's concessionary grants of land to the Acehnese officials. The decree on pages 114b-115b, issued on 14 Sha^cbān 1050 A.H./29 November 1640, prescribes the annual tributes payable by a number of officials or functionaries in Pasai and Samalanga. Among them are included Bentara Blang Mangat, Hakim, Imam and Keujuen. The tributes delivered to the ruler comprise local produce, such as rice and gold.⁸⁷

The other entry on pages 110a-111b lists nine territories in the Pasai region, including those belonging to the Sultan, Orang Kaya Maharaja and the Laksamana, with rough indications of each boundary.⁸⁸ Only two of them are mentioned in the decree of 1050/1640 above.⁸⁹ Apart from this, it should be noted that the heading of this entry reads inilah peri peraturan kawal segala 'hulubalang' Pasai, i.e. a description of the territories of 'hulubalang' of Pasai. Thus the Bentara Blang Mangat, Hakim and Keujuen mentioned in it, are all

classified as Ulëëbalang.

The entry on pp.110a-111b is not dated, however. It may be assumed that for some reason there was a need to define the boundaries in the Pasai region. We know from a daghregister of the Dutch factory in Aceh in 1642 that a modification of appanage lands in Pidie granted by Iskandar Thani was taking place under Safiyyat al-Din so as to restore the state of affairs to what they had been under Iskandar Muda's rule.⁹⁰ This entry in the AA may be relevant to the move towards the rearrangement of appanage lands under the Sultana, and the decree of 1050/1640 may be a fragment indicative of Iskandar Thani's cession, perhaps excessive, of land owned by the royal household to the Acehese upper classes in an attempt to consolidate his political position in Aceh, where he was a foreigner.

In addition, it is worth noting that the decree of 1050/1640 attributes itself to Iskandar Muda despite the apparent contradiction of the date given in it.⁹¹ This is an very early example of ascribing royal edicts of later years and periods to the mighty Iskandar Muda, whom tradition always credits with all the Sarakata. It is also worth noting that among the benefice land owners and tribute payers are two Imam and one Tengku from Pasai. As the titles imply, they are Islamic officials. Whether this might be regarded as an illustration of the often-mentioned secularisation of religious officials in Aceh,⁹² remains an open question for the time being. Yet from what we know about Iskandar Thani in the field of religion,⁹³ it may be suggested, at least, that the donation of land in the Pasai region to religious officials is likely to have been an endowment for religious

purposes (i.e. waqf) given at the time of his pilgrimage to the holy places in that region in 1638, as recorded in the Bustan.⁹⁴

Our knowledge of the Nanggròë and the Ulèëbalang in its depth and territorial space under Iskandar Thani is still very limited. Notwithstanding this deficiency, the pertaining evidence mentioned above may indicate changes in the distribution of land as appanage, not only in Pasai and Samalanga but also in other parts of dominions on the north coast as well as in Aceh Proper, changes reflecting the diminishing authority of the ruler.

Although, as we shall see in section (3) below, by the time that Safiyyat al-Din came to the throne, the government of Aceh was oligarchic in nature, she still retained some of her authority as head of state. Inevitably however, every shift in the balance of power in the realm brought forth in various ways changes and transformation in the political administration of the land in turn.

First of all, let us review in detail the factory daghregister referred to earlier. A Dutch chief factor, P. Willemsz., notes in late 1642 a rearrangement of appanage lands in Pidie.

The onset of this development is found in an entry for 4 October relating to petty dispute which arose between Seri Bijaya and an officer called Tadil. It concerned a question over which lands were to be granted to the "Tandeels (i.e. Tandil), bodyguards" by Seri Bijaya, "a powerful eunuch in charge of Her Majesty's bookkeeping of the revenue from lands", acting in the name of the Sultana.⁹⁵

About a month later, on 9 November, Willemsz. writes that

Safiyat al-Din re-claimed all the land situated around Pidie, which had been ceded by Iskandar Thani. She reconfirmed however those made by Iskandar Muda as the lawful ones. The Sultana charged the Panglima Pidie with the task of carrying this into effect.⁹⁶

In the meantime, we learn from Willemsz. that the Laksamana accused eunuchs on 15 November. He claimed that the Sultana had dispossessed a certain person of land granted by Iskandar Thani after only a perfunctory examination by the eunuchs, and awarded it to an "Olibalam" i.e. Uleëbalang. The Laksamana asked for adjudgement by "Her Majesty, Lebe Kitta Cally and judges" in accordance with the same customary procedures as for all other cases.⁹⁷ The word Uleëbalang, it is to be noted, is a term which Dutch observers in the 1640s also used to denote 'de groote' or 'de grooten des rijcx', i.e. the noble or the nobles of the realm, including the four most senior councillors.⁹⁸

There is evidence that there was a grab for land on the part of her high officials at the ruler's expense. Only a week after, on 22 November, this issue was raised against Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja, one of the four councillors of her regime, as we shall see in the following section. He was accused of having attempted to possess himself of the best parts of the land in Pidie and built, without the ruler's permission, a canal for irrigation through the royal estates, leaving only poor lands to the Sultana. Her response was to use the name of her father Iskandar Muda, and to act in his style, warning that she would follow "the footsteps of her father Marhum Makuta Alam, and thus every one would be punished without any nominal punishment". This simple statement by her, it should be noted, put an end to the high-handedness of her senior

officials in this case.⁹⁹

The evidence from these four entries suggests that under the reign of Iskandar Muda, the distribution of land was in the hands of the ruler, and that the ruler's authority to do this depended on the support and strength he could command. Moreover, Safiyyat al-Din's confirmation of her father's grants paved the way for hereditary ownership of land as benefice or appanage. This lays the ground for a hereditary aristocracy, which in time could limit the ruler's exercise of power.¹⁰⁰ The collapse of royal absolutism with the death of Iskandar Muda and the subsequent decentralisation of power presaged the emergence of territorial aristocracy towards the end of the 17th century. Both this question and that of the Mukim will be discussed further in sub-section (iii) in the view that both are also relevant to 16th century Aceh, and thus it is better to study them in overall sequence.

ii. Sagi and Panglima Sagi

The Sagi is the largest socio-political element of the Acehnese state. 19th century Aceh Proper was divided into three Sagi, distinguished one with another by the number of Mukim they contained at the time of their formation, i.e. the Sagi of the XXVI Mukim and XXV Mukim on the east and west side of the lower Aceh river respectively, and that of the XXII Mukim, intervening between the first two Sagi in the lowland and stretching up to the highland in the interior.¹⁰¹ The history of the institution is obscure. There are two distinct opinions as to both the origin of Sagi and the motive for their formation: Snouck Hurgronje's view, and that of Veltman and Reid on the

other.

The earliest indigenous source of information is the AA. The relevant section of the second part dates the origin of the Sagis to the time of the very brief reign of the second female ruler, Nur al-^cAlam Nakiyyat al-Din Syah (1675-1678). It says that in her reign the institution of three Sagi was established, by dividing Mukims; first Mukim XXII Seulimeum, then Mukim XXVI Lamreueng and Mukim Tengah Tiga Puluh Lho'nga.¹⁰²

A second indigenous source is oral tradition and genealogy of the family of Panglima Sagi of the XXII Mukim collected by Veltman. According to this source, the first Sagi, founded in the middle of the 17th century, was known as the Sagi of XXII Mukim and its chief, the Panglima Sagi, was Teuku Muda Sa'ti Lam Cot, called Teuku Hitam, an illegitimate son of Iskandar Muda and an elder-brother of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din, and bore the title Panglima Pòlém (Pòlém: elder brother)¹⁰³

There is a third indigenous source, called Naskah Panjang, written by Di Meulek. It says that "Sultana Taj al-^cAlam Safiyyat al-Din, it is who divided Aceh into three parts (bahagian) in the year 1050 A.H./23 Apr. 1640- 11 Apr. 1641".¹⁰⁴ Since this Sultana only acceded in February 1641, it puts the inception of the Sagi sometime in February-April 1641.¹⁰⁵

The first two indigenous sources, but not the third one, have long been known to our predecessors and are in fact the only materials of their arguments. The focal points of their arguments are the question as to when and why the Sagis were formed.

Snouck Hurgronje remarks that "Sagis had however undoubtedly been in existence before they [i.e. Acehnese] succeeded in bringing the sultanate like an infant under their joint guardianship" and "the origin of such confederacies is to be ascribed to the force of circumstances".¹⁰⁶ Most writers agree with his view.

Reviewing the proposition made by van Langen, Veltman asserts that the Sagi were brought into being, in all probability, under the rule of Safiyyat al-Din with the aim of forming a counter-federation against the ruler, or more exactly, against the nobility of the realm, and then assumed definite form during the reign of Nakiyyat al-Din when Panglima Sagi demanded a voice in the choice of a new ruler.¹⁰⁷

Using a politico-economic perspective and based on information from both European and indigenous sources, Reid suggests that the establishment of the Sagi of the XXII Mukim by the illegitimate son of Iskandar Muda in the time of Nakiyyat al-Din caused political repercussions in the lowlands. The result of this was the formation of the other two Sagi in the lowlands. Changes in the balance of economic strength and importance in favour of rural Aceh Proper, he explains, accounted in part for the creation of the other Sagi and hence for the political structure of 18th and 19th century Aceh.¹⁰⁸

There are, in fact, several European accounts that offer new facts related to the formation of the Sagi.

One account is an entry for 6 September 1643 in the daghregister of P. Soury, a Dutch envoy. In relation to the disappearance of a crew member from his ship, "the three municipalities" (drie gementen) of

the capital are noted as areas outside of which his ship's quartermaster of English origin sought refuge.¹⁰⁹ In this connection, it will be recalled that the capital at the time of Beaulieu's visit (1621) was divided into four districts, the maintenance of law and order over which was the responsibility of the Penghulu Kawal, also four in number, as noted in section (1) above.

Other accounts are concerned with illegitimate sons and grandsons of Iskandar Muda. As the different views of the scholars mentioned above indicate, Iskandar Muda's illegitimate offspring is closely relevant to the appearance of the Panglima Sagi.

According to a journal entry of J. de Meere, the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja who was dismissed in March 1640, used to be called "brother" by Iskandar Thani.¹¹⁰ Later under Safiyyat al-Din, he assumed the position of Kadi Malik al-^cAdil and in 1642 was remarked upon as "Her Majesty's bastard brother" by J. Compostel.¹¹¹ He is also recorded as "the Queen's half-brother" in the Governor-General's annual report of the same year.¹¹²

Balthasar Bort, a Dutch envoy of 1660, reports another illegitimate son of Iskandar Muda. He writes that the father of the present Panglima Periaman is an illegitimate son and the reigning Sultana's half-brother. He was done away with by Iskandar Thani when he was the Panglima Periaman.¹¹³

As for grandsons of Iskandar Muda, VOC records mention two grandsons. One is the son of the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil referred to above,¹¹⁴ about whom no further information is available. The other is the Panglima Periaman just mentioned above. According to reports of

B. Bort and J. Keijser in 1659 and 1660, Seri Maharaja Indera had been Panglima Periaman for some nine years, and it is said that he would come to the throne after the death of Safiyyat al-Din,¹¹⁵ his paternal aunt, because he was the only kin of the Sultana. However, the Daghregister of 1661 informs that "he died suddenly, undoubtedly after being poisoned".¹¹⁶

There is, however, another account from a later period which is contradictory to the accounts above. Thomas Bowrey states in 1675 that at the time of the accession of the second female ruler, Nakiyyat al-Din, in 1675, "the true heire to the Crowne is yet alive and hath Several sons".¹¹⁷

Although this new information does not bring any satisfactory solution to the question, it does offer further materials to draw the following inference. The inception of the three Sagi may be dated from the very early years of the reign of Safiyyat al-Din, probably not later than the end of 1642.¹¹⁸ The motive for their establishment as political divisions, which probably developed from the territorial division in the reign of Iskandar Muda, was perhaps both economic and political, and not occasioned simply by "the force of circumstances" unspecified ^{as in} Snouck Hurgronje. It may have been a response to the new development brought about by the enthronement of a new, female ruler in 1641. Economically, it might be a result of changes in land grants described above, and politically a reaction against the increase in political importance of the Orang Kaya, as we shall see further in the following section. We have also studied in Chapter I that a group of senior officials of Malay origin had been rising at the centre of

power in the capital under the Sultana's reign, and this might reflect in the eyes of the local chiefs in Aceh Proper a threat to their political identity. These more specific political 'circumstances' probably contributed to the transformation of the administrative and territorial divisions into more independent political divisions. However, the establishment of the Sagi need not have coincided with the coming into existence of the Panglima Sagi. In other words, in its early stage the federations of the Ulèëbalang as chiefs of Nanggröë may have been entities bound relatively loose together.

The matter of the emergence of the Panglima Sagi is still very dubious. One possibility is that in the course of the later years of Safiyyat al-Din's reign the bonds of the federation gradually tightened, probably as a result of power struggles between the senior Orang Kaya, as we shall see in section (3). In addition, the weakening royal power vis-à-vis the Dutch became evident in various commercial and political questions, such as the independence of Aceh's former dependencies on the east and west coasts of Sumatra, and in Perak - all this we shall discuss in section (3) - ^{which} admittedly accelerated the decentralisation of royal power resulting in the appearance of the Panglima Sagi. It would seem likely therefore that towards the end of Safiyyat al-Din's rule the Panglima Sagi appeared, first the Panglima of the XXII Mukim. The AA's account of the three Sagi, noted earlier, may be regarded as implying the beginning of the guardianship of the Acehese ruler by the leading Ulèëbalang of the Sagi.

How then do we explain the secularisation of religious functionaries? It will be remembered that the decree of 1050A.H./1640 catego-

rised by implication some religious officials of Pasai as Uleëbalang. Moreover, an entry in the AA, entitled inilah peraturan Bentara Pedir i.e. a description of the Bentara of Pidie, also refers to a number of Imam and Penghulu¹¹⁹ - but there is no reference such officials in Aceh Proper in the AA. In Acehese usage in later periods, the word Bentara is used as a synonym of Uleëbalang.¹²⁰ The latter entry is not dated. However, judging from the order in reference of the entries, five in all,¹²¹ which as a whole are out of place in the fourth part of the AA, there is reason to believe that this entry too may date from the time of Safiyyat al-Din, most likely from the middle of the 17th century.

We lack relevant data to take this question further. Nevertheless it may be suggested that it would be quite extraordinary if secularisation had proceeded completely independently, giving rise to the Imam as secular rulers. Rather, it is more reasonable to assume that this secularisation was taking place along with the gradual collapse of the centralised power on the one hand, and the emergence of the Orang Kaya including the Uleëbalang on the other, and thus as far as Aceh Proper is concerned, political changes directing to the localisation of the Acehese ruling classes may have stimulated growth in authority of religious officials in the secular field. The cases of Pidie and Pasai could be local variants due to their geographical situation, separated from the seat of the Sultanate by mountains and distance. The Imam together with the Ulamā were, after all, a latent but potentially extremely important socio-political power in Muslim states such as Aceh.

iii. Mukim, Nanggròë and Ulèëbalang in the 16th century

Thus far we have focussed our study exclusively on the 17th century. Even if much of the description presented above is either inferential or highly hypothetical, being grounded on very limited evidence, we can understand, at least, some aspects of the administration of land.

Bearing in mind what we have learned, we now look at Aceh a century earlier. The situation is rather more difficult. Here we are almost completely deprived of relevant evidence. As Reid has pointed out, during 1579-1589 there existed in the capital very powerful Orang Kaya, Raja and the Ulèëbalang, at whose will the rulers were dethroned and enthroned successively. The existence of the Ulèëbalang is known even earlier, in 1547, as we have noted in the previous section.

This dominance of the aristocracy at first glance reminds us of the similar situation about a century later referred to above. Indeed, if we examine closely the vicissitudes of the Sultanate in these two centuries, a certain parallelism can easily be recognised in the expansion of royal power followed by the ascendancy of non-royal power. In addition, repeated military campaigns also weave their similar features.

This military aspect is extremely significant when we consider the formation of the Ulèëbalang system. Given that the system owed its origin to Iskandar Muda's system of mobilising men for war, as suggested in section (1) above, and considering the fact that Acehnese expeditions to Portuguese Malacca in the second half of the 16th century

were twice as many as those in Iskandar Muda's time, it is highly probable that the system is of much earlier origin.

Another factor should be considered in determining the origin of the Ulèëbalang system, including their Nanggròë. The distribution of land as benefice or appanage in Aceh Proper and the domains on the north coast, particularly the Pidie and Pasai regions, was far more important for the Sultanate in the 16th century because of the extensive pepper cultivation in these regions, than in the 17th.¹²² The fact that Aceh of this period exported large quantities of pepper to the Red Sea suggests the probability that the land was effectively administered by the Ulèëbalang as an integral part of the ruling machinery.

From all this, it may be suggested that the Ulèëbalang-Nanggròë system possibly dated from the early decades of the 16th century and that the system functioned in the interest of the sovereigns, both economic and military.

This being the case, then we should review the Mukim as the lower level of the Nanggròë. We have already seen that the Mukim was already in existence in 1613 in Samalanga, and that 'the Acehnese chronicles' of van Langen attribute its establishment to Iskandar Muda, but since van Langen does not explicitly mention what he means by 'the Acehnese chronicles', we have no access to 'the chronicles'. Not only 'the chronicle' but also the Bustan mention Iskandar Muda as the builder of the mosque Bait al-Rahman, and of other mosques in Aceh Proper.¹²³ It is beyond doubt that mosques had existed in Aceh long before the reign of Iskandar Muda. Mosques have been indispensable both from the religious and the political point of view. It is known

from European accounts from the first two decades of the 17th century that the mosque Bait al-Rahman was considerably renovated by Iskandar Muda in the early 1610s,¹²⁴ and this partly corroborates the Bustan's account above.¹²⁵ Moreover, Reid is of the opinion that around these mosques the first Mukim may have been grouped, so that he dates their inception to Iskandar Muda's reign.¹²⁶

From the above, the following may be deducted about the Mukim: the ^{di}vergence from the original meaning of the Arabic muqīm probably began sometime early in the 17th century; by constructing great mosques in Aceh Proper Iskandar Muda may have aimed at centralising royal power with the support of the Ulamā; this program might have commenced with the extension of the Bait al-Rahman accompanied by the grouping of Mukim. At the same time the creation of the Mukim seems very likely to have been associated with the Ulèëbalang system in its military aspect, as noted above. In other words, Iskandar Muda, motivated partly by his religious consciousness and partly by the influence of his religious mentor, may have linked his innovation of the Mukim with the already existing Ulèëbalang system, mainly for his political interests. In doing so, he probably intended to absorb the potential power of men of religion in support of his political authority.

To sum up, then, it is highly probable that the Ulèëbalang-Nanggròë system had its origin in the early period of the Sultanate. The emergence of the Ulèëbalang was largely conditioned by the strength or weakness of the Sultans and Sultanas. When the strength of royal power diminishes, the Ulèëbalang, including the Orang Kaya, tend to ascend to a position similar to independent local rulers, forming small states

within the Sultanate itself. In such a situation, the secularisation of religious institutions may have accompanied political dissolution. In such periods, the land owned by them is used as their own territories regardless of its origin, while in times of strong royal control it is a benefice or appanage in the form of land given or sanctioned by the autonomous ruler, subject to the performance of various duties and tasks. As for the officials of Islam, they as a potentially important socio-religious power played a significant role in the Sultanate, particularly in giving the ruler spiritual and religious support as the Sultan was the head of religion in his dominions, and, as a consequence, perhaps most of the leading men of religion enjoyed royal patronage and took part in political rule. It follows then that the ruler-retainer relationship established on the Ulèëbalang-Nanggròë system in the Sultanate was patrimonial and that the nature of the state itself was largely influenced by personal attributes. Furthermore, the Ulèëbalang-Nanggròë system had long been the most fundamental ruling principle of the Sultanate in most of our period. But the gradual formation of the three Sagi with the Panglima Sagi was to put an end to the role played by the Ulèëbalang in relation to the Acehnesse rulers and set up a new framework of the political life of the Sultanate from the last quarter of the 17th century for the centuries following.

3. Central and provincial administration

In the preceding sections, we have seen that the successive Acehnesse rulers of our period, with the exception of several Sultans in what may be called a confused period of one decade immediately

before the reign of al-Mukammil (1589-1604), were in no way nominal rulers but very real ones despite the vicissitudes of royal power from time to time; and that the Dalam was accordingly the very centre of the state in various respects. It ought to be underlined that even the first female ruler, Safiyyat al-Din, was in a position to maintain effective rule as sovereign, not as a figurehead, even though the Orang Kaya began to exert considerable influence on her. The relationship between the ruler and the member of the ruling classes, represented by the Orang Kaya and the Ulèëbalang, was based largely on something like a pseudo-feudalism and in part on familial analogy. In other words, members of the ruling classes were in fact retainers of the ruler, to whom plots of land were allotted in exchange for fealty and collateral obligations, not merely military service as was the case in feudal Europe.

The administration of the Sultanate comprised two tiers. One is the subject matter of this section, i.e. central and provincial administration chiefly concerned with what might be called the domestic aspect of the government. The other tier related specially to the administration of the port Dar al-Salam in relation particularly to foreign trade and merchants. Almost throughout of our period the port Dar al-Salam was in fact the only port of the Sultanate open for international trade, and revenue from the economic activity of foreign merchants, together with that from the domestic economic sectors, was the most important economic basis of the Sultanate.

It is not always possible, however, to draw a clear demarcation between the two tiers, especially in terms of officials involved at the

central level. The main reason for this is the fact that all officials, regardless of their positions in the political hierarchy, were, like those in the service of the royal household, all servants of the ruler. This is an indication of the patrimonial character of the state. We look here at the central and provincial administration. The administration of the port will be examined in Chapter V, since it requires separate considerations, particularly with regard to the most relevant indigenous source of information, the AA.

In view of the various titles occurring in indigenous and European sources, some of which have already become known to us in our study thus far, this is a useful place to consider the titles borne by Acehese officials before discussing the administration.

The first part of the AA provided us with a description of titles in some detail.¹²⁷ According to the AA,¹²⁸ there are five honourable titles (gelar) conferred by the sovereign according to meritorious services rendered to the ruler. The titles are Paduka, Maha, Seri, Raja and Tuan. These titles are combined, if conferred more than one title, as if it were one title as a whole, e.g. Maharaja Seri Maharaja (5 titles), Paduka Seri Maharaja (4), Seri Paduka Tuan (3), and Maharaja Lela (2). The standards of honour (martabat kemuliaan) by which these titles are granted are also five. They are, in short, fealty, contribution to the extension of the ruler's authority, bravery and courage, and retention of dignity and righteousness. However, the AA does not specify clearly the correspondence between each gelar and martabat.

At the same time it was the practice in Aceh of our period for

senior officials to use a sort of title of Malay origin, Orang Kaya, which was usually placed before the titles referred to above. In this regard, it will be recalled that as have seen in section (2), Dutch accounts from the 1640s identify senior Orang Kaya, including chief minister, as the great Ulèëbalang. It is also worthy of note that in the first half of the 17th century this degree was conferred on several distinguished Europeans, in most cases when they were acting as envoys of their sovereigns or supreme authority in the region.¹²⁹ Furthermore, the Bustan, in its designation of chief ministers of the realm, also uses terms which indicate their government position in front of their other titles, e.g. Perdana Menteri Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja - a position comparable to prime minister -, and Orang Kaya Laksamana Seri Perdana Menteri - a position in charge primarily of military affairs and next to the Perdana Menteri in rank.¹³⁰

It can therefore be argued that the term Orang Kaya was used to denote rank or dignity rather than title, and thus could in turn come to indicate the upper class of the Ulèëbalang. Seniority amongst them may have been shown by the number of titles as mentioned in the AA that they bore. Thus, the appropriate English equivalent for Orang Kaya may well be 'the honourable'. The usage of Orang Kaya is yet very much part of the Malay cultural tradition.

One may easily observe certain parallels between the AA and the Bustan on the one hand, and the Sejarah Melayu on the other in terms both of the nomenclature of government positions and titles, and of the classification of groups of officials, such as Perdana Menteri, Cateria, Bentara and Hulubalang.¹³¹ Yet there is a marked difference

between the two. We know that in the Malay states members of the ruling classes were usually recorded, in referring order, by their positions, titles and then personal names, whereas in Aceh it was, as a general rule, by position, rank and titles in sequence (often followed by another title other than the five honourable titles). Beyond this, not much is known of the title or dignity system of our period.

It must be understood at the outset that the system of government of the Sultanate was not truly bureaucratic or institutionalised even though a certain system is discernible in the administration.¹³²

As we will see below, the general pattern of the administration from the reign of al-Kahhar to that of Safiyyat al-Din was as follows: the dominion was divided into three administrative units, i.e. the capital under direct control of the ruler; the regions under royal viceroyship or the Panglima (governor); and the territories under the authority of the Uleëbalang. The two latter divisions were subordinated to the ruler's authority, resulting from the ruler-retainer (and ruler-royal family) relationship. To understand the system, it is also necessary to look at the process of decentralisation of royal authority particularly during the reigns of Iskandar Thani and of his successor Safiyyat al-Din.

It is necessary therefore to study the subject from three aspects: i. the central administration; ii. the administration at the regional and dependency level; and iii. the political changes which led to the decay of royal authority from the mid 1630s.

i. The central administration

We have already noted that the Bustan attributes the system of government of Aceh Dar al-Salam to Sultan al-Kahhar (+1539-1571), but does not specify what this system was. However, from the fact that after its unification and territorial enlargement in the 1520s Aceh under his rule began to pursue an expansionist policy, and from the probability that the system of the Ulëëbalang may date as far back as his reign as suggested in the preceding section, it can be said that the system of government referred to by the Bustan doubtless included not only a central administration but one for the areas further afield.¹³³

The Hikayat Aceh is probably the only source of information available for the system of government before the reign of al-Mukammil (1589-1604).¹³⁴ There are indications in it that there existed an organised administrative body. For example, the Hikayat mentions, in its description of a series of events during the 1570s, various officials and titled group belonging to the ruling class, such as Wazir Maharaja, Perdana Menteri, Raja Makota, Malik al-Zahir, Syarif al-Muluk Maharaja Lela, Raja-raja, Hulubalang and Abintara.¹³⁵

In so far as the interregnum of ^{real}royal power (1579-1589) is concerned, it is known from the accounts of Beaulieu and other Europeans that there was in the capital a ruling body, oligarchic in nature, consisting of several senior Orang Kaya and the Kadi, perhaps the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil, and that the Sultans were puppet rulers.¹³⁶ During this period, a Mukammil too was one of the Orang Kaya, presumably in the position of Laksamana.¹³⁷

With the al-Mukammil's drastic elimination of the Orang Kaya, who installed him as their ruler, the first step taken by him was the creation of new Orang Kaya out of his supporters to succeed those massacred in the royal intrigue and to establish effective rule through them.¹³⁸ The purge of the old Orang Kaya, it is notable, was followed by the confiscation of their firearms.¹³⁹ Thus the reign of al-Mukammil marked the emergence of a new ruling class in the capital.

The Hikayat contains passages which suggest a re-formation of the central government under al-Mukammil.¹⁴⁰ We are told that the regime of al-Mukammil was headed by an official with the title Seri Maharaja. Amongst the senior officials were the Kadi Malik al-Zahir, the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil, the Raja Indera Pahlawan, the Haria Bija ad-Diraja and the Syarif al-Muluk Pirus Khan,¹⁴¹ but the Hikayat does not specify their respective jurisdictions. Nor do contemporary European accounts give any clearer picture, even where they provide us with complementary information.

J. ^a~~D~~vis states in 1599 that "His [al-Mukammil's] state is governed by five principal men, with their inferior officers, his Secretarie, and four called Sabandars, with these resteth all authoritie His women are his chiefest Counsellars".¹⁴² Both F. de Houtman and J. Lancaster give rather different accounts, according to which the chief advisor of al-Mukammil was a man of religion held in great respect,¹⁴³ presumably Shaikh Syams al-Din, concerning whom we will deal in detail in Chapter IV. Houtman also mentions a certain official called "orang kaya Mekel Adil", which undoubtedly designates the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil often referred to in the different Malay sources.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, European accounts describe

the rule of al-Mukammil as being quite an oppressive one.¹⁴⁵

It may be added from a description in the AA that at the time of Iskandar Muda's accession to the throne (1607) there were the following officials: Orang Kaya Seri Maharaja Lela, chief scribe (Penghulu Kerkun) Raja Setia Muda, scribe of the King (Kerkun Katib al-Muluk) Seri Indera Su[a]ra and Kerkun Seri Indera Muda - the last three being, as we will see in Chapter V, senior members of the secretariat of the royal house.¹⁴⁶ The position held by the Orang Kaya Seri Maharaja Lela may well be comparable to that of the Seri Maharaja of the Hikayat. Furthermore, it is known that from the beginning of the 17th century the eldest son of al-Mukammil, sultan Muda (the future Sultan ^CAli Ri^Cayat Syah, who reigned from 1604-1607), was in a position to assist his father in his old age.¹⁴⁷

From all this, it may be concluded that the day-to-day central administration was entrusted to a number of senior Orang Kaya under the leadership of the foremost Orang Kaya (and later that of sultan Muda) and literati of Islam represented by the Shaikh and the Kadi, in collaboration with the secretariat of the royal house.

The dethronement of al-Mukammil by sultan Muda and the subsequent power struggle^g between him (now Sultan ^CAli Ri^Cayat Syah) and his younger brother sultan Husayn, then viceroy of Pidie, threw the capital into confusion.¹⁴⁸ This chaotic situation worsened with the development of another struggle between Perkasa ^CAlam (the future Iskandar Muda) and his uncle sultan Husayn following the death of Sultan ^CAli Ri^Cayat Syah in 1607.¹⁴⁹

Sultan Iskandar Muda, who won the day, faced a situation more or less similar to the one his grandfather had encountered, a situation in which a breakdown of the ruling apparatus was evident.

In order to establish his authority, Iskandar Muda had recourse to a number of manoeuvres, including a purge of the old Orang Kaya and the creation of new ones to supplant them even though the old Orang Kaya had supported his enthronement after he had distributed considerable largesse.¹⁵⁰ Beaulieu says that "he exterminated almost all the ancient nobility, and created new ones", and that in the first year of his reign alone "he had shed much more blood than his grandfather [did]".¹⁵¹

Through the newly-created Orang Kaya, Iskandar Muda ably carried on the tasks of centralising royal power begun by al-Mukammil.¹⁵² The principles of his rule over the Orang Kaya seemed to be royal favouritism on the one hand, and terroism and slavery on the other.¹⁵³ By implication, this suggests that the state and its ruler in Aceh were conceptually and organisationally¹ inseparable one from the other. As a result, there was little room for a development towards an institutionalised system of government, nor was there any necessity on the ruler's part to set up such a system, although different groups of administrative officers were indispensable for the running of the state.

A small number of senior Orang Kaya residing in the capital seems to have been constantly involved in the central administration. They were certainly assisted by other Orang Kaya, who had to render service to their ruler every third day and whose responsibility it was to administer the territories assigned to them.¹⁵⁴

The Bustan suggests that the core of Iskandar Muda's regime rested on two distinct group of senior administrators, i.e. a group in charge of the administration of secular matters, and the other concerned chiefly with religious matters including law and justice. The former

group comprised the Perdana Menteri Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja, the Orang Kaya Laksamana and the Orang Kaya Raja Lela Wangsa, and the latter one consisted of Shaikh Syams al-Din and the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil. In order of rank at Court, the former group was placed lower than the latter one.¹⁵⁵

An account of the English East India Company from 1615 lists the Acehnese officials who dealt with the Company's merchants. Those mentioned in it as senior Orang Kaya are the Orang Kaya Maraja (Iskandar Muda's father-in-law; probably Maharaja Seri Maharaja), the Orang Kaya Hassaman in the position of Laksamana (thus Orang Kaya Laksamana, also known as Malém Dagang)¹⁵⁶ and the Orang Kaya Hitam.¹⁵⁷ According to a Dutch factor's report written in 1619, a certain official of Periaman origin with the title Orang Kaya Maharaja Lela had been one of the senior Orang Kaya from the turn of the 16th century until his flight from Aceh in 1618.¹⁵⁸ Amongst the senior Orang Kaya also were the Orang Kaya Adik Raja and some other Orang Kaya who were, together with the Orang Kaya Laksamana and the Orang Kaya Raja Lela Wangsa,¹⁵⁹ sent as prisoners of war to Portuguese Goa in 1630.¹⁶⁰

Most of these Orang Kaya either perished or were captured by the Portuguese in the Malacca campaign of 1629, i.e. the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja (who died), the Orang Kaya Laksamana (who was captured and later died) and the Orang Kaya Raja Lela Wangsa (captured).¹⁶¹ At about the same time, it should be noted, Shaikh Syams al-Din and Shaikh Ibrahim (who probably held the position of Kadi Malik al-^cAdil), the most prominent religious figures of the realm, also died.¹⁶² It would seem that the death of these key members of the regime

was, in every sense, a great loss to Iskandar Muda, even though their places were, without doubt, taken by other Orang Kaya and religious scholars.

We know from the daghregister of J. Compostel from 1636 that the Orang Kaya Laksamana with his assistant officer, and the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil were the central figures of the administration.¹⁶³

It is easy to recognise a parallel in structure between the regime of al-Mukammil and that of Iskandar Muda. This similarity is a logical result of the fact that Iskandar Muda applied almost the same methods as al-Mukammil had adopted to re-establish royal power. The central hierarchy may be summarised as follows:

The administrative body comprised two department; one the secular, political administration proper, and the other pertaining to religious and social life in the capital (originating principally from the ruler's position as head of the Muslim state).¹⁶⁴ The former, consisting of several senior Orang Kaya, was led both by the Orang Kaya in the position of chief minister and by the Orang Kaya Laksamana. It was through these officials that the ruler's authority was transmitted to the Orang Kaya and the Ulèëbalang of Aceh Proper.

We know, however, little about the different functions of these senior Orang Kaya, except for that of the Orang Kaya Laksamana. As mentioned above, there were two officials who held the office of Laksamana under Iskandar Muda, i.e. the Orang Kaya Laksamana who died as a prisoner of war (for convenience sake, abbreviated as Laksamana I), and the Laksamana who probably succeeded him after the Acehnese defeat in 1629 and who is often referred to by J. Compostel in 1636 (Laksamana II).

Both are described in European sources as the most powerful Acehese official.

Literally, the word Laksamana means 'admiral', so that one would expect him to be an outstanding naval man. Indeed, this was the case for Laksamana I who was the commander of the Acehese navy and the highest executive of the naval power under Iskandar Muda.¹⁶⁵ In addition to this, it was also this Laksamana's responsibility to maintain peace in the capital including the port, to administer foreign relations in connection particularly with trade, and to run the ruler's trade.¹⁶⁶ This suggests that Laksamana I was the most trusted official of Iskandar Muda. His great power may account for the rivalry between him and the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja,¹⁶⁷ and for the fact that the latter, notwithstanding his seniority in rank to Laksamana I, is hardly mentioned in European sources.

As for Laksamana II, his authority was by no means comparable to that of Laksamana I, even though J. Compostel describes him as an important official.¹⁶⁸ Part of the duties hitherto performed by Laksamana I were taken over by other officials. For example, the running of the ruler's trade seems to have then become the responsibility of the Penghulu Kawal and the Penghulu Kerkun.¹⁶⁹

Mention should also be made of the jurisdiction of the Perdana Menteri Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja. European sources from this period do not refer to the duties of this senior administrator. This silence may imply that this official rarely came into contact with European visitors. It is known, however, that this position in the late 1620s was held by a foster-brother of Iskandar Muda,¹⁷⁰ who was the

rival of Laksamana I. Because of the objections raised by Laksamana I against the planned Malacca expedition of 1629, this foster-brother was appointed to the commander of the fleet, and Laksamana I to that of the land forces, his talent and experience as naval commander being ignored by Iskandar Muda.¹⁷¹

All this suggests by implication that the jurisdiction of the Perdana Menteri may have been concerned with matters which were mainly related to the internal administration, such as the supervision of the Orang Kaya, the Ulèëbalang and the governors of provinces and dependencies, and of the judicial administration.¹⁷² If the categorisation of the Laksamana as the person in charge of the outer circle of the administration can be sustained, that of the Perdana Menteri possibly stood for its inner circle.

It may be concluded then that the system of central government, which probably originated from the early years of al-Kahhar's reign, had gradually taken form in repeated attempt to centralise royal power and was eventually firmly established under Iskandar Muda, who in effect brought to fruition the centralising policy set out by al-Mukammil some two decades before; and its fundamental characteristic was not bureaucratic but patrimonial and despotic.

ii. Administration at the provincial and dependency level

Here we will deal with the lower tiers of administration, i.e. those of the Nanggròë under the authority of Orang Kaya and Ulèëbalang, and of the provinces and dependencies under the authority of princes (in the earlier period) or governors (Panglima). However, it is difficult to

progress beyond a description of the administrative divisions of the Sultanate to a study of local administration per se, due to the inadequacy of relevant information available to us, though it should be emphasized that this paucity of information does not mean that the local administration was unimportant. On the contrary, it was, in fact, an integral and extremely important part of the administration of the Sultanate. From the view-point of the economic base of the state, local administration, which was unquestionably concerned more directly with the exploitation of the economic activities, mostly agriculture, not only of the Acehnese themselves but of the population of Aceh's dependencies, was probably a matter of paramount importance.

In the preceding sub-section, we have suggested that the system of government of Aceh Dar al-Salam ascribed by the Bustan to al-Kahhar must have included a local level, in particular the system of the Ulèë-balang. Also both the Hikayat Aceh and the Bustan suggest that during his reign two dependencies on the east and west coast of Sumatra were ruled by his sons acting as viceroys.¹⁷³ They were called sultan Ghorî and sultan Mughal respectively, being named after the places where they were posted.¹⁷⁴

Under al-Mukammil administratively the dominion was divided into several regions, - its east coast dependency Deli was taken by Johor during his reign, however.¹⁷⁵ Prior to its independence in the early years of his reign, there were two governors in the region, i.e. the Panglima Ghorî and the Panglima Aru.¹⁷⁶ J. Davis writes in 1599 that "The Ile is divided into foure Kingdomes - Achien, Pider, Manancabo, and Aru. Achien is the chiefest, the rest are tributarie to him. Aru

holdeth with the King of Ior [i.e. Johor] and refuse subjection. I have only heard of five principall Cities to be in this Ile - Achien, Pider, Pacem [i.e. Pasai], Daia [i.e. Daya], Manancabo."¹⁷⁷ It is known that Pidie and Pasai were governed by al-Mukammil's two sons, sultan Muda and sultan Husayn respectively, over most of his reign.¹⁷⁸ Later by 1603, sultan Muda was summoned back to the capital and his younger brother sultan Husayn became viceroy of Pidie.¹⁷⁹ As for the dependency on the west coast, there is no evidence that an Acehnese viceroy had been installed.¹⁸⁰ However, an account of Davis from 1605 that "the Governor (in Periaman) durst not speak with us privately, by reason of certaine warres that were among them [i.e. the power struggle between the two brothers]: by which means they were jealous one of another",¹⁸¹ suggests that there was an Acehnese governor in Periaman. The reason for the absence of a viceroy of royal blood is that of al-Mukammil's sons only the two brothers mentioned above were then alive.¹⁸²

In addition to these viceroys, we know later that Iskandar Muda also established his only legitimate son as viceroy in Pidie for some time in the 1610s, - but he was dismissed soon afterward.¹⁸³ This is the last viceroyship of a prince of royal blood known from 16th and 17th century Aceh.

All this shows that the upper level of the local administration was in the hands of sons of the powerful, reigning Sultans in the second half of the 16th century. As far as this period is concerned, it can, then, be said that in Aceh Proper local administration was run by the Orang Kaya and the Ulèëbalang under senior Orang Kaya on the basis of pseudo-feudalism, while in the provinces and dependencies it was in the

charge of viceroys, under whose authority were the local chiefs (local Ulëëbalang) and ethnically distinct ruling classes such as those of the Minangkabaus and Bataks. This general picture, it ought to be noted, is very much simplified.¹⁸⁴

From the reign of Iskandar Muda onwards the Panglima took the place of the royal viceroy. The reason for this is simply that apart from Iskandar Muda's young son referred to above, neither Iskandar Muda nor Iskandar Thani-Safiyat al-Din had surviving legitimate sons.

In proportion to the increasing importance of the dependencies on the west coast of Sumatra, the pepper-producing region, due to the active participation in the pepper trade, firstly of the English East India Company and then of the Dutch East India Company during this period, the position of Panglima on the west coast became more and more substantial in the whole local administration. The information provided by contemporary Europeans about local administration give us the impression that there were no Panglima in charge of other parts of the dominions. It is probably true that in relative terms the Panglima of the provinces and the dependency on the east coast were exceeded in importance by those of the west coast, ^{but} they were nevertheless, without doubt, indispensable representatives of the ruler.

To establish a monopoly of trade and divert the pepper trade of the west coast dependency to the port of the capital, Iskandar Muda stationed Panglima at the centres of production and export, such as Periaman and Tiku. It seems that the suzerainty of Aceh over the region, except in Inderapura (to the south of Padang), never weakened despite the civil wars before his reign.¹⁸⁵ It is reported that both Periaman

and Tiku were governed by Acehese governors in the early years of his reign.¹⁸⁶ By early 1621 the west coast, down to Padang to the south, had been brought under very tight control.¹⁸⁷ And in 1633 Inderapura was annexed to the dominions of Aceh.¹⁸⁸ According to Beaulieu, the Panglima were replaced every three years and had the highest authority over the areas entrusted to them.¹⁸⁹

As representatives of the Acehese ruler, they were annually summoned to the capital to account for the exercise of this authority.¹⁹⁰ The seniority and importance of this position is clearly shown by the circumstance that two Panglima of Iskandar Muda's reign assumed the position of Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja one after the other in the 1640s, under Iskandar Thani and Safiyyat al-Din respectively.¹⁹¹

As for other parts of the dominions, apart from Aceh Proper, there is no explicit reference to Panglima, except for Iskandar Muda's son as viceroy in Pidie mentioned above. There are, however, some indications which suggest the existence of Panglima in some regions. In section (1), we have noted that both Daya and Pidie were front bases of the Acehese navy during this reign. Moreover, the Daghregister says that in 1633 a certain Orang Kaya was punished by amputation of limbs on the charge of dereliction of duty in Aru, i.e. having left for Aceh without the royal command.¹⁹² In addition, it ought to be noted that these areas were the major rice-producing regions of the Sultanate in the 17th century: Pidie in particular was known as the granary of Aceh.¹⁹³ Thus there is every reason to believe that following the local government practice of the previous century, Iskandar Muda also posted Panglima in these strategically and economically important areas.

Dutch accounts from the 1640s onwards show a continuity in the local government system based on Panglima in the period of diminishing royal authority.¹⁹⁴ At the provincial level Panglima were posted at Daya and Pidie, and the east coast dependency Deliwas administered by the Panglima Deli.¹⁹⁵ As for the west coast, the number of Panglima, hitherto only two, i.e. the Panglima Periaman and Panglima Tiku, gradually increased. In the early 1660s, for example, the places under Panglima were Barus, Pasaman, Tiku, Periaman, Padang, Salida and Inderapura.¹⁹⁶

In addition to these remarks on the upper level of local administration during the 17th century, mention should also be made of its other pillar, i.e. the system of the Ulèëbalang. We have already seen that this system was re-formed by Iskandar Muda in conjunction with the creation of new Orang Kaya and that after considerable changes, during the reign of Iskandar Thani, in the distribution of appanage lands to members of the ruling classes, Sultana Safiyyat al-Din restored the system as it had been under her father Iskandar Muda. It has also been suggested that this system was probably applied to the dominions far beyond Aceh Proper in Iskandar Muda's attempt to centralise royal power. This, in turn, suggests that at the provincial level there would have been two different political authorities, that is the Orang Kaya or Ulèëbalang who held their territories as appanages, and the Panglima of the provinces. Further details of the relationship between these two authorities are not known, however. Nor is known much about the lower level of provincial administration, though various names of positions or offices are mentioned in the AA.¹⁹⁷

European accounts give us a clearer picture, by contrast, of

an administrative body under the Panglima on the west coast. As Kathirithamby-Wells has suggested, the supremacy of Aceh over this region did not include direct involvement or interference in the fabric of the locally existing ruling system.¹⁹⁸ In other words, the indigenous, non-Acehnese ruling institutions of the region remained, by and large, intact under Acehnese rule, even though hierarchically ^{subordinated to} an administratively small but effective Acehnese governing body headed by the Panglima. The indigenous chiefs were made use of in a subordinate capacity directly governing the people of their territories for their overlord in Aceh. This dual ¹ruling system is particularly evident from a number of commercial agreements the Dutch made with Aceh under Safiyyat al-Din regarding the pepper trade of the region.¹⁹⁹ It is to be noted that even the arbitrary ruler Iskandar Muda seemed not to interfere in the internal administration of Tiku and Periaman by the indigenous ruling classes.²⁰⁰

As for the Acehnese officials who supervised the subordinate levels, they comprised, in hierarchical order, the Panglima, the Penghulu Kerkun (chief scribe) with his assistant scribe, the Penghulu Kawal (in charge of the security of the port), the Penghulu Dacing (chief weigher) and also a small number of civil and military officers.²⁰¹ This group of officials was stationed at the major ports of the region. Its prime concerns were to monopolise the west coast pepper trade and to administer commerce, particularly with the European merchants, by enforcing the commercial laws and policies set forth by the Acehnese sovereign.²⁰² In its function and organisation, it was a sort of miniature of the larger administrative body of the port of the capital, which we will describe in Chapter V. Apart from this administration,

a permanent presence of Acehnese military power in the region is nowhere indicated.²⁰³ This would seem to imply that Aceh's suzerainty over the region had stabilized by the middle of the 1660s when the Dutch began to be involved in the politics of the region and strongly supported its independence from Aceh.²⁰⁴

The sphere of domination of the Sultanate was not confined to Sumatra. Several states in the Malay Peninsula were conquered by Iskandar Muda. Pahang, Kedah and Perak were ravaged by the campaigns of 1618-1620. However, Acehnese rule over the Peninsula states was hardly comparable with that over the west and east coast dependencies. It was a loose and nominal overlordship, far from an effective and permanent domination.²⁰⁵ The only ^{extremely important} exception to this was Perak on the north-west coast, a tin-producing region. After the Acehnese conquest in 1620, Perak was governed by an Acehnese Panglima and remained under the yoke of Aceh until towards the end of the reign of Safiyyat al-Din.²⁰⁶

In the above, we have looked at the organisational aspect of local administration at various levels. It should be noted that the regions under Aceh's effective rule were those of economic and commercial importance. The pepper and gold produced on the west coast of Sumatra and the tin of Perak were the most important export-products of the Sultanate in the international trade then centered on the capital. In addition, rice cultivated in Pidie, Daya and the east coast dependency was a vital source for the food-supply of Aceh Proper.²⁰⁷

What then was the reality of the local administration carried out by the Acehnese officials? The administration of the Uleëbalang has already been discussed in some detail in section (2). There it has

been suggested that the Ulëëbalang, who had their own territories, had an obligation, in return, to deliver tribute, probably some portion out of what they demanded from the population of their territories, where they were the effective rulers.

Because of the very nature of this field of administration, being almost exclusively internal matters in which the English and Dutch (the two major observers) had little interest, only a very little is known about the realities of local administration. It is probably reasonable to assume, however, that various tributes in kind were sent to the capital from the provinces and dependencies through the ruler's local representatives.

An account of J. Truijtmán from 1649 tells of tribute sent by Panglima Pidie. He notes that Panglima Pidie presented Safiyyat al-Din with gifts comprising rice, coconuts, sugar-cane and basketfuls of betel leaves and areca nuts.²⁰⁸ This recalls the account of Beaulieu some thirty years earlier, stating that Iskandar Muda's subjects had to pay him tribute in kind, such as rice, meat, sugar, spice and betel leaves.²⁰⁹ It may, then, be suggested that a regular tribute to the ruler by the Panglima of provinces was probably an established practice and that the Panglima and local chiefs played the role of tribute-collectors of the ruler.

As for the dependencies on the east and west coast of Sumatra, it is indisputable that the tributary rulers of these regions were obliged to pay tribute as a token of their loyalty to the Acehese ruler. In the case of the east coast, VOC records from 1667-1668 suggest that under the Acehese Panglima this region annually¹ paid

tribute in the form of rice, ivory and other local produce to the suzerain.²¹⁰ As we will see in more detail in Chapter VI, a considerable portion of the annual rice exports of the region to Aceh, which can roughly be estimated at about 300 tons, was probably tribute.²¹¹ The same applies to the west coast. In December 1660 B. Bort reported that there were anchored in the harbour of Padang two vessels, one from Inderapura and the other from Salida, loaded with pepper and money to be delivered to Safiyyat al-Din as tribute.²¹² It is also known that the Minangkabau rulers of Tiku and of the areas between Salida and Inderapura had to pay annual homage, (certainly) accompanied by tribute both in kind (i.e. pepper), and in money, which was collected from each household at the rate of one piteh (then equivalent to two Dutch stui- vers = 0.1 guilder).²¹³ Although this must have also been the case for the other areas between Tiku and Salida, e.g. Periaman and Padang, further details are, however, not available.²¹⁴

Virtually no details are known of local administration by the Acehnese officials of the Peninsula states, except for Perak.²¹⁵ As B. Andaya has made clear, Perak usually paid tribute to the suzerain, a tribute of tin which provided the Acehnese ruler with a lucrative source of income.²¹⁶ In addition to this, the Acehnese ruler controlled the tin trade of Perak and imposed customs on its trade.²¹⁷ A Dutch report, written in 1639, reveals that the suzerain obtained tin from Perak as gifts as well as customs in kind, the rate for which was 7½% according to the 1650 agreement on the trade between Aceh-Perak and the Dutch.²¹⁸ Notwithstanding the fact that VOC records from 1644-1660 refer to the shipment of Perak's tin to Aceh, sometimes even specifying

quantities,²¹⁹ it is not possible to determine the amount of tin paid as tribute by Perak.²²⁰

To summarise, both geographically and ethnically local administration in our period consisted of two distinct elements, namely that of the dominions proper of Aceh and that of its dependencies and tributary states. In the former the Panglima and the Orang Kaya or Ulëëbalang were the local administrators, while in the latter the Acehnese Panglima together with other officials, and the local indigenous ruling classes constituted the local government, the prime responsibility of which was to establish control over the trade of the region and to collect tribute payable annually to the Acehnese suzerain. From the Sultanate's point of view, the former administration may be seen as part of the system of 'home' government based on the Ulëëbalang, whereas the latter was a result of Aceh's military superiority and of the consequent suzerainty claimed by successive Acehnese rulers.

iii. Political changes after 1636

With the death of Iskandar Muda in December 1636 a period of autocratic rule which had lasted since the last decade of the 16th century came to an end. As we have noted in our brief historical sketch of the Sultanate, the reigns of his successors, Iskandar Thani and Safiyyat al-Din, formed a period during which the disintegration of royal power and the proportionate enhancement of the Orang Kaya took place.

This change was reflected not only in changes related to lands assigned in benefice but also in court etiquette, as we have already

seen in Chapter I. Though the ruler's political authority was significantly diminished during their reigns, yet the system of administration described in sub-section (i) survived and even developed further as this decentralisation progresses.

However, the continuance of the system concurrently with the decentralising process of royal power, does not imply that the ruling apparatus was to become institutionalised and more bureaucratic. On the contrary, its basic nature, which was largely personal, never changed despite the rise of the Orang Kaya under the gradually shrinking royal authority. As a result of the diffusion of centralised absolute rule, a group of senior Orang Kaya began to be administrators in real terms, while the position of the ruler became more and more nominal. Yet, as we have seen in the preceding section (2), there continued to exist a certain respect for the position of the monarch in both rulers' reign, and this seems to have helped to prevent the total collapse of royal authority.

There were both internal and external reasons, closely interrelated one with the other, for the political changes of this period. Important events relevant to the general direction of change occurred in a period of some fifteen years after Iskandar Muda's death. Internally there was the enthronement firstly of Iskandar Thani (a prince of Pahang) and then of a daughter of Iskandar Muda. Although female rulers were not uncommon in the indigenous states of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago,²²¹ it was quite unusual to enthrone a female ruler under the law of Islam. Externally a shift in Aceh's policy toward the Portuguese, the capture of Malacca by Dutch in early 1641 and their subsequent op-

pressive commercial and political policy were important. We look below at the political changes related to central administration, with special reference to the major political events and issues of the region.

In external affairs, the rapprochement between Aceh and the Portuguese during 1637-1638 and its disclosure to the Dutch in 1638 had occurred while negotiations for the conclusion of a peace treaty were progressing, Johor's invasion of Pahang, Iskandar Thani's motherland, in 1638, and a shift of Johor's policy to pro-Dutch as early as 1637 are of particular interest.

We have suggested in the introductory remarks that a verbal capitulation to the Dutch in mid 1638 concerning the pepper trade in the west coast dependency was made by Iskandar Thani out of fear of Dutch reactions, possibly in the form of retaliative measures, to the disclosure of Aceh's rapprochement with the Portuguese. The verbal concessions, which included a monopoly in the pepper trade, exemption from tolls and duties, and settlement of pepper-transactions on the west coast at the Acehnese capital,²²² gave the Dutch the first solid footing which subsequently enabled them to make further inroads into the trade. This capitulation revealed the weak position of Iskandar Thani as ruler of Aceh. Not only the Panglima of the west coast but also the port authorities of the capital objected to the changes which were brought about by the capitulation.²²³ In February 1639 J. van der Meulen, a Dutch factor in Aceh, wrote that because he was of Malay origin, Iskandar Thani had a weak grip and was scarcely held in awe by the Acehnese.²²⁴ In addition, less than two years after Iskandar Thani's death P. Soury wrote that in the memory of the Acehnese Iskandar

Thani might never have existed as ruler.²²⁵ Yielding to these Acehese officials, he revoked in 1639 some of the privileges he had conceded verbally to the Dutch, a revocation which the latter refused to accept.²²⁶

Apart from this, Johor's invasion of Pahang in 1638 was undoubtedly a serious disgrace and damaged Iskandar Thani's standing as the legitimate heir to the throne of Pahang, even though Pahang was not lost to Johor during his life time. In connection with the sending of punitive expeditions to Pahang under Johor occupation and to Johor itself, there occurred twice a change of senior Orang Kaya at the centre. In mid 1639 a certain Acehese assumed the position of Laksamana, because his predecessor, who had expelled the Johorese from Pahang in late 1638, remained there as a commanding officer of the Acehese forces.²²⁷ The other change was the dismissal in March 1640 of the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja and the Laksamana just mentioned on various charges made by Iskandar Thani himself.²²⁸

As a result of this change and other internal developments related to the heresy-hunt initiated by the Indian religious teacher, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī,²²⁹ the senior administrators under Iskandar Thani in the last six months of his reign were the Kadi Malik al-Adil,²³⁰ the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja,²³¹ and the Laksamana with the title Maharaja Lela.²³²

The capture of Portuguese Malacca by the Dutch in January 1641 and the death of Iskandar Thani a month later without leaving a male heir to the throne marked a new era in the politics of the region. The Sultanate under Safiyyat al-Din (1641-1675) was undermined by the Dutch who pursued an aggressive commercial policy and promoted the disintegra-

tion of political unity and royal power by causing discord and at times power struggles amongst senior Orang Kaya.

Contest for the sultanate among the leading Orang Kaya upon the death of Iskandar Thani and the subsequent elevation of his consort, a daughter of Iskandar Muda, to the throne, led to an increase in the central executive body, which had hitherto consisted of three senior Orang Kaya. It is to be regretted that little is known of when, why and how an increase in number of senior administrators and a relatively clear demarcation of their respective duties took place. This is chiefly because although J. Schouten, a Dutch envoy, who was in Aceh from March to May 1641, recorded a dagregister of his mission, this does not survive.²²³ It is known, however, from J. Compostel's report, written in early November of that year, that soon after the enthronement of the first female ruler in Acehnese history four senior Orang Kaya formed a sort of executive council of the realm.²²⁴ They were the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil, the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja, the Laksamana and the Panglima Bandar Orang Kaya Maharaja Lela.²³⁵ The existence of this council is also recorded, though implicitly, by al-Rānīrī in his Bustan.²³⁶

From the very beginning of the reign of Safiyyat al-Din, the Acehnese ruling class entertained grave apprehension about the rise of Dutch power and authority in the Acehnese sphere of influence on Sumatra and in the Malay Peninsula because of the establishment of a new colony on the other side of the Straits.²³⁷ Further concessions related to

the pepper trade in the west coast dependency and the surrender of Francisco de Souse de Castro, a Portuguese envoy detained since late 1638,²³⁸ to the Dutch envoy in the early months of her reign are clear indications of the Acehnese fear of the Dutch.²³⁹ However, this does not necessarily mean that the ruling class was uniformly anti-Dutch.

As Bassett has made very clear, the Dutch supremacy revealed in the capture of Malacca, and the more direct involvement in the commerce and politics of the regions on both sides of the Straits soon after that, considerably exacerbated political tensions within the Sultanate and provided the basis for the development of two major factions among the Acehnese, particularly in the state council, for the next two decades.²⁴⁰ From as early as the first year of the Sultana's reign there existed two factions in court circles, i.e. the pro-Dutch faction headed by her half-brother who had the position of Kadi Malik al-^cAdil, and the other the anti-Dutch faction under the leadership of the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja. These two most influential political figures were in open hostility for some years.²⁴¹

Meanwhile, taking advantage of this factional conflict and in particular of the rivalry between the two senior councillors, Safiyyat al-Din, with the help of court functionaries, was barely able to establish her authority as ruler in less than a year.²⁴² To conciliate senior Orang Kaya by keeping a balance of power between the two factions on the one hand, and to inflict severe punishment for crime according to a judicial practice established by her predecessors on the other, was the strategy she resorted to achieve this end.²⁴³ In addition, in psychological terms, she seems to have reverted to using some of the awe

and respect, earned by her father Iskandar Muda among the Acehnese whose reign in retrospect had, ironically, become regarded as a glorious one.²⁴⁴ Reversion of the lands granted by Iskandar Thani to the situation as it had been under Iskandar Muda, as described in section (2), can be interpreted in this context of wishing to return to the situation in her father's reign. In reality however, her political authority, resting on bases such as these was undeniably frail and consequently resulted in a situation favourable to the leading Orang Kaya.

J. Compostel, the Dutch chief factor in Aceh, who closely observed Acehnese politics from July 1640 to August 1642, wrote a memoir for his successor P. Willemsz. on 10 August of the latter year.²⁴⁵ This brief memoir is of particular interest in that it reveals the basic structure of political life in court circles, including the nature of the Sultana's authority, which is, in fact, discernible throughout most of her reign.

Remarking on Safiyyat al-Din 's authority, Compostel writes that out of special motives and considerations the Sultana has given the Orang Kaya extreme latitude, from which stem disputes among them and disregard for her; this she does with the intention of imperceptibly utilising the discord to curtail and check the rise of any one faction which might threaten her authority, "because the two rocks should be avoided".²⁴⁶

There appear to have been two closely related reasons for the rivalry between the Kadi Malik ak-^cAdil and the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja. As noted above, one was a difference of opinion as to Dutch political and military power in the region. The other one seems to have resulted from the fact that the Kadi of that time was an illegiti-

mate son of Iskandar Muda.²⁴⁷ The coincidence of these factors is clearly shown in an event of 1641, in which the anti-Dutch Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja, by means of a Portuguese mestizo interpreter employed by the Dutch factory, accused the Kadi of conspiring to dethrone the Sultana (his half-sister) and to become Sultan in association with the Dutch.²⁴⁸ To counter this claim of the Kadi to royal, though illegitimate, status, and his pro-Dutch stance, Compostel goes on to say, the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja formed an alliance with Panglima Dalam through which they won a majority, and the Sultana took their side because they showed little aspiration to the throne itself.²⁴⁹ Interestingly, Compostel further notes that "archbishop Chally [i.e. Kadi], despite having been falsely accused, remained for some time in disgrace and little respect of royal court; the same equally would fall on the Maraja [i.e. Maharaja Seri Maharaja] and the Panglima Dalam when they show trust in the Company, ... but you P. Willemsz. should accommodate yourself and conform to Her Majesty's and court humour in this regard."²⁵⁰ This tells us that the key issue in the controversy originated in the impact that the Dutch capture of Malacca had had on the ruling class of Aceh, and that owing to the confrontation between the two factions, the Sultana, who had many court functionaries, probably less affected as yet by factionalism, on her side, managed to maintain and somewhat exert her authority over the senior Orang Kaya.

Much to the surprise of the Dutch, the English East India Company returned to Aceh in 1642 after a long interval of some two decades.²⁵¹ Prior to this, in July 1642 the Sultana and her councillors were informed of a ten-year truce between the Dutch Republic and Portugal con-

cluded in June 1641.²⁵² It is hardly to be doubted that these circumstances created a stir and new strains in Acehnese politics, in particular encouraging the anti-Dutch faction in intensifying the existing antagonisms with its rival faction.²⁵³ Both the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja and the Panglima Dalam naturally committed themselves to the English side and were intent on working for the interests of the English in the west coast pepper trade, even at the risk of violating the Acehnese-Dutch agreement of 1641 mentioned above.²⁵⁴ The inevitable result of this was that these two councillors became dominant even over the Sultana and virtually determined Aceh's foreign policy and relations, especially with regard to the Dutch,²⁵⁵ and the Sultanate began to follow a pro-English policy until the mid 1640s.²⁵⁶

This political situation in the early year of the Sultana's reign clearly shows the trial that she had to face. Internal conflict among senior Orang Kaya upon whom her regime rested unquestionably circumscribed her authority as a ruler. To a certain degree this conflict might be described as a power struggle between the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil and the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja, based on the Kadi's royal origin. Yet it appears that the focal point at issue was, as is distinctly shown by the shift to a pro-English policy by the major faction in its external orientation, Aceh's policy vis-à-vis the Dutch East India Company, seen by the Acehnese as the most threatening regional political power after the fall of Portuguese Malacca. Pressure from the outer world, - though at this stage still not very threatening -, and the resultant internal political disunity were the decisive factors that in the long term caused the decline of the Sultanate during the

reign of Safiyyat al-Din.

Under these political circumstances, central administration was carried out by the councillors of the Sultana, together with several other Orang Kaya.²⁵⁷ In early 1643 P. Willemsz. notes, in a rather exaggerated way, that "the Acehnese government is getting very absurd, the Queen has the name, but the Orang Kaya each are indeed a King by themselves; thus this state cannot exist long, because no loyalty or faith is held any longer."²⁵⁸ Each of the four councillors had specific responsibilities in Safiyyat al-Din's reign.²⁵⁹ The Kadi Malik al-^cAdil, first in order of rank, but rather out of favour with his half-sister Safiyyat al-Din, was in charge of the administration of law and justice as had been the case for his predecessors. The Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja, the protagonist of the anti-Dutch faction, is said to have been the chief councillor because of the Sultana's confidence in him,²⁶⁰ and his area of responsibility may have been similar to that of the Perdana Menteri Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja in the reign of Iskandar Muda discussed earlier in sub-section (i) of this section. As for the Panglima Dalam, third in order of rank, it will be recalled that this position developed from the position of Laksamana in the reign of Iskandar Muda and Iskandar Thani.²⁶¹ The only description of this position given in VOC records is that the Panglima Dalam was an administrator of the palace.²⁶² However, it is known from the nature of the Laksamana's duties before they were divided, and from those of the Panglima Bandar after this division that the Panglima Dalam must have been responsible for the security of the capital and matters pertinent to the military. As noted earlier, the Panglima Bandar was a

newly-established post deriving from the separation of the previous dual function of the Laksamana. In fact, the Panglima Bandar of that time was the same person as the Laksamana Maharaja Lela promoted by Iskandar Thani in 1640.²⁶³ As the name of the position indicates, it was the responsibility of the Panglima Bandar, the fourth councillor in rank, to administer foreign trade in the port of the capital, including the protection of the lives and property of foreign merchants.²⁶⁴

It appears to have been no easy task for Safiyyat al-Din to manage the two hostile factions at the centre of power. It may be assumed that she was obliged to take a conciliatory attitude towards them. A sudden increase in information in VOC records from 1642 onward regarding the participation of the Orang Kaya in trade with foreign merchants suggests that she had had to concede to them a considerable part of her sources of income, which her father had enjoyed exclusively for a long period. The leading Orang Kaya seemed to have been granted a share in the pepper and tin brought to Aceh from outlying dependencies as tribute and duties in kind to the Sultana.²⁶⁵ Even though it appears possible that this economic concession partly accounted for the rather rapid decline of royal economic power,²⁶⁶ the fragmentary nature of the relevant information does not allow us to take the matter further. Another method resorted to by the Sultana to create a desirable political climate was from time to time to expel (in effect temporarily) the pro-Dutch faction from the capital, on the pretext of hunting elephants for export to India.²⁶⁷ However, some senior court functionaries must inevitably have been drawn into one of the two factions by the mid 1640s.²⁶⁸

Notwithstanding the contraction of royal power resulting from all this, or perhaps thanks to the concessions made to the Orang Kaya on the ruler's part, Safiyyat al-Din was able to maintain her authority as well as the narrow, political unity of a Sultanate much tainted by factional conflict. It is to be emphasized again that her authority was yet strong enough to prevent an internal division of the Sultanate. In addition, it ought to be noted that these changes had taken place before 1644 when the Dutch began to adopt forcible commercial policies for the prosperity of their new colony of Malacca which they expected to make the only emporium of the region.²⁶⁹ But it is unquestionable that in such a situation the Sultana could not afford to counter Dutch power which was to make inroads, as a first step for this end, into the tin trade of Perak, Aceh's dependency, three years after their conquest of Malacca.

As noted earlier in sub-section (ii), Perak, together with Kedah, Ujung Salang and Bangery on the west coast of the Peninsula, had long been known to the Dutch as "tin quarters", which attracted many merchants, particularly from various parts of India.²⁷⁰ Because of this, tin was one of the major goods which the Dutch tried to monopolize in order to divert the Indian merchants to Malacca.²⁷¹ In this framework and on the pretext of Perak's implication in the murder of the Dutch factors in Cambodia, the Dutch unilaterally blockaded Perak in 1644-1645, though the trading vessels of Aceh and ^ePerak were exempted.²⁷²

That the measures taken by the Sultana in response to a petition about the Dutch action of several Perak Orang Kaya were merely a dispatch of an Acehnese envoy to Batavia for a peaceful settlement in 1644

and the sending of a letter, containing a conciliatory proposal as well as a rather weak protest to the Governor-General in 1645,²⁷³ amply demonstrates the powerlessness of the Sultanate. Eventually, the blockade of Perak was lifted in late 1645.²⁷⁴ It is of particular interest that in the midst of the Perak issue and the consequent increase of anti-Dutch feelings in court circles, a half-brother of the Sultana in the position of Kadi Malik al-^cAdil, who was pro-Dutch in his political posture, resumed the position of Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja sometime in 1645.²⁷⁵ The reason behind this is not known, however.²⁷⁶

Dissatisfaction on the part of the Dutch with the arrangement made by the Sultana for the tin trade was displayed in a further operation, and this time not only the tin region but also Aceh was included in the range of the Dutch naval blockade designed to evict Indian merchants from the tin trade.²⁷⁷ Acehnese incompetence and resourcelessness against the unjustifiable, arbitrary operation of July 1647- September 1650 exposed the weakness of Aceh which lacked any way to challenge Dutch power diplomacy.²⁷⁸ The fear and threat of the Dutch prevailing eventually forced the Sultana to grant the Dutch further concessions in the pepper trade in the west coast dependency in 1649 and to conclude an agreement on the Perak tin trade in 1650. This activated once again antagonism among senior Orang Kaya.²⁷⁹

Essentially, political turmoil in the early 1650s was a repetition of that which had occurred in the early years of the Sultana's reign in terms both of its main causes and of the way by which she tried to control it.²⁸⁰ However, this time the controversy was so heated that she was no longer able to manipulate it.

In a period of two years, from early 1651 to January 1653, there occurred in the capital a burst of open antagonism between the pro- and anti-Dutch factions and consequent political turmoil. What gave rise to this in the first place was that sometime in mid 1650 the Dutch fleet patrolling off Perak refused admittance to the harbour of Perak of an Acehnese vessel carrying the Sultana's envoy to the Sultan of Perak.²⁸¹ Although the immediate consequence of this act was not serious, and it did not worsen much the already strained Aceh-Dutch relations caused by the naval blockade, yet it led to the temporary expulsion of the pro-Dutch Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja,²⁸² the rival of the two anti-Dutch councillors, Orang Kaya Laksamana and Panglima Bandar Orang Kaya Seri Paduka Tuan. The ratification of the agreement of August 1650 on the tin trade between the Dutch and Perak by the Sultana in October of the same year, under the influence of the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja rather than of the latter two councillors,²⁸³ made a collision between the two factions inevitable.

The first outburst took place in early 1651, soon after the Dutch envoy of 1650, Johan Truijtmán, left Aceh in November. The anti-Dutch faction led by Orang Kaya Laksamana Raja Udahna Lela demanded by force that the Sultana deprive Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja of his office and purge the pro-Dutch Orang Kaya, and killed his son-in-law Maharaja Di-raja.²⁸⁴ The concurrent incident in Perak, the murder of the Dutchmen in April 1651,²⁸⁵ was, according to Truijtmán, instigated by the anti-Dutch faction in Aceh.²⁸⁶ As a result, the pro-Dutch faction lost its grip of court circles and Aceh's attitudes turned dramatically anti-Dutch.²⁸⁷ More importantly, this revolt

eventually threw the Orang Kaya at the centre of power into confusion and produced further tensions amongst them. At the same time the Perak massacre and Aceh's alleged implication in it gave the Dutch fair ground to justify further oppressive actions in the region in the immediate future. It was probably due to the prevailing misgivings and suspicions that the Orang Kaya Laksamana led another, abortive attempt in 1652 to eliminate the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil, who was accused of being intimate with the Sultana.²⁸⁸

Sometime in October 1652- January 1653, the Sultanate was shaken for the third time by another revolt under the leadership of Paduka Mahamenteri and three deposed councillors, i.e. Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja (the half-brother of the Sultana), the Orang Kaya Laksamana mentioned above, and the Panglima Bandar Orang Kaya Seri Paduka Tuan referred to earlier,²⁸⁹ against the deposition of this Panglima Bandar and the alleged conspiracy of the new Panglima Bandar Orang Kaya Maharaja Lela to put the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil on the throne.²⁹⁰ It is worth noting that the Paduka Mahamenteri, the deposed Panglima Bandar, the new Panglima Bandar and the former Panglima Deli, called Enci Rambau, who was designated (by the ringleaders) to become Panglima Bandar in place of the new appointee, were all of Malay origin.²⁹¹ This implies that an alien element among the senior administrative officials had played an important role in the central administration of the Sultanate under the Dutch threat from 1647 at the latest. In addition, it will be remembered that the existence of such officials in the centre of power may have been a contributing factor to the emergence of the Sagi and their leaders, the Panglima Sagi, as we suggested in the previous section.

It is undeniable that this political unrest did much harm to the Sultana's authority and prestige. In other words, the political unity barely maintained thus far began to waver within less than a decade of the reign of Safiyyat al-Din. After a close study of the advantages of pursuing a policy of war or of peace towards Aceh,²⁹² and after the failure to solve the Perak issue peacefully despite an agreement reached in 1655,²⁹³ the Dutch once again resorted to a naval blockade of Aceh and Perak from September 1656 to late 1659.²⁹⁴ What followed out of this gun-point diplomacy was similar to what occurred in 1649-1650 in Aceh under the same pressure. Following a dispatch of an envoy to Batavia in May 1659, Aceh concluded in early October, no doubt grudgingly, a peace treaty with the Dutch envoy of 1659, Balthasar Bort and Jacob Keijser, most of the contents of which had already been laid down in Batavia in June.²⁹⁵ By this peace treaty, the Dutch had their exclusive privileges on the west coast of Sumatra confirmed and secured both satisfaction for the 1651 murder in Perak and compensation for damages done in 1657 to the Dutch factories on the west coast by the Acehnese Panglima, as well as an exclusive share in the Perak tin trade on equal terms with Aceh.²⁹⁶

This shows clearly that Aceh was no longer in a dominant position in the region from the middle of the 1640s and that anti-Dutch feelings were no match for Dutch power. On the part of the Dutch, what they had demanded from Aceh since 1644 was primarily aimed at increasing their interest in the trade of the region with Indian merchants. On the part of Aceh however, the series of concessions granted to the Dutch in the pepper and tin trade was not simply an inroad into the commercial

interests of Aceh but had as well serious political implication in terms of the integrity of its dominions. This was particularly the case with the second crisis of 1656-1659.

In the eyes of the indigenous ruling classes in Aceh's dependencies, the inability of Aceh, proven for the second time, to make an effective and stout resistance against the Dutch threat,²⁹⁷ and in particular to protect Perak from Dutch expansionism must have produced a decline in Aceh's authority and prestige as their suzerain. In a sense, this was far more serious for the Sultanate than the trade concessions made to the Dutch in the 1650s, because the political strains created by the three-year naval blockade, unlike those of the early 1650s, did not bring about any direct change at the centre of power.

As could be expected, after the revolt of 1652-1653 mentioned above there were changes in the personnel holding office in the council of the realm and other senior positions.²⁹⁸ But no organisational changes took place. According to VOC records from 1659 and 1660,²⁹⁹ the four councillors were: the Leubè Kita Kali,³⁰⁰ the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja,³⁰¹ the Orang Kaya Laksamana Seri Perdana Menteri and the Panglima Bandar Orang Kaya Seri Paduka Tuan. Under this council were several senior officials and court functionaries.³⁰² It is worth noting that judging from the titles borne by these officials, excluding the councillors, titles such as Raja Bentara, Maharaja Lela and Raja Setia Muda had come to designate particular official positions by the end of the 1650s.³⁰³ Moreover, it may be added that upon the death of Panglima Bandar Orang Kaya Seri Paduka Tuan in 1663, he was succeeded in his position by his youngest son who bore the title Seri Paduka Raja.³⁰⁴

It may not be wrong to assume that possibly from around this time onward various senior positions in the central administrative body had gradually become hereditary or, that at least, to be of noble origin was a sine qua non for a senior official in the central administration.³⁰⁵

However, an incident in the west coast dependency while the blockade of 1656-1659 was in effect, augured ill for the integration of Aceh's dominions and was in fact a portent for the Sultanate of the future rejection of Aceh's suzerainty by its outlying dependencies. As early as June 1657, the indigenous rulers of various areas between Padang and Inderapura expressed their dissatisfaction to a Dutch factor and sought Dutch protection against Acehnese rule.³⁰⁶ In addition to this, in 1659-1660 there occurred a conflict between Panglima Periaman Seri Maharaja Indera and the central government of Aceh as to the sending of tribute to the Sultana.³⁰⁷ While the Dutch were making lawful inroads into the pepper trade in the region through the conclusion of the treaty of 1659 and agreements with local rulers on trade by the consent of Safiyyat al-Din in 1660, following the 1657 petition for protection and a Minangkabau delegation to Batavia in 1661, a Dutch factor on the coast, Jan van Groenewegen, held a secret meeting with the Minangkabau rulers in May 1662.³⁰⁸ This anti-Acehnese move soon spread among other Minangkabau chiefs and eventually led to the conclusion of agreement with the Dutch in July 1663, usually known as the treaty of Painan.³⁰⁹ The Sultanate tried in vain to restore its authority and control over the region, and the end of Acehnese rule soon followed.³¹⁰ In 1665 the Dutch entered into open conflict with Aceh on the west coast and expelled the Acehnese by military campaigns in 1666-1667.³¹¹

Among the various reasons for this relatively easy expulsion, the damage done to the authority and prestige of the Sultanate by the series of Dutch naval blockades for several years, together with the looseness of the local governing system as noted in sub-section (ii), can be counted as of major importance.

Precisely the same development took place in relations with Perak from the conclusion of the 1659 treaty. Perak seemed to be far more sensitive than the Minangkabau region to the changing political situation because they were forced to face, without adequate protection from their suzerain, aggressive Dutch policies of the '40s and '50s. In a sense, Perak was brought to the negotiating table with the Dutch because of Aceh's concessionary attitudes. Quite naturally an anti-Aceh political orientation began to prevail there as early as 1663 as a result of the ascendancy of a group favouring VOC protection.³¹² However, the independence of Perak from Aceh appears to have been achieved gradually and without violence. Although in 1668 the Sultan of Perak told the Dutch that Perak would have remained under Aceh, had not the Dutch broken peace with Perak and interfered in Deli's independence movement against Aceh, implying that Perak was no longer under Aceh,³¹³ yet Perak is said to have paid tribute to Aceh up to the end of Safiyyat al-Din's reign in 1675.³¹⁴

The case of Deli, the east coast dependency, symbolically reflects the contraction of royal power and authority. In 1667 a revolt led by the 'Acehnese' Panglima Deli against the central government broke out. As on the west coast, the Dutch at Malacca offered, in response to Deli's request for military assistance, support in form of weaponry, ⁱⁿ ammunition

and naval patrols manned by the Dutch off Deli.³¹⁵ Safiyyat al-Din first asked the Dutch to act as mediators, but after the self-evident failure of Dutch mediation in 1668, the Sultan attempted to exert her rights by pardoning Deli in 1669, when it was already under Dutch protection. Dutch interference in the three-year Aceh-Deli conflicts decisively influenced its settlement in Deli's favour.³¹⁶ Thus the Sultanate lost its last dependency by the early 1670s.

Even though the reigns of the three successive Sultanas of the last quarter of the 17th century are outside the scope of our present study, Thomas Bowrey's account from around the mid 1680s is worth attention in so far as political changes are concerned. He describes the system of central government at that time:

"The Men in Office that (Under their Queene) governe this Kingdom are Entitled as Followeth.

The Meer Raja [i.e. Maharaja] vizt. the Lord Treasurer, the Laximana [i.e. Laksamana] the Lord Generall, and the great Orangkay is Lord Chiefe Justice. There are other Orangkays under this, as alsoe Shabandars under them and the Queen's greatest Eunuchs, but are all Submissive and respective to the Queen, not dareing to act or done any business of importance before they have thoroughly acquainted the Queen thereof. She hath Several Eunuchs of very acute (sic) about her that advise with her to condescend to what is requisite. Not one man, Woman or Childe is admitted to get sight of her, Save the Women and Eunuchs that are of her attendants, and Some Eunuchs her Chiefe Councillours, but when business with

her doth present, the great Orangkay or Some of the Others doe come into the Pallace and declare theire businesse to some of her Councell, who informe her thereof; and if She condescends thereunto, She Sendth downe to them her Chopp i.e. her broad Seale, and then it is granted according to theire request Her attendants are Said to be 100 Eunuchs and 1000 of the comliest women the Countrey or Citty affordeth."³¹⁷

This account and that of William Dampier³¹⁸ are evidence that the various senior offices of the central administrative body underwent no changes from the early years of the reign of the first Sultana, Safiyyat al-Din, and thus it can be said that the system of central government was relatively institutionalised by then as a result of the decentralisation of royal power and authority. Yet it ought to be noted that despite this shrinkage of political power under the four successive female rulers, the Sultanas, though playing the role more or less of figureheads still maintained their honour and dignity and even exerted, to a certain extent, an influence on Aceh's political life. This was particularly true for the case of Safiyyat al-Din.

All this leads us to the following conclusion. The forceful and aggressive commercial policies of the Dutch, who established themselves as the most powerful local political power pursuing economic interests in the trade of the region after their capture of Malacca in 1641, not only made considerable inroads into the trade of Aceh but also weakened the political unity of the Sultanate. From the viewpoint of the Sultanate, the latter development conditioned to a great degree the future decline both of the economic power and of the political power and

authority of the Sultanate. The increasing Dutch supremacy, backed by their inescapable military power, eventually deprived Aceh of its dependencies which were of enormous importance to its economic base. It can therefore be said that upon the death of Safiyyat al-Din, the Sultanate entered on a new phase, both politically and economically. It is to be suggested that it is to Aceh not so much of the ^{first} three quarters but more of the last quarter of the 17th century that 18th and 19th century Aceh is relevant in terms of politics and economy.

NOTES

1. Boxer, "Portuguese and Spanish Projects", pp.119-126; Ibid., "Asian Potentates and European Artillery", JMBRAS 38 , pt.2 (1965), pp.156-172; Ibid., "A Note on Portuguese Reactions", pp.415-428; Reid, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", pp.396-414; Ibid., "Europe and Southeast Asia: the Military Balance", Occasional Paper No.16 (1981, James Cook University), pp.1-8.
2. Reid, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", p.400; Danvers, The Portuguese in India, vol.1, pp.356-357.
3. Reid, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", pp.402-403.
4. Ibid., pp.403-407; Boxer, "A Note on Portuguese Reactions", pp.418-420.
5. Boxer, "Asian Potentates and European Artillery", pp.162-163; Iskandar, Bustan, p.31, quoted by Reid in "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", p.396
6. Reid, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", p.410; Boxer, "A Note on Portuguese Reactions", p.423.
7. Linschoten, Itinerario, vol.1, pp.82-83.
8. Davis notes that "Hee hath great store of Brasse Ordnance, which they use without Carriages, shooting them as they lye upon the ground." (Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.150) Lancaster writes that "He hath great store of ordinance of brasse, and those verye great and massey." (Lancaster, The Voyages, p.135; both these passages quoted by Boxer in a different context, see "Asian Potentates and European Artillery", p.163) Needless to say a great number of guns was lost in the campaigns against Malacca, in which Aceh was never victorious. All this indicates that there was a continuous influx of artillery from the Muslim world as well as local production.
9. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.105.
10. Reid, "Trade and State Power", Proceedings: Seventh IAHA Conference (Bangkok, 1977), vol.1, pp.396-397; Ibid., "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", p 402, 410-411.
11. Reid, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", pp.401-408; Danvers, The Portuguese in India, vol.2, pp.47-48, 70.
12. Reid, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", pp.402-403; Danvers, The Portuguese in India, vol.1, pp.480-481.

13. Danvers, *op.cit.*, loc. cit.
14. Dalgado, Glossário Luso-Asiatico (2 vols), vol.2, s.v. OFABALÃO.
15. Boxer, "Portuguese and Spanish Projects", pp.121-122.
16. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.
17. Danvers, The Portuguese in India, vol.1, pp.356-357, 438-439, 534-535.
18. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, pp.72-73. This was never realised however because of the Acehnese attack on the fleet in Sept. 1599.
19. *Ibid.*, p.108.
20. Lombard, Le Sultanat, pp.90-91; Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.105; Reid, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", pp.401-402, 406-407, 410-413; Linschoten, Itinerario, vol.1, pp.82-83. It is evident from the 1601 account of F. de Houtman that there was an arsenal operated by a number of gun-founders. (Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.105)
21. This they did for the purpose of establishing good relations with the Sultans, particularly to further their commercial interests in the pepper trade. (Spielbergen, De Reis, p.74; Best, The Voyage, p.157-164; Letters Received, vol.3, pp.124-125, 225) Accounts from the turn of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century report that Aceh already had massive guns. (Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.150; Lancaster, The Voyage, p.135) Booty in the victorious campaigns of the 1610s was certainly another source of supply. However, details are not available, except concerning small firearms in the Pahang expedition of 1635. (K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, f.1214)
22. Coolhaas, Coen, vol.7, pt.1, p.398.
23. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.100.
24. The production of gunpowder in Aceh itself may have coincided with the introduction of artillery sometime in the middle of the 16th century. In 1601 F. de Houtman explicitly indicates its manufacture. With the assistance of Houtman, who designed a model of a powder-mill, the Acehnese built a powder-mill inside the arsenal. (Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.105) On materials, see Kreemer, Atjeh, vol.1, p.304. In the 17th century sulphur was produced on Wè island, situated north of Aceh harbour. (K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, f.1216)

25. Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, p.23; AA, pp.116b-117a.
26. Letters Received, vol.3, pp.124-125, 187, 225.
27. This assumption is also based partly on the fact that during Iskandar Muda's reign every gift made to him by visitors was registered by the scribes of the customhouse, as we will see later in Chapter V.
28. Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.49; Ibid., "Trade and State Power", pp.396-397.
29. On ship-building technology, see Lombard, Le Sultanat, pp.85-86.
30. Boxer, "A Note on Portuguese Reactions", pp.416-421. Boxer has pointed out that guns were valued by the Indonesian and Malay rulers rather for prestige and magico-sacral reasons than for practical ones. (Ibid., "Asian Potentates and European Artillery", pp.171-172)
31. Boxer, "Asian Potentates and European Artillery", p.163; see also note (8) above.
32. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.73, 75-76; Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.1, p.133. Apart from this, it has also been pointed out that the anachronistic preoccupation with size rather than efficiency in Turkish guns had resulted in its inferiority to European weaponry. (Reid, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", p.407 fn.48; Ibid., "Europe and Southeast Asia", pp.1-8)
33. K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, f.133v.-134r.
34. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.105; see also note (93) of Chapter VI.
35. Keeling & Bonner, The East India Company Journals, p.138. On elephants in the armies of other countries at this period, see Lombard, Le Sultanat, pp.88-89.
36. In 1634 two elephant-keepers were put to death by Iskandar Muda, even though the elephants under their charge dies a natural death. This incident, together with six other severe punishment upon his subjects, including nobles, in a period of four months, may be a signs of insainty in his last years. However, this instance may also be seen as showing the great importance attached to the elephants possessed by the court. (Daghregister, Batavia, 1631-1634, pp.239-240; Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.2, p.332)
37. K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, f.128v., 130v.; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.674v.; K.A.1070, "Origineel rapport" of

- Truijtman, f.315r.; Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, pp.492-493; Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.2, p.520, 569; Daghregister, Batavia, 1653, pp.39-40. For example, the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja (1640) was formerly in the position of Panglima Gajah, and the Panglima Gajah (in August 1643) was promoted to a senior court post. See also notes (231), (291) and (303) below.
38. Reid, "Trade and the Problem", pp.49-50; Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.105.
39. Reid, op. cit., loc. cit.
40. Lombard, Le Sultanat, p.90.
41. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.106-107. On the maintenance of galleys, see Lombard, op. cit., p.90.
42. Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.50, quoting Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.102; Lombard, Le Sultanat, p.90.
43. The expeditionary fleet consisted of 90 vessels, 21 of them large size. (Daghregister, Batavia, 1636, p.3) Its naval bases were Pidie Deli and perhaps Daya. (Lombard, Le Sultanat, p.85)
44. Daghregister, Batavia, 1631-1634, p.236, 238.
45. Ibid., p.238; Letters Received, vol.3, p.XXIII, 129, 212, 228; Boxer, "The Achinese Attack on Malacca", pp.105-121.
46. On naval forces before 1629, see, for example, Letters Received, vol.3, p.XXIII, 129, 210, 212, 228.
47. Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.1, p.132.
48. K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, ff.128v.-129r. Those dismissed were Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja and Orang Kaya Laksamana. For further details, see following section (3).
49. Daghregister, Batavia, 1631-1634, p.236. They wrote to Batavia that Iskandar Muda would buy guns, copper and iron to make preparations for another campaign against Malacca, because he was in much want of guns resulting as a consequence of the defeat before Malacca in 1629.
50. Ibid., loc. cit.; K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, f.1221, 1224, 1225. Guns were sold by weight (sixteen tahil a bahar in 1636).
51. Daghregister, Batavia, 1631-1634, p.236. A bahar of iron was priced at five and half tahil.
52. Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.1, p.133.
53. A period of two years Iskandar Thani purchased about twenty pieces

- of artillery. (K.A.1040, "Copie missive", 12 Nov. 1638, f.1178; Ibid., "Originele missive" of Jan van der Meulen, 13 Feb. 1639, f.1182; K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, f.133v. Its price was twelve tahil a bahar.
54. K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, f.125v., 136v.-137r. Iskandar Thani is reported to have intended to buy more guns from the Dutch. Some twenty year later, Sultana Safiyyat al-Din bought 60 pieces of artillery from the English. (Daghregister, Batavia, 1661, p.16; see further note (247) of Chapter VI)
55. For example, an English account states in 1615 that "Iron is very much inquired after, for that the King is building of Galleys and preparing to go for Malacka, and is in great want of iron; so that we hope there will be some good done therein." (Letters Received, vol.3, p.103) See also *ibid.*, p.128, 185; *Ibid.*, vol.4, p.5, 23, 70-71, 91. Lead, another important metal as Beaulieu suggests, was also imported into Aceh by Europeans. (*Ibid.*, vol.6, p.28)
56. *Ibid.*, vol.3, p.103; K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, f.131v.
57. K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, f.143r. This gong may well be identical with a gong known as Cakra Donya. On the Cakra Donya, see Lombard, Le Sultanat, p.87; Hasjmy, Iskandar Muda, pp.60-63.
58. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.102.
59. *Ibid.*, p.102, 104.
60. *Ibid.*, p.103.
61. *Ibid.*, p.101.
62. *Ibid.*, p.103.
63. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.
64. For further details, see Chapters V and VI.
65. See further section (3) below and Chapter III.
66. This may also be the case for the reigns of al-Kahhar and his successor ^cAli Ri^cayat Syah (1571-±1579), but is unlikely to apply to an inter-regnum during 1579 and 1589. (Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.110, quoted by Reid, "Trade and the Problem", pp.47-48)
67. EI, vol.1, s.v. ATJÈH; Juynboll, Handleiding tot de Kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet, p.70
68. van Langen, "De Inrichting", pp.390-391.
69. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, p.7, 81.

70. Ibid., p.89.
71. Ibid., pp.8-9, 92; EI, vol.1, s.v. ATJEH.
72. Ibid., pp.88-89, 120.
73. Ibid., 89-92.
74. The former is presented by Snouck Hurgronje, and the latter by Veltman and Reid, as we shall see later in detail. There is, in fact, another theory, put forward by van Langen, according to which this development was brought about by an attempt to centralise royal power, and firmly established under Nur al-^cAlam Nakiyyat al-Din (1675-1678). However, this assumption has been severely criticised both by Snouck Hurgronje and Veltman. (van Langen, "De inrichting", pp.392-393; The Achehnese, vol.1, p.90; Veltman, "Nota over de Geschiedenis van het Landschap Pidië", TBG 58 (1919), p.67)
75. Usually, Sarakata is understood as designating royal edicts or statutes. However, there is another Acehnese word with approximately the same meaning, i.e. Eseuteumi (or Seuteumi). There is an interesting account in a VOC record from 1660 referring to the difference between the two terms. B. Bort writes that "a mandate, called Tarra Catta by them, is not so powerful as an Estemie, which is stamped with Her Majesty's seal of the Great Seal of the State and has everlasting validity, whereas a Tarra Catta is not sealed and is given for ordinance of Her Majesty until its recantation". (K.A. 1127, "Verbael" of Bort, f.340v.)
76. Tichelman, "Een Atjèhsche Sarakata (Afschrift van een besluit van Iskandar Muda)", TBG 73 (1933), pp.368-373; Ibid., "Samalangasche Sarakata's", TBG 78 (1938), pp.351-358.
77. According to the Dagregister, the death of Seri Paduka Tuan Seberang was in mid 1663, and his youngest son was put in his official position, the Panglima Bandar. (1663, p.633) See further section (3) below and Chapter V (section 1).
78. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.102, cited by Reid, "Trade and the Problem", P.50.
79. Ibid., p.107.
80. Broecke, Broecke in Azië, vol.1, p.174. His account is supported by Beaulieu, ("Mémoires", pp.98-99) Letters Received, vol.6, p.72.
81. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, p.4, 8-9, 88-90, 120-127.
82. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.63, cited by Reid in "Trade and the Problem", P.50.

83. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.108.
84. Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.50, 53. On the aristocrats in the 19th century, see Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, pp.58-80, 258-261.
85. Reid, "Trade and the Problem", pp.49-50, 53.
86. The entries are, as Prof. Drewes has made clear, apparently out of place and were probably included by accident in the fourth part. (Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, p.22)
87. Bentara Blang, superintendent of the rice fields, is the title borne by official in charge of the supervision of the royal rice-fields. Imam (Aceh. Imeum), usually now the chief of a Mukim, originally designated the leader of the Friday-service. Keujrüen denotes the chieftains outside Aceh Proper, as in Pidie, Samalanga, Pasai and the Gayo-country. (Drewes, Hikajat Potjut Muhamat, p.268,271; Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, p.92; EI, vol.1, s.v. ATJÈH) Originally, Bentara and Keujrüen seem to have been important parts of the governing apparatus at the local level supporting the interests of the Sultan. In the same way, the Hakim seems to have worked in the legal system of the Sultanate.
88. This entry appears to consist of two different entries because of the insertion into it of a description of the order of standing of officials in the court, but is in effect a single entry.
89. Namely, Bentara Blang Mangat and Hakim Samakurō'.
90. K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., daghregister entries for between 26 Sept. - 27 Nov. 1642.
91. AA, p.114b. It runs: "On Thursday 14 Sha^cbān 1050 A.H. His Majesty Seri Sultan Iskandar Muda Johan Berdaulat, the shadow of Allah in this world, regulated the regular tributes of the Pasai-country, ..."
92. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, p.84; Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.53; EI, vol.1, s.v. ATJÈH.
93. Iskandar, Bustan, pp.44-45; al-Attas, Rānīrī and the Wujudiyah of Seventeenth Century Aceh, JMBRAS Monogr. No.3 (1966); Ito, "Why Did Nuruddin ar-Raniri Leave", BKI 134 (1978), pp.489-491.
94. Iskandar, Bustan, pp.53-57.
95. K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.503r.
96. Ibid., f.520v.
97. Ibid., f.523r.

98. K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.664r., 669v., 673v.; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.581v., 591r.; Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, p.490.
99. K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.527r.
100. It may be suggested therefore that the dating of indigenous sources is extremely important in the study of Acehnese history and that differentiation should be made between the Sarakata really ascribable to Iskandar Muda and doubtful ones. There is a noticeable transformation in the purport of the two Sarakata from different dates discussed.
101. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, pp.2-3, 89-90.
102. AA, p.37b.
103. Veltman, "Nota over de Geschiedenis", pp.68-69, 71-72.
104. A manuscript of Di Meulek, called Naskah Panjang, column 7, line 1. I am very grateful to Dr. L. Castles, who was kind enough to give me access to a transliterated copy.
105. Iskandar Thani dies on 14 February 1641.
106. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, pp.90-91.
107. Veltman, "Nota over de Geschiedenis", pp.67-68.
108. Reid, "Trade and the Problem", pp.53-54.
109. K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.676v.
110. K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, f.128r.
111. K.A.1051bis, "Copie memorie" of Compostel, 10 Aug. 1642, f.594v.
112. Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, p.97. Cf. Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies, pt.2, p.394.
113. K.A.1127, "Verbael" of Bort, f.340r.
114. K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.585v.
115. K.A.1123, "Rapport" of Bort, f.509v.; Ibid., "Rapport" of Keyser, f.519v.; K.A.1127, "Verbael" of Bort, f.340r.; Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.3, p.325.
116. Daghregister, Batavia, 1661, pp.451-453.
117. Bowrey, A Geographical Account, p.313, cited by Reid in "Trade and the Problem", p.53.
118. The year given derives from Willemsz.'s account from 1642 referred to earlier.
119. AA, pp.108a-110a.

120. Djajadiningrat, Atjèhsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, vol.1, s.v. BÉNTARA.
121. The remaining two are the enumeration of the Ulèëbalang in Aceh Proper and the description of the order of standing of officials in the court.
122. On the pepper production of Pasai and Pidie in the early 16th century, see Tomé Pires, Suma Oriental, vol.1, pp.138-145; Duarte Barbosa, The Book, vol.2, pp.182-185. For the pepper exports of Aceh in that century, see Boxer, "A Note on Portuguese Reactions", pp.415-428, and works referred to therein. Reid has suggested a shift in the centre of pepper-growing from the north coast to the west coast sometime in the second half of the 16th century. (Reid, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", pp.403-404) In fact, European sources from the first two decades of the 17th century tell of a decrease in the production of Aceh itself as early as the beginning of the century and reveal the increasing importance of west coast production. This shift probably accounts for Acehnese political expansion to the west coast and other pepper-producing regions in the later decades of the 16th century and during the reign of Iskandar Muda in particular.
123. Iskandar, Bustan, pp.35-36.
124. For example, see Waerwijck, "Oost-Indische Reyse", p.12, 14; Best, The Voyage, p.171, 175 fn.3; Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.1, illustration No.17 and pp.121-125. Lombard, Le Sultanat, p.46, 128-129. See also note (23) of Chapter III.
125. The accuracy of the Bustan is also to be studied in the course of our study.
126. Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.53.
127. AA, pp.24a-26a.
128. The authenticity and date of the entry are doubtful. However, as far as the titles (gelar) mentioned in it are concerned, there is sufficient corroboration from indigenous and European sources from the first half of the 17th century to verify that they were indeed in common use at that time. See also Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, pp.15-16. See also Lombard, Le Sultanat, pp.75-76.
129. Best (1613) and Beaulieu (1621) who were given the title of Orang

Kaya Putih, and W. Keeling (1616) entitled Orang Kaya Suci Hati belong to the former category. (Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.47; Keeling & Bonner, The East India Company Journals, p.137) J. de Meere (1640) and J. Harmansz. (1644) who were granted Orang Kaya Panjang and Orang Kaya Putih Kapitan Raja respectively, belong to the latter category. (Daghregister, Batavia, 1640-1641, p.59; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn. f.596v.)

130. Iskandar, Bustan, passim.
131. For the relevant entries in the AA, see note (98) of Chapter I.
132. A more or less systematic administration can be recognisable under Safiyyat al-Din. This, however, can be regarded as a result of the enhancement of the power of the Orang Kaya rather than as an effort to institutionalise the system of government, as we see in sub-section (iii) below. It will be pointed out that the part of the capital was quite systematically administered, of which we will see in Chapter V.
133. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", p.153; Reid, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", p.401.
134. It should be remembered that, unlike the Bustan, the Hikayat Aceh was not intended to be a history of Aceh in this period. But it does relate various historical events, which are supported by other sources, both native and European.
135. Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, pp.93-94, 96, 98-99. The word Raja is rather puzzling. The only explicit reference to it in the Hikayat is that "among the raja-raja of Aceh was one named sultan ^cAbdul-Jalil". Sultan ^cAbdul-Jalil was one of the sons of Sultan al-Kahhar and the paternal grandfather of Sultan Iskandar Muda. (ibid., pp.41-42, 100) This suggests that by raja-raja is meant princes and those of royal descent.
136. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.110-112, part of which is cited by Reid in "Trade and the Problem", pp.47-48; Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.148. See also Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, pp.96-98.
137. Davis, The Voyages and Works, pp.147-148; anonymous, "Journaal van Jacob Rijcx van Opmeer", p.68; Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.48.
138. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.112. He gives more than twenty thousands as the number of people killed in the civil turmoil during the first two

years of al-Mukammil's reign. This is supported by an account of Davis from 1599. Davis says that "this kings [sic, i.e. al-Mukammil] tooke the protection of the Childe, against which the Nobilitie resisted, but he having the Kings force and taking opotunitie, ended the lives of more than a thousand Noblemen and Gentlemen; and of the rascall people made new Lords and new Lawes." (Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.148) For further details of the 'child' and the power struggles, see Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", pp.167-168; Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.48.

139. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.112.
140. Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, p.150, 153.
141. Ibid., pp.137-154, 173-183.
142. Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.150.
143. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.74, 111; Lancaster, The Voyages, pp.96-97.
144. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.83. European sources from the early 17th century mention a group of nobles or nobility in the capital, apparently identical with the Orang Kaya. However, because European visitors had most to do with the officials directly and indirectly involved in the administration of the port of the capital, they give little information about the role played by the Orang Kaya in charge of internal administration. A typical example of this is an account of van Weert, who wrote in 1603 that the four Syahbandars under al-Mukammil ruled the land. (Waerwijck, "Oost-Indische Reyse", p.14)
145. Waerwijck, op. cit., loc. cit.; Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.150.
146. Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjéh, p.17; AA, pp.48a-49a.
147. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", pp.172-174; Lancaster, The Voyages, p.132; anonymous, "Journaal van Jacob Rijcx van Opmeer", p.68. In early 1603 van Weert states that "the old King no longer leaves his palace on account of his great age." (Waerwijck, "Oost-Indische Reyse", p.14)
148. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", pp.174-175. In August 1605 Davis reports that "The King of Achen having two sonnes, he kept the eldest at home with him, to succeed him after his death, and the youngest he made King of Pedir: whereupon the eldest sonne tooke his father prisoner, affirming he was too old to govern any longer, and afterward made warre upon his younger brother." (Davis, The Voyages

- and Works, p.171) According to Beaulieu, more than 60,000 Acehnese are said to have perished in the civil war. ("Mémoires", p.113)
149. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.113-114.
150. Ibid., loc. cit.
151. Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.50; Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.114.
152. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.102-103. See also Reid, "Trade and the Problem", pp.49-50. The new Orang Kaya were kept under tight control.
153. Ibid., loc. cit.; Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.51. A quarter century after the reign of Iskandar Muda a Dutch observer wrote that "They respect their King from a spirit of servitude and slavery and from servile fear,..." (Bowrey, A Geographical Account, p.296 fn.1)
154. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.102-103. For further details, see preceding section (2).
155. Iskandar, Bustan, pp.35-43. Neither the Hikayat Aceh nor the AA are informative. Apart from these indigenous sources, there is another Malay manuscript source, known as the Kanun Meukuta Alam, in the private collection of A. Hasjmy. In his book, entitled Iskandar Muda Meukuta Alam, Hasjmy uses the Kanun Meukuta Alam, together with a copy of the AA, as his major sources of information for a description of the system of government under Iskandar Muda. (pp.70-102) Although his description, particularly pp.70-84 and 92-99, is extremely interesting, it is to be regretted that he has not critically examined the Kanun Meukuta Alam before using it as a source of information. Simply because of this methodological shortcoming, we cannot but set aside his study. In view of the scarcity of indigenous sources relevant to 16th and 17th century Aceh, a critical study of the Kanun Meukuta Alam is definitely called for.
156. Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, pp.46-47.
157. Letters Received, vol.3, pp.96-100, 185-186.
158. Coolhaas, Coen, vol.7, pt.1, pp.396-397. He was one of the Acehnese assailants of the Dutch fleet under the command of the de Houtman brothers, in September 1599. He may be identical with the Orang Kaya Seri Maharaja Lela mentioned in the AA. (See note 146 above and the relevant part of the text) Further details are not known, however.
159. Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, pp.48-49; Tiele, Bouwstoffen, vol.2, p.169; Daghregister, Batavia, 1640-1641, pp.7-8.

160. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.55-67; Tiele, Bouwstoffen, vol.2, p.169.
161. This Orang Kaya may be identical with the Orang Kaya Raja Lela Wangsa mentioned in the Bustan. (Iskandar, Bustan, pp.38-39) Some twenty years later, he was released from captivity, thanks to the efforts of the English in India. (K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.579r.)
162. Iskandar, Bustan, p.35.
163. K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, f.1197, 1199, 1203-1204, 1208.
164. On the administration of law and justice, see Chapter III; and on the religious life of the capital, see Chapter IV.
165. Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, pp.46-47; Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.106.
166. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.46, 52. He sees the position of Laksamana as mayor of the city. (p.102) For further detail about Laksamana I's duties, see Chapter V.
167. The rivalry between the two was, according to the Bustan, the main cause of the fatal defeat of the Malacca campaign of 1629. (Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, pp.48-49)
168. See note (163) above.
169. K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, f.1223, 1225.
170. Boxer, "The Achinese Attack on Malacca", p.110, 114.
171. Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, pp.47-48.
172. On his role in the judicial administration, see Chapter III.
173. Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, pp.53-54, 90-95; Ibid., Bustan, p.32; Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", pp.154-158.
174. Iskandar, Bustan, p.32. Aru was reconquered by Aceh in 1564. (Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", p.154) Although it is not known exactly when Aceh established suzerainty over the west coast, it probably dates to the beginning of the 1560s at the latest. (Kathirithamby-Wells, "Achehnese control over West Sumatra", JSEAH 10 (1969), p.457; Reid, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", p.403) See also note (176) below.
175. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", p.168, 170-171.
176. Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, pp.64-65, 169-183. As Iskandar has pointed out, the Hikayat distinguishes Ghorî from Aru, while the Bustan takes both as being one place. (ibid., p.90 fn.56) Moreover, the Bustan

mentions the conquest of Deli in 1612, which is described in European sources either as Deli or as Aru. (Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", p.179; Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.97, 105) In 1613 Iskandar Muda, in his letter to King James I of England, wrote that he had conquered Aru lately. (Best, The Voyage, p.212) Two years later, in 1615, he wrote again to the same King that he conquered Basitan, Tamiang, Deli, Asahan, Tanjung, Panai and Rokan, all on the east coast of Sumatra, - with no mention of Aru. (Shellabear, "An Account of some of the oldest Malay MSS.", p.125, 127) Based on these accounts, Lombard is of the opinion that Deli and Aru are different places. (Le Sultanat, p.83, 92-93, 98) Further study on the locations of Ghoris, Aru and Deli as understood by the Acehnese at that time is needed. See also Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië, vol.1, s.v. ARU-BAAI, DELI.

177. Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.153.
178. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", p.173.
179. Ibid., pp.173-174.
180. There is however an indication that during the reign of ^cAli Ri^cayat Syah (1571-±1579) his brother (the future Sultan Seri ^cAlam, reigned for a short period in 1579) was the ruler of Periaman. (Ibid., pp. 157-158; Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, pp.39-40) Moreover, through royal marriages the Sultanate of Inderapura was brought under the Acehnese influence, in one way or another, in the 1570s. (Djajadiningrat, op. cit., pp.164-165; Kathirithamby-Wells, "Achehnese control over West Sumatra", pp.457-458) This Aceh-Inderapura relationship may partly be the reason for the enthronement of Raja Buyung, who was said to be a prince of Inderapura, as the Sultan of Aceh in the 1580s.
181. Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.171.
182. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", p.173.
183. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.103.
184. This results mostly from the uncertainty as to what degree the system of the Ulèëbalang was substantially adopted beyond Aceh Proper.
185. Both Kathirithamby-Wells and Das Gupta are of the opinion (with slight differences) that Aceh's control over the region had considerably weakened by the early years of Iskandar Muda's reign. (Kathirithamby-Wells, "Achehnese control over West Sumatra", pp.458-459) As far as Inderapura is concerned, there had existed rather close rela-

tions between Aceh and this state in the later decades of the previous century. (See note 180 above) However, there is no hard evidence to indicate that Inderapura was a vassal state of Aceh (Cf. Kathirithamby-Wells, op. cit., loc. cit.); and in fact, at the time of Beaulieu's visit to Tiku (1620) Inderapura was an independent state. ("Mémoires", p.97) It was, however, conquered by the Acehnese in 1633. (Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.1, p.193, 351, 412-413)

186. The word Panglima is understood to mean 'governor' in the English East India Company records. The earliest reference to the Panglima Periaman during this reign is in 1608, and for Tiku in 1612. (Purchas, Purchas his Pilgrimes, vol.2, pp.518-519; Keeling and Bonner, The East India Company Journals, p.138; Jourdain, The Journal, p.232, 235; see also Best, The Voyage, p.65, 67-68, 167)
187. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.41, 97; Tiele, "Europeërs", BKI 36 (1887), pp.244-245, 247 fn.2; Kathirithamby-Wells, "Acehnese control over West Sumatra", pp.458-459.
188. See note (185) above.
189. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.44.
190. Kathirithamby-Wells, "Acehnese control over West Sumatra", pp.460-461.
191. K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, f.109v., 128r.-v.; K.A.1058bis, "Copie missive" of Jan Harmansz., 11 Nov. 1644, f.471v.
192. Daghregister, Batavia, 1631-1634, p.240.
193. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.99. On the importance of rice to the Sultanate during this period, see Chapter VI.
194. The Panglima known to us during Iskandar Thani's reign are only those of Periaman and Tiku. (K.A.1040, "Originele missive" of Jan van der Meulen, 13 Feb. 1639, ff.1182-1183) Apart from this, P. Souty notes the existence of an ex-Panglima Inderapura in August 1643 in Aceh. (K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.673r.), but it is not known when a Panglima was first posted at Inderapura. However, it is certain that from its annexation to Aceh's dominions in 1633, Inderapura was put under the authority of Acehnese officials.
195. K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.557v., 564v., 580v.-581r.; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.664r., 665v., 668v.;

- K.A. 1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.570r., 580r.; K.A.1100, "Originele missive" of D. Schouten, 16 Sept. 1655, f.279v.; Daghregister, Batavia, 1653, p.40; Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.3, p.23, 585, 604-605, 626, 723.
196. Passim in a report of B. Bort in 1660. (K.A.1127, "Verbael" of Bort, ff.320r.-345r., 374r.-384r.; Kathirithamby, "Achehnese control over West Sumatra", pp.467-477. Even though the reason for the increase in numbers is not very clear, as we shall see in the following subsection, strained relations between Aceh and the Dutch since the capture of Malacca in 1641 and the destabilizing effect of this development on Aceh's hegemony may have been a contributing factor of considerable importance. (See also Kathirithamby-Wells, op. cit., p.479)
197. See section (2) above.
198. Kathirithamby-Wells, "Achehnese control over West Sumatra", p.479.
199. K.A.1127, "Verbael" of Bort, f.320r.-v., 324r.-326r., 335r.-336v., 340v.-341r.; Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, pp.498-499, 501-503; Ibid., Corpus Diplomaticum, vol.1, pp.345-347, 528-532; vol.2, pp.165-168.
200. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.44; Coolhaas, Coen, vol.7, pt.1, pp.396-397, 399-400. On this point, the remark of Snouck Hurgronje on the political power of the Acehnese rulers, saying that they exercised a kind of lordship over the neighbouring seas and ports, holds true. (The Acehnese, vol.1, p.127) However, his opinion that "this it is in which we must seek the true significance of the sultanate from the very commencement" was not the case for the administration of Aceh's dominions proper, i.e. Aceh Besar, Pidie and Pasai.
201. The Syahbandar, another senior port official found almost everywhere in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago during this period, is not known on the west coast under Acehnese rule. This group of officials is recorded in two different periods, i.e. 1610s and 1659-1660. Best, The Voyage, p.65, 67-68, 179-180; Letters Received, vol.2, pp.287-288; Ibid., vol.3, p.129, 188, 191, 220 222, 226, 235; Ibid., vol.4, p.4, 22, 125-127, 166-167; Ibid., vol.5, pp.30-31, 171-172; Coolhaas, Coen, vol.7, pt.1, p.396; the "Verbael" of Bort mentioned in notes (196) and (199) above. These officials were entitled to collect money from foreign merchants trading in pepper as the emolument of

their positions.

202. To be more specific, they were the collection of the export and import duties, control of the clandestine pepper trade, and the implementation of the ruler's commercial policies relating to the pepper trade of the English and Dutch East India Companies. For further details, see Kathirithamby-Wells, "Achehnese control over West Sumatra", pp.458-474.
203. The only military base in the region seems to be a fort in Tiku, which was probably built in 1621 after the pacification of a revolt in the region between Periaman and Inderapura. (On the relevant sources, see note 187 above) From the use of the Acehnese fleet in 1620, 1633, 1659-1660 and around the mid 1660s, it appears that in terms of military control of the region the Acehnese relied largely on their naval power and their well-trained war elephants. (Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.41; Tiele, "Europeërs", BKI 36, pp.244-245; Daghregister, Batavia, 1631-1634, p.238; K.A. 1123, "Rapport" of Bort, 29 Jan. 1660, f.509v.-510r.; K.A.1127, "Verbael" of Bort, f.339r.-v., 353r.-v., 374r.; Kathirithamby-Wells, "Achehnese control over West Sumatra", pp.476-477.
204. Kathirithamby-Wells, op. cit., pp.473-478.
205. There is no evidence to indicate that Kedah was really ruled by the Acehnese, even though it was conquered in 1619. In fact, Kedah belonged to the sphere of Siamese influence and was a tributary of Siam. (Bonney, Kedah: 1771-1821, pp.15-19) Pahang, which was devastated by the Acehnese campaign of 1618, was a state, the suzerainty over which was contested between Aceh and Johor for some two decades until its annexation by Johor in the early 1640s. (Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern", pp.431-440)
206. Andaya, Perak, The Abode of Grace, pp.42-49; K.A.1040, "Copie missive" of Harmansz., 3 April 1639, f.1234. For the early relationship with Aceh, see Andaya, pp.41-42; Andaya regards Perak as a vassal state of Aceh. (ibid., p.43)
207. On further details of rice, see Chapter VI.
208. K.A.1068, ^{Copie} "Daghregister" of Truijtman, f.222r.-v. Fortuitously, Truijtman noted this in relation to the fact that the gifts referred to were given to him by the Sultana.

209. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.107.
210. Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.3, p.605, 626.
211. See Chapter VI.
212. K.A.1127, "Verbael" of Bort, f.382r.
213. Daghregister, Batavia, 1663, p.88, 90; Kathirithamby-Wells, "Acehnese control over West Sumatra", pp.474-475.
214. For the sake of the record, it should be pointed out that there is no reference in Beaulieu's account to support Kathirithamby-Wells' claim that "15% of the gold and pepper produced was claimed as tribute by Iskandar Muda". (ibid., p.460) The relevant passage refers in fact to the tariff on export and import duties, both 7½% imposed by the port authorities in Tikou. (Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.44-45; see also Kathirithamby-Wells, p.461)
215. Pahang was one of the states which offered military assistance to the Portuguese on the occasion of the Acehnese attack on Malacca in 1629. However, Pahang fought on the Acehnese side from its recapture by Aceh in 1635 until 1642 when it was lost to Johor. (Djajadiningrat, "Ciritsch Overzicht", p.181; Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern", pp.434-435, 440) According to J. Harmansz., in 1639 Pahang asked Sultan Iskandar Thani to post an Acehnese Panglima to rule there. (K.A.1040, "Copie missive" of Harmansz., 3 Apr. 1639, f.1234) This suggests that Pahang accepted the status of dependency of Aceh for most of the 1620s and 1630s.
216. Andaya, Perak, p.43; K.A.1040, "Copie missive" of Harmansz., f.1232. According to the latter source, tin traded by the merchants from Bengal, Coromandel and Surat was about twice as dear in Aceh as in Perak. The high profitability of this trade, which brought from 70% to 100% profit, continued, as far as is known, until the middle of the 1660s. (Sources are: Dutch envoys' daghregisters and reports from 1636-1660; Daghregister, Batavia, 1663 and 1664)
217. Andaya, Perak, p.43; K.A.1040, "Copie missive" of P. Croocq, 10 Sept. 1639, f.1155.
218. K.A.1040, "Copie missive" of Harmansz., 3 Apr. 1639, f.1232; Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum, vol.1, pp.538-541; Ibid., vol.2, pp.78-81, 152-153. J. Truijtmán notes that the imposition of duties on tin

- exports from Perak by the Acehese ruler was an old practice. (K.A. 1070, "Origineel rapport" of Truijtman, 13 Jan. 1651, f.307r.)
219. For example, van Oudtschoorn records that 800 bahars of tin were brought to Aceh in 1644, but this was, he says, an unusually large shipment. (K.A.1059bis, "Origineel relaes" of van Oudtschoorn, 1 Dec. 1644, f.544v.) However, records of the Dutch factory in Aceh from 1645 give, over all, a similar figure for 1645. (K.A.1058bis, "Vervolch van Attchin's daghregister" f.438v., 445r., 446v.; K.A.1060, "Verbael van Attchin", 1 Dec.1644-28 Nov. 1645, f.167v., 170v.) It may be assumed that at least several hundred bahars of tin were transported to Aceh from the middle of Iskandar Muda's reign.
220. In fact, tin was also procured on a commercial basis. (K.A.1040, "Copie missive" of Harmansz., 3 Apr. 1639, f.1232) In the reign of Safiyyat al-Din, those who were engaged in the tin trade were the Sultana herself and senior Orang Kaya. (K.A.1060, "Verbael van Attchin", f.167v.; K.A.1123, "Rapport" of Bort, 29 Jan. 1660, f.515r.; K.A.1127, "Verbael" of Bort, ff.364r.-365r.; Daghregister, Batavia, 1663, pp.201-203, 633-634; *Ibid.*, 1664, p.480)
221. See Reid, "Trade and State Power", pp.408-412.
222. Kathirithamby-Wells, "Achehnese control over West Sumatra", p.465.
223. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.; K.A.1040, "Originele missive" of Meulen, 13 Feb. 1639, ff.1182-1184; *Ibid.*, "Originele missive" of Meulen to C. van Saenen, 13 Feb. 1639, ff.1185-1186, 1189.
224. K.A.1040, "Originele missive" of Meulen to Saenen, f.1186.
225. K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.567r., 571v.-572r.
226. Paulus Croocq, a Dutch envoy to Aceh in 1639, received a written charter from Iskandar Thani, granting exclusive pepper trade in the region. On other privileges conceded, see Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.2, p.56; K.A.1040, "Copie missive" of Croocq, 10 Sept. 1639, ff.1173-1174.
227. K.A.1040, "Copie missive" of Croocq, f.1163; Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern", p.434; Daghregister, Batavia, 1641-1642, p.364; Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, pp.73-74, 91, 99. The new Laksamana had the title Maharaja Lela. His predecessor had been in Pahang from late 1638 to mid 1642. However, his return to Aceh in 1642 did not cause the resignation of the Laksamana who succeeded him in his absence.

- (K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.67lv.) Moreover, the Acehnese fleet expected to return from Johor and Pahang, and which indeed returned in June 1639, was under the command not of the Orang Kaya Seri Maharaja Lela but of the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja, an illegitimate son of Iskandar Muda. (K.A.1040, "Copie missive" of Croocq, 3 Jul. 1639, ff.1194-1195, 1198; Cf. Tiele, Bouwstoffen, vol.2, p.357, 390 fn.1, and Bassett, p.434)
228. K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, ff.128r.-129r. The changes preferred against them were, for example, the neglect of the royal command to make preparations for expedition as noted in the preceding section (1), and an unauthorised meeting with the Johorese in 1640.
229. See Chapters III and IV. A senior religious figure of that time, Jamal al-Din, who fell victim to the heresy-hunt, seemed to have held the position of Kadi Malik al-^cAdil.
230. This Kadi Malik al-^cAdil was the same individual as the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja who was dismissed in March 1640, and was an illegitimate son of Iskandar Muda. (K.A.1051bis, "Copie memorie" of Compostel, 10 Aug. 1642, f.594v.; Ibid., "Daghregister" of Soury, f.553v., 560r.; Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, pp.97-98.
231. He had formerly been the Panglima of Tiku and Periaman and was the Panglima Gajah, officer in charge of the war-elephants, immediately before his promotion to this position. He was said to be next in order of rank to the Sultan. (K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, f.112v., 114v., 128r.)
232. Ibid., ff.112v.-113r., 128v. According to the Bustan, the Laksamana of his reign bore the title Seri Perdana Menteri. (Iskandar, Bustan, pp.57-58)
233. A synopsis only of his mission, including Safiyyat al-Din's letter to the Governor-General and her firman concerning the pepper trade on the west coast, is contained in Daghregister, Batavia, 1640-1641, pp.422-430; Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum, vol.1, p.345.
234. Daghregister, Batavia, 1641-1642, p.96, 123.
235. Ibid., loc. cit. On the Kadi, see notes (227) and (230) above, and on the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja, see note (231) above. A functional division of the office of Laksamana took place probably

by early November 1641. It was divided into two distinct posts, i.e. the Panglima Bandar or the executive administrator of the port of the capital, and the Panglima Dalam or Laksamana, i.e. administrator in charge of security and military matters. The Panglima Bandar of that time was the Laksamana Maharaja Lela of the later years of Iskandar Thani's reign. (See note 232 above) As for who the Laksamana was, it is rather dubious. There is an indication, however, in VOC records from 1642 that former Laksamana dismissed by Iskandar Thani, along with the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja, in March 1640 (see notes 228 and 230 above) probably resumed the position of Laksamana or Panglima Dalam, and this Laksamana and the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja referred to in note (231) above were closely related through the marriage of their children. He was third in order of rank in the council. (K.A.1051bis, "Copie memorie" of Compostel, 10 Aug. 1642, f.594r.-v.; Ibid., "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.508r.; Daghregister, Batavia, 1641-1642, p.123) Thus this division was rather political in nature, even though it resulted in a functional demarkation of the duty of the Laksamana before the Sultana's reign. (See sub-section i.) This apart, it is to be noted that in VOC records these officials are not always recorded in full, e.g. Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja is abbreviated as Orang Kaya Maraja.

236. According to the Bustan, they are the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil, the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja, the Orang Kaya Laksamana Seri Perdana Menteri and the Orang Kaya Seri Maharaja Lela. (Iskandar, Bustan, p.60, 62-63) This Orang Kaya Seri Maharaja Lela is identical with the Panglima Bandar Orang Kaya Maharaja Lela noted in Dutch sources from 1640-1643. According to an entry of the AA, written in the mid 1640s, they are the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil, the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja Mangku Bumi, the Orang Kaya Laksamana Seri Perdana Menteri and the Orang Kaya Seri Paduka Tuan. (AA, p.104a) It is known from other section of the AA that this Orang Kaya Seri Paduka Tuan was the Panglima Bandar, and this is corroborated by a daghregister of van Oudtschoorn (1644). As we shall see in Chapter V, this administrator was the same person as the Orang Kaya Seri Maharaja Lela (in the Bustan) and the Panglima Bandar Orang Kaya Maharaja Lela (in Dutch sources) mentioned above.

237. Daghregister, Batavia, 1640-1641, p.424; *Ibid.*, 1641-1642, p.96, 123, 163.
238. *Ibid.*, 1640-1641, p.423; Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern", p.433.
239. *Ibid.*, 1640-1641, p.423, 425-426; Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum, vol.1, pp.345-346; Bassett, *op. cit.*, p.437, 440. The firman of 1641, which granted the Dutch exclusive rights of trade on the west coast, the exemption of one ship a year from the tolls and duties imposed on pepper export, and the privilege of payment of tolls and duties in Dutch money (Rijksdaalder) is not a renewal of the verbal promises made in 1638 by Iskandar Thani. (Cf. Kathirithamby-Wells, "Achehnese control over West Sumatra", p.466 fn.81; see also note 226 above) The main reason for their fear was probably the military and naval supremacy of the Dutch who had concluded an alliance with Johor, still during Iskandar Thani's reign. Conflict between Aceh and Johor over the possession of Pahang from 1638 was also a contributing element. (Bassett, pp.439-440)
240. Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern", pp.437-438, 448
241. Daghregister, Batavia, 1641-1642, p.96, 123. The Laksamana was the other protagonist of the anti-Dutch faction because of his relationship with the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja mentioned in note (235) above, whereas the Panglima Bandar is reported to have been relatively neutral. (K.A.1051bis, "Copie memorie" of Compostel, 10 Aug. 1642, f.594v.; Daghregister, Batavia, 1641-1642, p.123) On their rivalry as evidenced in 1641, see below.
242. Daghregister, Batavia, 1641-1642, p.96, 123, 163.
243. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.* On the details of administration of law and justice, see Chapter III.
244. K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.565v., 567r.; see also preceding sections.
245. K.A.1051bis, "Copie memorie" of Compostel, ff.593r.-597v. His memo, which includes the political situation in court circles, as well as remarks on the procedure for audience and information relevant to commerce in the port of the capital, was a sort of guide written for his successor. He was the head of Dutch factory from 27 Jun. 1640 mid Aug. 1642. (K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, f.139v.; K.A.

- 1051bis, "Transporten van Jacob Compostel aen P. Willemsz.", 10 Aug. 1642, f.598r.)
246. "Copie memorie" of Compostel, f.593r.
247. Ibid., ff.593v.-594r.
248. Daghregister, Batavia, 1641-1642, p.96; Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, p.97; see also Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern", pp.448-449.
249. K.A.1051bis, "Copie memorie" of Compostel, f.594r. This taking side of the Sultana was only relative and this Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja fell into disgrace with her from time to time. (Daghregister, Batavia, 1641-1642, p.96, 123; K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.558v., 570v., 580v.; Ibid., "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.527r.) This indicates that she relied on the anti-Dutch faction rather than on the pro-Dutch one while endeavouring at the same time to keep a balance of power between the two. (Cf. Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern", p.438)
250. K.A.1051bis, "Copie memorie" of Compostel, f.594v.
251. K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.572v., 576v.; Ibid., "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.504v., 514v.; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.663v., 667v. Another English trading company, called Courteen's Association and established by Sir William Courteen, had had a factory in Aceh since 1637. (Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.3, p.563 fn.1)
252. K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.555v.; Boxer, The Dutch Seaborne Empire, pp.85-87.
253. K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.511v., 520r.
254. K.A.1051bis, "Copie missive", 9 Nov. 1642, ff.488v.-489r.; Ibid., "Mmissive van P. Willemsz.", 26 Jan. 1643, f.601v., 603r. However, the Sultana never took such a risk. For further details, see "Mmissive" of Willemsz., ff.603r.-604r., 605r.-v.; *ibid.*, "Originele missive naer Batavia", 26 Jan. 1643, f.610r.-v.
255. Ibid., "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.508r.; Ibid., "Mmissive naer Batavia", 25 Jan. 1643, f.606r.; Ibid., "Mmissive", f.601v.
256. K.A.1058bis, "Copie missive" of van Oudtschoorn, 12 Aug. 1645, ff. 451v.-452r. 455r.-v.; Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, pp.252-253.
257. K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.558r.

258. Ibid., "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.601v.
259. K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.672v.
260. K.A.1051bis, "Copie memorie" of Compostel, f.594r.-v.; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.664v.; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.581r., 591r.
261. See note (235) above.
262. K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.665r.
263. See note (235) above.
264. K.A.1051bis, "Copie memorie" of Compostel, f.594v. For further details, see Chapter V.
265. See sub-section (ii) of this section. Sulphur and camphor, other export products then produced in Aceh Proper and Pidie and Barus respectively, were also partly shared with them. With this concession, which probably dates from Iskandar Thani's reign, the royal monopoly of trade began to weaken and the Orang Kaya gradually emerged as mercantile officials from the viewpoint of their commercial activity during the Sultana's reign. This is another aspect of the change which occurred in the early 1640s.
266. This economic decline is already reported around the mid 1640s by Dutch observers, such as van Oudtschoorn and P. Willemsz. (Refer: K.A.1059bis, "Origineel relaes" of van Oudtschoorn, 1 Dec. 1644; K.A.1060, "Verbael van Attchin", 1 Dec. 1644 - 28 Nov. 1645; K.A.1058bis, "Vervolch van Attchin's daghregister", 26 Feb. - 12 Apr. 1645) A decrease in the pepper shipment from the west coast to Aceh owing to a corner in pepper by the Dutch after the conclusion of the agreement of 1641 was another important contributing factor.
267. K.A.1051bis, "Missive naer Batavia", 25 Jan. 1643, f.607r.; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.665r., 682r.-v.; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.583r.-v. On the importance of elephants in the trade of Aceh during this period, see Chapter VI.
268. K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.663v., 672v.; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.574r., 596r., 598r., 599r. Apart from these groups, there was another group of Orang Kaya of Malay origin in court circles. (See section (2) of Chapter I) Their influence gradually increased around the middle of

the century, as we shall see below.

269. Arasaratnam, "Dutch in Malacca", pp.481-482. The Dutch system of issuing passes to Indian vessels bound for the region was also introduced to Aceh by the Dutch factory from as early as Oct. 1642. (K.A. 1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.505r.; Ibid., "Missive" of Willemsz., 26 Jan. 1643, f.602v.; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.669v.) The Acehnese seem to have been rather indifferent to its introduction, however.
270. Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum, vol.1, pp.364-365; Arasaratnam, "Dutch in Malacca", p.483.
271. Arasaratnam, op. cit., pp.482-483. The tin regions, except Perak, concluded commercial treaties with the Dutch by January 1645. The date given of the Kedah-Dutch treaty should be 11 July 1642. (Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum, vol.1, p.364)
272. Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern", pp.447-448; Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, p.XI, XLVIII, 200, 252-253.
273. K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, ff.605r.-606v.; K.A.1058bis, "Translaet missive van den Coninghinne van Attchin, anno.1645", ff.799r.-801r.
274. Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, p.253.
275. K.A.1058bis, "Copie missive" of van Oudtschoorn, 12 Aug. 1645, f. 450v., 455r. Van Oudtschoorn does not specify who was the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja. However, VOC records from 1643, 1644 and 1649-52 relating to the official in this position with respect particularly to his matrimonial relationship with a certain official with the title Maharaja Di-raja, establish that the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja of 1645 and onward was the person in the position of Kadi Malik ai-^cAdil in 1643-44, and thus identical with the half-brother of the Sultana. (K.A.1051bis, "Missive" of Willemsz., 26 Jan. 1643, f.603r., 605r.; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Sourty, f.682v.; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f. 574r., 588r.-v.; Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, pp.492-493, 497; Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.2, p.520, 569; see also note (230) above. The first four sources, with the exception of f.588r.-v. of K.A. 1059bis, record the Maharaja Di-raja as the Kadi's 'brother-in-law'. However, van Oudtschoorn, on f.588r.-v., makes the correction that

the former was the latter's 'son-in-law'. The last two sources note that the Maharaja Di-raja is a son-in-law of the 'Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja'

276. VOC records from 1645 do not include any indication of the purge of Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja from the council. Van Oudtschoorn did make a daghregister of his mission in 1645, but it does not survive.
277. Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, pp.L-LVI, 354-356; see also Arasaratnam, "Dutch in Malacca", p.486.
278. Of the passive and conceding reaction shown by the Sultana in 1647-48, see Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, p.L, LIII; MacLeod, "De Oost-Indische Compagnie op Sumatra" IG 1904, pp.624-625. A defiant reaction on the Indian end, which produced armed conflict in Surat, shows a marked contrast to the Acehnese response. (Arasaratnam, "Dutch in Malacca", pp.488-489) The date of the lifting of naval blockade of Perak is late 1650. (MacLeod, p.627)
279. Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum, vol.1, pp.528-531, 538-541; K.A.1068, "Copie daghregister" of Truijtmán, f.246v.; Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, p.495, 497; K.A.1070, "Origineel rapport" of Truijtmán, 13 Jan. 1651, ff.307v.-308v., 311v.-312r. The councillors of the realm of 1649-50, in order of seniority, were: the pro-Dutch Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja mentioned in note (275) above, the anti-Dutch Orang Kaya Laksamana Raja Udahna Lela, the anti-Dutch Panglima Bandar Seri Paduka Tuan, a Malay by origin, and Orang Kaya Raja Bentara in the position of Kadi Malik al-^cAdil. (Based on K.A.1068, Bouwstoffen and K.A.1070 referred to above, and on Daghregister, Batavia, 1653, pp.39-40)
280. Apparently its fundamental cause was the presence of Dutch naval power off the harbour of the capital, which intensified in turn the difference in Aceh's Dutch policy among senior Orang Kaya. An accusation, exactly the same as the one made some ten years ago, against the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja was made by the anti-Dutch faction in the early 1650s. (K.A.1070, "Origineel rapport" of Truijtmán, 13 Jan. 1651, ff.307v.-308r.; Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.2, p.519) The only way available to the Sultana to ease the tension was the temporary expulsion of the pro-Dutch faction as had

- been done before. ("Origineel rapport" of Truijtman, f.308r.-v.; 311v.; Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.2, p.461; see also the relevant part of note (267) above)
281. K.A.1070, "Origineel rapport" of Truijtman, f.307v.; Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.2, pp.642-643.
282. Ibid., ff.307v.-308r., 311v.
283. Ibid., ff.311v.-312r.
284. K.A.1082, "Copie rapport" of Truijtman, 14 Dec. 1652, f.756r.; Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.2, pp.519-520, 569; see also Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern", p.449. The officials who were involved in the conclusion of the agreement of 1649 concerning the pepper trade of the west coast were assaulted. (Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, pp. 492-493, 496-497, 501-503)
285. On the details of the fights in 1651-52, see MacLeod, "Oost-Indische Compagnie", pp.627-628; Andaya, Perak, p.46.
286. K.A.1082, "Copie rapport" of Truijtman, f.756r.-v.
287. Ibid., loc. cit.
288. Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.2, p.647. This Orang Kaya Laksamana is reported to have been deposed some time after the coup of 1651. Moreover, it should be noted that the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil (in the person of the Orang Kaya Raja Bentara), who was reported to have been killed in the previous revolt, was the target on this occasion. (Cf. *ibid.*, p.569) Later this Kadi was deprived of his position and killed in the third revolt below. (Daghregister, Batavia, 1653, p.40)
289. See notes (235) and (236) above.
290. Daghregister, Batavia, 1653, pp.39-40 It is known that the impaired honour and dignity of those who had been deposed was restored. But it is not clear whether they were reinstated to their former positions, except Panglima Bandar Orang Kaya Seri Paduka Tuan who was reassigned to his former post and held it until his death in mid 1663. (Daghregister, Batavia, 1663, p.633)
291. We have already referred to most of them in the previous Chapter. As for Orang Kaya Maharaja Lela, he had formerly been called Paduka Tuan until 1644 when he was given the title Maharaja Lela, and held the position of Panglima Gajah from 1649. (K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.564v.; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.

- 674r.; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.587v., Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, p.493)
292. Deliberation concerning future measures was put forward by Truijtman, the Dutch envoy of 1649, 1650 and 1651-52, in 1652. (K.A.1082, "Copie rapport" of Truijtman, f.757r.; Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.2, pp.642-644) This prompted a report by van Oudtschoorn in Nov. 1653 in response to an inquiry made by the Governor-General and Council. (K.A.1092, "Origineel advys" of van Oudtschoorn, 5 Nov. 1653, ff.224r.-230r.) On the moves on the Acehnese side in 1653-54, see MacLeod, "De Oost-Indische Compagnie", p.633. It is to be noted that the reappearance of English, who had temporarily closed their factory in Aceh in the years 1649-1654, eventually made the Dutch defer the pursuit of offensive measures against Aceh for two years. (MacLeod, p.625, 633-634, also referred to by Kathirithamby-Wells, "Achehnese control over West Sumatra", p.468)
293. Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum, vol.2, pp.77-81; MacLeod, "De Oost-Indische Compagnie", pp.634-635; Kathirithamby-Wells, op. cit., pp.468-469.
294. Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum, vol.2, pp.152-153; MacLeod, op. cit., pp.635-636. This, however, does not mean that the blockade continued all year round for three years.
295. Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum, vol.2, pp.151-155; MacLeod, op. cit., pp.636-637.
296. K.A.1119, "Copie missive" of J. Keijser and B. Bort, 13 Oct. 1659, ff.296r.-299v. The treaty, consisting of nine articles, is by and large the same as the draft of June 1659 mentioned above. There are, however, some differences between the two. In article three of the treaty, it is stipulated that the tin of Perak will be divided equally between the two parties and to assure this mutual inspection of outgoing vessels is to be carried out as much as possible. (Cf. Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum, vol.2, p.153 and fn.2 on the same page) See also Kathirithamby-Wells, "Achehnese control over West Sumatra", p.470. The conclusion of the peace treaty did not bring about what the Dutch had hoped for: for several years after 1659 Aceh had more favourable position in the Perak tin trade. (See, for example,

- K.A.1127, "Verbael" of Bort, ff.352r.-353r., 363r.-365r.; Daghregister, Batavia, 1661, pp.13-14, 17-18; Ibid., 1664, pp.119-120, 267-268, 414, 480) Cf. Andaya, Perak, pp.47-49.
297. The only resistance was an attack on the Dutch factors and a confiscation of their merchandise on the west coast. (Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum, vol.2, pp.152-153; MacLeod, "De Oost-Indische Compagnie", p.623)
298. See note (290) above.
299. Sources are: K.A.1123, "Missive" of J van Groenewegen, 23 Dec. 1659 and 28 Jan. 1660, ff.499r.-504v.; Ibid., "Rapport" of Bort, 29 Jan. 1660, ff.507r.-516v.; Ibid., "Rapport" of Keijser, 17 Apr. 1660, ff. 519r.-524v.; K.A.1127, "Verbael" of Bort, ff.345v.-374r.
300. Leubè Kita Kali is another name for the position of Kadi Malik al-Adil. For further details, see Chapter III.
301. There occurred the dismissal of Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja in late 1659 in connection with a conflict between his son-in-law holding the position of Panglima Periaman and the central government. (K.A.1123, "Missive" of Groenewegen, 23 Dec. 1659, f.499r.-v.; Ibid., "Rapport" of Bort, f.509v.; Ibid., "Rapport" of Keijser, f.519v.; K.A.1127, "Verbael" of Bort, ff.353r.-354v.)
302. K.A.1123, "Rapport" of Bort, f.507v.; K.A.1127, "Verbael" of Bort, ff.368r.-370v.
303. Sources listed in note (302) above. According to Bort, the positions of the holders of these titles are vice-chief justice, Panglima Gajah and secretary of the Queen respectively. Cf. Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, p.482, 492-493; Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, pp.17-18, 23.
304. Daghregister, Batavia, 1663, pp.633-634.
305. For example, this was the case for the Panglima Periaman mentioned earlier in note (301) above and in section (2), and for the Panglima Bandar Orang Kaya Seri Paduka Tuan and another son of his in the position of Panglima Daya. (K.A.1100, "Originele missive" of Schouten, 16 Sept. 1655, f.277v., 279v.; K.A.1123, "Rapport" of Keijser, f.519v.) In addition, as the cases both of the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja-the Panglima Periaman (in note 301) and of the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja-Maharaja Di-raja (in note 275 above) suggest, marriage relationships were also an important element.

306. Kathirithamby-Wells, "Achehnese control over West Sumatra", p.469.
307. Sources listed in note (301) above. See also Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.3, p.325.
308. Kathirithamby-Wells, op. cit., pp.473-474.
309. Ibid., pp.475-476.
310. Ibid., pp.476-477.
311. Ibid., loc. cit.
312. Andaya, Perak, p.48.
313. Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.3, p.665.
314. Andaya, Perak, p.49, 63 fn.61.
315. Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.3, pp.585-586, 604-605.
316. Ibid., pp.625-626, 665, 685, 723.
317. Bowrey, A Geographical Account, pp.299-300. "Lord Chiefe Justice" is equivalent to the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil.
318. W. Dampier writes that "this Country is governed by a Queen, under whom there are 12 Oronkeys, or great Lords. These act in their several Precincts with great Power and Authority. Under these there are other inferior Officers, to keep the Peace in the several parts of the Queens dominions. The present Shabander of Achin is one of the Oronkeys." (Dampier, Voyages and Discoveries, p.98, cited also in Bowrey, p.299 fn.5)

CHAPTER III GOVERNING APPARATUS, PART II

The Administration of Law and Justice

An important index of the explicit role of Islam can be found in the extent that Islamic Law, the Shari^ca, was enforced in Islamic states. As the legal history of West Asia shows, the source of law in Islamic states was amplified, subsuming ^{traditional} law and law promulgated by the Sultans, despite the all-embracing character, at least in theory, of the Sacred Law.¹ A study of administration of law and justice in an Islamic state is, therefore, a study of the legal aspect of the governing system at the same time, and the question as to what extent the Sultanate of Aceh was close to or far from an 'ideal' Islamic state will be studied more closely.

Since Islam had been accepted in the Malayo-Indonesian world, a more or less similar process of acculturation of Islamic Law must have progressed, perceptibly or imperceptibly according to the local circumstances of a given society. It was, in a sense, a conflict between the two different customary laws, one of which had already been widely woven into the Shari^ca in the Arab world centuries before the coming of Islam to the East. It may have been a long process by which the Islamic notion of law was finally incorporated into pre-Islamic legal systems and traditions of Southeast Asia under the influence and initiative of the Ulamā^s and probably of secular rulers as well.² The degree of its acceptance and enforcement, and the conflict arising from this varied of course and were conditioned by different religio-cultural traditions. After

a centuries-long process of assimilation the indigenous Adat law came to be considered by common Muslims as being equal to the Shari^ca, though some of the learned would not share this view, preferring to distinguish the Islamic elements of their Adat from the native ones.³

Our present aim is to study the administration of law and justice in the Sultanate in the 16th and 17th centuries within this framework, since Aceh of this period was an Islamic state with the Sultan (or Sultana) the head of state. This may make clear various aspects of the legal ruling system in Aceh as a Sultanate and bring new findings to attention for a critical study of the Malay legal digests, such as the Undang-undang Melaka.⁴

Unlike various other states in the Malay Peninsula,⁵ very few Acehnese manuscripts on this subject have been preserved. As far as is known, there is virtually no relevant manuscript pandect dating from the 16th and 17th centuries, except the Mir³at al-tullāb, a Muslim law digest compiled by ^cAbd al-Ra²uf, a famous mystic of Singkel (on the west coast of Sumatra) under the rule of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din.⁶

Before examining the subject in question, let us say something about the study of Islamic Law in Aceh of this period. There is evidence that during the last three decades of the 16th century Aceh was visited by Muslim scholars from the Middle East and presented the appearance of one of the major centres of Islamic studies

in the Malay-Indonesian world from where Islamic influence spread throughout the archipelago. Possibly as a part of the study of mysticism then dominant, Islamic Law was taught by scholars of foreign origin, such as Shaikh Abu al-Khair from Mecca and Shaikh Muhammad Jailani of Gujarat, and the Law studied was that of Shāfi^c school.⁷ The Bustan suggests marked influenceⁿ of the ulamā^p on the Sultans. Sultan ^cAla al-Din (1579-1586) is said to have been very pious and commanded his subjects to observe faithfully the letters of the Shari^c.⁸ From the fact that an influx of ulamā^p of foreign origin is not evident in the 17th century except for Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (in the reign of Sultan Iskandar Thani) it may be inferred that the last quarter of th^{16th} century was a high point for the study of Islam in Aceh.

From this time until the end of the 17th century, successive Acehnese rulers gave royal patronage to the leading religious adepts in the capital, most of them native Sumatran mystics. Among them were Shaikh Syams al-Din, Shaikh Ibrahim (whose expertise was Islamic Law), Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and 'Abd al-Ra'uf.⁹ They in turn played roles as advisors to the ruler and undoubtedly much influenced the social and spiritual life of the Acehnese.

Thus there is every reason to believe that by the end of the 16th century, at the latest, Islamic Law had become an established force in Aceh, and as a consequence the prescriptions of Islamic Law had begun to exert their influence on the Acehnese, particularly on those belonging to the ruling class in the capital. In addition,

as the example of Sultan ^cAla al-Din suggests, the enforcement of Islamic Law in the Sultanate may have been promoted under the initiative of the rulers, who were naturally affected by their protégés. Even if their motives may have been highly personal and the degree of influence varied from one reign to another, depending on the political authority of the Sultans and the Sultana, it can hardly be doubted that Islamic Law had become an integral part of the law of the Sultanate.

In the following, we look at the administration focussing on the structure of the legal authorities and on various actual cases from this period.

1. The Law Courts and their Structure

European sources from the end of the 16th century and the early years of the 17th century tell us nothing about the law court, except for a very brief account by F. de Houtman from 1601. According to him, there was a law court near the royal enclosure, where he faced the Acehnese judges under the command of the Sultan on the question of conversion to Islam.¹⁰ At that time a house of detention was also situated adjacent to the outermost gateway of the palace.¹¹ This may indicate that the administration of justice was very much a matter of concern to the ruler.

As for the Qāqī (judge), there are references both from Beaulieu and from the Hikayat Aceh. Some thirty years after the event Beaulieu

notes that in the enthronement of al-Mukammil in 1589 a crucial role in political intrigues was played by a Qāḍī, who reconciled the conflicting Orang Kaya by his authority and remonstrations.¹² The Hikayat describes the Qāḍī's participation in electing a ruler upon the death of ^cAli Ri^cayat Syah in 1579. In addition, it says that al-Mukammil appointed a Faqīh, bearing the title Raja Indera Purba, as the first Kadi Malik al-^cAdil.¹³

Although little is known, beyond this, of the legal system prior to the reign of Iskandar Muda, what evidence there is suggests that long before the 17th century there were certain established institutions administering the law and order of the realm, a system of which the ruler, represented by a group of Qāḍī with the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil as their head, and the Dalam (royal enclosure) were the pivot and the centre respectively.

From the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda clearer information is available about various courts and their structure and jurisdictions. Studies of this subject have already been undertaken by Lombard and Reid, based mainly on Beaulieu.¹⁴ What follows is his testimony.¹⁵

The judicial system under Iskandar Muda was a composite one, consisting of two different levels of administration. One was the central and upper level, which was under the direct authority of the ruler, whose representatives were the Qāḍī and the leading Orang Kaya in the capital. The other was a local level, at which internal

disputes and transgressions occurring in the territory of the Orang Kaya i.e. Nanggròh were settled by respective Orang Kaya as de facto rulers, who acted nevertheless in the name of the Sultan. The jurisdiction of the upper level seems not to have come in^{to} dispute with or to have overlapped with that of the lower, local level since Beaulieu suggests by implication that the latter dealt, in essence, with village matters or disputes, civil in nature, in which the Orang Kaya possibly acted as arbitral judges. Very little is known of the lower level, however.

The upper jurisdiction was divided into four separate courts each with its own circumscribed jurisdiction. A 'civil' court, within whose jurisdiction it was to settle disputes arising from debts and to decree punishment, sat six mornings a week in a Balai (gathering hall or house) near the principal mosque (Bait al-Rahman or Meuseugit Raya) under one of the leading Orang Kaya as presiding judge. At the 'criminal' court in the Balai adjoining the gate of the castle (the Dalam) disputes, murders, thefts etc. committed in the city were judged by groups of the Orang Kaya by turns. A 'religious' court with the Qādī as presiding judge had cognizance over offences against the Sharī^ca. Equally important was the court at the customhouse, where the Orang Kaya Laksamana was responsible for settling disputes among merchants, both foreign and native.

Quite obviously, Beaulieu describes the four courts and respective jurisdictions very much in European terms. We know that Muslim

jurists do not recognize any distinction between 'civil', 'criminal' and other branches of law. In this respect, it is of particular interest that on the problem of Islamic Law and practice G. Bers-trässer has suggested to distinguish Islamic Law into three broad categories: (1) that of ritual, family, and inheritance law, which adhered most closely to the Sharī^ca; (2) that of criminal, constitutional, and fiscal law, which diverged furthest, in some cases completely, from the Sacred Law; and (3) that of commercial law, which falls somewhere between these two.¹⁶ Yet Beaulieu's observations reveal two remarkable characteristics of the court system.

The first is that the so-called 'religious' was further divided into two distinct courts, i.e. a 'purely' religious court and one dealing with the cases pertaining to matters of a civil nature. As we shall see in the following section, by 'civil' matters Beaulieu means cases of debts, marriage, divorce and inheritance, all of which properly belong to item (1) above. On the other hand, the purely 'religious' court sat in judgement of transgressions against fundamental requirements for faithful Muslim, for example drinking, gambling and the neglect of the obligatory daily prayers and fasting.¹⁷

The second is the existence of the court of the customs-house, which we may call a commercial court. It has attracted little attention, despite the fact that the practices and rules relating to the port and trade - the port of the capital, it will be recalled, was the only port open for international trade in the 17th century - were indeed an extremely substantial division of the law of the

Sultanate. The jurisdiction of this court, as Reid has suggested,¹⁸ included the disputes resulting principally from the enforcement of commercial law, most of which are found in the fourth part of the AA.

Beaulieu provides us with surprisingly little information on the leading part played by the Qāḍī and the Fuqahā^ᵖ (jurists).¹⁹ We know from the third part of the AA that there was a group of religious dignitaries who played an essential part next to the Sultan in the Islamic religious festivals, as we shall see in Chapter IV. Shaikh Syams al-Din, the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil²⁰ and groups of the Fuqahā^ᵖ and the Ulamā^ᵃ mentioned there must have constituted the personnel from whom the Qāḍī and the Fuqahā^ᵖ of the realm were chosen.

Beaulieu's information is complemented 15 years later by Jacob Compostel, a Dutch envoy to Iskandar Muda in 1636, the last year of his reign. According to Compostel's daghregister, "the great Bishop", with the consent of or sometimes by the command of Iskandar Muda, held a lawcourt once a week to judge thefts, drunkenness, and breaches of etiquette in the presence of the ruler or in contravention of royal commands.²¹ The court meant by Compostel probably corresponds to the 'criminal court' of Beaulieu. Furthermore, according to a Malay manuscript written by Di Meulek, there were courts, four in number, before the reign of Sultan Iskandar Thani. They were the Dar al-Mahkama Shari^ca (Shari^ca court), Dar al-Mahkama Adat (Adat

court), Dar al-Mahkama Reusam and Dar al-Manhkama Qanun.²² It is not possible, however, to correlate them with those given by Beaulieu due largely to uncertain authenticity of his manuscript.

In addition to this information, there are two supplementary accounts. One, as Lombard has reported, is that Iskandar Muda expanded the Dalam and renovated the mosque Bait al-Rahman in 1613-1614.²³ The second, Peter Mundy, states in 1637 (or perhaps 1638) that 'in the Castle greene were allsoe 3 little low lodges off boards Full off long nails or spikes,....Here some offenders are put and kept till they are called forth to receave liberty or punishment, ..."²⁴ This house of de^otention, apparently dates to Iskandar Muda's reign, recalls a similar building some four decades earlier mentioned by Houtman. Furthermore, regarding the court at the customs house, there is every reason to suppose, as will see in Chapter VI, that this court probably originated ~~from~~ the legislation and implementation by Iskandar Muda of rules regulating trade, particularly of foreign merchants, as early as the beginning of the 1610s.

From all this information it may be concluded that sometime in early 1610s Iskandar Muda considerably amplified and firmly established system of law machinery which had already existed for a long time. Under his rule this formed a significant part of the ruling apparatus ensuring him autocratic authority. We can see in this law court system too the centralised power of the ruler as head of the Islamic state.

The death of the autocratic Iskandar Muda and the subsequent erosion of central power, as we have already seen in Chapter II, inevitably brought about changes in the nature of legal administration of the Sultanate. This, however, does not mean that the court system was itself fundamentally changed after his death. Rather, the degree to which it was used arbitrarily by the ruler himself (or herself) changed after this time.²⁵ As we shall see in section (2) below, to the ruling class Iskandar Muda's death was the end of a tyrannical enforcement of law and of a reign of terror, and at the same time the beginning of their administration of the judicial system set up by him. In fact, throughout the rest of the century a strictness and rigidity of law enforcement, also under female rulers, are reported by European observers.²⁶

To what extent the court system mentioned above underwent changes is not very clear. We know, however, from various sparse accounts that at least three courts out of the four, i.e. the court dealing with the matters categorized under item (1) above, the one that judged criminal cases, and the court of the customs house, continued to exist in the reigns of Iskandar Thani and of his successor Safiyyat al-Din, and the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil seems to have played a central role in the system.²⁷

Yet, a change in the character of this position or office is noticeable, particularly during the reign of Safiyyat al-Din.

The first Kadi Malik al-^cAdil in her reign was, as already

seen in Chapter II (sections 2 and 3) her half-brother and he was important more as a powerful political figure rather than as an administrator of jurisprudence. The reason for this was due largely to the political situation in the early years of the 1640s, examined in Chapter II (section 3), and partly to the heresy-hunt instigated by al-Rānīrī under Iskandar Thani, in which many learned men were persecuted.²⁸ This Kadi remained in office for several years.

It is worthy of note that this Kadi is recorded in VOC records as 'Leubè' Kita Kali (Kali is Acehnese variant of the Arabic Qāḍin) - of course recorded in various corrupted form - as well as chief Bishop or Archbishop.²⁹ We know that the word 'Leubè' is used to denote a person who is a pious Muslim, ranking lowest among learned Muslims in Aceh.³⁰ The use of this word may indicate a decline in the quality of the Kadi who was responsible for the administration of Islamic Law.

The second Kadi Malik al-^cAdil, an Orang Kaya Raja Bentara, is said to have been a young inexperienced man in low esteem and of little political significance even though he was, in terms of the formal hierarchy, in the position of chief councillor. His position as "the president of the judicature" is reported to have been based upon his knowledge of Islam.³¹ This Kadi was involved in the struggles for power early in the second half of the century and was finally murdered in January 1653 as noted in Chapter II.³² His death during

the political struggles of that year may be connected with an account in al-Rānirī's work, Fatḥ al-Mubīn^c alā al-Mulḥidīn.³³ Al-Rānirī writes that 'his [i.e. Saif al-Rijal's] motive and intention was none other than to seize control of the kingdom. It was not until Saif Allah came and killed him that the fire of heresy was quenched"³⁴ We know that Saif al-Rijal, after his debate with al-Rānirī, won the favour of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din as early as late 1643.³⁵ It is highly probable that this account refers to the plot of 1653, which aimed to enthrone the Minangkabau Saif al-Rijal, who must have been Kadi Malik al-^cAdil at this time. Thus it may be suggested that Saif al-Rijal probably assumed the office of Kadi Malik al-^cAdil sometime in the middle of 1640s³⁶ and that his knowledge of Islam was higher than that of his predecessor and supporter, the half-brother of Safiyyat al-Din. Because of his lack of experience his authority as chief legal administrator may have very much been restricted in the tumultuous political situation of that time, in which ordinary crimes and transgressions were comparatively less important.

Another Kadi Malik al-^cAdil is known to us from 1659-1660. Balthasar Bort reports in 1659 that "Leubè Kita Kadi [is] the Archbishop and justice, presently religious and secular [justice]".³⁷ About a year later, he further states that the Leubè Kita Kadi is the chief religious and spiritual councillor of the realm and in the position of chief religious judge as well as of secular one.³⁸ He also mentions a certain Raja Bentara, whose position was the

"Vice-President of the Supreme Court of Judicature" (Vice President van den Hoogen Raad van Justitie).³⁹ These accounts suggest that even a quarter century after the reign of Iskandar Muda the system for the administration of justice had been maintained relatively intact despite the changes in the balance of power and civil turmoils in the Sultanate since then, and that there existed a collective body responsible for the administration of law and justice.

It will be noted that the Kadi of 1659-1660, though recorded as 'Leubè' by Bort, was in all probability an c-ālim⁴⁰ and very likely exerted considerable influence upon Acehnese religious life as religious teachers did in the earlier period, particularly in the capital. It can, therefore, be presumed that the administration of this Kadi's time would be more orientated to Islamic Law, compared to the preceding years of Safiyyat al-Din's rule. Moreover, when we take the image of this Kadi whom Bort briefly describes in extremely naive terms, it is tempting to identify this Kadi with Abd al-Ra^ʿuf, who is believed, however, to have returned about 1661 to Aceh.⁴¹ This identification cannot be proved but it may be assumed that Abd al-Ra^ʿuf's return and subsequent royal patronage probably further stimulated and encouraged the orientation to Islamic Law in the judicial administration of the Sultanate from the 1660s, and that the duumvirate of Kadi Malik al-^cAdil-^cAbd al-Ra^ʿuf is possibly comparable to that of Shaikh Ibrahim-Shaikh Syams al-Din in the reign of Iskandar Muda.⁴²

As for the body of legal experts, an entry in the AA regarding the order of precedence of the Court is relevant. It remarks that among those who came to be presented at Court sometime in the first half of Safiyyat al-Din's reign were a number of Fuqahā and the Hukkām of Pidie.⁴³ We have already seen in the previous Chapter that the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil was given the first place in the order at audiences. Even though further detail is not given, the enumeration of these religious figures can be regarded as an indication that there was a legal corps forming one branch of the ruling institutions of the Sultanate, a corps which was certainly headed by the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil together with his deputy and which administered law and justice along with senior Orang Kaya.⁴⁴ Indeed, in the middle 1680s Thomas Bowrey reported the existence of such a body.⁴⁵ Here too, we can find an analogy with the legal administrative body of half a century earlier.

To sum up, the system of the administration of justice of the Sultanate was well established by Iskandar Muda, and was maintained, by and large, even under the diminishing royal power of his successors. However, changes were inevitable under Iskandar Thani and Safiyyat al-Din. The changes were in the nature of the judicial rule and of the depth of knowledge of Islam of the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil, and were largely conditioned by politics in court circles. As far as the latter change is concerned, however, recovery from the decline of the 1640s is recognizable in the later years of the reign of Safiyyat al-Din. Furthermore, there had always been a group of

experts in fiqh (science of law or jurisprudence) at the centre of power throughout the reigns of the Acehnese rulers from the second half of the 16th century towards the end of the 17 century.

Before proceeding to examine various cases and punishments, the relationship between the legal administrative body and the police force, the other important judicial authority, must be taken into account. It is well-known that at the early period of Islam the jurisdiction of the Qāḍī was taken over by the political authority in many respects.⁴⁶ Erosion by the police force of the Qāḍī's sphere was one of them. What was the case for Aceh in this respect?

As outlined in Chapter II (sections 1 and 2), Aceh Proper was divided into four quarters, security in each of which was the responsibility of four officials called Penghulu Kawal. Besides this force, there existed in Iskandar Muda's reign a slave-corps of those charged to put into effect royal commands and sentences that he and the lawcourts passed.⁴⁷ Although the existence of the 'religious' court reported by Beaulieu mentioned above suggests by implication that at that time there were the Muḥtasib, i.e. officials exercising the function of ensuring that the precepts of the Sharī^ca are observed, there is no clear indication that they had certain limited jurisdiction independent of that of the Qāḍī. In fact, various cases and punishments dealt with below establish that the police and patrolling forces had no authorised legal power to punish culprits without trial, and if any such arbitrary power existed, it must have been with the ruler,

who could himself give any orders he wished to his slave-corps.

2. Cases and Punishment

How was law and justice actually administered in Aceh during this period? To date little study of this subject has been undertaken, not only for Aceh but also for other states in the Malay Peninsula and Indonesia, even though relevant data are relatively easily accessible, particularly from the 17th century.

From the outset, however, it ought to be noted that the cases and disputes observed and recorded by European observers are confined to those which occurred in the urban area of the capital, and consequently disputes and other cases arising at various local levels, e.g. in Gampōng, Nanggròë and other areas outside Aceh Proper, are not recorded. In studying these cases, they have to be seen against the background of Islamic Law since the system of the administration of justice was, as seen above, considerably influenced by that of Islam. In addition, it is also important to look at the respective cases and disputes in the light of the relationship between the Sharī^ca and the indigenous judicial practice and principles as Adat law and substantive law formulated by the rulers. These two points of view are of vital importance for an understanding of what law really was for the Acehnese of the capital of the time as well as of the question of to what extent the Sultanate of Aceh during this period can be said to be an 'ideal' Islamic state in terms of legal administration.

The norms of Islam are essentially ethico-religious in nature and because of this the penalties for dereliction or transgressions are also of the same nature, the enforcement of which is only exceptionally laid down.⁴⁸ The punishments established by Islamic Law are of four kinds. They are retaliation (Qisāṣ), blood money (Diya), punishment exactly defined by the Law (Ḥadd) and the punishment inflicted by the legal authority at its discretion (Ta^czīr).⁴⁹ The Ta^czīr is, according to the Law-books, inflicted for transgressions that are not subjected to the Ḥadd punishment.⁵⁰

Below, we look at various cases and their punishments recorded in European sources according to the categorization made by Bergsträsser who has been noted earlier. At the outset, however, it should be noted that European sources are not always clear as to the question of which lawcourts, excluding that of the customs house, settled the respective cases.

i. Cases criminal in nature

a. Unlawful intercourse

Unlawful intercourse was regarded as a very grave sin in Islamic society. In Aceh, three cases are known to us from this period. Two out of the three involve adultery.

The earliest reported by Thomas Best in 1613. He says that a man who committed adultery with another's wife was put to death and his corpse left lying near the gate of the Dalam to be eaten by dogs.⁵¹

The fate of the woman was not reported.

The next case, which occurred in 1642, was brought against the adulteress, after the arrest of the adulterer, who had been found not guilty because of insufficient proof. Both were sentenced to death by flogging by the order of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din.⁵²

The third case involved a Muslim captain from Bengal, called Mirs Mamoet, and a daughter of a certain Sayyid Sierips (?) Amat in 1642.⁵³ The Sayyid acting on his own initiative killed the captain because the latter had refused to marry his daughter, while the case was still under consideration.⁵⁴ In retaliation for this killing, a fellow Bengali merchant requested the Sultana to put to death the girl and the Sayyid as well.⁵⁵ This fellow Bengali seems to have understood this killing as a murder case and thus the right of Qisās was claimed. However, the matter was settled by the senior Orang Kaya (the Laksamana and the Panglima Bandar) together with the Leubè Kita Kadi and his assistants so that the girl was punished by strangling by a relative "according to their law".⁵⁶

At about the same time an Acehnese requested Safiyyat al-Din to punish the adultery of his wife and in response to which the Sultana entrusted the enactment of justice to the Leubè Kita Kadi.⁵⁷

These cases suggest that the punishment for adultery in Aceh was very severe, involving the death penalty. According to the Shāfi'ite Law-book, flogging or stoning combined with banishment for

a certain period is the usual punishment,⁵⁸ but in practice those guilty were often punished summarily by means of secret action, usually resulting in death by strangling.⁵⁹ 'Their law' on adultery mentioned by the Dutch observer may have been blended with the relevant prescriptions in the Shari^ca, particularly in combination with its proceedings as the second case suggests.

b. Drinking

The prohibition on drinking, whether of wine or spirits, is one of the best-known characteristics of Islam. Despite this Qur^ānic prohibition, drinking arrack had been rather common in Aceh, particularly at the Dalam during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda. It is often reported that arrack was served at royal banquets, especially those held in honour of European visitors. Acehnese arrack at that time, according to van Weert, was distilled from rice and a certain sort of nut.⁶⁰

The Bustan states that Iskandar Muda prohibited the drinking of arrack.⁶¹ In the last year of his reign, however, Jacob Compostel writes that a certain Nakhoda Fijgie has been a licenced distiller and seller.⁶² This suggests that arrack-production and sale for non-Muslim foreign merchants may have been under state control. Compostel goes on to say that two drunken Acehnese were taken from the house of Nakhoda Fijgie and then charged before the Penghulu Kawal, the chief of the police force.⁶³ Molten lead was poured down their throats.⁶⁴

The other case, which occurred in 1642, is of two men from the English factory, Portuguese by origin, whose hands were cut off

by order of Safiyyat al-Din on the charge that they had attempted to distill arrack, production of which had been prohibited by her on the threat of corporal punishment. On that occasion, the Sultana issued a written ordinance, warning the Dutch to refrain from drinking arrack or palmwine (Tuak) at any Acehnese house, infringement of which would result in a summary punishment.⁶⁵

In marked contrast in terms particularly of the penalty for drinking, according to the Sharī^ca, not only drinking but also buying, selling or giving alcohol is liable to punishment, but the penalty is flogging with 40 lashes according to the Shāfi^cī school.⁶⁶

It may be concluded then that in general terms the Qur^ʾānic prohibition on drinking was faithfully obeyed by the Acehnese. Non-Muslims were permitted to produce and sell arrack, under rigid state control, but only to non-Muslim foreigners. For the Acehnese, this was strictly prohibited and accordingly the penalty for the forbidden acts was extremely severe, even exceeding what their Shāfi^cite Law-book prescribes. It is to be noted that this leaves Iskandar Muda himself as rather hypocritical in breaking the Qur^ʾānic prohibition.

c. Theft

Theft seemed to be common in Aceh during this period. In 1621 Beaulieu reports the words of Iskandar Muda himself that Aceh had been known as a heaven for murders and brigands,..; where one had to defend oneself against armed robbers in broad daylight, and

to barricade one's house at night.⁶⁷ Other observers in the second half of the 17th century also report its daily occurrence notwithstanding the severe punishments inflicted.⁶⁸

European observers describe several cases. Jacob Compostel tells us that in late 1636 four concubines of Iskandar Muda were severely punished. Their hands, feet and noses were amputated and then their bellies were opened and their flesh was excised from their bones. After this their bodies were burnt.⁶⁹

Pieter Soury states in 1642 that in July a thief who stole a buffalo has his hands cut off.⁷⁰ Again, in November of that year, an Acehnese, who stole a horse and sold it in Pidie, was sentenced by Safiyyat al-Din to have his throat cut.⁷¹

In addition, William Dampier, who was in Aceh in the later years of the 1680s, provides a detailed picture. He writes:

"A Thief for his first Offence, has his right Hand chopt off at the Wrist; for the second Offence off goes the other; and sometimes instead of one of their Hands, one or both their Feet are cut off; and sometime (tho' very rarely) both Hands and Feet. If after the Loss of one or both Hands or Feet, they will prove incorregible,... they will steal with their Toes, then they are banish'd to Pulo Way, during their Lives:... On Pulo Way there are none but this sort of Cattle:... This sort of punishment is inflicted for greater Robberies; but small pilfering the first time Thieves are only whipt; but

after this a Petty Larceny is looked on as a great crime. I never heard of any that suffer'd Death for Theft."⁷²

Thomas Bowrey, a contemporary of Dampier, gives^a slightly different picture. He says:

"If a thief apprehended that hath Stolen anythinge to the Value of mace [i.e. mas], vizt. 05 s. English, he is with all Speed carryed to Pallace, and before the Chiefe Orongkay's face both his hands are cut off in the joynts, for the Second Small crime his feet, and, upon his committinge a third, his head. Yet, if the first crime be any thinge considerable vizt. to the Value of a Cow or Buffolo, which Exceedeth not 30s. English, it is present death, more welcome to them then [sic] the former punishments, but that is to make Examples for Others."⁷³

Comparing these accounts with what the Shāfi^cīte Law-book stipulates on the penalty for theft,⁷⁴ the following can be concluded. Basically, the attitude to this crime was typically Islamic, and the letter of the Law-book was rigorously applied, in terms of the classification of theft into two categories according to the value of stolen goods, and in terms of the penalty. The punishment in Aceh, however, can be said to have been savage to a degree far beyond that provided by Islamic Law. Moreover, it should be noted that, as the cases in 1632 and 1642 suggest, theft of the belongings of the royal household and of horse - which was an integral element of the police and security forces in the capital and the possession of which was one of the symbols

of power⁷⁵ - constituted an especially serious crime, for which an extremely painful death was usual as exemplary. All thefts other than these were punished according to slightly tuned up provisions of Islamic Law.

d. Blood money

Compensation for a homicide or physical injuries unjustly committed by means of money or goods was well-established in Islamic Law.

Only one, apparently relevant, case is recorded by Pieter Willemsz. in late 1642. The case is as follows: a certain Acehnese, who had committed homicide, was sentenced to death by the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil and other judges, upon which he made a petition undertaking to pay 388 tahils in exchange for his life - this probably a payment in compensation to the offended party. The Kadi who delivered this request to the Sultana, and Safiyyat al-Din replied that the matter had to be settled "according to traditional practice and in accordance with the law of the land".⁷⁶

Further details are unfortunately not given by Willemsz. However, taking into consideration the fact that he, an eyewitness of the case, distinctly describes two standards, i.e. 'traditional practice' and 'the law of the land', it may be inferred with some certainty that the former implies indigenous legal practice, and the latter Islamic Law.⁷⁷ In other words, Saifyyat al-Din's reply

suggests that a Qisās-Diya (retaliation-compensation) case may be judged according to either the traditional way of punishment or to the Islamic provisions.⁷⁸ In this regard, it is worthy of note that, as we shall see later, a royal decree (Sarakata) of Sultan Syams al-C^cAlam in 1726 explicitly indicates the existence (or perhaps a remnant) of two sources of law as to blood money, i.e. Islamic Law and traditional judicial practice, with the application of the former law being recommended.⁷⁹ Thus it may well be that in this respect there was an incompatibility between the two standards of law, though there is some evidence of the application of the Islamic prescriptions, or at least considerable influence of Islamic Law relevant to Diya, in Acehnese society.⁸⁰

e. Cases judged by the legal authority at its discretion

Unlike the cases dealt with above, the cases belonging to this classification are outside the purview of the Shari^ca and are usually relatively minor crimes in terms of gravity compared to the former cases.⁸¹

Several examples of the application of discretionary and variable punishment by the legal authority, known as Ta^czīr in Islamic Law, are reported by European observers. There are few ways of punishment which can be regarded as Ta^czīr.

One is a banishment of a thief to Wè island north of Aceh harbour.⁸² Other punishment is flogging for various charges, such as

being a peeping Tom, quarreling or defaming ^{an} other's face.⁸³
Exceptionally severe punishments were dealt out for several cases
which involved false accusation, violence and injury.⁸⁴

In 1641, a false accusation of a plotted usurpation of
the throne in collaboration with the Dutch was laid against the
half-brother of Safiyyat al-Din, as noted earlier,⁸⁵ by a broker,
a Portuguese mestizo by origin, acting on the instigation of the
Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja. After the inquiry into the ac-
cusation, the death sentence was handed down to the mestizo.⁸⁶

In a case of violence against a mother by her son in
1642, the punishment of amputation of both hands was inflicted, a
punishment which had been a customary one, according to the remark
given by the reporter, P. Willemsz.⁸⁷ On the other hand, the death
penalty was promulgated for a similar case against the Penghulu
Kawal. However, on this occasion on a pe^tition for mitigation
being presented by Muslim captains and merchants it was reduced to
the amputation of the left hand.⁸⁸

As for cases of injury, the only known example occurred in
1642. As detailed in note 65 in connection with the prohibition of
drinking, Nakhoda Marsaly seriously wounded several men in the bazaar
with a sword. For such an offence the punishment was usually the
cutting open of the belly or amputation of the hand. In this case,
however, the Nakhoda was pardoned thanks to a petition for mercy

presented to the Sultana by the senior officials of the royal court and the Penghulu Kawal. It may be noted that they were rewarded for their intervention by the accused.⁸⁹

Another remarkable punishment that occurred in 1613 may be mentioned. This was the punishment of a peeping Tom who spied on Iskandar Muda's concubine while she was bathing: his eye was plucked out.⁹⁰ These cases suggest that for ill-treatment of a mother the traditional punishment was strictly applied,⁹¹ and that even a minor offence was also rigorously punished if it was against those of high rank. Nonetheless, in some cases at least it seems to have been possible to buy off the sentence or punishment by means of money. In fact, according to Beaulieu, bribery, as he put it, was very common practice to avoid or to commute a punishment,⁹² not only in the case of minor offences but even of the Hadd punishment.⁹³ In addition, great severity of punishment can be observed in cases in which the royal household was involved as the offended party, regardless of the gravity of the offence itself.

f. Traditional trial by ordeal and discretionary punishment by the sovereign

We have seen in the above that during our period the letter of Islamic Law relevant to different kinds of crime was often modified in the judicial system of the Sultanate. In many cases, the penalty

inflicted in Aceh was much harsher than the provisions in the Law-books. The examples studied under item (e) partly demonstrate considerable interference of the political authorities in this area of Islamic Law, an interference which is widely known in the legal history of Islamic states. To be more specific, in Aceh the force of Islamic Law was overridden^d by another standard of penalty - apart from the one just seen above - based on traditional judicial practices, particularly trial by ordeal and the discretion, or more often whim, of the ruler. From the viewpoint of Islamic Law, traditional legal practices including the secular legislation of rulers were, in fact, far beyond the overall scope of Islamic Law and were superior in actual legal administration to the latter.⁹⁴

Despite the fact that the Law-books expressly prescribe the necessity for witnesses, sometimes there was the trial by ordeal in case of the absence of definite proof. The Bustan mentions that both Bercelup minyak (Aceh. Peuklo' minyeu'), i.e. plunging a hand into boiling oil, and Berjilat besi (Aceh. Peulieh beusòë), i.e. licking heated iron, were prohibited by Sultan Iskandar Thani.⁹⁵ There is no eye-witness account of these ordeals. All we know from later period Aceh about it is that the party whose hand is scaled or burnt is guilty.⁹⁶ This passage of the Bustan suggests that both forms of ordeal were in use under his predecessors' rule.

A report of Thomas Bowrey from the 1680s tells us another form

of ordeal, although he describes as if it were a punishment. He states:

"Hee [i.e. Iskandar Muda] , for a Very Small Offence of any Eminent Person in the Kingdome, wold cause him or them immediately to be apprehended and brought into the Pallace yard, where a fire was prepared, and there must hold a Pot of Rice and water over the fire Upon theire right hand naked, until the rice were boyled or theire hand burnt off, which wold certainly doe in a Short time...."⁹⁷

Due to the absence of information, it is not possible to take the matter further.

Harsh punishments are reported especially from the reign of Iskandar Muda, who is described by European observers as a blood-thirsty tyrant.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, cruelty of punishment marked not only his reign but also those of his predecessors and successors. For example, early English and Dutch accounts report the infliction of harsh punishments during al-Mukammil's time (1589-1604), and the methods of punishment mentioned were also used by rulers throughout the 17th century.⁹⁹ One may note that the bad image of Iskandar Muda in the eyes of the Europeans of the time may need, to a certain extent, to be modified, when we taken into consideration the role of Islamic Law, already discussed, and the infliction of harsh punishments before his reign. Yet the arbitrariness and whim of the sovereign by this type of punishment is generally remarked in no one but Iskandar

Muda.

In this context, it is fruitful to look at various cases of the ruler's punishments, whose whim has in effect supreme force as the law of the land. They may be classified under two rubrics, i.e. capricious and arbitrary sentences and those which were relatively reasonable according to common practice.

The major provocation for arbitrary punishments seems to have been quite emotional and caused by bad temper. Delay in attending to the needs of Iskandar Muda, defeating him in cockfights a few times and wearing too costly ornaments took a toll of the loss of various parts of body. Such amputation often resulted in the loss of life.¹⁰⁰ In addition, according to Beaulieu, Iskandar Muda easily became incensed with the good reputation and wealth of Orang Kaya and if he felt anyone rivalled him he had them executed and confiscated their wealth.¹⁰¹ Punishment based on whims indeed were common throughout his reign. Although both the Bustan and the Hikayat Aceh remark on the cruelty of Sultan Zain al-^cAbidin (who reigned for only a short time in 1579),¹⁰² Iskandar Muda was the only sovereign who throughout a long reign ruled in such an oppressive manner.

As for more normal punishment by the rulers, we may discern three different types of occasions: infringement of military discipline, treason and breaches of etiquette in the Dalam and elsewhere.

Several cases of infringement of military discipline are

reported in the 1610s and in 1633. The penalty was very harsh. For example, an Orang Kaya, who had presented a request to Iskandar Muda for deferring preparation for war, and all his family incurred the death penalty in a very barbaric manner, i.e. by having the nose, lips, ears and privy parts, and then the belly cut off.¹⁰³ Another example is the death sentence of three Orang Kaya, who had appropriated jewellery confiscated as booty in the Perak expedition in 1620.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, the death penalty was also pronounced on those who caused the loss of ^{the} force in the 1613 campaign.¹⁰⁵

The punishment for treason and high treason in particular was the death penalty. Both Beaulieu and Peter Mundy remark on the abortive attempts to assassinate Iskandar Muda and Iskandar Thani respectively and the punishments which followed these attempts are reported in some detail.¹⁰⁶ The punishments began with torture and ended with death. It is noteworthy that the methods of torture and execution of the conspirators as reported by Mundy had been in vogue already during the reign of Iskandar Muda.¹⁰⁷

The observance of etiquette was regarded as of great importance during this period. In particular the Seumah (Malay Sembah), i.e. making obeisance to the ruler when entering the royal presence or remarking the presence of the ruler, was a most important requirement in court etiquette.¹⁰⁸ Of no less importance was the following of procedures set down and arranged by the royal household for audiences

given to foreign envoys, and particularly for the Orang Kaya when loyally offering their services to the ruler. A breach of these requirements was also regarded as a serious transgression and punished very severely. For example, a son of Iskandar Muda was ordered to eat his . n faeces and the fingers of his mother, who was also punished on the charge of responsibility for her son's neglect of making obeisance.¹⁰⁹ Another example is that of a Portuguese envoy to Iskandar Thani in 1638, F. de Souza de Castro, who was arrested and detained because of failing to mount the elephant sent to convey him to the Dalam for audience.¹¹⁰ Another example is that of thirty-four Orang Kaya who had various punishments inflicted upon them, such as castration, amputation of a limb or flogging because of a delay in offering their services.¹¹¹

It may be concluded then that what we may call the penal law of Aceh during this period was composite. Even though the provisions of Islamic Law were applied to certain offences, local judicial practices played a greater role and constituted the basis of the administration of law of the Sultanate. Nevertheless, in many cases it seems that the ruler was not bound by any system of law, and was able to make decisions and inflict punishments according to his will or whim. Further, recourse does not seem to have been had to written codes of law - although some digests survive. In fact, the idea of a written code to guide judgements was uncommon. There was tradition - although this is not known in its entirety - and there was the authority

and even whim of the ruler. In particular Iskandar Muda, as an autocratic ruler, may well have set up his own standard while not neglecting the judicial practices of his predecessors. The various precedents set during his reign which we have studied above came in time to be regarded as a sort of established rule after his death, though the degree to which his draconian regime was maintained was very much dependent on the type of political authority exercised by his successors and probably on the different attitudes of various Kadi Malik al-^cAdil. The Kadi of Aceh, it should be noted, was in fact the representative of the ruler in the administration of an indigenous penal law, which was influenced to a certain extent by Islamic Law. In other words, the encroachments made into the Qaḍī's area of jurisdiction noted elsewhere in the Islamic world during this period is less obvious in Aceh.

ii. Cases related to personal law in nature

It will be remembered that in Aceh there was a court which observers describe as 'civil' court, being clearly distinguished from that dealing with matters purely religious and ritual in nature. The cases brought before this court were, as we have pointed out earlier, those related to disputes concerning debts, marriage and divorce, and inheritance.

The administration of this branch of law was closely connected with Acehnese social and family life. Because this concerns matters which were of less importance to European observers, information

available on this subject is, by and large, limited to a general description of the relevant law in effect, and indigenous sources have little to tell us.

a. Disputes concerning loans and usury

According to Beaulieu, even though usury was prohibited in Aceh, money-lending was allowed. Loans were lent at an interest of not more than 12% per annum without security.¹¹²

In the case of bad debts, a creditor has to take the matter to court. When the evidence is established, the court orders the debtor to settle his liabilities within a short period. If the debtor is incapable of paying the loan, his creditor is permitted by the court to take him as a slave until complete payment is made, or to sell him for a slave.¹¹³ In case of the death of a debtor, repayment is to be made from the estate of the deceased after his wife's portion has been deducted.¹¹⁴

In marked contrast to this Acehnese practice, usury and interest-taking on loans are prohibited by the Qur³ān and regarded as one of the gravest sins as it is said to be a practice of unbelievers.¹¹⁵ Despite this, a number of evasive methods were devised to adjust to economic necessity, and in the event money-lending at high interest has been a very popular business in the Islamic world.¹¹⁶ This shows that there was not much difference between Aceh and other Islamic states in this respect.

Yet, it is remarkable in ^{the} Islamic context that a debtor was

liable to be a debt-bondman or slave in the case of a failure to repay his debt in clear contradiction of the prohibition in the Qur^{ān} of the enslavement of one's fellow Muslims.¹¹⁷ This practice common in Southeast Asia, probably accounts for a number of references to slaves in the royal edict of Syams al-^cAlam and for the numerous Acehese slaves mentioned by William Dampier in the 1680s.¹¹⁸ Moreover, as the royal edict suggests, disputes to do with loans may often have provoked creditors to violence.

b. Marriage and Divorce

The provisions on marriage and divorce are some of the most closely defined prescriptions in Islamic Law. A study of relevant cases is important as an index of how Islamic the region is, because these matters involved the interests of commoners, who seldom come to the fore in history.

However not a single instance is recorded. Only the description of Beaulieu is available. His general observations on Acehese marriage practices are: an Acehese may marry, in accordance with Islamic Law, as many women as he wishes or can support, though one of the wives has a priority over the rest and her children are heirs to her husband's property; the husband does not allow his wives to be seen by other men, or to go out; before marrying, a man is usually required to pay money to the woman's parents as well as to assign a part of his estate as a jointure for his future wife; her own property, if any, is entrusted to her husband after the consummation of their marriage

in exchange for an attested document by the judge concerning her property, yet its ownership remains with her.¹¹⁹

As for divorce, Beaulieu says: a couple may be divorced provided both parties agree; one-sided dissolution of marriage on the part of the husband result in the husband having to pay interest to his wife on her own property if this has not been repaid, nor may the wife remarry; yet they are obliged to live together without having sexual intercourse.¹²⁰

Beaulieu's account paraphrased above is not always clear,¹²¹ nonetheless various concepts of Islamic Law can be identified. It is certain that in many respects the Acehnese at that time followed the Islamic provisions, e.g. the Mahr (bridal gift), the Talāq (repudiation of a wife by the husband), rights exclusively belonging to the men, and the Idda (prescribed period of waiting before remarriage). The "jointure" referred to by Beaulieu is very dubious. It may well be that by this Beaulieu meant was Waqf ahli or dhurri (family endowments). As for the "interest", it could be an obligation on the husband's side when the Talāq is pronounced, i.e. the husband is obliged to provide lodging and to maintain his wife.¹²² In addition, it should be noted that money given to the bride's parents can be regarded as demonstrating the original character of the marriage by purchase from the hands of the woman's guardians, and this, together with a kind of gift to the bride herself, can be bridal gifts in Aceh at that time. All this agrees well with what emerges from the royal edict of Syams al-^cAlam.¹²³

c. Inheritance

As was the case for marriage and divorce, again we rely on the information Beaulieu gives. He states that Iskandar Muda is heir to all his subjects who die without leaving a male offspring; that the father is not allowed to give his daughters real property, which should be delivered over to the Sultan; and that fathers are always buoyed up with the hope of having male progeny.¹²⁴ He further implies that when a man dies, his widow and creditors had a right to claim her own property and their debts respectively, prior to the inheritance of the man's estate.¹²⁵

Comparing this account with the very complicated provisions in Islamic Law related to inheritance, inheritance practice in Aceh too seems to have been very Islamic. What one may see as a local divergence is that a distinction had been drawn between personal and immovable property. As far as inheritance of the latter is concerned, it seems likely that primogeniture was applied to it. On the other hand, as regards the former, an account in the Bustan to the effect that Iskandar Muda was the founder of the Bait al-mal, i.e. state treasury, appears relevant.¹²⁶ According to the Islamic provision, the portion for the Aşaba (agnate male relatives) goes, if there are no Aşaba, to the state treasury. Considering this and the ruler's position as heir to all his subjects remarked upon by Beaulieu, possibly the term Aşaba in Aceh was narrowly defined, merely denoting male offspring of the deceased. It may therefore be suggested that in inheriting both

types of estate the sons of the deceased were the principal heirs in the Acehnese system, even if the daughters too were probably recipients of personal or movable estate from their father.

Mention should also be made of the estates of those who were put to death. Both Beaulieu and Mundy offer evidence that estates belonging to those suffered the death penalty were confiscated by the rulers.¹²⁷ According to Beaulieu, even the mother of Iskandar Muda, who was the prime suspect in the attempted assassination of her son but escaped execution, forfeited jewels, gold, silver and other property in her possession.¹²⁸ This practice of reversion constituted one of the major reasons for the frequent death penalties inflicted upon the Orang Kaya as we have seen earlier. Moreover, noteworthy is that among the property forfeited were wives, children and cattle.¹²⁹ By children is meant female children who have not yet married.¹³⁰ This indicates that generally the wives and young female children were regarded as chattels of the deceased.

The following can be deduced about the administration of this branch of law in the Sultanate. The influence of Islamic Law upon Acehnese social and civil life was conspicuous, especially in the area of marriage and divorce. However, essential parts of the Islamic provisions pertaining to debts and inheritance were overruled by the prevailing legal practice. Debt slavery and the narrow interpretation of the Aşaba are typical example of the secondary position of Islamic Law in some aspects of the actual administration during this period.

In the above, we have referred several times to the royal edict of Sultan Syams al-^cAlam of 1726 and to the collection of the Sarakata (royal edict), known as Adat Meukuta Alam or Adat Pòteu Meureuhom.¹³¹ These indigenous legal codes are of particular interest for us to know how the Acehnese of the 18th century understood the legal administration during our period.

We know that in the first quarter of the 18th century Aceh underwent a period of confusion resulting from a series of civil struggles, beginning with the deposition of the fourth female ruler Sultana Kamalat Syah (1688-1699) in 1699.¹³² During this period of disorder, the rulers of foreign origin possibly needed to elucidate the legal norms of the Sultanate. Interestingly, Liaw Yock Fang has shown that the Acehnese version of the Undang-undang Melaka probably dates from the reign of Sultan Jamal al-^cAlam Badr al-Munir (1703-1726),¹³³ a Sayyid of Arab origin. The edict of 1726 though in all probability never enforced because of the very short period of the reign of Syams al-^cAlam (less than a month),¹³⁴ a considerable part of the Adat Meukuta Alam and the Acehnese version of the Undang-undang Melaka point to the necessity mentioned above.

The edict of 1726 clarifies the principles of the legal system, i.e. the sources of law and the working of the law court and some specific cases for judgement.

According to this edict, the sources of law consist of the

Shari^ca (described as Hukum Allah) and the 'adat'. What is meant by 'adat' is practices already established as customary law by earlier rulers, i.e. ^cAla al-Din Ri^fayat Syah al-Mukammil (1589-1604), Iskandar Muda (1607-1636) and Taj al-^cAlam Safiyyat al-Din Syah (1641-1675).¹³⁵ This might explain the narrow adoption of the term Adat, namely it denotes such judicial practices under the direction of the rulers as those already studied above. Thus the 'adat' is clearly used in the edict to mean something distinct from the unwritten living customary law that is defined by Dutch legal scholars as Adat law.¹³⁶ This royal Adat, though the matters regulated by it are not extensive, has precedence over the Shari^ca in practical application.¹³⁷ The Shari^ca is applied only to the matters outside the purview of the royal Adat.¹³⁸

As for the lawcourt and its jurisdiction, the edict of 1726 gives a picture as follows. The law court is held in the long council-hall (Balai panjang), called Bait al-Rijal, in the presence of the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil, Orang Kaya and jurists. The Kadi alone, presiding over the court, is always required to be present when justice is dispensed, though in the case of serious lawsuits all its members have to attend. The court's jurisdiction excludes cases which arise in the Sagi and in the Gampōng. Internal disputes in the Gampōng, even criminal cases, are handed over to a local arbitrator.¹³⁹

Among particular cases referred to in this edict, the application of the Shari^ca in the lawcourt is encouraged in cases involving

blood money, the division of property after divorce and crimes originating from debt. Moreover, cases relating to slaves are also judged. To determine if a person is a slave or freeman a trial by ordeal of licking heated iron, as noted earlier, is employed.¹⁴⁰

This apart, the edict of Syams al-^cAlam further states that drinking, theft and fornication are the Islamic prohibitions, and killing, wounding, and assaulting a woman are those of the "Hukum adat".¹⁴¹ This classification of various offences is important in the sense that in the eyes of the Acehnese of the time the Shari^ca was understood as the ethico-religious norms and the "Hukum adat", which probably comprised both the 'adat' of the rulers and other unwritten customary law, supplying social and punitive norms.

From the above, it may be suggested that the contemporary meaning of Adat was 'adat' as laid down by the rulers to the Acehnese of earlier periods, into which part of old practices or customary law of the land had probably been absorbed.¹⁴² At the upper level the royal Adat and the Shari^ca constituted the law of the Sultanate, the former being its primary law, supplemented by the Shari^ca, whereas at the local, village level Acehnese life was largely administered by the indigenous unwritten Adat under strong Islamic influence.

In conclusion, the following may be suggested. Despite its considerable influence upon the legal system of the Sultanate of our period, the Islamic legal system occupied a secondary position. The

will of the sovereign was the primary or ultimate law of the Sultanate, and administrative practice based on this kind of law (and perhaps other legal traditions in the earlier era as well) came in time to be regarded as the Adat. Conceptually this Adat is rather different from the Adat generally known. To be more exact, the fundamental law of the Sultanate was none other than the legal practice and precedents set under strong royal power during the reigns both of al-Mukammil and of Iskandar Muda, and that the practices thus established sustained changes which resulted from the growing political power of the Orang Kaya and the Ulèëbalang from 1637 onwards.

The nature of law in the Sultanate, in turn, greatly conditioned the role played by the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil in its administration. The position of Kadi in Aceh seems to have had rather peculiar characteristics compared to other contemporary Islamic states. In Aceh the Kadi was the representative, above all, of the rulers as law-givers, upon whose religious conviction the degree of the enforcement of Islamic Law largely depended (to a lesser extent, also on the Kadi's knowledge of and experience in the administration of Islamic Law). This does not deny at all the Kadi's contribution to the implementation of Islamic Law in indigenous society. To the contrary, Islamic Law exerted great influence on the Acehnese social and family life, particularly in the urban area of the capital. Despite the Islamic origin of the title, the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil may perhaps best be seen as the head of the legal system over which the ruler had absolute control; yet

in the administration the Kadi used Islamic Law, whether from their own religious consciousness or ^{by} virtue of a particular ruler's order, when this was possible.

In connection with the rulers as law-givers, to this needs to be added that the same applies to what Bergsträsser categorised as commercial law, namely the system described in the fourth part of the AA concerning the commercial activity in the port of the capital, at which we shall look in the following chapters.

NOTES

1. Coulson, A History of Islamic Law, pp.120-134; Gibb & Bowen, Islamic Society and the West, vol.1. pt.1, pp.12-13, 22-24; pt.2, pp.114-121.
2. These secular rulers need not necessarily have been pious or zealously religious men, since introduction of Islamic ideas may have served their political interests.
3. EI, vol.1, s.v. ADAT LAW; SEI, s.v. SHARĪ^CA.
4. Liaw, Undang-undang Melaka. For example, the question of whether and to what extent the indigenous legal codes constituted the effective law of the state, and that of the degree to which Islamic Law affected indigenous society and its rulers.
5. On the various Malay legal digests, see *ibid.*, pp.9-30.
6. *Ibid.*, p.1; Rinkes, ^CAbdoerraef van Singkel, p.32.
7. Iskandar, Bustan, pp.32-34; EI, vol.1, s.v. ATJĒH,
8. Iskandar, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*; Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", pp.160-161.
9. Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies, pt.2, pp.243-244.
10. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.96, 100-101.
11. *Ibid.*, p.103.
12. Beaulieu, "Mémoires" p.111.
13. Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, p.99 (cited by Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.47), 150.
14. However, the Islamic viewpoint is lacking in Lombard's analysis. (Le Sultanat, pp.79-81)
15. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.100-102.
16. Grunebaum (ed.), Logic in Classical Islamic Culture, pp.13-14.
17. This court is no doubt the very same court before which Houtman was brought. In addition, its jurisdiction may account for the description in the Bustan of Iskandar Muda's administration in the field of religion. (Iskandar, Bustan, pp.35-36) Thus this court can be regarded as an indication of the promotion of Islam by the governing apparatus of the Acehnese of that period, whose religious life may not have been as strict as the Sacred Law requires.

18. Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.50.
19. The Kadi at that time, according to Beaulieu, was a descendant of the noblest family and more than 80 years of age, and was highly revered by the Acehnese. (Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.57, 62)
20. Both of them are also mentioned in the Bustan as important figures under Iskandar Muda. (Iskandar, Bustan, pp.35-43) The Kadi referred to by Beaulieu may well be the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil of the Bustan. This Kadi was probably in the person of Shaikh Ibrahim.
21. K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, ff.1207-1208.
22. Naskah Panjang, column 16, lines 8-13. Regarding the terms Adat, Reusam and Qanun, the following can be added; the literal meanings of the terms are not much different one with another, i.e. customs or practices, usage or custom, and statute, established principles or norms, respectively. However, in usage they are rather different: Adat usually designates the institutions of Aceh ascribed to Iskandar Muda in the first instance by the Acehnese, whereas Reusam means the established rules of the land or the forefathers. As for Qanun, it is not unlikely that it denotes tax or impost. It seems certain that the Adat here has to do not with Adat in the sense of customary law, as later employed by Western jurists. This applies to the 'Adat' of the AA as well. This apart, the account of Di Meulek may be interpreted in a different way, i.e. the last words in the names of the respective courts can be regarded as showing the main source of law of respective courts. In either case, it suggests that there were, at least, three distinct norms of law, i.e. the Shari^ca, the Adat of Iskandar Muda's predecessors and that of Iskandar Muda. (Djajadiningrat, Atjèhsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, vol.1, s.v. ADAT II, KANUN; vol.2, s.v. REUSAM) See also note (142) below.
23. Lombard, Le Sultanat, p.46, 128-129. As far as the mosque is concerned however, its dating can be put rather earlier, based on Best, in 1613. (Best, The Voyage, p.171, 175 fn.3)
24. Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.2, p.331.
25. Of Sultan Iskandar Thani, Mundy reports severe punishment and bloody execution carried out after the attempted treason against him in late 1637, to which the Bustan too makes reference. Judging from other accounts of Mundy concerning ordinary cases, this was an

exceptional event. (ibid., vol.3, pt.1, p.135; pt.2, pp.330-331; Iskandar, Bustan, p.46) A similar example is also found in VOC records from 1639 referring to the massacre of Portuguese captives in 1638. This was in retaliation for the carrying off of the ruler's slaves by the Portuguese and the captives' attempted escape. (K.A. 1040, "Originele missive" of Meulen, 13 Feb. 1639, f.1187; Ibid., "Copie missive" of Croocq, 10 Sept. 1639, f.1160; Tiele, Bouwstoffen, vol.2, pp.364-365) Thus this too can be seen as an exception and has no relevance to internal judicial rule. Van der Meulen writes in 1639 that Iskandar Thani "as a Malay keeps a slack hand in managing justice so that he has little awe among the brutal Acehnese". ("Originele missive" of Meulen, f.1186) The Bustan has this to say about his moderate rule: he was a ruler of generosity and righteousness; he furthered Allāh's law and the Shari^ca. (pp.44-45; Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", p.184) All this indicates that he was not a capricious ruler in the administration of law and justice. In so far as the well-known heresy-hunt at the instigation of al-Rānīrī under his rule, its fury seems to have originated from his ardent feeling for religion.

As for the Sultana Safiyyat al-Din, her administration was even milder. The Bustan says that she cherished her subjects as a mother loves her children. (p.59, quoted by Reid in "Trade and the Problem", p.52) It is of interest that a very similar expression is recorded by P. Willemsz. in 1642, which describes a petty dispute between the officials. He notes that the Sultana settled the issue gently, admonishing them that they ought to behave themselves as a father, mother and children without accusing one with another. (K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.503r.) However, a report of the Dutch factor in Aceh informs us that to establish her authority she had inflicted severe capital punishment for some crimes following the customs established by her predecessors. (Daghregister, Batavia, 1641-1642, p.123) But she probably ceased to follow the footsteps of her father as early as 1642. Her mildness is also reported by P. Soury in the same year. (K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.565v.) Yet final decisions stayed in her hands. (ibid., loc. cit.; "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.503v., 520v., 527r.-v.,

- 528r.; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.671v.) In July 1644 van Oudtschoorn notes that "everything here was in order and peace, and governed in peaceful way by the Queen, without that people hear anything of murder or death, though in former time occurred here almost daily". (K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.570v.) After the establishment of her authority as ruler probably relief soon ensued.
26. See, for example, sub-section (ii) of section (2), item (c) of cases criminal in nature.
 27. For example, the sources mentioned in note (25) above; Bowrey, A Geographical Account, pp.315-316; Voorhoeve, "Van en Over Nūruddīn ar-Rānīrī", BKI 107 (1951), p.359 fn.17. It should be noted that cases, both criminal and civil in nature, according to Soury, were judged in a building, called by the Dutch the Balai van Justitie, situated in the Dalam. (K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.565v.; K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, f.122r.) This building may be identical with the Balai Panjang mentioned in a royal edict of Sultan Syams al-^cAlam of 1726, of which we shall see later.
 28. Voorhoeve, op. cit., p.359 fn.17; Ito, "Whey did Nuruddin ar-Raniri leave", pp.489-490; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, ff.671v.-672r. According to Soury, the heresy-hunt did not reach senior court officials (Bentara), nor the Orang Kaya.
 29. Passim in various daghregister of Dutch envoys and of factors during 1642-1644. Van Oudtschoorn also refers to the Kadi as being the high judge of the realm (hoogh justicier van 't Rijck). (K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.574r.)
 30. Djajadiningrat, Atjèsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, vol.1, s.v. ALÉM, LEUBÈ; vol.2, s.v. MALÉM, ULAMA; EI, vol.1, s.v. ATJÈH.
 31. K.A.1068, "Copie daghregister" of Truijtman, f.204r., 208r.; Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, p.482, 492-493.
 32. Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.3, p.519-520, 647; Daghregister, Batavia, 1653, pp.39-40; K.A.1082, "Copie rapport" of Truijtman, 14 Dec. 1652, f.756r.-v.
 33. Once again I am indebted to Dr. L. Castles, who gave me access to his research prior to publication. The Faṭḥ was completed in Rabī^c al-awwali 1068 A.H./ Dec. 1657.

34. The person called Saif Allah (the Sword of God) may be identical with a certain Paduka Mamenteri mentioned in the Daghregister of 1653. See further Chapter II (section (3), sub-section iii).
35. K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, ff.667v.-678r. There is an account from 1644 that a certain pious man, who may be none other than Saif al-Rijal, took part in the legal administration. 1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.591r.)
36. In 1649 Truijtmán states that the Kadi is the right-hand man of Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja, who was, as we have already suggested in Chapter II (section 3), probably reinstated in his former position i.e. Maharaja Seri Maharaja, leaving the position of Kadi Malik al-^cAdil to Raja Bentara sometime in 1645.(K.A.1068, "Copie daghregister" of Truijtmán, f.246v.; K.A.1058bis, "Copie missive" of van Oudtschoorn, 12 Aug. 1645, f.450v., 455r.)
37. K.A.1123, "Rapport" of Bort, f.507v. The years given do not indicate the Kadi's term of office, and its end is not known.
38. K.A.1127, "Verbael" of Bort, f.359v., 368r.
39. Ibid., f.370r. This Raja Bentara should not be confused with the Orang Kaya Raja Bentara, the second Kadi mentioned above.
40. This is based on the fact that the second Kadi is also referred to in the same way despite his knowledge of Islam and that the Kadi of 1659-1660 alone is referred to as the chief religious councillor as well as religious and secular judge.
41. Rinkes, ^cAbdoerraoef, pp.25-26, 28, 32; EI, vol.1, s.v. ^cABD AL-RA³UF.
42. See Chapter IV.
43. AA, pp.104a-106b.
44. K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.503r., 520v.; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.591r.; K.A.1068, "Copie daghregister" of Truijtmán, f.204r., 208r.; K.A.1123, "Rapport" of Bort, f.507v.; K.A.1127, "Verbael" of Bort, f.359v., 368r., 370r.
45. Bowrey, A Geographical Account, pp.315-316. He states that the accused were examined before the "Lord Chiefe Justice and his counsell" and executed "before the Chiefe Orongkay's face".

46. Schacht, An Introduction to Islamic Law, pp.76-85, 315-316; Coulson, A History of Islamic Law, pp.120-134.
47. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.102.
48. Gibb & Bowen, Islamic Society, vol.1, pt.2, pp.114-121.
49. Juynboll, Handleiding, pp.296-304; SEI, s.v. ^CADHĀB; EI, vol.3, s.v. ḤADD.
50. Juynboll, Handleiding, pp.311-312; SEI, s.v. TA^CZĪR
51. Best, The Voyage, p.164.
52. K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.580v. "Not guilty because of insufficient proof" is a notable indication that the procedure prescribed by Law had faithfully been followed. (Cf. Juynboll, Handleiding, p.306; SEI, s.v. ZINĀ²)
53. K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., ff.500r.-503v.
54. Ibid., ff.501v.-502r. Marriage between the two may have been proposed as a compensation.
55. Ibid., f.503r.
56. Ibid., f.503r.-v. The verdict reached by them was the death penalty of the girl and her father, a verdict which took into consideration possible great losses in Aceh's export of elephants by the Bangali merchants resulting from this case. Presented with this verdict however, the Sultana only gave her consent for the punishing of the girl. Strangling is summary penalty for adultery, and in fact is Islamic.
57. Ibid., f.503r.
58. Juynboll, Handleiding, pp.305-306; EI, vol.3, s.v. ḤADD.
59. SEI, s.v. ZINĀ². Cf. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, pp.110-114.
60. Waerwijck, "Oost-Indische Reyse", p.16. He calls them 'Indian nuts'. Apparently these were fermented.
61. Iskandar, Bustan, pp.35-36.
62. K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, f.1207.
63. Ibid., loc. cit.
64. Ibid., f.1208.
65. K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, ff.562v.-563r. Another case is also reported about a month later. A certain Muslim captain, named Marsly, while intoxicated seriously injured three or four persons in the bazaar and was arrested by the Penghulu Kawal. (Ibid., f.583v.)

66. EI, vol.5, s.v. KHAMR; Juynboll, Handleiding, p.308.
67. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.62, cited by Reid, "Tade and the Problem", p.51.
68. Bowrey, A Geographical Account, p.317 and fn.2 on the same page. Cf. the account of van Oudtschoorn in 1644, cited in note (25) above.
69. K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, f.1207. A similar case is also recorded in the Daghregister, Batavia, 1631-1634, p.240.
70. K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.578r. He also mentions another theft. A thief who had been set free by means of bribery was re-arrested and had his throat cut following brutal practices, his body being thrown into the sea. (ibid., f.567r.)
71. Ibid., "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.528r.
72. Dampier, Voyages and Discoveries, pp.96-97. Theft by a man, who was deprived of both hands and feet, is also reported by Bowrey. (Bowrey, A Geographical Account, pp.317-318; see also p.287)
73. Bowrey, A Geographical Account, p.315. According to the Shāfi^cīte Law-book, for the first offence of theft the penalty is the amputation of the right hand, and for subsequent offences the loss of the left leg, left hand and right leg in that order. The fifth offence is punished by means of Ta^czīr (the power of discretionary and variable punishment) It further prescribes that these punishments only apply to theft involving more than $\frac{1}{4}$ Dīnār of gold (in money or in value), whereas to theft of less than this amount Ta^czīr applies. (Juynboll, Handleiding, pp.308-309) $\frac{1}{4}$ Dīnār is valued at more than one gram of gold and four mas is equivalent to more than two grams of gold. (Bowrey, pp.281-282; K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, f.1124; Kreemer, Atjèh, vol.2, p.62) As for the value of a buffalo, Willemsz. bought one in 1642 for the price of one tahil six mas. (K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.528r.) This price roughly tallies with that given by Bowrey, i.e. one tahil eight mas. Thus the dividing line between petty theft and ordinary theft penalised by the amputation seems to have been on the high side.
74. See note (73) above.
75. See Chapter II (section 1) and Chapters IV and VI.
76. K.A.1051bis, "Copi daghregister" of Willemsz., f.520v.

77. There is a parallel between this account and that of Willemsz. as to adultery. (See note (56) above)
78. EI, vol.2, s.v. DIYA; vol.5, s.v. QIŞAŞ. The death penalty pronounced by the Kadi in Willemsz. account and the same penalty for homicide mentioned by Bowrey may indicate that according to 'local customs', it had probably meant the death penalty. (Bowrey, A Geographical Account, p.315)
79. van Langen, "De Inrichting", p.463, 467. According to this Sarakata, in the case of deliberate or quasi-deliberate homicide, the blood money is 342 tahil, whereas in the case of unintentional homicide it is 220 tahil. On the authenticity of this Sarakata, see below.
80. Cf. the working in 19th century Aceh in The Achehnese, vol.1, pp. 102-104.
81. Juynboll, Handleiding, pp.311-312; SEI, s.v. TA^CZĪR. The transgressions subject to the Ta^CzĪr are of two kinds, religious and criminal. The former involves, for example, neglect of the daily prayers or of fasting. The latter may involve deceit, false witness, trifling theft.
82. We island as the place for banishment is known from as early as the turn of the 16th century and onward. (Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.150; Lancaster, The Voyages, p.135; Bowrey, A Geographical Account, p.315, 317; see also note (72) above) Those banished had to perform forced labour for the Sultan during the reign of Iskandar Muda. (Best, The Voyage, p.161)
83. Beaulieu, "Mémoires" p.101; K.A.1042, "Relaes" of A. Anthonissen, 5 May 1640, f.91r.; K.A.1068, "Copie daghregister" of Truijtman, f.203r., 204r.-v. Dampier states that "Small Offenders are only whipt on the Back, which sort of Punishment they call Chanbuck [i.e. Cambuk]" (Dampier, Voyages and Discoveries, p.96)
84. Injury is, in theory, punishable either by the Qīṣāṣ or by the Diya. However, it was, in practice, often punished by the legal authorities. In view of this fact, injury is dealt within this heading.
85. See Chapter II (section 3).
86. Daghregister, Batavia, 1641-1642, p.96, 123; see also Bassett, "Changes in the Pattern", pp.448-449.

87. K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.528r.
88. K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, ff.567r.-568r.
89. Ibid., ff.583v.-584r.
90. Best, The Voyage, p.164, 211. This harsh punishment presents a marked contrast to the penalty for an offence mentioned in note (92) below.
91. According to the Sarakata of Syams al-^CAlam, assaulting a woman is an offence forbidden by the 'Hukum adat'. On 'Hukum adat', see below.
92. Beaulieu, "Mémoires" p.101. According to him, a certain Acehnese, who was sentenced to 30 lashes on the charge of peeping at his neighbour's wife while she was bathing, paid the executioner twenty mas, by which payment he reduced the punishment to 29 lashes not on him but on his clothing.
93. Ibid., pp.101-102.
94. Coulson, A History of Islamic Law, pp.130-134; SEI, s.v. TA^CZĪR.
95. Iskandar, Bustan, pp.44-45.
96. According to Djajadiningrat, plunging a hand into boiling oil was used for suspected theft. (Atjèhsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, vol.1, s.v. KLO') The Sarakata of Syams al-^CAlam also alludes to the ordeal of licking hot iron for theft. All that is available from the European side is a less relevant account from 1613, which states that Iskandar Muda is said to have boiled some noblemen in scalding oil. (Best, The Voyage, p.211)
97. Bowrey, A Geographical Account, p.297.
98. For example, accounts of Bowrey and of Schouten. (Ibid., p.296 and fn.1) Lombard follows faithfully the way European observers understood Iskandar Muda. (Le Sultanat, pp.174-175)
99. Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.150; Lancaster, The Voyages, p.135; Waerwijck, "Oost-Indische Reyse", p.14. The punishments meant here are the amputation of nose, lips and ears, various methods of the death penalty and execution by using an elephant.
100. Verhoeff, De Reis van de Vloot, vol.1, p.241; Broecke, Broecke in Azië, vol.1, p.173, 175-176; Best, The Voyage, p.211; Beaulieu, "Mémoires" pp.58-59; Daghregister, Batavia, 1631-1634, p.240; K.A. "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, f.1208.

101. Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.51.
102. Ibid., p.47.
103. Broecke, Broecke in Azië, vol.1, pp.175-176. The grounds for this penalty was simply that this Orang Kaya requested Iskandar Muda to defer the embarkation of war-elephants for the Kadah expedition for one day on the ground that he was ill.
104. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.56-57.
105. Best, The Voyage, p.172. It was a campaign against Johor.
106. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.60-63; Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.2, pp.330-331.
107. Mundy, loc. cit.; sources listed in notes (99) and (100) above. The same applies to the usual execution of the death penalty in Iskandar Thani's time. (ibid., pt.1, p.135; pt.2, p.331 under the heading "Little ease: ordinary punishmentts.") Moreover, the same methods of execution were in use under female rule. (Bowrey, A Geographical Account, pp.316-317; Dampier, Voyages and Discoveries, p.97) Various punitive methods and instruments of torture were devised and employed by Iskandar Muda. (Broecke, Broecke in Azië, vol.1, p.170; Mundy, vol.3, pt.2, p.331)
108. For example, see K.A.1051bis, "Copie memorie" of Compostel, 10 Aug. 1642, f.595r.; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.578r.
109. Broecke, Broecke in Azië, vol.1, p.175.
110. Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, p.27 and fn.6. See also p.24 fn.5.
111. Daghregister, Batavia, 1631-1634, pp.239-240. According to Beaulieu, neglect of their duties, as we have already seen in Chapter II, claimed a toll of confiscation of their property, wives, children and slaves on top of their life. (Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.103, 109) However, the fear of arbitrary punishments among the Orang Kaya and the servants of the Dalam abated in the reigns of Iskandar Thani and Safiyat al-Din. (See, for example, Dampier, Voyages and Discoveries, pp.97-98)
112. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.100-101.
113. Ibid., loc. cit. Slavery in the Sultanate during this period will be discussed in detail in Chapter VI.

114. According to Soury, however, the creditor could not claim his right if the debtor died. This was a reply of an Acehnese official given to the Dutch, who claimed payment of the debts left by Iskandar Thani for the purchase of jewels, and thus may not be reliable. (K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury. ff.571v.-572r.)
115. Juynboll, Handleiding, pp.285-289.
116. SEI, s.v. RIBĀ.
117. EI, vol.1, s.v. ^CABD.
118. van Langen, "De Inrichting", pp.464-466; Dampier, Voyages and Discoveries, pp.93-94, 98-99.
119. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.100.
120. Ibid. Sexual intercourse is forbidden according to the Shāfi^Cite school. (SEI, s.v. ṬALĀḲ)
121. For example, on the number of wives and precedence among them, and on bilateral agreements for divorce.
122. EI, vol.3, s.v. ^CIDDA; Juynboll, Handleiding, pp.181-183, 203-207; SEI, s.v. ṬALĀḲ.
123. van Langen, "De Inrichting", p.466.
124. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.108.
125. Ibid., p.100.
126. Iskandar, Bustan, p.36.
127. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.109; Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.2, p.330; see also Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.51 and fn.36.
128. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.109.
129. Ibid., loc. cit.
130. Ibid., p.108. According to Beaulieu, they were sent into the service of Iskandar Muda.
131. van Langen, "De Inrichting", pp.448-471. The date given by van Langen is 1723, but it became known later that this Sultan came to the throne in 1726. (Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", pp.199-200) Regarding the Adat Meukuta Alam, we cannot date it to one specific period, even though this Adat is of a later date, 18th century at the earliest.
132. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", pp.191-199.
133. Liaw, Undang-undang Melaka, pp.10-11.
134. EI, vol.1, s.v. ATJĒH.

135. van Langen, "De Inrichting", pp.463-466 (Malay text), 467-471 (Dutch translation).
136. If we regard the unwritten customary law, which is applied mainly to matters affecting village life, as a source of law, then the sources of law are three: the royal 'adat', the Shari^ca and the unwritten living customary law.
137. It is not clear, however, in the Sarakata to what extent the royal 'adat' really governed Acehnese life in general.
138. This applies specifically to the urban area of the capital.
139. It can be said then that at rural level the sources of law are the unwritten living customary law and the Shari^ca.
140. van Langen, "De Inrichting", pp.463-466.
141. Ibid., pp.463-464.
142. Here we can see the discrepancy in understanding the term 'adat' between the Acehnese and Dutch scholars, who have defined 'adat' as the customary law (Adat law). In both cases the term 'adat' is employed, for the Acehnese designating the legal code such-and-such, and for Dutch scholars the unwritten real living customs of society. On the remarks on the various Malay legal codes of Snouck Hurgronje, who marshalled Dutch scholars into a study of the Adat law in the former Netherlands East Indies, see The Acehnese, vol.1, pp.3-16.

CHAPTER IV THE SOVEREIGN AND ISLAM

There are various indices for assessing the level of explicit commitment to the practice of Islam in a state. They include the role of the Ulamā at the court, and the public celebration of the two canonical festivals of the Muslim year, the minor one that marks the end of the fasting month Ramaḍān, the ninth month, and the major one, the festival of the sacrifice on the 10th of Dhū al-ḥijja, the twelfth month, which marks the climax of the Pilgrimage. Equally relevant are the level of observance of the Friday congregational prayer and the five daily prayers, the keeping of the fast of Ramaḍān, and the proportion of people making the Pilgrimage. In addition, there is the degree to which, and the areas in which the divine law, the Sharī'a, is put into effect as we have already studied in Chapter III. Finally there is the standing of its religious schools, and the extent to which they attract scholars from the heartlands of Islam.

The most detailed indigenous source of information for our period is the third part of the AA. It provides much useful information about the celebration of religious festivals in 17th century Aceh.

Snouck Hurgronje, in his general comments on the religious life of Aceh, claims that though there is no reason to doubt the good intentions of the Acehnese rulers in so far as their edicts relating to the purely religious sphere are concerned, they render in a purely formal manner due homage to the institution ordained of Allāh, which are ill-observed in practice.¹

A major problem in researching this aspect of Acehnese history

is that contemporary sources, whether native or European, give little information about religious institutions and officers. This has the consequence that it is very difficult to assess how much reliance can be given to the information supplied by the AA.

Nevertheless there is some information that can be gleaned from accounts of activities that we know were going on in Aceh at that time, and from the observations of foreign visitors, that is of value in our attempt to assess the position of Islam in the Sultanate. In addition, as we shall see, there is evidence of foreign Ulamā coming to Aceh to teach various of the Islamic disciplines, and we will observe various aspects of ceremonies which may also be observed in the Ottoman Empire.

The Malay history, the Bustan al-Salatin by al-Rānīrī, tells us that during the reign of Sultan ^cAli Ri^cayat Syah (1571-†1579) there came an Arabic scholar from Mecca, a native of Egypt, who belonged to the Shāfi^cī school of law and taught metaphysics (ilmu ma^cqūlat) till his death there.² In 1582, during the reign of Sultan ^cAla al-Din (1579-†1586), two other scholars arrived from Mecca. One named Shaikh Abu al-Khair b. Shaikh Ibnu Hajar, a son of the celebrated Ibn Hajar al-Haytami, wrote a book titled Saif al-Qati[?], treating of mysticism, and instructed the Acehnese in Islamic jurisprudence (ilmu fiqh). The other, named Shaikh Muhammad Yamani, was versed in Islamic theology and debated with the former on the nature of the fixed Essence or Prototype (al-a^cyān al-thābitah).³ In addition, during this reign Shaikh Muhammad Jailani ibn Hasan Muhammad Hamid from Ranir in Gujarat came and taught in Aceh, among other things, the Islamic jurisprudence based on

the Shāfi^c_i school and the principles of Islamic Law. The Acehnese asked him, the Bustan states, to instruct them in mysticism, but he had not specialised in this subject and therefore left for Mecca in order to study it. Later, during the reign of al-Mukammil (1589-1604), he returned and now taught mysticism, having discovered the solution to the debates on the a^c_{yān thābitah} referred to.⁴

It may be inferred from these accounts in the Bustan that there was considerable activity in Islamic studies in Aceh in the last quarter of the 16th century and that the school of law followed was the Shāfi^c_{ite}. It seems that the mysticism introduced by these foreign scholars derived from the school of Ibn ^cArabī, that it was monistic in character and one of the issues debated was the nature of the fixed Prototypes, and that it became popular amongst the Acehnese in the 1580s. From this it may be safely assumed that by that time the Muslim religious obligations as prescribed by law, were well known to the Acehnese, at least to the pious. The Sultans too were doubtless aware of their duties as rulers and protectors of religion and became patrons of the Ulamā^c. Accordingly, at that time under their protection and patronage court circles began to function as the centre of theological activity and religious life. Little is known, however, of their personal commitment to religion in this period, except in the case of Sultan ^cAla al-Din.⁵

We will now attempt to present and evaluate the picture of the observance of the Friday congregational prayer, the fasting month of Ramaḍān and the festival that follows it, and the festival of the sacrifice.

1. Jum^ca, the Friday congregational prayer

Friday in Islam is the day on which a congregational prayer is prescribed. It is ordained by the verse in the Qur'³ān (62:9), which reads "O you who believe, when the call is sounded for prayer on Friday, hasten to the praise of Allāh and leave off your business. This is better for you, if you know." At the same time it should be observed that Friday in Islam is in no sense a counterpart of the Jewish Sabbath or the Christian Sunday, the idea of God 'resting' being repugnant to Islam. It is a working day like any other. This congregational prayer takes the place of one of the five daily prayers, namely ṣalāt al-ẓuhr i.e. the midday prayer. There are various prescriptions for its valid performance as well as commendations on the occasion in the Law-books.⁶

In Aceh, the Friday prayer is known as seumayang Jeumeu^cat. Observers, Snouck Hurgronje included, have remarked that during the 19th century the Sultans of Aceh have but rarely taken part in public worship.⁷ Court rituals, as all human activities, change over the centuries, and the evidence suggests that the reverse was the case in the 17th century, and that the formal participation by the court in the congregational prayer in the mosque was an integral part of the Friday observance.

The AA gives an account of the details of the Sultan's participation in the observance held in the mosque Bait al-Rahman which may be summarised as follows:

(94a) A herald (Bentara) asks leave of the Sultan for preparations for the royal procession to the mosque on Friday to begin. Permission is given. When all assembled, the royal sword, the betel caddy and the betel bag (the symbols of royal dignity) are

delivered to the herald. Then the chief muezzin (Penghulu Bilal) requests the staff to be held by the preacher (Khaṭīb) during the sermon. Permission is then asked for the upright drums to be beaten. (94b) Permission being given, the drums are beaten. The district chiefs (Hulubalang) take their position in order of rank, and the Sultan sets out for the mosque leaving through the main gate of the royal enclosure called Pintu Tanni.⁸ As he proceeds on his way, all the chiefs make obeisance to him, then follow him in the procession to the mosque.

(95a) When the Sultan has entered the mosque compound, the drums are beaten according to the rhythm ragam siwajan. The Kadi Malik al-^cAdil and legal scholars enter the mosque. (95b) After various preparatory rituals, during which the drums are beaten in different rhythms, the Sultan enters his private alcove and the curtains are drawn.

After the commendable (sunna) prayer has been performed in the usual manner, (96a) the preacher takes the staff and preaches the sermon consisting of two parts. (96b) Then the chief muezzin announces the Friday prayer. The leader of the congregational prayer (Imām) comes forward to lead the congregation in prayer. After the recitation of various formulae, including prayers for the Sultan, another commendable prayer of four rak^cas is performed. After the conclusion of the prayer, the nobility (Orang Kaya) and the district chiefs, together with the Kadi, come to pledge allegiance to the Sultan. (97a) Then the procession re-forms to

return to the palace.

(97b) When the Sultan arrives at the alighting platform called Biram Penting, (98a) he dismounts from the elephant. Then old women from the royal household who have been waiting to welcome him back, sprinkle the royal howdah with roasted yellow rice mixed with gold foils. (98b) The Sultan re-enters the palace, and the nobility mount guard.

One would have expected many Europeans to have witnessed the Friday procession to the mosque during our period, but most observers are silent about it. There is sufficient evidence, however, to support that in broad outline the description above is not simply a story.

On the 10th September 1599, F. de Houtman wrote that "having come to the palace, the Syahbandar said that they had to go to the mosque as it was Friday, which is their Sabbath; and therefore I had to come again to see the King in the afternoon".⁹ The Syahbandar's words are suggestive of a major commitment. It may be assumed that Houtman, having observed and described the royal procession to the mosque on the occasion of the two canonical festivals,¹⁰ gave no further thought to yet another one. It is quite probable then that a procession to the mosque for the Friday congregational prayer was an established practice.

There is an account of the Friday procession given by Ralph Croft in 1613.¹¹ He witnessed it on two occasions, on the 25th June and the second July (Julian Calendar).¹² The following picture can be constructed from his account;

Sultan Iskandar Muda was led out of the palace by his guards and

went in procession to the mosque in rich array, accompanied by the nobles and chiefs of the realm. The escort preceding him consisted of 200 great elephants, 2,000 pikemen, the same number of gunners, 200 lancers and 100 archers. There were also twenty men carrying unsheathed swords with gold hilts and 200 fencers handling swords together with 'targets' (?) in front of him. His two young sons, eight or nine years of age, went before him. An additional elephant with a howdah covered with beaten silver, and whose tusks were covered with pure gold, also preceded him. Then came Iskandar Muda himself, seated upon the royal elephant on a saddle of gold and followed by his servants and slaves, carrying his betel box and fans also of pure gold.

There are various elements here that merit discussion. As for the procession itself, it comprises various components, such as a number of nobility, royal guards and servants, and elephants. The guards mentioned by Croft bears remarkable resemblance to those mentioned in the AA in connection with the festival of the sacrifice,¹³ though the latter gives much greater numbers. It is important to note that traditional regalia and symbols of royal authority which ^{are more} characteristic of the traditional court ceremonial than that of religion on the occasion, are carried in procession in this ostensibly Islamic ritual. This may be regarded as a widely recognisable traditional Southeast Asian pattern of court ceremonials being mixed with Islam.

Elephants as ^{an} integral part of the procession are worthy of our attention. Elephants were important animals in the Sultanate not only

as a substantial military force, but also as profitable merchandise, as we shall see in detail in Chapter VI. Another aspect of the role of elephants can yet be found here, namely elephants as a symbol of power of the Sultan on ceremonial and state occasions.

It is rather strange that Croft made no mention of the music pertaining to the procession at all, for according to the AA every stage of the procession is signalled by beat of drum in various rhythms.¹⁴

The description of the prayer as presented in the AA deserves analysis. It lists the following components;

1. The private prayer of the Sultan in honour of the mosque (taḥīyat al-masjid) in his alcove, comprising two rak^cas and a salutation (salām). This is a commendable prayer for Muslims entering a mosque.
2. The first call for the prayer (adhān), known as bang in Malay, followed by a commendable prayer of two rak^cas and one salām.
3. The chief muezzin utters prayers of blessing upon the Prophet and makes a salutation by turning his head to the right. He mounts the pulpit with the staff for the sermon in his hand and recites a verse of Qur^ʾān 33:56, which runs "Surely Allāh and His angels bless the Prophet. O you who believe, call for blessing on him and salute him with a salutation." Then he descends.
4. The preacher mounts the pulpit and greets the congregation, by saying "Peace be upon you and the mercy of Allāh and his blessings", and then takes his seat there.
5. Two muezzins recite a tradition (Hadīth) transmitted by Abū

Huraira, a companion of the Prophet famous for the number of traditions that he transmitted. The traditions they recite, although not stated, would probably include admonition, directing the congregation to maintain silence during the sermon.¹⁵

6. The preacher delivers the sermon consisting of two parts, beginning with the pronouncement of the formula "Praise belongs to Allāh".
7. The chief muezzin announces the second call to prayer (iqāma). This signified the moment at which the congregational prayer begins.
8. The leader of the prayer leads the prescribed Friday noon prayer of two rak^cas and one salām.
9. This is followed by the formula extolling Allāh (tasbīḥ) and prayers (du^ca) for the Prophet and the Sultan.
10. The ceremony concludes with a commendable ritual prayer of four rak^cas and two salāms.

There are some doubtful points in the text, though the procedures thus set out, by and large, correspond with what the Law-books prescribe.

The reference to the adhān of the text clearly shows that it is to be made inside the mosque after the faithful have gathered. In addition to this, it is well-known that a third ceremonial call for the prayer is recited in the mosque immediately before the sermon.¹⁶ And usually the preacher comes forward and takes his seat before it is finished.¹⁷ There is no reference to this in the AA, but there is

nothing to suggest that it was not a practice in Aceh.

As for the third component, it is very striking that it is the chief muezzin who holds the staff for the sermon and stands in the pulpit while reciting a verse from the Qur^{ān}. Properly speaking, the staff together with the pulpit are the 'insignia' of the Khaṭīb.¹⁸ However, they could not have been recognised as such in Aceh at that time because, as the text makes clear, the staff was in the keeping of the court, and it was the responsibility of the chief muezzin to request that it be handed over to the mosque officials on the appropriate occasion. This practice of requesting the staff is also described in the procedures for forming the procession at the festival of the fast.¹⁹

The sermon itemised under (6) is characteristic of the congregational prayer. It is not clear in the text, however, whether prayers for the faithful (du^ā li al-mu^ḥminīn) and in particular that for ruler are included in the sermon. It may be remarked that the Friday congregational prayer in the mosque had a political connotation from its very inception, being an expression of allegiance to the ruling authorities and therefore mention of the name of the ruler in the sermon is required.²⁰

In Aceh however, it appears that it was the duty of the Imām (the leader of the prayer), on Fridays as well as during the festival of the sacrifice,²¹ to conduct special prayer for the ruler. This prayer for the Sultan seems to have had a distinctive position in the religious rituals of the time in Aceh. Nevertheless, considering the

fact that the mention of the ruling sovereign in the sermon had already been a long established custom by then in the Muslim world,²² it can scarcely be doubted that it was also the case in Aceh. Therefore, that made under the leadership of the Imām may be explained as a supererogatory one, an additional allegiance to the ruler, stemming from the fact that the Khaṭīb and the Imām were different individuals, so that the latter too might have an opportunity to declare his allegiance.

It is also of interest to note that, after the prescribed prayer, the Acehnese of the time performed once more a commendable ritual prayer of four rak^cas and two salāms before leaving the mosque. This prayer takes virtually the place of the daily midday prayer, strictly prescribed by the law. This suggests that at that time too, they were followers of the Shāfi^ci school.²³

Mention should also be made of the place where the Sultan is to perform the prescribed and commendable prayers. This place, according to the text, was called the mesjid kelambu, i.e. a curtained alcove in the mosque. Unfortunately little is known of the structure of the mosque Bait al-Rahman during this period. It is well-known however that the introduction of the maqṣūra, i.e. a box or compartment for the ruler built near the miḥrāb of the mosque,²⁴ spread to all the lands of Islam very early. All traditions agree that it was introduced to protect the ruler from hostile attack.²⁵ It is undoubtedly the case that the mesjid kelambu served as a sort of maqṣūra. The text simply mentions that the Sultan reaches the main gate of the mosque then enters the curtained alcove, passing along the raja paksi (presumably a kind of

terrace or platform surrounding the building itself) and through the pintu kuari diwal mesjid (a sort of door consisting of two leaves attached to the wall of the mosque) and the jerjak kekisi (a wicket gate). This implies that the curtained alcove was not located on the raja paksi, and that there was a special entrance to the mosque exclusively for the Sultan, to which a wicket gate was attached.

2. Pusasa, the fast of Ramaḍān

The fast of Ramaḍān is one of the great community practices of the Muslim year. The fast begins on the first day after the appearance of the new moon has signalled the beginning of this holy month. Because of the importance of the occasion, the appearance of the new moon has to be reported by an ḥadī, a Muslim scholar of blameless life, to the Ḥakim or Qaḍī, who then proclaims that the fasting month has begun.²⁶

The Acehnese, as has been mentioned earlier, are Shāfi^cites and according to Shāfi^cite Law, the beginning of the fast must be fixed by observation, just as its ending. Determination by calculation (ḥisāb) is not acceptable.²⁷

Snouck Hurgronje, on the basis of his experience in Aceh, says that it had, nevertheless, long been customary in Aceh to fix both the beginning and end of the fasting month by calculation.²⁸ There does not appear to be evidence that this was the case in 17th century Aceh. True, Snouck Hurgronje refers to an account given in one of the edicts of the Sultan, probably deriving from the 18th or 19th century, on the method to fix the commencement of the fast.²⁹ This edict states that a council of the learned is held for this purpose on the last Friday of

the month Sha^cbān, the eighth month, in the large mosque Mesjid Raya.³⁰ However, it does not mention whether it was on the basis of hisāb or ru^ya (observation), that they announced the beginning of the fast.

The description given in the AA of the ceremonies that mark the eve of the fasting month may be summarized as follows:

(50a) On the eve of the 30th Sha^cbān, the Syahbandar Seri Rama Setia brings tributes to the Sultan which he places in front of the Biram (a kind of ceremonial platform), situated outside the royal enclosure, and watches for the moon to appear. If the moon is not sighted, he passes the night there.

On the following day (i.e. 1 Ramaḍān) the Raja Tajuk Intan Dikarang (a sort of crown, apparently one of the insignia of the realm) is carried in procession, accompanied by the elephants, from the Syahbandar's residence to the palace. (50b) In addition the Syahbandar has seven bowls of flowers sent to three burial complexes of the royal house, the Kandang^c Isyki Musyahadah, the Kandang Bait al-Rijal and the Kandang Raja Emas, respectively. After the Bentara Blang³¹ stand [before the palace], the trumpets are sounded in seven modes, and the flutes likewise; then the upright drums are beaten seven times in seven different rhythms. The Bentara Blang request that the Sultan summons the Raja Tajuk Intan Dikarang. The Megat³² transmits the request to the Sultan, and the request of Raja Tajuk Intan Dikarang is granted. The royal seal (Cap) is brought down to the Hall of District Chiefs (Balai Hulubalang) with the following words: the command of His

Majesty is that the Raja Tajuk Intan Dikarang together with the tributes from the Syahbandar be summoned. Both are taken in procession into the palace. All the chiefs in order of their rank, stand in the palaceryard of the Cermin Jum^c at Gate. (51a) Then a summons is given for the tributes consisting of various items of clothing to be brought into the Sultan's presence.

(51b) Now the official in charge of the drums requests that the rhythm adani be beaten lightly on the Sultan's drum. The command of His Majesty delivered by the Megat grants this request. Accordingly, the official asks the drumsticks to be delivered as the old ceremonial custom prescribes.

After the Sultan retires to his back court, the Bentara requests delivery of the royal sword and all the regalia necessary for the procession.

In the meantime, the district chiefs move from the Hall of District Chiefs and sit facing the Hall of Swords (Balai Pedang). Then a royal sword is delivered to the Hall of Swords and the Hall of the Guard (Balai Keujruën Tandil) respectively. Both the official in charge of the drums and the Bentara carry out the royal commands to beat the royal drum called Ibrahim Khalil; the drums belonging to the court remain within court, those belonging outside the court remain outside.

(52a) Those whose responsibility it is to request the royal drum to be brought are Paduka Maha Menteri and Seri Ratna Perdana.

This description does not bear a date. However, the reference

in it to and proposed identification of the royal graves,³³ suggest that this part of the AA may be dated, at the earliest, in the reign of Safiyyat al-Din, but ^{if} this is so it probably has relevance to the rituals before her reign.

It is clear from this description that at the time of writing, the commencement of the fast was determined in accordance with the prescription of the Shāfi'ī school, namely by observation, not by calculation as was done in the 19th century. There is however no mention in it of what happens if, in fact, the moon is not sighted on the eve of the new month, Ramaḍān, although it mentions that the Syahbandar passes the night near the Biram.

This lacuna can be filled by Houtman's account of 1600. In that year the eve of 1 Ramaḍān, i.e. 29 Sha'ban, corresponded with 15 March, which he gives for the festival of breaking the fast, and this must have been the date of the ceremony to inaugurate the start of the fasting month. His account informs as follows:

Having seen the new moon, all the nobility wearing their best garments came to the king's court, as if they were going to hold the prayer. There stood one of the nobles of the highest rank in front of the entrance of the palace, wearing a long white robe and holding a gilded shield in his left hand and a drawn sword in his right; and the latter he held up over his shoulder. Then, all the drums were beaten, and the trumpets were blown, and finally all flintlocks were fired, so were seven harquebuses outside the palace. This is the advent of their fasting.³⁴

From this it may be concluded that during this period the ceremonial was held either on the 29th or 30th Sha^cbān, depending on whether the new moon was visible or not, and that the description in the AA is based on the early practice of celebration of the holy month, of which, as circumstances had it, Houtman wrote an account.³⁵

That the text of the AA refers to secular officials and chiefs, and to the beating of the large royal drum, which is also beaten at the time of the Sultan's installation,³⁶ is important. This suggests that it is the Sultan's prerogative to announce the commencement of the fasting month. This is yet another detail indicating the spiritual dimension of the Sultan's authority in Aceh at that time.

The way of announcing the fasting month suggested by the AA is by the beating of drum. But another method was also in use, namely the firing of cannons and various firearms. A description of this on 23 November 1642 has this to say:

"A cannon was fired from Indraproa [i.e. Inderapurwa] and immediately there set off cannons from the palace and all the forts, cannons were limbered; and to these shots replied [from Inderapurwa], besides 300 or 400 harquebuses; this is their customary ceremony, with which they annually inaugurate their fast on the observation of the new moon."³⁷

This account given by P. Willemsz. shows clearly that in the first half of the 17th century, the commencement of the fast was solemnised with far more pomp and on a far more larger scale than it was in the 19th century. Its announcement by seven gun shots in the

later period³⁸ seems therefore to be a late development.

Not much is known about how faithfully the Acehnese observed the fast at that time. Houtman says that none of the common people performed it except those who wished to do so,³⁹ whereas S. de Weert finds in 1603 that they observe the fast with such a degree of strictness that none other than a person under ten years of age is allowed to eat before the sunset.⁴⁰ However, as far as the royal court is concerned, it seems that the fast was faithfully observed. Those in court service, the palace guards, gate-keepers and others as well, were provided with food in the name of the Sultan. Houtman states that from dawn to sunset they neither ate nor drank, nor even chewed betel, until the next new moon is sighted.⁴¹

It may then be concluded that the the court at that time played a prime role not only in the ceremonies that inaugurated the fast, but in the observance of the fast itself. This seems to owe much to the fact that the Shuyūkh, i.e. the senior religious teachers, and the Ulamā^c functioned in the first half of the 17th century both in a religious capacity and as officiānts of court ceremonials.⁴² Apparently too the Shuyūkh were revered by and had a great influence on the religious life of the common people of Aceh. When we recall that in this period too we find that there were local devotees of mysticism,⁴³ it is very likely that in some areas at least, many of the common people observed the fast strictly.

3. Id al-fiṭr, the festival in the month Shawwāl

Id al-fiṭr, the lesser canonical festival which marks the end

of the fasting month, is celebrated on the first of Shawwāl, the tenth month of the Muslim year. The associated festivities continue for three or four days.⁴⁴

In 17th century Aceh, the date was established both by calculation and by the physical sighting of the new moon. In case of a discrepancy between the two methods, i.e. if by calculation, the moon should appear, but was not sighted, fasting continued until the next sunset, and the day after that is the beginning of the feast. As far as we know, this happened on two occasions early in the 17th century.⁴⁵ One of these occasions is documented by S. de Weert in 1603. He describes the scene:

"there were many people standing everywhere in the city with eyes staring to the west anxious to see the new moon; and if the moon is seen, their fasting is over, and the following days are their Easter, which they celebrate for three days in Turkish manner."⁴⁶

The date he gives, i.e. 14th March, in fact corresponds with the first of Shawwāl, and this proves that the new moon had not been sighted on the eve of the first of Shawwāl and that in that year the festival in Aceh was celebrated a day later. The Turkish manner mentioned by him is probably taken as a referential norm.

Snouck Hurgronje notes that in the 19th century cannons were fired from the palace to indicate that the first day of the festival had begun.⁴⁷ There are however no reports, either indigenous or foreign, to suggest that this was the case in the 17th Century.

A central feature of this festival, as of the other canonical

festival of the sacrifice, is a public prayer (ṣalāt al-^cīd) in which the whole community participates. This prayer is classified in Shāfi^cite Law as commendable, and the time for its valid performance is between sunrise and the moment when the sun has reached its zenith.⁴⁸

Details of the ceremonial with which this festival was celebrated at the court when the Sultanate was at the peak of its prosperity, have long passed out of public memory.⁴⁹

The AA however describes the festival in some detail.⁵⁰ The ceremonies are closely parallel to those of the Friday congregational prayer, and it is reasonable to assume that both accounts were written in nearly the same period.⁵¹ In each case (and as we shall see later, in the festival of the sacrifice too) the court ceremonial marking the event is more conspicuous than the religious observance, even though the occasion is primarily religious.

The AA's description commences with the royal procession going from the Dalam to the mosque. It may be summarised as follows:

(54a) The chief muezzin enters the royal enclosure to request the staff to be held by the Khaṭīb during the sermon. Then the official in charge of the drums requests leave for the upright drum to be beaten. (54b) The royal approval is issued in response to their requests. The herald responsible for carrying the royal sword requests the sword, the betel caddy and the betel bag.

These items are handed over into his charge.

The herald and all who are to take part in the procession take their position in order of rank. The district chiefs too, in order of rank, assemble in the Hall of Swords. The Kadi Malik

al-^cAdil then invites the Sultan to set out to the mosque for the ritual prayer of the feast of the ending of the fast.

(55a) When the Sultan sets out, the drums are beaten. He is accompanied by the herald who brings the royal sword together with all the other symbols of royal dignity necessary for the procession, and by all the district chiefs drawn up in ranks.

A number of Sufi mendicants, together with Sharifs, Imāms, Khaṭībs, those who know the Qur^{ān} by heart, the reciters of the Qur^{ān}, the Angham (?) and those who lead the recitation of the takbīr and the dhikr, line up along the road to the main entrance of the palace.

(55b) Once the procession has moved off, the chiefs follow it, taking it in turn. As soon as the Sultan has reached the wall surrounding the mosque, the drums are beaten according to the rhythm ragam siwajan, and when the Sultan has entered the mosque, they make obeisance to him.

The Kadi Malik al-^cAdil and the Fakih Seri Rama Fakih enter the mosque and stand in front of the place where the Sultan is to perform his ritual prayer. After various rituals, during which the drums are beaten in different rhythms, the Sultan moves from a platform (astaka) next to the mosque to a terrace surrounding the building, (56a) and enters his private alcove passing through a wicket gate. The chiefs too enter the mosque.

Before the Sultan enters his alcove, the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil makes obeisance and a salām to him. (56b) When the Sultan has entered it, the curtains are drawn. After he has performed his prayer, paying his respect to the mosque, the Imām intones the

formula Allāhu Akbar three times. Then the muezzin makes the call to the prayer, (57a) and the Imām comes forward to lead the congregation in prayer. After the prayer, the Khaṭīb receives the staff for the sermon from the muezzin and delivers the sermon. After the sermon has been given the district chiefs come to pledge their allegiance to the Sultan.

(57b-58a) Afterwards the procession re-forms to return to the palace, during which various pieces of music are performed, either on medali (a sort of flute) or on drums, each with its special significance. The heavy guns (cecerong) mounted on the elephants' backs are fired as the procession returns to the palace. (58b) When it arrives at the great square, called Medan Khayyali, in front of the royal enclosure, all the chiefs and officials alight from their elephants and on foot accompany the royal elephant to the palace. (59a) When the Sultan reaches the platform, called Biram Penting, on which he is to alight, the guards and senior officials of the court who have been waiting to welcome him back, sprinkle the royal howdah with the ritual yellow rice mixed with gold filings. (59b) The Sultan re-enters his private quarter, called Cita Keinderaan, in his palace, and the chiefs mount guard.

The AA makes no mention either of the erection of ceremonial umbrellas of various kinds nor of a banquet prior to the Cīd prayer. But, as in the case of the festival of the sacrifice,⁵² European sources tell us that ceremonial umbrellas were in fact erected. Very early in the morning, Weert notes in 1603, many standards were set up in all

corners of the great square in front of the palace.⁵³ There a multitude of people gathered and a great number of elephants gracefully fitted with all their accoutrements, and all moved around the square. He says further that after homage had been paid to the Sultan by the chiefs, to whom free access to the palace had been given on this occasion, a banquet was held in the court. The banquet, as he notes, must have been completed relatively early.⁵⁴

Weert also describes the royal procession to the mosque on this occasion as follows:

"In the meantime, a great elephant gracefully adorned was brought into the court yard. The young king [i.e. ^cAli Ri^cayat Syah], wearing a kind of gilt helmet, mounted the elephant and seated himself under a magnificent canopy; in front of him sat one wearing a gold coronet and being well-dressed, who controlled the elephant, and also the other handsomely dressed behind him. ... Thus the young prince went to the mosque, accompanied by many nobility, a great number of elephants and a small number of horses; in addition, several thousand people, carrying arms, standards, arrows and flintlocks, also followed on foot. There was a tremendous noise of various instruments, such as horns, trombones, kettle-drums and cymbals.

Having reached a small house or building, which stands in the large square or bazaar, the king alighted from his elephant and took a rest for a while; then mounted again the same elephant from one side and dismounted from it on the other, and mounted another elephant made ready there; and on this other elephant he

continued on his way to the large mosque, which stands at the end of the large bazaar near the palace.⁵⁵

The major discrepancy between the account given in the AA and that of Weert is about the changing of the royal elephant on the way to the mosque, which is not mentioned in the former. The small structure on the large square mentioned by Weert may be identical with the Biram mentioned in the AA when it describes the ceremonies inaugurating the fasting month.⁵⁶ In fact, when P. Mundy was in Aceh in 1637, he discovered a "Chowtree", which is a raised place or platform, in the middle of the square, where it was usual for Iskandar Thani to alight and change his elephant.⁵⁷

Both the AA and Weert clearly show that music is also an important element of the occasion, and it is indeed an interesting subject to study. But as there is another reference to it in the AA on the occasion of the festival of the sacrifice, it is wise to look at it in some detail in the following section when we study the relevant description of the AA.

Little can be added to the description given of the C̄Id prayer by the AA because non-Muslims were not allowed to enter the mosque on such occasion.

It should be reiterated that the C̄Id prayer was performed inside the mosque, not in the public square as one would expect. The AA goes into enough detail to make it possible to identify the following components of the rituals in the mosque. They may be itemized as follows:

1. The Sultan makes his private prayer of greeting to the mosque,

consisting of two rak^cas and a salām.

2. The Imām's recitation of the takbir three times: "Allāh is most great, Allāh is most great, Allāh is most great. There is no god besides Allāh, Allāh is most great, and praise belongs to Him."
3. The muezzin utters the summons to the congregational prayer from the pulpit, saying "come to public prayer. May Allāh have mercy upon you all." three times. This formula of call is reserved for the Ād prayer and other special occasions.⁵⁸
4. The Imām comes forward to lead the congregational prayer of two rak^cas and a salām. There are seven takbīrs in the first rak^cas and five in the second, i.e. the phrase "May Allāh be praised, praise be to Allāh, and there is no god besides Allāh, and Allāh is most great."
5. The Khaṭīb delivers the sermon. The sermon should consist of two khuṭbas, though the AA does not mention this number.

Attention may be drawn to some irregularities. The Ād prayer has no adhān and no iqāma; there is only one form of summons: al-ṣalāt jāmi^catan i.e. "come to the public prayer!" There appear to be some ambiguities in the description of the call attributed to the muezzin in item (3). It is preceded by the recitation of takbīr, which marks the commencement of the consecrated state for the valid performance of the prayer.⁵⁹ This order should be reversed, the call coming first and then being followed by the recitation of the takbīr. It is interesting to note that the call is pronounced from the 'pulpit' three times.

As for the congregational prayer, it consists only of two rak^cas

and one salām, and contains, as the AA mentions, several takbīrs more, in addition to those pronounced in the ordinary ritual prayer of the same rak^cas. Moreover, the formula that is appropriate where the AA notes as takbīr, is tasbīḥ, the formula extolling Allāh: Subḥānallāh, which is recited after every takbīr.⁶⁰

As is the case for the Friday congregational prayer, two khuṭbas should be delivered on this occasion too. It is allowed for the Khaṭīb to deliver them sitting.⁶¹ No mention is made in the AA of the language in which ^{the sermon} is preached, but during this period it was customary to give it in Arabic.

The final point that draws our attention concerns the Khaṭīb's staff. It will be recalled that on this occasion as previously, the chief muezzin has to request the Sultan through the herald to deliver it. This emphasizes that the staff for the sermon, although properly part of the regalia of the Khaṭīb, is in the custody of the court. Two possible explanations may be considered. The staff may simply have been considered as one of the items necessary for religious rituals under the initiative of the court. It is also probable that in the Southeast Asian tradition, the staff became regarded as one of the regalia of the realm in which there was no distinction between the court rituals and purely Islamic ones. In either case, it may be suggested that this may be one of the indices of the position of the sovereign had in the religious life of the Sultanate.

4. Īd al-aḍḥā, the festival of sacrifice in Dhū al-ḥijja

The festival of the sacrifice, the climax of the Pilgrimage

ceremonies, is celebrated on 10 Dhū al-ḥijja. This is the day on which the pilgrims who have gathered in Mecca sacrifice animals in the valley of Mina. The occasion is marked, as is the celebration of the end of the fasting month, by a commendable public prayer for the whole community held between dawn and noon. This festivity lasts for three days, and animals are sacrificed from after the congregational prayer until sunset on the third day.⁶² This practice is obligatory not only for pilgrims, but for every Muslim who can afford to buy a sacrificial victim.⁶³ The number and kind of animals to be sacrificed is stipulated in the Law-books.⁶⁴

Today, in most parts of the Malay World, including Aceh, this festival is regarded as of less importance than the so-called minor festival that marks the end of the fast, and its ceremonies are a repetition on a much smaller scale of the latter.⁶⁵

This does not appear however to have been the case in 17th century Aceh. Our sources are once again the AA, a brief account by Houtman at the turn of the 16th century which suggests that its celebration was already established at that time,⁶⁶ and a much fuller one by P. Mundy in 1637.

The account given in the AA is of particular interest, because it mentions by name Shaikh Syams al-Din who died in February 1630.⁶⁷ This indicates the high probability that the ceremonial it describes took place during the reign of Iskandar Muda. P. Mundy's account, it may be noted, describes the ceremonies as they were performed in 1637, during the first six months of the reign of Iskandar Thani.

The description given by the AA of the occasion may be summarized as follows:

(63b) At the dawn on the 10th of Dhū al-ḥijja, the official in charge of the ceremonial umbrellas (Penghulu Payung) orders that umbrellas of various kinds be erected on both side of the road from the palace-yard to the mosque. In the space between the umbrellas are also set up various standards. Gold paint (air emas) is sprinkled along the route.

(64b) For when everything has been prepared, the Sultan is to set out from the palace to the mosque with the court regalia and with various musical instruments. Iskandar Muda is compared to Iskandar Dhū al-Karnain setting out from Rum (sic) to conquer the world.

(65a) Some twenty groups of people, including commoners, various classes of court officials, such as the sons of district chiefs, those who are to carry the royal regalia and the symbols of the realm, form up into a procession directed by the bearer of the royal sword.

(65b) Then, in the 21st group, comes the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil on an elephant, called Gangsar, surrounded by other religious officers reciting Arabic formulae in praise of Allāh. Accompanying them are the district chiefs all splendidly dressed and riding on elephants. These religious officers consist of jurists, Arabs descent from the line of the Prophet (Sharif), theologians (Pendeta), Imāms, Khaṭībs, those who know the Qur^{ān} by heart, Qur^{ān}ic reciters, the Angham (?) and those who recite dhikr. The Sultan joins in the recitation of the Arabic formulae glori-

fyng Allāh while the beads of his rosary pass through his fingers. His piety is known even to the Caliph at Istanbul.

(67a) The 22nd group comprises cavalry bearing standards, who form a guard to the right and left of the Sultan.

(68a) Next comes the 23rd group. This consists of bearers of royal banners and mirrors, called the Dinding Hari.

(68b) In the 24th group comes the Sultan himself in a howdah on the royal elephant called Lela Manikam; he is escorted by his guards, consisting of several leading chiefs and those bearing the titles Mengambang Sultan and Mengambang Raja. They are armed with daggers, swords and lances, and flank the royal elephant.

(69a) The 25th group is made up of the garrison of the palace armed with swords and daggers. They too form a guard around the royal elephant.

(69b) In the 26th group follow courtiers, and servants and slaves of the royal household. Some of them carry large cups and bowls made of precious metals studded with jewels; others carry either swords or daggers.

(70a) In the 27th group are prominent warriors, some of them bearing the titles Pahlawan Tagar and Penghulu Kilat Dilangit, and several other court officials, all dressed gracefully. They are organised according to their function and rank, and escort the royal elephant Lela Manikam. This group also includes the rajas, the district chiefs and a number of soldiers. Some of the warriors who have been granted titles, together with the head of column (Penghulu Kafilah), carrying ceremonial umbrellas to provide the Sultan on his elephant with shade. The Sultan under

the ceremonial umbrellas, standards and banners is compared to King Sulaimān The Magificent setting out to war.

(72b) Then follows the 28th group. This comprises 30 war-elephants, with iron howdahs on their backs, which guard the area to the right of the Sultan. On each are mounted two warriors heavily armed with various kinds of weapons with shields made of iron from Khorasan. These elephants are surrounded by 200 foot soldiers, vast number of other soldiers armed with either swords or spears, and huge number of musketeers and skilled swords men, all dressed in the style of the warriors of the Ottoman Empire.

(74a) The 29th group consists of another 30 war-elephants with iron howdah on their backs, which guard the area to the left of the Sultan. Two warriors are mounted on each of them, and around them march soldiers as numerous as in the 28th group.

(75b) The 30th and last group includes famous warriors and strong soldiers, who escort the Sultan from the rear. These are divided into ten sub-groups:

The first is a group of 1,000 Abyssinian soldiers, armed with Abyssinian swords and spears, and some of them carrying iron maces.

(76a) The second comprises soldiers carrying shields and drawn swords. Then follows a group of soldiers bearing the title Pengawinan, carrying traditional lances. The fourth and fifth sub-groups consist of additional squads of soldiers.

(76b) Soldiers armed with lances or spears, and musketeers form the sixth and seventh sub-groups respectively. In the eighth are 500 chosen court guards equipped with various weapons.

(77a) In the ninth come 50 palace elephants, some with iron

howdahs on their backs, 30 of which are mentioned by name. On each is mounted a warrior who guides it, accompanied by two men heavily armed with various weapons, and carrying on their backs shields made of iron from Khorasan. These elephants also carry banners on their backs, and are escorted by foot soldiers, 200 on their left and 100 on their right.

(81a) The crown prince mounted on an elephant called Naga Beraksa, brings up the rear of the procession. He is in full dress. His elephant is driven by a mahout with the title Haria Diraja.

Numerous umbrellas of red, yellow and green, and banners are held over it. He is escorted by a body of heavily armed guards to the front and the rear, consisting of musketeers, infantry and archers. Slaves carrying large bowls also belong to his party.

(82b) The great procession makes its way along the road to the mosque. When it arrives at the entrance of the mosque compound, the nobility alight from their elephants and make obeisance to the Sultan, and then lead the procession into the compound on foot. At this moment the drums begin to beat the rhythm ragam siwajan.

(83a) The Kadi Malik al-^cAdil and the Fakih then enter the mosque, and stand in front of the place where the Sultan is to perform his ritual prayer. After various rituals, during which drums are beaten according to the rhythm ragam kuda berlari, the Sultan moves from a structure next to the mosque to the terrace surrounding the mosque, where Shaikh Syams al-Din welcomes him and makes obeisance to him. The Sultan then enters the mosque, accompanied by Syams al-Din.

(85a) After obeisance and salām have been made to him by the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil and the Faqīh, who have been waiting to welcome him to the mosque, he enters his private alcove. Then all the procession follows him into the mosque.

(85b) Inside his curtained alcove the Sultan, after having performed ablut^{ions}, performs in company with Syams al-Din and Raja Udahna Lela the prayer of two rak^cas in honour of the mosque. In the meantime his servants and slaves bearing the regalia of the realm stand in attendance on him outside the curtained alcove, while warriors, soldiers, elephants and horses stand on guard on either side of the gate on the terrace.

(86b) When the Sultan has performed this prayer, the muezzin mounts the pulpit to make the call to the ^cId prayer three times. Then the Imām comes forward to lead the congregation in prayer. The ^cId prayer comprises two rak^cas and one salām. After the salām, the Imām and all the congregation recite the takbīr a further three times. Then the Khaṭīb takes the sermon staff from the muezzin and delivers the sermon. Then the Imām recites prayers for the Sultan and for various intentions to each of which the whole congregation responds Amin, raising their palms to their faces.

(87a) After the ^cId prayer the Sultan goes to the terrace. In front of the terrace the sacrificial victims lie bound under a large tent, with ceremonial umbrellas held open over them. The Sultan honours the victims in the presence of the rajas, the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil, the Fakih, the Sharif, the district chiefs and others. Then the chief scribe (Penghulu Kerkun), the Syahbandars and the Nazirs (inspectors) of the port bureaucracy of the capital sprinkle the bodies of the victims with rose water from Persia

carried in green glass bottles. Then the teeth of the victims are treated with baja (i.e. a substance to blacken the teeth), and their heads are anointed with perfumed oils. After this, they are combed with gold and silver combs, and their eyelids are darkened with khol while crystal mirrors are placed in front of them. Finally, a white cloth is draped over them.

(89a) After these preparations are completed, the head servant brings a gold tray containing knives (sekin) to the Sultan. He chooses one. Then the official in charge of royal garments brings him a shield to protect his clothes from any splash of blood and leads him to the victim he is to sacrifice.

(89b) Before the slaughter takes place, the Faqih recite the Arabic formulae of praise: Allāh is most great, Allāh is most great, Allāh is most great. There is no god besides Allāh. Allāh is most great, Allāh is most great, and to Him praise belongs. In the meantime, a senior Faqih approaches the victim and shows the Sultan the vein to be cut.

While various musical instruments play the tune kuda berlari, the Sultan puts the knife to the victim's neck.

(90) No sooner does blood flow than Syams al-Din takes the knife from the Sultan and despatches the victim. The Sultan then deposes the slaughter of the remainder of the victims to the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil, who has the Faqih slaughter them. Meanwhile the Arabic prayers continue to be recited and the drums are beaten. When the slaughter has been completed, all the instruments are sounded three times. The meat from the victims is loaded on to the

processional vehicles and brought to the royal enclosure.

(90b) While the procession re-forms to return to the palace various pieces of music are performed. As it moves back to the palace the heavy guns on the elephants' backs are fired.

(91b) The royal procession on this occasion is compared to that of Iskandar Dhū al-Karnain setting out to war in the East and in the West. A large crowd of people come to watch the spectacular procession; some pregnant women are confined in the streets and the market places, and many lose their way in the crowd.

(92a) When the procession has reached the great square, the raja, the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil, all the district chiefs and others alight from their elephants and accompany the royal elephant, Lela Manikam, on foot to the palace yard in front of the Sultan's private quarters called Cita Keinderaan. As he approaches the alighting platform, old court ladies and wet nurses from the royal household who have been waiting to welcome him back, sprinkle the royal elephant with ritual yellow rice, mixed with precious stones and gold. The Sultan re-enters the Cita Keinderaan, where his mother welcomes him.

This celebration of the festival of the sacrifice, as we have noted earlier, quite probably took place during Syams al-Din's life time, thus before 1630.

The celebration reported by P. Mundy, it will be recalled, took place in the first year of Iskandar Thani's reign. In Mundy's account, the festival is called 'Buckree Eede' i.e. Bakar ^cId, the term commonly used to denote it in Surat.⁶⁸ The date he gives, i.e. 26 April 1637

(Julian Calender), corresponds to 10 Dhū al-ḥijja 1046 A.H. Most of his account is based on his own observation, but some details are supplied by an informant.⁶⁹ It should also be noted that his description of some parts is very brief, and there are some striking lacunae. It is worthwhile quoting Mundy's account, though rather long.

"The 26th of Aprill [1637]. The principalls off the Fleete were invited to the Solemnization of Buckree Eede or of Abrahams Sacrificing his Sonne, butt whether Isacke or Ismael I Did not ask. Some passage thereof I will here sett Downe.

First, all the greatt greene att the going in of the Kings house was Stucke with sundry greatt Flagges, and many of these country standards. From the entraunce of the King['s] house to the great Messitt [masjid, mosque] at the other end of the greene on each side of the way. Then came a squadron of Elephantts with certaine things like little low turrettts on their backes, and in each of them a souldier in redde with a launce in his hand standing upprightt, a shash [turban] on his head part gold, which seemed to bee Made uppe after the Indian manner. The first rancke of Elephantts (they going by 4 in rancke) had each of them 2 greatt swords, or rather long Iron Sithes Fastned to their tuskes. This whole squadron every little space of tyme, upon a watchword, would rush Forward, the Souldiers on their backes brandishing and acting with their launces with loud outcries, stamping on certaine loosened boards putt there of purpose, Made a straunge Noise. This I conceave they Doe when they Charge their enemies to break their order.

Next after these came another Number of Elephantts with little

turretts or Cradles on their backes allsoe, somwhatt high railed, wheron were placed smalle gunnes, arcabuz a Crock, or such like, with a man to manage them. After these other elephantts with more turretts with 2 men in each of them, having bowes, arrowes, Dartts and bucklers; then other Elephantts with long Flagges as most of the rest had; others covered From their head to their Feete, the Cloath borne outt with bamboes, resembling great tortoises, nothing appearing butt their very feete, eares, eyes and truncke.

After these came a Multitude with gunnes, and then as many with very long pikes, each [with] a little Flagge or one of those Cow-tailes Fastned to the head therof. Amongst all were led many good horses with ritch saddles and Furniture; then a guard of Eunuches on horsebacke without saddles, each a long Sword on his shoulder with a guilt or gold scabbard. Before the King were carried Divers quittasoles [umbrellas], said to bee of beaten gould, and a greatt Number of Flagges.

Then commeth the King on a greatt and stately Elephantt, ritchly adorned and covered all over downe to the Feete as beforementioned. Hee was mounted alofft on a ritch seatt which was covered overhead with a very ritche high Double Pavillion or arche. Before and neare him were borne sundry ensignes like hearts (of gold) reversed, on long staves and one with looking glasses in the Middle on both sides, butt whither (as some say) hee causeth them to bee carried before him thatt hee mightt see in them whatt is Done beehind him, I know not.

Att his issuing Forth the Musick played, some of them by turnes

and others altogether, as Hautbois, straightt trumpetts, and others in forme of great hunting hornes, Drummes (the 3 latter of Silver); another Copper Instrument called a gung, wheron they strike with a little wooden Clubbe, and allthough it bee butt a small Instrumentt, not much More then 1 Foote over and $\frac{1}{2}$ Foot Deepe, yett it maketh a Deepe hollow humming sound Resembling thatt of a great bell: all the afforesaid musick Discordant, Clamorous and full of Noise.

A straunge allthough Confuzed sightt.

The Marche was allsoe very confuzed and on heapes, there beeing scar[c]e roome and tyme For order. However, it was all rare and straunge to behold, viz., the Multitude of greatt Elephantts accoutred and armed after severall Manners, Weapons and Ornamentts, costly Furniture, etts., there beeing Nere as Many More Elephantts allsoe fitted for this shew (thatt could nott Marche with the rest For lack of roome) which stood in sundry places by while the others passed.

After the King Followed anothe[r] guard with bowes, arrowes and bucklers off a Fathom long, although not $1\frac{1}{2}$ Foote broad.

The King chaungeth his Elephantt.

When the King came to the First little building [chabūtrā] on the greene, hee alighted From thatt Elephantt, and passing through the roome, Mounted on another thatt there stood ready For him, having the Pavillion over his head of Tambacca, a mixt Mettall of gold and Copper much esteemed in these parts. The King had on his head (as farr as I could perceave) a Cappe of gold with

sprigges of Jewells, And in his hands a Ritch (guilt or gold) bow;
 on his Feete no shooes, It beeing the Custome toe goe barefooted
 From the King Downeward. One rode before him to guide the elephant
 and another beehind him, bitt hee sate Much higher then they.

The Kings sacrifice: 500 yong buffaloes.

And soe hee proceeded to the Messitt, where hee alighted and
 entred, when presently [immediatly] were sent in (by report) 500
 yong buffaloes to bee sacrificed, wherof the king killed the first
 and officers appointed killed the rest, which was afterwards
 carried outt and Distributed among the people; this latter passage
 by relation.

This, in conclusion, was the Manner of the King of Acheins riding
 in state to his Mosche or Messitt to celebrate his buckree Eede or
 feast of goates. For they hold (as I was told) thatt a goate
 appeared outt of the bush and not a Ramme. These being Mahom-
 taines Doe in commemoration of Abrahams his offring his sonne
 keepe certaine festivall Daies every yeare."⁷⁰

There are various elements of the ceremonies described both by
 the AA and Mundy that merit discussion in some detail.

Clearly, the procession as described by Mundy does not correspond
 exactly with that given in the AA. As might be expected, his account
 makes no reference either to the crown prince, who was put to death by
 his father, Iskandar Muda, in December 1636, or to Syams al-Din who died
 in 1630. Further, it gives the impression either that the procession
 in 1637 was on a less grand scale than that described in the AA, or that

there is an element of literary hyperbole in the narrative provided by the AA. Even taking this into account however, the divergence between the two sources in the number of the royal army and guard is striking. It could be related to the heavy losses suffered by the Acehnese in their final attack on Malacca in 1629.⁷¹ Moreover, the celebration of the festival in 1637 took place only three or four months after the assassination of Iskandar Muda and the ascension to the Acehnese throne of Iskandar Thani, a prince of Pahang, whose authority was never firmly established, as we have already seen in Chapter II. Such military and political factors are probably sufficient to account for most of the discrepancies between the two accounts. The differences in the order of the procession are relatively unimportant, and certainly do not suggest any fundamental difference in character.

The ceremonial public prayer inside the mosque, of its very nature, not being observed by Europeans, thus we have to rely solely on the AA's description. It lists the components of the prayer as follows:

1. The private prayer of the Sultan in his alcove in company with Syams al-Din and Raja Udahna Lela in honour of the mosque, consisting of two rak^cas [and one salām].
2. The muezzin makes the call to prayer from the pulpit three times.
3. The Imām comes forward to lead the congregation in prayer, which comprises two rak^cas and one salām. Nine takbīrs are intoned in the first rak^cas, and seven in the second.
4. After the salām, the Imām with all the congregation recite the takbīr a further three times.
5. The Khaṭīb delivers the sermon, consisting of two khuṭbas.

6. The Imām comes forward once again to recite prayers for the Sultan and various intentions, to each of which the whole congregation responds with Amin, raising their palms to their faces.

As in the congregational prayer on the festival marking the end of the fast, there is neither adhān nor iqāma. The commencement of the public prayer on this occasion too is signalled by a specific Arabic formula of 'come to the public prayer'. The formula mentioned in the AA is, however, rather prolix, i.e. a certain additional Arabic phrase is also pronounced following the traditional one.⁷²

In addition, the numbers given in the AA of times the takbīr is intoned in the service appear to be inaccurate. According to the Shāfi^c_i school, it is prescribed that in both Id prayers seven takbīrs should be recited in the first rak^c_a and five in the second, in addition to those uttered in the obligatory daily prayer of the same number of rak^c_a.⁷³ We cannot offer any solution to the problem as to why nine- and seven-fold takbīr are given by the AA. It may simply be a local usage to indicate the superiority of the 'major' festival to the 'minor' festival by increasing the number of takbīr.

Properly speaking, the salām noted under item (4) concludes the legally prescribed consecrated state central to the valid performance of the ritual prayer.⁷⁴ Thus, if the Acehnese did in fact pronounce the takbīr three times after the conclusion of the prayer, such a deviation from the prescribed ritual norms would not be significant as far as the validity of the prayer is concerned.

It is of interest to note that two-fold prayer on behalf of the Sultan, one by the Khaṭīb in the sermon and then by the Imām after the sermon, appears to have been a characteristic of this ceremony, although it is not explicitly stated in the AA. It is clear from the AA that the Khaṭīb and the Imām are different individuals, and it is presumably for this reason that each must express his allegiance to the ruler by this prayer, as was also the case for the Friday congregational prayer.

After the conclusion of the Ḥīd prayer, animals are sacrificed in the mosque compound. In both accounts there are lacunae in the description of this ritual.

For example, the AA does not tell what kind of animals are to be sacrificed, despite the fact that it describes the preparations of the victims for slaughter and the way they are killed in detail. Perhaps for the Acehnese of the time it was understood what kind of animals were appropriate. In this connection, there is an interesting remark of P.W. Verhoeff in 1608 on sheep-breeding in Aceh. He says that the raising of sheep was not popular among them, because the Sultan allowed none of his subjects to breed sheep except him.⁷⁵ However, this remark is not in itself sufficient evidence, even though there is a distinct possibility that among the victims were sheep.

On the other hand, according to the relevant part of Mundy's account, the animals sacrificed were 500 young buffaloes. On the authority of Snouck Hurgronje this was not the case in the 19th century when oxen were the preferred victims.⁷⁶

It may well have been the case that in this period, the strength

of Islamic belief was sufficient to overwhelm any local superstitious beliefs relating to buffaloes; the role of religious teachers at court, and perhaps (as we shall see below) the likelihood that the court provided the animals strengthen this probability. Indeed, buffalo sacrifices are indigenous to and widely known in Southeast Asia.

It is also striking that neither source mentions who provided the animals for sacrifice. Considering the conspicuous court ceremonial features of the festival, it would be safe to assume that the major part of the sacrifice was provided by the Sultan and the nobility of the realm. This is supported by the AA's account that the meat from the victims is taken to the palace,^{an} account which deviates from the widespread practice throughout the Muslim world as to the distribution of the sacrificed animals.⁷⁷

It is also noteworthy that the preparations of animals for sacrifice, particularly the use of a substance to blacken the teeth of animals, kohl, perfumed oils, comb and mirror, mentioned in the AA are similar to those in use in 19th century Aceh where the slaughter of the victims took place only in the village called Bitay, which was founded by Syrian artisans sent to Aceh by the Ottoman Sultan Selīm II (1566-1574) in the 1560s.⁷⁸ It is not possible however to determine why the Acehnese court should have adopted it. Yet it may be suggested that Aceh in later decades of the 16th century was, as we have seen in^{an} earlier Chapter, the most important pepper-exporting county to the Red Sea under Ottoman rule, and this quite naturally brought forth in time religio-cultural ties between the two. In other words, Islam in Aceh during this period was possibly under the strong influence of the heartlands of Islam

constituting part of the Ottoman Empire. Both the influx of religious teachers from the Arab World referred to earlier and reference to the Turkish elements in the description of the royal procession in the AA may be regarded as an indication of this aspect.

The AA is not very clear about the formula the Sultan recites as he glorifies the victim. It says simply that the Sultan glorifies the victims (bermuliakan korban). This may mean that the Sultan utters the formulae of takbīr (Allāhu Akbar) and of tasmiya (bi'smi 'llāhi 'l-rahmāni 'l-rahīmi, i.e. in the name of Allah, the Merciful Benefactor, before the offering.⁷⁹ The reference in the AA to the recitation of takbīr by the jurists immediately before and during the slaughtering would support this supposition.

Both accounts agree on one crucial point that the Sultan inaugurates the slaughtering of the victims, and then deposes the slaughter of the remainder of the victims to the jurists, or to officers appointed for it. Here too we can see the central role of the Sultan in and thus the 'court ceremonial' feature of this purely religious festival.

This syncretic nature of the festival is also recognised in music as an appendage to the occasion. Indeed, both the AA and Mundy give significant space or reference to the music that appears to have had an integral role both in the royal procession and in the proceeding of the ceremonies itself. To the ears of Europeans this music was however just noise, as Mundy notes.⁸⁰ Yet, for the Acehnese it was by music that signalled each stage not only of this festival but of the ceremonies on the first of Shawwāl and on Fridays.⁸¹ In addition, we

know that music has a place in every court function in general terms, even nowadays. According to both accounts, the musical instruments employed were drums, gongs, cymbals, flutes, trumpets, clarinets and other wind instruments, and among others drums played the central role, as in common in Malay tradition. The variety of rhythms listed in the AA⁸² seems to suggest that the Acehese court had a complex musical culture, of which it would be intriguing to learn more.

5. The Acehese rulers and the Islamic scholars

We have made clear in the above that the rulers of Aceh as head of the Islamic community or state were the central figures in the purely Islamic rituals and that these religious rituals^{were} in fact very much syncretic in nature in the Sultanate of our period, having mixed with the traditional court rituals. In addition, it will be recalled that the rulers were in the position to implement the Islamic law, which was indeed^a significant part of the laws of the realm.

This apart, commitment on the part of the sovereign to Islam and in particular to the religious leaders had a crucial importance in the administration of the state, since religious power in the Islamic states was a potentially dangerous element of political power as the history of the Islamic states clearly shows.

Let us start our examination with Shaikh Syams al-Din. The reference of the AA to Syams al-Din deserves some elaboration for various reasons: because he had a status in his own right as a scholar, and several of his works are extant; because he can be identified in the

reports of several European visitors; because he had a close personal association with Sultan Iskandar Muda; and because his position at the court is a key to the understanding of the role of religion in the state. Later we study the role of a Shaikh al-Islām as an institution in Aceh and his affiliations with the international world of Islam.

We have seen in section (4) that Syams al-Din was constantly in attendance with Iskandar Muda during the ceremonies of the festival of the sacrifice.⁸³ The AA also describes that Iskandar Muda recites dhikr and other pious ejaculations, and counts of the most beautiful names of Allāh on his rosary accompanied by various religious officers, among them probably Syams al-Din too. In addition, one should note that the AA uses certain mystical terms in describing Iskandar Muda's religious devotion.⁸⁴ All this suggests both that he was a disciple of Syams al-Din and a member of one or another of the mystical order.⁸⁵

In fact, from Syams al-Din's works and the relevant information gathered by Van Nieuwenhuijze,⁸⁶ it appears that he dedicated, at least, two of his introductory tracts on mysticism to Iskandar Muda, one titled Tarīqat al-sālikīn, written in 1020 A.H./1611-12, and the other which is identified as Nūr al-daqa'iq, but not dated.⁸⁷ Both are elementary tracts, and from the dedication in both of them it appears that they were written for Iskandar Muda as an introduction to mysticism during the first several years of his reign. This suggests that Iskandar Muda was Syams al-Din's disciple, and that if he studied the external science earlier, as the Hikayat Aceh describes, for a study of mysticism and a deeper understanding of religion, Syams al-Din was his master.

There is evidence that Syams al-Din was an influential scholar at court from as early as the latter part of the reign of al-Mukammil (1589-1604), and began to write religious works from the last decade of the 16th century at the latest.⁸⁸ What evidence is there of him as a historical figure?

The Hikayat Aceh describes that the Shaikh al-Islām was ordered by al-Mukammil to read a letter, brought to Aceh by a Portuguese envoy (in November 1600); that the same Shaikh al-Islām presided at the ceremony conferring the title Saif al-Muluk upon Iskandar Muda's fencing-instructor; and that a mystic from Mecca, Mir Ja^cfar, when he arrived in Aceh, and two Acehnese pilgrims from Mecca, all paid their respects, first of all, to Syams al-Din.⁸⁹

Contemporary European sources also tell us about a certain Shaikh. In September 1599 Houtman notes that among the attendants at the audience with the Sultan there was a 'schech' who was a chief councillor of the Sultan. He says further that this Shaikh, after several hours of discussion of Islamic doctrine and Christianity between Acehnese religious judges and him, tried to persuade him to convert him to Islam.⁹⁰

J. Davis, who was a colleague of Houtman, also refers to such a figure. He speaks of an 'archbishop' and spiritual dignitary.⁹¹ Furthermore, J. Lancaster, who led the negotiations for a treaty of commerce and navigation with Aceh in the middle of 1602, notes that a 'chief bishop' of the realm was appointed as one of the negotiators. He remarks that this 'chief bishop' was a man in great estimation with the Sultan and all the people, and that he was temperate and renowned for his wisdom. He was also fluent in Arabic.⁹²

It seems most likely that the 'schech' of Houtman, the 'arch-bishop' of Davis, and the 'chief bishop' of Lancaster, all refer to one person, that person was Syams al-Din.⁹³ At the same time their remarks on the person as having the highest religious authority suggest by implication that Syams al-Din could be identical with the Shaikh al-Islām the Hikayat mentions. In fact, judging from the context of the relevant passages of the Hikayat and from our knowledge of the prominent religious figures in Aceh of the time, Syams al-Din is the only appropriate scholar to bear the title Shaikh al-Islām,⁹⁴ which we will examine in some detail below.

It may be concluded that Syams al-Din began to play an important role in court circle from the reign of al-Mukammil, functioning not only in the religious field but also in conducting relations with the outer world, particularly with European powers.

As far as Syams al-Din's relationship with Iskandar Muda is concerned, the date of the Tarīqat al-sālikīn, 1611-12, which, as noted above, was dedicated to Iskandar Muda, is suggestive. It implies that he had continued in the royal patronage, and by initiating Iskandar Muda into his mystical order consolidated his position at the court, probably as the Sultan's most influential advisor. There are other European accounts which document his continuing prominence.

According to R. Croft, who was in Aceh in 1613, there was a 'rassedor' i.e. confidential advisor with whom Iskandar Muda consulted all important matters of the state.⁹⁵ And two year later, a 'Bishop of Achin' was presented with gifts by the English East India Company's fleet.⁹⁶ Judging from the Acehnese officials mentioned in the note of

presents and duties on this occasion, this 'Bishop of Achin' could be identical with the 'rassedor' of Croft.

These accounts reveal something of his status as Iskandar Muda's chief advisor. The Bustan is more specific on this point. It places Syams al-Din foremost among the Acehese dignitaries, ahead even the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil and the chief minister Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja.⁹⁷ This means that he had precedence over the two most eminent government officials. Moreover, it would be quite natural that he, as the spiritual master of the sovereign, would be an indispensable officiant at court on the occasions both of religious and court rituals. In addition to this, his involvement in orienting Aceh's foreign relations can be regarded as another of his significant roles.

If all this evidence of Syams al-Din's preeminence is acceptable, it can be said that the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda was, in many respects, Syams al-Din's day, particularly in Acehese religious life, having exerted his religious authority even over the Sultan.

Undoubtedly, Iskandar Muda's commitment to religion as a Muslim ruler and a protector of their creed was prompted under the influence of Syams al-Din. Of his religious commitment, the Bustan has this to say:

He it is who had the mosque Bait al-Rahman and one mosque for each district built; and who had Islam propagated by forcible ways and commanded his subjects to observe the five daily prayers, the fast in Ramaḍān and commendable fast, and forbade arak-drinking and gambling. And he it is who introduced the institution of the state treasury (Bait al-māl), and that of thithes (^cusyur), ... and donated alms to Sufi mendicants on every Friday congrega-

tional prayer.⁹⁸

In fact, the erection of mosques, from the early period of Islam, was a social obligation on the ruler as representative of the community and came to be regarded as a pious work. The mosque Bait al-Rahman, as have already seen, was located adjacent to the extensive square called Medan Khayyali, which formed the north end of the fore-ground of the royal enclosure and the south of the urban area of the capital. This may be consistent with the inseparable relationship inherent in Islam between religion and politics, in which the mosque played a role as the centre of the two fields.⁹⁹ It seems, however, more than likely that the royal enclosure, as we have learned in the preceding four sections, took the place of the mosque and became the de facto centre of political and religious life.

The account given in the Bustan and the description of the festival of the sacrifice in the AA suggest that Iskandar Muda was very pious and religious minded. Actually he was not as virtuous as these sources imply,¹⁰⁰ but it is nevertheless undeniable that he fulfilled, at least, his public obligations as a Muslim ruler.

The same general considerations, by analogy, may serve to throw light on religious and spiritual life during the reign of Iskandar Thani, and the early years of Safiyyal al-Din.

This needs the qualification that in 1630 - still during the reign of Iskandar Muda - the stage was set for the emergence of a new generation of religious leaders. In this year both Syams al-Din and another Shaikh Ibrahim ibn ^cAbd Allah al-Syami al-Shafi^ci, who was outstanding

in his knowledge of the Islamic jurisprudence, died.¹⁰¹ Their death in itself had no direct influence on political and religious life, for their places were, without doubt, taken by their numerous disciples, even if it was a great loss to Iskandar Muda himself.

In 1637 however, an intruder of Indo-Arab origin, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, arrived in Aceh and, having secured the patronage of Iskandar Thani, launched a fierce heresy hunt against the followers of Hamzah Fansuri, and for obvious reasons, more particularly those of Syams al-Din, who doubtless resented both the doctrines and the person of the new-comer.

Since al-Rānīrī began to write his Malay work, the Bustan, at the Sultan's orders in March 1638, he must have gained a footing in the court very swiftly, and was soon able to launch this heresy hunt to consolidate his position. Unfortunately it is not known exactly when his catechetical inquisition - as he puts it - of the adherents of the Wujūdiya was held in the presence of Iskandar Thani.¹⁰² Nevertheless it is established that after his demonstration of the 'heretical' views of his opponents, the Sultan had them put to death and their writings burnt in the compound of the mosque Bait al-Rahman.¹⁰³ It is beyond doubt that from 1638 onwards, as the Sultan's religious mentor, he exercised a great influence both over the Sultan and religious life in Aceh through writings and his influential position in the court circle.¹⁰⁴ This event shows that the court did indeed play an important role as a centre of religious activity, and that there was a rather close connection between politics and religion.

There is the probability that numbers of mystics and Ulama were executed during the persecution. Among them, for example, was Shaikh

Jamal al-Din, who appears to have been one of the students of Syams al-Din and come into prominence after 1630.¹⁰⁵ Having eliminated his potential rivals among religious teachers in the capital, al-Rānīrī managed to maintain until 1054 A.H./1644-45 the position he had assumed sometime in 1638 as arbiter of Islamic doctrine, a position analogous to that held by Syams al-Din, although he never seems to have gained the respect that Syams al-Din enjoyed.¹⁰⁶

After the death of Iskandar Thani in 1641, al-Rānīrī continued to enjoy royal patronage and protection under Iskandar Thani's consort and successor, Safiyyat al-Din, who directed him to write a treatise on religions which he entitled Tibyān fī Ma^crifat al-Adyān.¹⁰⁷ Only two year later, however, in August 1643 he again became involved in a bitter doctrinal controversy, on this occasion with a native of Minangkabau, named Saif al-Rijal, who had previously studied in Aceh with Jamal al-Din, referred to above, and who had recently returned from Mecca by way of Surat.¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately little is known of either him or his writings.¹⁰⁹

On his return, eager to avenge the persecution of his former master, he managed to displace al-Rānīrī. The Sultana showed no interest in supporting her late husband's religious teacher, and referred the matter to the council of the realm and other secular authorities. They referred it back to her, but she was content that they settle the matter. Thus they made^a decision, and since many of them harboured ill-feelings against al-Rānīrī's violent persecution and heresy hunt, there was little doubt as to the way their decision would go.¹¹⁰

Al-Rānīrī was disfavoured, and soon disappeared from Acehnese history. Saif al-Rijal was summoned to the court and paid regal honours

by the Sultana. About two weeks later, he was married, by the Sultana's command, to a daughter of ^d Muslim trader who belonged to a prominent religious family, on which occasion the chief minister, Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja, was ordered to take charge of the preparations for their matrimonial feast.¹¹¹

This struggle for power, its outcome, its background and its implications are in themselves all of great interest, and show how closely court and religious institutions were related.

It is necessary to stress the nature of the conflict. It was argued in terms of the place within Islam of the monistic mysticism attributed to Hamzah Fansuri, Syams al-Din, and their disciples. In essence however, it was political, being a struggle for royal patronage. Unlike the occasion when al-Rānīrī came to power, and the ^cUlama^d issued a formal legal opinion (fatwā) on the issue,¹¹² nothing is known of the stand they took when Saif al-Rijal replaced him.

What these two cases appear to suggest is that the favour of the ruler and/or his advisors was essential for those with spiritual aims, or who wished to put into practice particular religious policies, or to promote particular emphasis in the formulation or religious doctrine. It is then quite natural that when al-Rānīrī lost this support, the Dutch observer of the drama put it that "it is to be expected that Shaikh Nur al-Din's high spiritual status will be irretrievably lost".¹¹³

Another conclusion to be drawn from the story of the rise and fall of al-Rānīrī is that although we do not know much of the personal commitment of the Acehnese rulers to Islamic values in their private lives, it is clear that in practice they were heads of the religious

institution in all its ramifications. Indeed, as we have seen, they took a part even in extremely subtle formulation of doctrine.

It follows then that the very character and emphasis of Islamic teaching in Aceh depended largely on the sovereign's will. This means that the position of Islam during this period cannot be understood fully without reference to the overall political situation, and the attitude of the ruler.

It is also useful to look at the activities of the Turuq (mystical fraternities) during this period in order to understand the position of Islam in the Sultanate.

As we have already noted, there is evidence that a monistic tradition of theosophy deriving from Ibn 'Arabī and his school was an exoteric element in the teaching of mystics in Aceh from the 1580s onwards. This is not to deny that it was also present elsewhere, or had a place earlier in the Archipelago - the evidence is not sufficient. But it appears that the understanding of Allāh and Creation in the light of this monistic tradition represented the highest point that the mystic could reach in his journey to the mystical union.

Such mystical teaching did not exist in a vacuum. It was presented within the frame-work of the various fraternities which existed in Aceh.¹¹⁴ It is known that the Turuq were, as a general rule, established with loose hierarchies of teachers and their own independent educational, ritual and congregational institutions, and had rules of their own that its members were called upon to obey.¹¹⁵ The master-disciple relationship in it is far closer and deep-rooted than that which existed in the pursuit of external sciences.

It is not possible to make any definite statement about the political or social role the mystical orders played in the administration of the state, nevertheless it is possible to establish that each of the three rulers of Aceh had a religious mentor and guide who had a special authority in religious affairs, and sometimes in secular ones as well. It being appropriate that the ruler at least appear to have reached the summit of mystical knowledge, the ruler's preceptor would naturally be an outstanding mystic. Thus Iskandar Muda had Syams al-Din, who was probably succeeded by Jamal al-Din; Iskandar Thani had al-Rānīrī; al-Rānīrī was inherited by Sultana Safiyyat al-Din, but after few years she replaced him with Saif al-Rijal, and she had ^cAbd al-Ra^uuf from the 1660s onward. It should be noted that the relation between ruler and religious advisor, being that between pupil and master in mysticism was particularly close.¹¹⁶

As not much has been known of the religious institutions and religious administration during this period, it is worthwhile looking once again into the information from the AA. We have seen in Chapter III that the institution of Kadi Malik al-^cAdil had existed from the turn of the 16th century at the latest and that it had played a central role in the administration of law and justice of the Sultanate. As far as is known, the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil for most of the reign⁷ of Sultan Iskandar Muda is no one but Shaikh Ibrahim referred to earlier. According to the Bustan, this Kadi had the order of precedence next to Syams al-Din and ahead of the chief minister Orang Kaya Mahraja Seri Maharaja.¹¹⁷ He seems to have played an important part in the two canonical festivals,¹¹⁸ side by side with Syams al-Din. On the occasion of the festival of the sacrifice, as we have seen, it is he who leads the royal procession to the mosque, and

those surrounding him are jurists, theologians, Imām, Khaṭīb and other religious officers. He awaits Iskandar Muda in front of the royal alcove to pronounce the salām on the Sultan representing the whole congregation after Syams al-Din has made his obeisance to the Sultan.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, after the inauguration of the slaughter of the victims by the Sultan, he is deputed to slaughter the remainder and had the jurists carry this out.

From these accounts it may be inferred that under the authority of the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil various religious institutions, more relevant to the administration of religion, were established, and that the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil of that time was another important religious figure of the realm representing and administering more or less the legal aspect of Islam.

The purely religious aspect of Islam too deserve our attention. The title Shaikh al-Islām is of particular interest here, because in it a key to the religious institution may be found.

It is well-known that this title is particularly significant in the Muslim religious fraternities and that it was extensively used for ^cUlamā[→] and mystics. But, this title gained its greatest lustre after it was applied to the Muftī or chief jurist of Constantinople in the Ottoman Empire in the reign of Sulaimān I (1520-1566), and all the ^cUlamā[→] were put under his authority. Not only had the Shaikh al-Islām as head of the ^cUlamā[→] and representative of the Sacred Law the power of issuing fatwā, but he also had the function of advising on all political matters of any importance.¹²⁰ His eminent position in the Empire as head of the hierarchy of the ^cUlamā[→], a hierarchy unprecedented in Islam that may have a counterpart in the practice of the Greek Orthodox hierarchy, found

its symbolic expression in the ceremonial occasions, on which he had the same precedence in order as the Grand Vizier had.¹²¹ Of the various explanations of the growth in importance of the holder of this title, the most important from our point of view is that in the Shaikh al-Islām is seen a survival of the ancient mystic religious tradition of the Ottoman state, a tradition which demanded, so to speak, the religious conscience of the people.¹²²

As have noted earlier, the title Shaikh al-Islām does occur in the Hikayat Aceh, but only once. This makes it especially intriguing, for one cannot be sure whether it is simply an idiosyncrasy of the compiler of the Hikayat or whether other references to it have been lost.

It is clear, however, from the Hikayat, that the title is used to refer to Syams al-Din, and from all the other sources we have surveyed in describing him as a historical figure, it appears that there are indeed parallels between the functions of the Shaikh al-Islām in the Ottoman Empire and those of Shaikh Syams al-Din. But this does not necessarily mean that his title Shaikh al-Islām should be understood in the Ottoman sense.¹²³

In the field of politics, Syams al-Din was, as we have seen, the ruler's chief advisor and next to him in rank. Although little is known of a formal power of issuing fatwā relating to questions of political matters, and of public and social norms, it is hardly to be doubted that edicts with the authority of fatwā might be issued by him for these purposes. In his capacity as chief councillor and scholar, he played a significant role in political affairs, as contemporary European sources indicate, particularly in guiding foreign policy with 'infidel' European

powers, since he was one of the best informed of political developments in the various parts of the Muslim world. As for public and social norms, his undoubted influence with the ruler makes it probable that he exerted great influence in this sphere as well.

This close relationship between the Sultan and Syams al-Din - whether as Shaikh al-Islām, mystical mentor or as high state official - is shown from a different aspect when it is related in the AA that Syams al-Din performs the commendable prayer in respect of the mosque in company with the Sultan, and assists him in inaugurating the slaughter of a sacrificial animal.

It is difficult to exaggerate Syams al-Din's role. He appears to have had control both of the secular and religious association with other Muslim countries. As religious thinker in court circle, he must have been one of the most outstanding intellectuals and administrators of his day.

Various tentative conclusion may be drawn from this position and authority of Syams al-Din. One is that he, as Shaikh al-Islām, was effective head of the religious institution, competent to act both on behalf of the Sultan and in the name of Allāh with the assistance of the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil. As a senior member of Ṭuruq, his role suggests that there may have been a sort of religious hierarchy under the influence of the mystical orders, which were in vogue in Aceh at that time, and this could have contributed significantly to his authority.

In this case, the AA would not be exaggerating in its description of him as the supreme religious authority in the state and spiritual master of the Sultan who although head of the state was nevertheless his

disciple. Despite the qualifications necessary for such a generalisation - for example that Syams al-Din's position was fortuitous - this possibility is worth taking seriously. It may be suggested then that the relationship between Iskandar Muda and Syams al-Din symbolically expresses the relation of Islam in general to the state in this period.

To sum up, then, it can be said that the Acehese rulers as heads of the state were indeed heads of religion at the same time. One consequence of this is that various Islamic rituals, including the Friday congregational prayer, despite their being purely religious in nature, mixed with the elements of traditional court functions. In addition, it is quite natural that the court or court circle became virtually the most important centre of Islamic studies in the realm. However, as was the case of the implementation of the Islamic law, religious studies too were very much influenced by respective rulers' religious convictions and attitudes. They themselves took interest in religion and had indeed their own religious preceptors. It was through these senior religious teachers in royal patronage with the Ulama under their authority that the rulers administered Acehese religious life, being assisted by the legal representatives of Islam headed by the Kadi Malik al-Adil - this is particularly true of the reign of Iskandar Muda. This clearly shows that the Acehese rulers contributed considerably to the deepening of the Islamisation in broad sense on the one hand, and had an effective grip on religion on the other.

NOTES

1. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, pp.6-7.
2. Iskandar, Bustan, p.32
3. Ibid., p.33.
4. Ibid., pp.33-34.
5. Ibid., loc. cit. The Bustan states that this ruler was very pious and righteous, and favourably disposed towards the ^cUlamā, and upheld the Sacred Law, commanding his subjects to observe the religious obligations prescribed and commended by it, including the five daily prayers and the fast of Ramaḍān.
6. Juynboll, Handleiding, pp.70-73,
7. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, p.241.
8. The AA mentions this gate as Pintu Papan. According to the Hikayat Aceh and the Bustan however, the main gate of the Dalam is named Pintu Tanni. (Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, p.81, 83, 138, 141; Ibid., Bustan, p.67) Thus, it is quite probable that Pintu Papan could be a slip of the scribe's pen.
9. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.75.
10. Ibid., p.71, 85-86, 105-106.
11. Best, The Voyage, pp.168-169, 171-172.
12. The date he gives, i.e. 26 June, creates a problem, being not Friday but Saturday. However, according to the narrative of P. Copland, also contained in The Voyage above, it was on 25 June that the elephant fights were held, which Croft says took place after the Sultan returned from the mosque on 26 June. It is therefore likely that the Sultan's going to the mosque as mentioned by Croft does refer to the Friday congregational prayer, and that the date should be amended to 25 June.
13. See section (4) below.
14. This is not only for the procession to the mosque on Friday but for those on the two canonical festivals. Of various rhythms mentioned in the AA, we will see later in note (82) below.
15. Lane, An Account of the Manners and Customs, vol.1, pp.106-107; EI, vol.5, s.v. KHUṬBA.
16. EI, vol.2, s.v. DJUM^cA.
17. Ibid., vol.5, s.v. KHUṬBA; Lane, An Account of the Manners & Customs, p.106.

18. EI, vol.4, s.v. KHAṬĪB.
19. See section (3) below.
20. EI, vol.5, s.v. KHUṬBA.
21. See section (4) below.
22. EI, vol.5, s.v. KHUṬBA.
23. Cf. Lane, An Account of the Manners & Customs, p.113.
24. The Mihrāb is the niche indicating the direction of Mecca, in front of which the Imām stands during the ritual prayer.
25. SEI, s.v. MASDJID.
26. Ibid., s.v. ṢAWM.
27. Ibid..
28. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, pp.195-196, 223.
29. Ibid., loc. cit.
30. van Langen, "De Inrichting", pp.442-443.
31. On Bentara Blang, see Chapters I and II.
32. The title Megat is borne by senior court officials. Although both indigenous and European sources mention the holders of this title, neither of them is informative. See Chapter V (section (1)).
33. According to Snouck Hurgronje, kandang means a stone wall surrounding the royal graves, and appears to have been specifically applied to the tombs of the Sultans and Sultanas. (The Achehnese, vol.2, pp.299-300) There is no reference to the Kandang^c Isyki Musyahadah or to the Kandang Raja Emas in any indigenous source apart from the AA. There is however in the Bustan a reference to a mosque called ^cIsyki Musyahadah, and this provides a clue as to its identity. This mosque was situated in a garden, set out by Iskandar Thani and named Taman Ghairah. It also states that Iskandar Thani was buried in a graveyard Kandang Dar al-Dunia situated in this garden. His tombstone itself, though the Bustan is not always consistent, was probably called Raja Kandang Dar al-Dunia Dar al-Salam. (Iskandar, Bustan, p.48, 50, 68-73) This implies that the Kandang^c Isyki Musyahadah may be identical with the Raja Kandang Dar al-Dunia Dar al-Salam and is probably named after the mosque ^cIsyki Musyahadah which Iskandar Thani had built. (ibid., p.44, 73), and that it may be a part of the royal burial complex called Kandang Dar al-Dunia.

It should be noted that a Dutch eyewitness account of his burial says that he was buried near his predecessors close to the rear of the court complex in a mausoleum made of gold and copper alloy. (Graaf, De Reizen, p.14)

Adjoining the curious octagonal structure in the middle of the garden Taman Ghairah, known as Gunongan, there still remains a walled square which the Bustan refers to as Kandang baginda. (Iskandar, Bustan, p.50) In fact, there are a couple of graves, besides that of Iskandar Thani. (Djajadiningrat, "De stichting", p.564) Undoubtedly this walled square is the remnant of the Kandang Dar al-Dunia. It may be added that Djajadiningrat, in an article richly documented with quotations from a daghregister of van Oudtschoorn and other indigenous and European sources, concludes that the graves of Iskandar Muda and Iskandar Thani were both situated in the Taman Ghairah. ("De ceremonie van het 'poela batèè'", TBG 69 (1929), pp.97-108)

The name Kandang Raja Emas is at first sight puzzling. It may denote that the tombstone of the Sultan buried there is of gold. References to a golden gravestone occur in the journals of both J Davis and P. Copland. It is not clear from their accounts however to determine whose grave was called Kandang Raja Emas. (Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.151; Best, The Voyage, p.175, 212) However, Iskandar Muda's letter to King James I of England in 1613 (written while Copland was in Aceh) resolves the problem. In it he reveals that he has already had carved his gravestone of gold, and that his posthumous title is to be Makota Alam; he is a descendant of the Sultans whose tombstones are of gold and copper alloy. (Shellabear, "An Account of some of the oldest Malay MSS.", pp.123-130) It is certain then that the gravestone of gold referred to by Copland must be the gold gravestone referred to in Iskandar Muda's letter. It may, therefore, be concluded that among the royal tombstones, Iskandar Muda's was the only one of gold, and that the Kandang in question denotes his grave. It would naturally have been close to that of his successor Iskandar Thani in the Kandang Dar Al-Dunia within the Taman Ghairah.

The Kandang Bait al-Rijal is mentioned in the Hikayat Aceh. On one occasion it is recorded that during the reign of Sultan Salah al-Din (1530-±1537) a regent of the realm, called Raja Bungsu, despite his foreign origin, was buried in this Kandang, and on the other that after an attempted plot to dethrone Sultan ^CAli Ri^Cayat Syah (1571-1579), his brother sultan Mughal (i.e. Periaman on the west coast of Sumatra) was laid to rest there. (Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, p.84, 95) Although the grave of the latter has not yet been found, the fact that the graves of his brothers, Sultan ^CAli Ri^Cayat Syah, sultan Ghorī, Muhammad Syah and Abdullah, and those of the preceding Sultans were found at the Kandang XII in Kutaraja in 1914. (Moquette, "Verslag van mijn voorloopig onderzoek", Oudheidkundige Verslag 1914, pp.78-79), suggests that sultan Mughal too was buried in the same burial complex. In this case, the Kandang Bait al-Rijal may be part of the Kandang Dar al-Dunia. Dar al-Dunia, being the name of the Dalam, the designation Kandang Dar al-Dunia might well imply that this graveyard was adjacent to the Dalam, and that it may well be a general term for the royal burial complexes.

34. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, pp.85-86.
35. It is to be noted however, that Houtman does not mention the offering of flowers to the three royal graveyards.
36. Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, p.20
37. K.A.105lbis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.527r.
38. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, p.228.
39. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.86.
40. Waerwijck, "Oost-Indische Reyse", p.12.
41. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.86. According to Houtman, they were allowed to do so after sunset and half an hour before dawn.
42. Various examples of the court rituals are mentioned both in the Hikayat Aceh and the Bustan.
43. Nieuwenhuijze, Samsu 'l-Dīn van Pasai, pp.6-27, 234-235.
44. EI, vol.3, s.v. ^CĪD AL-FITR.
45. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.105; Waerwijck, "Oost-Indische Reyse", p.12. According to Houtman, in 1601 the festival was celebrated not on 1 Shawwāl (5 April) but on 2 Shawwāl. Also in 1603, it was celebrated on 15 March, corresponding to 2 Shawwāl.

46. Waerwijck, "Oost-Indische Reyse", p.12.
47. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, p.237.
48. EI, vol.3, s.v. ^ĀĪD, ^ĀĪD AL-FITR.
49. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, p.241.
50. Two entries in the AA on pages 52a-53b relating to tributes offered by the other two Syahbandars to the Sultan in the month Ramaḍān give indications that on odd days of the last third of Ramaḍān meritorious religious services might be held in the Dalam. (See Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, p.20; Juynboll, Handleiding, pp. 106-107)
51. Judging from the evidence of the AA that the three Syahbandars, including the Seri Rama Setia mentioned in section (2), make their tributes of clothing to the ruler during the fasting month (the relevant three entries of the AA date to the reign of Safiyyat al-Din), and from our suggestion in section (1) that the description in the AA of the Friday congregational prayer is based on the early practice, there is a reason to believe the description in the AA of the festival marking the end of the fasting month too was quite probably written in the early years of her reign.
52. See section (4) below.
53. Waerwijck, "Oost-Indische Reyse", p.12.
54. Ibid., loc. cit.
55. Ibid., pp.12-13.
56. In fact, the AA mentions again the Biram in the description of the festival of the sacrifice on page 64a. Reference to the Hikayat Aceh may be helpful. It notes that at about the end of the 16th century there stood two structures in the Medan Khayyali, namely Bunga Setangkai and the Lepau Singgahasana. (Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, pp. 97-98, 137, 139-140) During this period, it was usual for the Sultan to have audience with envoys from foreign countries, and received their sovereigns' letters to him at the Bunga Setangkai on the first occasion after their arrival. (ibid., loc. cit.) Little is known of the Lepau Singgahasana, except that it was situated rather far from the Bunga Setangkai. Possibly the Biram referred to is identical with the Bunga Setangkai. See further note (57) below.

57. Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.1, pp.124-125, and his illustrations No.17 and 18. Mundy's illustrations suggest that if this "Chowtree" was indeed the counterpart of the structure described by Weert in 1603, its structure had been significantly changed. It is not possible however to discover when the Biram was built in the form shown in his illustrations. The AA's reference to the Biram in its description of the festival of the sacrifice - if in fact this gives an accurate picture of the events in the reign of Iskandar Muda - may suggest that Iskandar Muda had it built.
58. EI, vol.1, s.v. ADHĀN.
59. SEI, s.v. ṢALĀT.
60. Saifuddin, Belajar Sembahyang Mudah, p.69
61. EI, vol.5, s.v. KHUTBAH.
62. EI, vol.3, s.v. ĀD, ĀD AL-ADHĀ.
63. Ibid., loc. cit.
64. Sheep - one for each person, or camels or cattle - one for from one to ten persons. (Ibid., loc. cit.; Juynboll, Handleiding, pp.110-111)
65. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, p.243.
66. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.71, 106.
67. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", p.182.
68. Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.1, p.121; EI, vol.3, s.v. ĀD AL-ADHĀ.
69. Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.1, p.125.
70. Ibid., pp.121-125.
71. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht" pp.180-181; Bozer, "The Achinese Attack on Malacca", pp.105-121. Changing elephant on the way to mosque, it will be noted, is another discrepancy between the two sources. However, it is evident from contemporary European accounts that this was an established practice during this period. (Davis, The Voyages and Works, pp.152-153; Best, The Voyage, p.171; Waerwijck, "Oost-Indische Reyse", p.13, quoted in section (3) above.
72. The additional phrase runs: "rahimākum 'llāh al-ṣalāt, lā ilāha illā 'llāh". (AA, p.86b)
73. Saifuddin, Belajar Sembahyang Mudah, p.69.
74. SEI, s.v. SALĀM. Cf. an erroneous, but interesting remark of J. Davis on it. (The Voyages and Works, p.152)
75. Verhoeff, De Reis van de Vloot, vol.1, p.242.

76. He explains the preference of oxen as victims to buffaloes and goats in the context of the widespread non-Islamic belief in the Eastern Archipelago. (The Achehnese, vol.1, p.243)
77. EI, vol.3, s.v. ^CĪD AL-ADHĀ.
78. Reid, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", pp.406-407, 413-414; Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, pp.208-209, 244-245.
79. EI, vol.3, s.v. ^CĪD AL-ADHĀ; Ibid., vol.1, s.v. BASAMALA.
80. The music was, as he put it, discordant, clamorous and full of noise. Houtman too gives a similar remark. (Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.71)
81. See note (14) above.
82. Here is a useful place to list the rhythms mentioned in the descriptions in the AA of the Friday congregational prayer and the two canonical festivals. From the descriptions the following picture of various rhythms signalling each stage of the procession can be constructed:
1. the beat of drum: on departure from the Dalam.
 2. the drum beat called ragam siwajang: on entering the mosque compound.
 3. the drum beat called ragam kuda berlari: during the rituals prior to the prayer in the mosque compound.
 4. the melody called ragam biram medali played on the medali (a sort of flute): at the moment when the Sultan re-mounts on his elephant to make his way back to the Dalam.
 5. the drum beat called ragam adani: on its departure from the mosque.
 6. the drum beat called ragam mahligai: as the procession reaches the Medan Khayyali in front of the Dalam.
 7. the drum beat called ragam kembali dari mesjid: as the Sultan enters the main entrance to the Dalam.
 8. the ragam kembali dari mesjid is followed by a performance of the musical instruments, melody or rhythm of which is not specified.
 9. the drum beat called ragam siwajang: on entering the main gate.
 10. the drum beat called ragam kuda berlari: on the Sultan's return to the court yard in front of his private quarters.
83. See my summary of the description in the AA of the festival in

section (4).

84. The terms used are asyki, duki and wijdani. (AA, pp.66b-67a)
Further details are not given, however.
85. The Hikayat Aceh gives some details of Iskandar Muda's religious education. His teacher was a faqīh bearing the title Raja Indera Purba, who taught him to recite the Qur'an when he was thirteen years of age, and guided him in the study of certain religious books for a period of several months. (Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, pp.149-150)
86. Nieuwenhuijze, Šamsu 'l-Dīn van Pasai, pp.14-15, 26, 291, 300-301, 318.
87. Johns, "Nur al-Dakā'ik", JRAS (1953), pp.137-151.
88. Nieuwenhuijze, Šamsu 'l-Dīn van Pasai, pp.360-361.
89. Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, p.137, 153, 168-169.
90. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, pp.96-102.
91. Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.151; Nieuwenhuijze, Šamsu 'l-Dīn van Pasai, p.18. It should not, of course, be imagined from this that at this time there existed in Aceh a religious hierarchy analogous to that of Christian Europe. As might be expected, Europeans in the 16th and 17th centuries had little understanding of Islamic institutions, and explained religious phenomena they observed in terms with which they were familiar.
92. Lancaster, The Voyages, p.96.
93. Nieuwenhuijze has drawn a similar conclusion. (Šams 'l-Dīn van Pasai, pp.16-18)
94. T. Iskandar, the editor of the Hikajat Atjéh, is of the opinion that Syams al-Din was the bearer of the title. (Hikajat Atjéh, fn. 164 on page 137)
95. Best, The Voyage, pp.165-167.
96. Letters Received, vol.3, p.96 and fn.1.
97. Iskandar, Bustan, p.38, 40, 42.
98. Ibid., pp.35-36. Of other mosques, the builder of which is attributed to Iskandar Muda, see Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, p.82.
99. SEI, s.v. MASDJID.
100. For example, Iskandar Muda was said to be a drunkard and fond of gambling.
101. Iskandar, Bustan, p.35.

102. Ibid., pp.4-8; Voorhoeve, "Van en Over Nūruddīn", p.355, 359. However, the fact that there exist a few tracts of al-Rānīrī written in the reign of Iskandar Thani, that most of his works are dated between 1641-1644 (the reign of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din), and that ^cAbd al-Ra^uf seems to have been ignorant of the doctorinal disputes when he went on the pilgrimage sometime in 1642-1643, may suggest that the inquisition and subsequent persecution can be dated to the last two years of Iskandar Thani's reign, i.e. sometime between 1639 and 1640. (Voorhoeve, pp.365-368; Ibid., "Lijst der Geschriften van Rānīrī", BKI 111 (1955), pp.155-158; EI, vol.1, s.v. ^cABD AL-RA^uF)
103. Voorhoeve, "Van en Over Nūruddīn", p.355, 359.
104. The Bustan states that Iskandar Thani promoted Islam and the Sacred Law implemented. In addition, he had the mosque Bait al-Musyahadah built and abolished the ordeals by putting the hand into boiling oils and by licking burning iron. (Iskandar, Bustan, pp.44-45)
105. Ito, "Why Did Nuruddin ar-Raniri Leave", pp.490-491.
106. Voorhoeve, "Van en Over Nūruddīn", pp.353-355; Iskandar, Bustan, p.60.
107. Voorhoeve, op. cit., loc. cit.
108. Ito, "Why Did Nuruddin ar-Raniri Leave", pp.489-490.
109. It is certain that Saif al-Rijal had been initiated by Jamal al-Din into a certain mystical order, possibly the Naqshbandiyya, and then went on pilgrimage to Mecca before the controversy between al-Rānīrī, and his master and other religious teachers. (Cf. EI, vol.1, s.v. ATJĒH; Ronkel, "Een Maleische Getuigenis over den Weg des Islam", BKI 75 (1919), pp.366-368)
110. Ito, "Why Did Nuruddin ar-Raniri Leave", p.490. It is of interest to note that al-Rānīrī's life was in imminent danger unless he would express his regret for the heresy hunt. (K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, ff.671v.-672r.
111. Ito, op.cit, pp.490-491; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.678r.
112. Al-Attas, Rānīrī and the Wujūdiyyah, pp.15-16.
113. Ito, "Why Did Nuruddin ar-Raniri Leave", pp.490-491.
114. EI, vol.1, s.v. ATJĒH; Ronkel, "Een Maleische Getuigenis", pp.366-367.
115. Gibb & Bowen, Islamic Society, vol, pt.2, p.75, 185-186.

116. It is worthy of note that elsewhere in the Muslim world there are examples of a close relationship between a ruler and a religious advisor or teacher. An obvious example is the Ottoman Empire. Here, from the 15th century (Sultan Muhammad II, 1451-1481) we see that the Ottoman Sultan had a mu^callim or hoca who was his religious preceptor. (ibid., p.90) A similar though loose association between the governing institution and the religious institution is recognised in the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century, but its motives were social and political considerations, rather than purely religious ones. (ibid., pp.190-196)
117. Iskandar, Bustan, pp.37-38, 40, 42.
118. The description in the AA of the festival in the month Shawwāl mentions the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil as the officiant of the ceremonies. As we have noted, the description was probably written in the reign of Safiyyat al-Din, thus this Kadi is obviously different individual from the Kadi in the reign of Iskandar Muda referred to by the Bustan. Yet there is no re^ason to deny the probability that the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil of Iskandar Muda's time officiated in the festival, as was the case for that of the sacrifice.
119. AA, pp.84b-85a.
120. SEI, s.v. SHAIKH AL-ISLĀM; Gibb & Bowen, Islamic Society, vol.1, pt. 2, pp.84-87, 89-92.
121. SEI, loc. cit.; Gibb & Bowen, op. cit., loc. cit.
122. SEI, loc. cit.
123. Al-Attas is of the affirmative opinion that Syams al-Din bore "the Ottoman title of Shaykhu'l-Islām". (Rānirī and the Wujūdiyyah, p.9 fn.33) Considering the Aceh-Ottoman Turks relations in the second half of the 16th century as we have seen in the previous Chapters, this is not unlikely the case. However, nothing can be brought into light from the argument as to the origin of the title itself unless it is considered in the overall religious institution in the Sultanate of our period.

CHAPTER V ADMINISTRATION OF THE PORT DAR AL-SALAM

No port can function effectively without a bureaucracy, i.e. machinery that attempts to bring order, consistency and reliability to the administration of commerce. Without an effective bureaucracy, business confidence, and the attraction of the port to trade cannot be maintained. The administration of the port Dar al-Salam of the Acehese capital during the 16th and 17th centuries is therefore an important component of the way in which it created the port as an international emporium of the region.

Internally, the administration of the port Dar al-Salam related closely, in fact, to the economic basis of the Sultanate, which was essentially agriculture in nature, as we have already seen in Chapter II, and represented the outward aspect of the Sultanate's foundation. In addition, we have pointed out that the port authorities was the other tier of the administration of the Sultanate at the central level, in relation particularly to the economic activity of foreign merchants at the port.

The fourth part of the AA is our main indigenous and most important source of information as to the present theme of this Chapter (and Chapter VI dealing with trade and taxation as well). In view of this importance, it is worth while noting the distinct characteristic of the fourth part as a whole, - but excluding the first pages (104a-111b) which were fortuitously included in this part.

As far as is recorded and known, the Undang-undang Laut i.e. Maritime Laws of Malacca concerns by and large domestic trade, and the trading and shipping systems rather than international ones, but it does

not contain the general procedures and practices in the port of Malacca during the era of the Sultans, to which Tomé Pires refers in some detail.¹ On the other hand, the fourth part of the AA is related almost exclusively to the practices and general procedures relevant to international trade. This means that the fourth part, in its description of the administration of the port and commerce, lays much emphasis upon the international aspect of the trade and the port of Aceh, reflecting the role of the port Dar al-Salam as the major entrepot of the region during our period. It follows that the fourth part of the AA has a rather different nature from the Undang-undang Laut known to us, even though the former may have corresponded to the latter in the Acehnese context at that time.² Moreover, this characteristic of the fourth part appears due partly to the fact that the AA was compiled in its present form in the 1810s for the purpose of providing the English with information about established rules and practices concerning trade during the course of negotiations for an Anglo-Acehnese treaty.

Not only does the fourth part of the AA refer elsewhere to the personnel of the port authorities, but also it describes a variety of general procedures to be observed by foreign merchants, and various practices administering their commercial activity in the port.

In the following, we will look at the administration of the port Dar al-Salam from two angles: the one is the structure of the port authorities, and the other various general procedures observed by foreign ships and traders on their arrival and departure.

1. The structure of the port authorities

To a considerable extent the prosperity of the Sultanate was dependent on trade with Indian merchants, extending as far as the Red Sea, even though the Sultanate was essentially an agrarian state. As Prof. Boxer has made clear, Aceh's participation in the Red Sea spice trade, particularly in the pepper trade, dates from as early as the 1530s,³ and this trade must have contributed to the rise of Aceh and made the Sultanate the dominant political power in the region in a relatively short period of time after the Portuguese capture of Malacca in 1511.

Very little is known about the organisation of the port authorities in 16th century Aceh. However, considering the importance for trade of a bureaucratic infrastructure, it must have developed as Aceh grew in importance as the major trading centre for Indian merchants, from the early 1500s onwards.

We begin to find useful information from the turn of the 16th century onwards, both from European and indigenous sources. As for European sources, they provide numerous references to the Acehnese port officials. It is natural that they should be accurate, and thus supply a very reliable source of information because their trading interests required that they should know with whom they were dealing, and the port regulations that they had to obey. It is unfortunate, however, that these accounts are fragmentary.

As for the indigenous sources, our principal source is a section in the fourth part of the AA which is headed perkataan jama^c at dibalai furdah, i.e. an enumeration of the personnel of the customhouse. This section is, in fact, a very comprehensive list of the port officials.

It mentions various offices and officials of the 1640s, as we discuss later in detail.

In fact, we are confronted with two problems: one is to trace the development of the structure of the port authorities, and the other is to analyse the functions of different offices. These two aspects are both diachronic and synchronic, and cannot be separated, if we want to understand how the Acehnese administration of the port operated during our period. Our prime aim is to construct a picture of the port authorities as it operated in the 1640s, based on the fourth part of the AA. Because, however, information given is incomplete, many difficulties can be avoided by a chronological approach. It is possible to separate our study into three periods: i) a period prior to 1607, ii) the reign of Iskandar Muda (1607-1636), and iii) the reigns of Iskandar Thani (1636-1641) and Safiyyat al-Din (1641-1675).

i. The port authorities before 1607

If we are to believe Beaulieu, there was not even a customhouse before the reign of al-Mukammil (1589-1604), and there were no duties imposed other than charges for the royal keris as a sign that permission had been given for landing on Acehnese soil, as long as merchants concluded their business at the port within a period of fifteen days.⁴ However, there is abundant information that it was the practice of foreign ships calling the port Dar al-Salam to stay a much longer period. This was also the case for the ships calling at Malacca during the period of the Sultans.⁵ We know from VOC records from the 1640s that merchants from India usually sojourned in the Acehnese capital three or four months, a period of time determined by the date of their arrival and the arrival of the monsoon that would take them for their return voyages.

This follows the high probability that certain machinery (possibly with its office building) had existed to impose duties on goods imported by foreign merchants even before the reign of al-Mukammil. Moreover, in terms of the administration of the port and commerce, the Acehnese system was, in one sense, much a part of the Malacca traditions, as we shall examine in the course of our study in this Chapter and Chapter VI. This, together with the importance of a bureaucratic infrastructure for trade noted above, strengthens this probability.

Furthermore, Reid has suggested that in the early years of al-Kahhar's reign ([†]1537-1571) the port of the capital came to supersede Pasai as the major Acehnese export port, and became the centre of the Asian pepper trade.⁶ Possibly this shift of the commercial centre around the middle of the 16th century prompted the appearance of an organised apparatus for the administration of the port and commerce.

The Hikayat Aceh, the only indigenous source relating to the reign of al-Mukammil is of limited use. It tells us simply that there were some Syahbandars during this period.⁷ The early English and Dutch accounts relate that the port authorities comprised four Syahbandars, a military officer (Ponugolo i.e. Penghulu [Kawal?]), a secretary of the royal household (Corcoun, Corcon or Curcon, i.e. Kerkun) and a number of un-named officers responsible for the administration of the arrival of ships in the harbour. Of these four Syahbandars, one was marked as senior.⁸ F. de Houtman also refers to the existence of one Syahbandar at Pidie, another port which was ruled by sultan Muda and later by sultan Husain.⁹

In addition, we know from the third part of the AA that at the

time of Iskandar Muda's assumption there was an Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Lela (his position is not specified) and a secretariat of the royal household consisting of Penghulu Kerkun Raja Setia Muda, Kerkun Katib al-Muluk Seri Indera Su[a]ra and Kerkun Seri Indera Muda.¹⁰ The institution of the secretariat established before Iskandar Muda's time appears to have also been involved in the administration of commerce. All these officials appeared to have constituted the port authorities.

As for the duty of the Syahbandar, Houtman noted in 1599 that it was the responsibility of the Syahbandar to carry on trade on behalf of the Sultan.¹¹ His remark is supported by an example of negotiations between the Acehnese officials and the Dutch for a pepper contract at the end of 1600. In these negotiations, the Syahbandar, the Penghulu and the Kerkun were entrusted by the Sultan with its conclusion.¹²

Further details of the functions of these officials are not available. However, it may be inferred from the above that by the turn of the 16th century there was already in the Acehnese capital a well-organised port bureaucracy, comprising three major components, namely an office directly involved in trade transactions for the trading interests of the ruler, a secretarial office responsible for the recording of goods imported and exported for the purpose of taxation, and an office in charge of keeping law and order of the port. Apparently this port bureaucracy was established as an agency that primarily took care of the ruler's rights and interests in trade.

ii. The port bureaucracy under Iskandar Muda

In broad outline, the structure of the port authorities as it has been described above, is that which is observed in the reign of

Iskandar Muda. But during his reign, there were certain developments which resulted from the participation of the English and Dutch in the Acehnese trade and an increased centralisation of foreign trade to the port Dar al-Salam.

Measures restricting all foreign trade to the port Dar al-Salam were already taken by Iskandar Muda in the very early years of his reign. These were first adopted as early as 1608 to restrict the trade of Gujaratis on the west coast of Sumatra. Then about four years later they were also applied to Europeans, by the introduction of a special licence or royal edict to permit them to engage in the west coast pepper trade, the first of which Iskandar Muda gave to Thomas Best in 1613. Although the year in which Iskandar Muda instituted a tight control of the pepper trade prohibiting all foreign merchants from trading in this commodity in the west coast dependency and limiting their trade to the capital cannot precisely be dated, he appears to have established overall control of foreign trade by 1613 at the very latest.¹³

Both the Hikayat Aceh and the Bustan have hardly anything at all to say about the port administration during this second period, except for the existence of the Laksamana and the Syahbandars.¹⁴ Even the AA gives no additional information other than the secretariat noted above. By contrast, the Europeans provide us with an adequate information to construct a clear picture of the port authorities. There is, nevertheless, one important qualification, namely it is not clear whether particular officials and positions were newly created during this period or that we have here evidence of older positions for the first time.

An English East India Company record from 1615 gives the following picture.¹⁵ The port authorities consisted of three components, as was the case in the earlier period. First, as for the personnel of the customshouse, there were four Syahbandars, "the customer" (perhaps head of the customshouse), chief "nailer" (probably nazir i.e. inspector) and his deputy, weigher with his assistants, and three "boojoons" (i.e. bujang, assistants)

Second, the secretarial department. This comprised two tiers, one serving the royal household and the other the customshouse. It seems that there was a close liaison between the court and the customshouse through the former and upper tier.

The third component is that responsible for security. Only one officer is recorded, that is "the Cutwall or Captain of the Sea". This officer is noted in another English account (1616) as "Ponte Cowale".¹⁶ Judging from the Malay and Acehnese words and from the English equivalent given, this officer was responsible for the security of the area between the customshouse, situated on the west bank of the Aceh river,¹⁷ and the harbour.

As another liaison apparatus over and above this, the Orang Kaya had the highest authority and was totally responsible for the port administration, under whom were a few Orang Kaya also taking part in it.¹⁸

Beaulieu provides us with an additional account as to the security department. He states that there were four officers called "Pangoulou Cavalo" (i.e. Penghulu Kawal), and under the supervision of powerful Orang Kayas each of them was responsible for organising a night watch

to take care of one quarter of the city and coast, including surveillance against smuggling.¹⁹

These officials and officers formed the port authorities in the middle of the 1610s. It is of interest to note that in addition to them, Islamic literati too were involved in the administration of commerce. In 1616 "the Bishop" made out the royal edict granting the English East India Company the privileges of the west coast pepper trade, despite the fact that there were secretarial offices both of the royal household and of the customhouse.²⁰ Moreover, a "rassedor" i.e. confidential advisor of Iskandar Muda (1613) who negotiated with the English for the pepper trade was probably Shaikh Syams al-Din, as noted in Chapter IV.

Special reference should now be made to the most important and influential official, that is the Orang Kaya Laksamana. During the reign of Iskandar Muda the Orang Kaya Laksamana was one of the most powerful administrators at the centre of power, as we have already seen in Chapter II (section 3, sub-section iii). The duties of whom we have called Laksamana I extended over the field of commerce as well as over the port itself, as referred to above. As Beaulieu mentioned, he was analogous to a mayor of the city, making him responsible for maintaining law and order.²¹ This included his role as the presiding judge of the law court of the customhouse, as referred to in Chapter III, and the delivery both of landing and leaving permits which were also organised through him.²² In addition to this, he had a special function as an intermediary between Iskandar Muda as sovereign and as uncontested entrepreneur, and foreign merchants. One English account describes Laksamana I as an official "who is in [the] nature of High Treasurer".²³

Indeed, he acted as Iskandar Muda's representative in matters related to trade. For example, he was the Acehnese delegate in the negotiations with the English in 1615 and 1616 for the pepper trade.²⁴ Moreover, it is noted that he, together with one of the Syahbandars, played a significant role as an agent of the royal trade.²⁵ This function of Laksamana I supports the idea of the Acehnese port bureaucracy as an organisation designed, in the first place, to take care of the interests of the royal trade.

We have referred above to the secretariat of the royal household and various Kerkun who were responsible for the administration. This secretariat, together with the recording office of the customhouse itself, was important not only to foreign merchants but also to Iskandar Muda. For it was through this secretariat cum recording office that duties on imports and exports were imposed, because Iskandar Muda introduced in 1615 a new system of taxation of trade, particularly export duties levied on Europeans, as we shall see in Chapter VI. In 1616, in a letter to King James I of England, Iskandar Muda wrote that "if there be any promises of bargains betwix the England and any my people or strangers, it being registered by the clerks of my Custom House, there shall be no revoking on neither side".²⁶ This registration is apparently for the purpose of imposing import and export duties. In this connection, it is noteworthy that, following the privileges granted to the English for the opening of their factory in Tiku and two year free pepper trade on the west coast in 1616, a similar bureaucratic procedure was followed by appointing a Penghulu Kerkun i.e. chief scribe to Tiku.²⁷ Indeed, Beaulieu states in 1621 that 'eunuchs' of the court

conveyed the Sultan's commands relating to matters of customhouse charges to the scribes of the customhouse for recording and that they often demanded in the name of the Sultan detailed accounts from the customhouse of goods belonging to the royal household, gifts, transactions, payments of duties and other relevant matters to submit for inspection.²⁸

These accounts clearly suggest that a reorganisation and even expansion of the port bureaucracy took place in the 1610s in response to Iskandar Muda's monopolistic commercial policy and the introduction of a new taxation system of trade. To summarize, the port authorities about the middle of Iskandar Muda's time exhibited the following structure. There existed a kind of supervisory body and secretariat under a Laksamana who was a senior representative of the ruler. This supervisory body consisted of a number of Orang Kaya and learned men from the religious field and was directly responsible to the Sultan. Under this upper administrative body were four Syahbandars, a number of customs-house officials and in addition the staff of a special office responsible for port security. These all had their respective roles to play for the furtherance of trade at the port. Apparently, the principal duty of the supervisory body was to announce and implement the ruler's will in regard to the broad issue of trade policy. In addition it was also responsible for making cross inspection of the accounts at the customs-house.

Due to the scarcity of information, little further is known about the port bureaucracy in the latter half of Iskandar Muda's reign, but there seem not to have been any further significant changes. In fact,

J. Compostel's account from the last year of his reign (1636) does not suggest any significant development at all. This may be interpreted as an indication that the bureaucratic system of the port administration had reached a level of stability as early as Beaulieu's visit in 1621.

The information Compostel provides is nevertheless valuable for a clearer understanding of the functions of various offices. There is one office not described elsewhere. Among the officials who came on board bringing the royal Cap (seal) in the form of keris, a token of allowing to land, was a chief inspector of the market,²⁹ - but the indigenous name of the office is not given. Although further details are not known, it is certain that for the administration of the markets, such an official would have been needed.

Among other officials Compostel mentions was a Penghulu Kawal. Compostel notes that this official had a title Besiendra (probably Seri Bija Indera) and whose responsibility it was to convey the ruler's commands and to make reports to the Sultan.³⁰ As mentioned earlier, in 1621 there were four Penghulu Kawal, whereas in 1636 there was only one mentioned. On the basis of Beaulieu's account, one possibility is that the Penghulu Kawal mentioned by Compostel was one of the four Penghulu Kawal, whose responsibility included the security of the heart of the capital, including the port.³¹ His duties as the security authority also included such matters as the reopening of the Dutch factory, control of drunks and mounting guns in the Dalam.³²

Apart from this, the conduct of royal trade, which had hitherto been the responsibility of Laksamana I who had disappeared from the scene as a result of the 1629 defeat of the Acehnese forces before

Malacca, became this Penghulu Kawal's responsibility too. According to Compostel, the Penghulu Kawal, together with the Penghulu Kerkun, negotiated with the Dutch concerning prices of pepper and tin belonging to Iskandar Muda for the settlement of the ruler's debts.³³ This report also shows that the Penghulu Kerkun had some role to play in treasury of the royal household. Thus it is highly likely that it was among his duties to inspect the accounts kept at the customhouse.

Compostel also refers to a "Bishop". He notes that "the Governor-General's letter was received and brought, according to an old practice, to the side of the Bishop, who translated it".³⁴ This multilingual capacity among the learned in Islam has not hitherto been sufficiently stressed. Since religious officials were an important source of information of events and politics in foreign states, it seems likely that they were able to play a significant part in foreign-commercial relations - as indeed did Shaikh Syams al-Din.

Thus by the end of this period, i.e. the reign of Iskandar Muda, a complex system of port bureaucracy had developed, primarily for the interest of the ruler, on the basis of the practices established by his predecessors in the first period, and this had reached maturity by the middle of his reign.

iii. The port bureaucracy under Iskandar Thani and Safiyyat al-Din

The port bureaucracy under the mighty ruler Iskandar Muda, in a sense, had the potential for further development, or change, but his successor's authority was not strong enough to check the rise of the Orang Kaya. We have already seen in Chapter II that Iskandar Thani's

authority as a ruler of Aceh, being a prince of Pahang, was relatively weak and his short reign (from late 1636 to early 1641) was a period of transition from autocratic royal power to a weakened royal authority.

However, the information available indicates no significant structural changes. An account provided by al-Ranīrī in the Bustan about the port authorities during his patron's reign is disappointing. Among the senior officials he mentions are an Orang Kaya Laksamana Seri Perdana Menteri or Laksamana Seri Perdana Menteri and an Orang Kaya Seri Maharaja Lela.³⁵ According to Dutch sources from Iskandar Thani's reign, three different individuals held the office of Laksamana in turn. In 1640, for example, Laksamana was an Orang Kaya Maraja Lela, who may be identified with the Orang Kaya Seri Maharaja Lela of the Bustan.³⁶

J. de Meere, the Dutch envoy of 1640 to Aceh, states that it was the responsibility of the Laksamana to provide all foreigners trading to Aceh protection and necessary assistance, and that the Laksamana was in charge of matters related to the west coast of Sumatra, of which he was the ruler and over which he had highest jurisdiction.³⁷ Considering the extensive involvement of the Laksamana of 1640 in foreign relations, both in Aceh and in the west coast dependency,³⁸ it is likely that his other role as the authority responsible for the security of the capital may have considerably been lightened by delegation to one of the Penghulu Kawal. In fact, this function of the Laksamana is not mentioned in European sources. However, his role as the sole agent of royal trade never ceased, although the Syahbandars acted for him in carrying the day to day running of affairs.³⁹ It may therefore be suggested that differentiation of the dual function of Laksamana into two major areas

of responsibility probably began to emerge around this time.

Thus it seems that the bureaucratic organisation of the port framed by Iskandar Muda at first maintained itself even under a ruler of Pahang origin. However, there were signs of structural change of the port authority already in Iskandar Thani's reign.

Evidence for this process is provided in considerable detail in the AA under the entry headed perkataan jama^cat yang dibalai furdah, i.e. an enumeration of the personnel of the customhouse.⁴⁰ This entry is an invaluable source of information, although it is merely a detailed list of the officials involved in the port administration. Even though the entry itself does not bear a date, internal evidence in the fourth part,⁴¹ and contemporary European sources evidence its compilation at around the mid 1640s, as we shall see below and in the following Chapter. From the perkataan jama^cat yang dibalai furdah the following picture of the port authorities can be constructed:⁴²

There was a supervisory body of the port authorities, comprising three senior officials, i.e. Orang Kaya Seri Maharaja Lela who was the Panglima Bandar (administrator of the port);⁴³ the Penghulu Kawal (head of security); and Raja Setia Muda in the position of Penghulu Kerkun (chief scribe of the royal secretariat). Its head was the Panglima Bandar. Each of these was in charge of respective areas of the administration of the port and the customhouse, that of security, and records department representing the court.

The department responsible for the administration of the port and commerce was under the direct supervision of the Panglima Bandar. Its senior officials were four Syahbandars each with specific duties.

One of the Syahbandars was called Nakhuda Mu^ctabar Khan, a Gujarati, who at that time held concurrently the post of Penghulu Kawal. Two other Syahbandars, with the titles Saif al-Muluk and Seri Rama Setia respectively, were concerned with weighing. The fourth Syahbandar with the title Mu^cizz al-Muluk was in charge of the export of horses. The latter two were assisted by several Nazir (inspectors) and Dalal (middlemen). To the office of the Syahbandars were further attached inspectors and officers called Nazir Dalal.⁴⁴

The customhouse was headed by the Penghulu Furdah (chief of the customhouse) who held the title Seri Ratna Perba, and his deputy. This appear to have been under the general supervisory control of the four Syahbandars. The main duty of the customhouse was the imposition of customs duties and the collection of various charges levied at the port. To keep records of imports and exports, the customhouse had a record office of its own, consisting of four scribes with assistants (Bujang).⁴⁵ The office in charge of weighing comprised Penghulu Dacing (chief weighing officer) and Tandil Dacing (overseer of weighing).⁴⁶ Of no less importance were the office of Penghulu Kunci (head of the keys) entitled Seri Muda Perba, who was in charge of keeping the keys to the holds of Muslim ships handed over by the captains,⁴⁷ and that of Bendahara (accountant) consisting of two officials. In addition to these proper offices of the customhouse, there was also another office rendering services probably related to disembarkation (and embarkation) and unloading (and loading) of cargo from (and to) the ship. The head of this office and his deputy were called Penghulu Kelasi Saba Khan and

Tandil Kelasi respectively.

The Penghulu Kerkun headed the royal secretariat taking care of the interest of the ruler, which functioned as a sort of supervisory body responsible for checking the accounts of economic transactions liable to taxation. This body comprised the Penghulu Kerkun (chief secretary) himself who had the title Raja Setia Muda, the Penghulu Kerkun Muda (deputy chief secretary) Seri Perba Khan, Kerkun Katib al-Muluk Seri Indera Su[a]ra and Kerkun Seri Indera Muda. This department was directly responsible to the ruler (during this period the Sultana), thus functionally independent although administratively taking part in the port authorities. In other words, it was senior counterpart to a record office in the customhouse.

The Penghulu Kawal was responsible for law and order. This meant that he had to ensure the security of the lives and property of foreign merchants, both in the harbour and on Acehnese soil. As the Aceh river was at that time the only means of access from the harbour to the customhouse, situated on the river bank two or three miles from the harbour, there was also need for an office for the administration of the waterway.

The department in charge of security comprised three offices. One was concerned with harbour security. The entries in the AA relevant to the control of ships anchored in the harbour state that the Penghulu Kawal, the Penghulu Jung (head of junks) bearing the title Seri Muda Indera, the Penghulu Baluk (head of cargo-boats) and the Orang Kaya Raja Lela Makuta were in charge of taking care of merchant vessels according

to their types and nationality.⁴⁸

Another office was responsible for the safe navigation of vessels in the Aceh river up to the point where the customhouse stood. The officials involved were Tandil Kuala (overseer of the river-mouth) and Keujuën Kuala (the local chiefs on both sides of the river-mouth), and for the services rendered by them a river toll was levied.⁴⁹

A third one was responsible for the security on land. It was manned by two officers called Tandil Kawal (overseer of the guard).⁵⁰ Beneath them were Orang Sagi Kawal (member of military guards), in some cases assisted by Orang Sagi Bandar (member of civil port authorities). These mounted guard day and night.⁵¹ Another important element in the security of the port was the fortifications built on the river-mouth. One of them was in the charge of officer called Mitar Dagang Laskar Raja (or Laskar Raja Mitar Dagang), who, going by the name, was probably a gunner of foreign origin.

These are the officials and officers who were in charge of the administration of the port. As we shall see in section (2) below, it was the ruler's prerogative to issue permits in the form of a keris both for landing and departing from the port Dar al-Salam. As a corollary of this, the perkataan jama^cat dibalai furdah also enumerates various court functionaries, who were involved in the arrival and departure of ships at that time. Among these were the Megat Dilam Caya,⁵² the Penghulu Pepintakan (chief official in charge of requesting the royal Cap as the sign of permit), the Pepintakan, the Penghulu Cap (head of the royal seal), the Bujang Dalam (servants of the royal household, two in number) and the Tandil [Pe]ngikut (overseer of ceremonial escort). These officials

can collectively^{be} regarded as a liaison between the court and the port, through which information regarding arrival and departure of ships passed to the ruler.

This, in general outline, is a picture of the administrative frame-work, at least as far as it can be derived from the fourth part of the AA. There are, of course, some designations of offices that cannot be explained.⁵³ Furthermore, in so far as the numbers of officials of various offices are concerned, the notes we have given make it clear that they seem rather arbitrary. These limitations would probably not distort the general picture of the port bureaucracy.

Let us now consider what European sources relate about the port authorities during the reign of Safiyyat al-Din.

The most noticeable modification, as the AA also indicates, is the appearance of the position of Panglima Bandar. As pointed out earlier, as early as 1640 there was a tendency towards differentiation of the Laksamana's dual function into two distinct areas of responsibility. The Panglima Bandar derived from this demarkation of the duties. This development reached its final form in 1641, the first year of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din, with the establishment of a state council, which we have already seen in Chapter II (section 3). It was with the establishment of this council that the office of Panglima Bandar was found distinct from that of Laksamana, also called by the Dutch Panglima Dalam.⁵⁴ This change is, in fact, by implication noted by al-Rānirī in the Bustan, where he refers to Orang Kaya Seri Maharaja Lela and Orang Kaya Laksamana Seri Perdana Menteri, together with the other two counsellors, discussing

the construction of a tombstone for the deceased Sultan Iskandar Thani.⁵⁵

The first reference to the Panglima Bandar in European sources is from 1641. The Panglima Bandar at that time was an Orang Kaya whose title was 'Maraja Lilla' i.e. Maharaja Lela. His duty was almost the same as that of Laksamana in the reign of Iskandar Thani in connection with trade, namely all matters related to trade, foreign merchants and the west coast pepper trade.⁵⁶ It will be recalled that the AA twice mentions Orang Kaya Seri Maharaja Lela as the Panglima Bandar, while it also notes Orang Kaya Seri Paduka Tuan Seberang as the Panglima Bandar. Moreover, a narration in the AA as to the origin of the third and fourth part too mentions both of them as if they are different individuals.⁵⁷ However, van Oudtschoorn's daghregister (1644) suggests that both titles referred to one and the same person. His entry for 22 July states that "Siry Paducca Tuan, formerly called Maradia Lilla, being as the Panglima or Governor of foreigners, and the fourth and last in rank in the council".⁵⁸ This 'Maradia Lilla' is recorded in the Dutch sources before 1644 to have been in the position of Panglima Bandar, as we have already noted in Chapter II. This Seri Paduka Tuan was, according to a Dutch account from 1655, an uncle of the Tumenggung of Perak,⁵⁹ and held the post until his death in 1663.⁶⁰ This means that the office of Panglima Bandar had been held for over twenty years by one Orang Kaya, a man of Malay origin, who bore, at first, the title of Seri Maharaja Lela and from the year 1644 onwards the title Seri Paduka Tuan [Seberang].

Apart from this, no change of any significance is observable. Yet there are several offices and officials which deserve to be studied

in some detail.

VOC records from the first twenty years of Safiyyat al-Din's reign (1641-1660) indicate that there were several Syahbandars in any given time. But we never have a reference to all four Syahbandars at one and the same time. In 1642 P. Soury mentions an Orang Kaya who may be identified with the Syahbandar-Penghulu Kawal referred to in the AA. He noted that Orang Kaya 'Motta Berghan or Motta Berhan' (i.e. Mu^ctabar Khan) was conferred a title of 'Mon Jahat Chan' (perhaps Mujahat Khan) in July 1642.⁶¹ Judging from the fact that there was a Penghulu Kawal in Aceh while he, after the conferment of the title, was absent from Aceh as a envoy to Batavia for several months,⁶² he does not seem to have taken up the position of Penghulu Kawal at that point. It appears that the new title possibly marked his appointment as a senior Syahbandar. He served as a Syahbandar as late as 1660, then still referred to as Syahbandar 'Motta Berghan'.⁶³ We do not know, however, when he was appointed Penghulu Kawal.

As for other Syahbandars, not much is known about them and their respective functions. The VOC records often make reference to the Syahbandars, but without any close specification. Throughout this period only three Syahbandars are known to us by name or title. In 1642-43, there existed two Syahbandars, one called 'Sapher (or Sopher) Moela' and the other 'Subid Indra'.⁶⁴ Another Syahbandar was called Syahbandar 'Moutjakan or Moedjagkan Benjamin', a Gujarati who held the office in 1659-1660.⁶⁵ Apart from these Syahbandars, in the early 1640s there were two Syahbandars responsible for weighing.⁶⁶ Possibly the Syahbandar

'Sapher Moela' in the Dutch source is identical with the Syahbandar Saif al-Muluk in the light of a phonetical similarity between the two titles in different sources, and thus this Syahbandar appears to have been in charge of weighing. European sources do not give a precise number of Syahbandars, but in view of earlier evidence, it is quite likely that there were also four Syahbandars during this period, as there were in the AA.

As for the secretarial officials, the only official recorded by title in the European sources is 'Radja Sittia Muda' i.e. Raja Setia Muda. He is said to have been a "secretary of the Queen" in 1660.⁶⁷ Obviously, this "secretary" is to be identified with the Penghulu Kerkun Raja Setia Muda of the AA, who headed the upper tier of the secretarial system. During this period too it was the scribes of the customhouse (i.e. the lower tier) that were in charge of keeping records of the merchandise imported and the gifts presented to the Sultana by foreign merchants.⁶⁸ There is no reference to any individual working in the customhouse. It will be noted that this situation in the secretarial offices both of the royal household and of the customhouse shows similarity to that described by Beaulieu in 1621.

Thus far little reference has been made to the duties of the officers Nazir and Dalal, other than what appears implicit in their philological meanings. The Nazir was, as the name implies, an inspector. It clearly indicates that his duties were to supervise or inspect activity relating to trade. They included, for example, inspection of the delivery of a keris to the ship at the time of arrival, and of

gifts to the Sultana, valuation of merchandise imported and payment of debts incurred by the royal household in trade.⁶⁹

As for the Dalal, strange to say, neither the office nor its duties are mentioned in the European sources. Yet if the word Dalal (a middleman) really conveys the character of the office, it would have been indispensable for the performance of business transactions. This has to remain a hypothesis because the VOC records give very little information about the way transactions were usually carried on under the administration of the Acehnese officials. It is nevertheless clear that the customhouse was a centre of exchange, and we can see the Dalal, perhaps not small in number, as the organisers of dealings held in the customhouse, and thereby on the one hand playing a role as middlemen for foreign merchants, and on the other for the trade conducted by the Acehnese ruling class. This hypothesis may be supported by the fact that the retrospective imposition of import and export duties and of weighing charges on imports and exports, as we shall see in the following Chapter, was not feasible if the transaction had not been carried on in the premises of the customhouse, or at least in the markets in the presence of the Acehnese officials.⁷⁰

Another group of officials worthy of note is that belonging to the department responsible for security. Firstly, there is Tandil Kawal - usually referred to in Dutch sources simply as Tandeel -, who was, according to a Dutch factor in Aceh, a bodyguard (lijff-wachter).⁷¹ Judging from the role of the chief officer of this department, the Penghulu Kawal,⁷² it appears that the Tandil Kawal was a commander of

police force. There were a number of Tandil Kawal, three of whom are known by name, Pò Many, Pò Gassa and Pò Berkat. Their responsibilities concerned, for example, arrival of the ship, oversight of coolies of foreign origin, supervision of the construction of buildings by European trading companies, and control of criminal offences as the prime duty.⁷³

Secondly, there was Keujuën Kuala. European sources give a rather different picture from that of the AA. According to VOC records from the 1640s, Keujuën meant "a captain or commander", and Kuala the mouth of the Aceh river or "the fortifications on the both sides of the river-mouth". The office of Keujuën Kuala, together with the Penghulu Kelasi, is twice mentioned by van Oudtschoorn in 1644 in connection with the bringing of the royal keris for landing.⁷⁴ Further details are not given. But he also noted that an Orang Kaya called Raja Lela Wangsa, who had been detained in Portuguese Goa as a prisoner of war taken in Malacca in 1628 (sic) and was set free and brought back home to Aceh by the English in 1644, was assigned the post of chief of "Coedjerons or Captains".⁷⁵ It may be suggested that the Keujuën Kuala probably denoted then as officer responsible not only for the waterway of the river-mouth but also for the mounting of guard in the fortifications on the river banks. Djajadiningrat, it may be mentioned, gives it as the meaning of the Keujuën Kuala that the Keujuën designates the local chiefs on both sides of the river-mouth.⁷⁶ This would necessitate the assumption that the Keujuën Kuala was a corps, comprising various officers, among them the Tandil Kuala, Mitar Dagang Laskar Raja and other military personnel mentioned in the AA.

The officer Mitar Dagang Laskar Raja was presumably a gunner of foreign origin, as suggested earlier. In the early 1640s two foreign military officers are reported to have served the Sultana as gunners. One officer called Bentara Can Chanan (i.e. Khan Khanan) was a Tartar by origin. The other was an Armenian called Romi Chan (i.e. Rumi Khan).⁷⁷ Although it is not known to what degree Aceh employed foreign mercenaries in military service, the presence and function of these two gunners suggests that their contribution to the Sultanate in this field was probably not negligible.

Last but not least, the court functionary Megat Dilam Caya as a historical figure is important. As mentioned earlier, this courtier became known as early as the reign of Iskandar Muda. Moreover, he was one of the officials who carried in ceremonial procession the tombstone of Iskandar Thani to the royal burial complex in 1641.⁷⁸ The Dutch sources from 1642-43 mention an official with a similar title, which is written in various ways, e.g. Magat Dalatia, Magot Dalamzeij and Mangat Dalamchseij.⁷⁹ P. Willemsz. says that he was one of the most valued and respected liaison courtiers of the Sultana, and was promoted to another senior position by early 1642.⁸⁰ According to this courtier's own words, expressed to Willemsz., he had always been helpful to the Dutch during the reign both of Iskandar Muda and of Iskandar Thani.⁸¹ The last reference to him, as far as is known, is in 1644, as a recipient of gifts made by van Oudtschoorn.⁸² These accounts establish the fact that the Megat Dilam Caya mentioned in the AA was, in fact, the same individual as the courtier with a similar title in the Dutch sources. It is

to be suggested therefore that the Megat Dilam Caya was probably a sort of liaison functionary of the court until early 1642, a courtier through whom the ruler's commands were publicized.

These accounts from the European side give corroborating evidence concerning the offices and officials enumerated in the entry perkataan jama^cat yang dibalai furdah and in other relevant parts of the AA.

While, it is true, the number and names of officials given in the fourth part that can be identified in the European sources is few, the evidence we have presented provides every reason for confidence that the picture given by the AA does not much differ from what the situation really was during the reign of Safiyyat al-Din.

We have examined the bureaucratic structure of the port Dar al-Salam from the reign of al-Mukammil to that of Safiyyat al-Din. It is evident that as far as is documented, a stable and relatively well-organised port bureaucracy had existed as early as the turn of the 16th century and reached a critical stage in the reign of Safiyyat al-Din. The direction of its development was determined by the frame-work set up and expanded by her predecessors, especially her father Iskandar Muda. The decisive circumstance for its further progress was the decline of royal power after the death of Iskandar Muda. However, there was no structural change of any importance, except the creation of the office of Panglima Bandar in 1641. This change, however, resulted principally from the political unrest at the time of the enthronement of Safiyyat al-Din, as we have already seen in Chapter II, and in effect, it was nothing more than a demarkation of the dual function of Laksamana into two distinct duties. Indeed, we can discern a continuity in respect of

the basic structural components of the port authorities, i.e. three departments with respective specific responsibilities, throughout our period. Moreover, in the light of Aceh's significant position in the Asian pepper trade in the second half of the previous century, we may assume with some certainty that the port bureaucracy at the turn of the century, as observed by the English and Dutch, originated at around the middle of the 16th century.

Comparative study of the subject with other states in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago is useful for a fuller knowledge of the port bureaucracy in the Sultanate of Aceh.

Not enough is known to serve as a basis for comparison, although a group of officials of the port in Banten at the beginning of the 17th century is known to us. It appears more important to compare the Acehnese bureaucratic practice with the Malacca one in the era of the Sultanate because of the economic, geographical and cultural similarities between the two Sultanates.

The Laksamana of Aceh prior to the creation of the office of Panglima Bandar (1641) had almost the same duties as those shared by the Laksamana and the Tumenggung in Malacca.⁸³ The Panglima Bandar assumed duties similar to those of Malaccan Tumenggung,⁸⁴ i.e. all matters related to trade and foreign merchants. Thus in this stage, the Laksamana and the Panglima Bandar appear to correspond, by and large, to the Laksamana, and to the Tumenggung and Penghulu Bendahari of Malacca respectively.⁸⁵

As for the Syahbandars, interesting difference can be observed. The only point in common was the number of Syahbandars, i.e. four. In

Malacca, each Syahbandar, chosen by four foreign principal communities, represented the interests of each particular region or ethnic group of merchants in the first place, and a Syahbandar for the Gujaratis was the most senior in rank.⁸⁶ This clearly indicates the feature of Syahbandar in Malacca as representative of commerce in charge of the promotion and protection of fellow countrymen's trade, rather than as proper government officials of the Sultanate.

By contrast, those of Aceh were primarily for the interest of the ruler. Each Syahbandar had his own specific duty as an integral part of the port authorities. Unlike Malacca, they indeed served the state-ruler. However, the Syahbandars were not always Acehnese. There were two Gujarati Syahbandars during Safiyyat al-Din's reign. Syahbandar Mu^ctabar Khan is said to have been a Gujarati, as the AA relates, and seems to have been the highest in rank among the four Syahbandars. The other is Syahbandar 'Moutjakan Benjamin', who was formerly a Muslim merchant residing in Aceh from as early as the 1640s.⁸⁷ Besides being port officials, the Syahbandars before 1641 also played the role of agents of the ruler's trade in assisting the Laksamana. This singular character of the Syahbandars may be ascribed to the monopolistic policy of foreign trade by Iskandar Muda in the 1610s with regard particularly to the direct English and Dutch pepper trade in the west coast dependency. This suggests by implication that the 16th century pattern of Syahbandar in Aceh may have been more like Malacca's.

From the above it can be said that the offices of Syahbandar in Malacca and in Aceh were quite different. It is in effect a difference

which arises from a difference in the degree of royal control. In Malacca foreign trade was largely in the hands of foreign communities, whereas in Aceh it was almost exclusively in royal hands. It is interesting however that both Malacca and Aceh had a Syahbandar of Gujarati origin. This similarity appears to be a consequence of the eminent part played by the Gujarati merchants for centuries in linking west Asia with the western part of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago as one entity of trade route in Asian trade.

There is another important aspect worthy of note, which might be lacking in the Malaccan bureaucracy. This relates to the role of the learned in Islam in the administration of foreign trade. In Aceh, some prominent religious leaders seem to have exerted influence, in one way or another, upon the rulers in making a commercial policy. As we have already seen in Chapter IV, they were indeed in a position to give counsel to the rulers through their close personal relation with the rulers in the field of religion. It has been noted that Shaikh Syams al-Din played a role as Iskandar Muda's advisor in this respect too. A similar relationship may have existed between al-Rānīrī and Iskandar Thani. Al-Rānīrī's activity outside the religious field during his patron's reign is not known. However, in early 1642 (the second year of Safiyyat al-Din) through his intercession a Gujarati ship secured royal permission to trade directly in the west coast dependency,⁸⁸ even though exclusive privileges over the west coast pepper trade had been granted to the Dutch in 1641. This suggests that he may have been in a similar position to Syams al-Din by the early 1640s, in advising the two rulers in commercial matters.

It may be concluded that the Acehese port bureaucracy was, to some extent, modelled upon that of Malacca. However, the Acehese one can be seen as a development from the Malaccan one, once the Acehese Sultan had insisted on making all officials, and virtually all trade his own, and this had possibly taken place during the reign of al-Mukammil at the latest.

We should now consider the question as to how truly 'bureaucratic' the Acehese regime of the port was or what its characteristics were.

In Chapter II, we have already seen that the centralised and autocratic royal power during the reigns of al-Mukammil and of Iskandar Muda did not allow the other tier of the ruling apparatus at the centre of power, i.e. the central government responsible for the proper domestic rule of the Sultanate, to develop into a real bureaucratic system of government. In addition, even under the gradually shrinking royal authority after the death of Iskandar Muda progress towards bureaucratic system was little observable, even though there was a noticeable shift from autocracy to one more 'feudalistic' in nature, resulting from the aggrandisement of the Orang Kaya during the reign of Safiyyat al-Din.

Precisely the same applies to the regime administering the port Dar al-Salam. It was designed for the pursuit of wealth of the ruler, by means of royal trade and revenue from taxes levied at the port. As we have seen, senior administrators of the port were appointed and dismissed at the will of the sovereign, but not hereditary. However, the members of the port authorities were not salaried but instead granted as appanages fixed portions of supertax of 10% and a variety of charges and dues levied from foreign merchants, as we shall see in Chapter VI in

detail.

Furthermore, the existence of different officials and officers, and offices does not seem to be an indication of specialisation of function. Rather, it appears to indicate that simply because of practical reasons, a well-organised administrative body of the port was necessary for its effective administration. Thus the differentiation of functions clearly discernible in the AA does not suggest real bureaucratic specialisation of function, although it was able to develop along a more or less bureaucratically framed line, compared to that which had existed under Iskandar Muda. And this differentiation with which goes appanage may have tended to make various positions in the port administration hereditary, as was the case with the youngest son of the Panglima Bandar Seri Paduka Tuan [Seberang] who succeeded his father's position in 1663.⁸⁹

Unlike in Malacca, there was little room in Aceh for foreign merchants or their representative to participate in the administration of commerce at the port, particularly in respect of the imposition of taxes on trade. From the viewpoint of foreign merchants, the Acehnese port administration appeared, in one sense, not to provide much legal security for their commercial activity, even if it worked efficiently. There is no doubt that there was much extortion and corruption among the Acehnese officials in their administration of trade. Even allowing this, the fact that the port Dar al-Salam was probably more frequented by traders of different nationalities during our period than any other indigenous Southeast Asian port, suggests that probably it provided them adequate security for gaining fair profits from the trade in Aceh.

2. General procedures observed at the port

How, then, was the port Dar al-Salam administered by the port bureaucracy described in the preceding section?

It has been noted that the AA contains a variety of entries which describes general procedures to be observed by foreign merchants and ships. It gives us a fairly full picture of the way in which the port is managed.

The system of port administration given in the AA is a very complex one, which covers different stages of the commercial activity of foreign merchants, from the time of the ship's arrival to its departure from the harbour. However, this does not mean that AA systematically describes the general procedures. On the contrary, the order in which the AA describes them is quite arbitrary, and its description is sometimes simply in the form of references to the dues and charges payable for the relevant procedures which are not mentioned in much detail. For this reason, in some cases it is necessary to rely also on contemporary European sources in order to re-construct the system described in the AA. In the following, we will examine the general procedures and other practices in the order of sequence, i.e. from the time of arrival to that of leaving.

Before proceeding to re-construct the system of port administration, it appears wise to take a brief look at the principal features of the general procedures in the AA.

As head of the port bureaucracy, the Sultans and Sultana played the central part in the Sultanate's contacts with the outer world,

whether it was commercial or political in character, and in the enforcement of procedures to be observed. This constituted one of the ruler's prerogatives during our period. In the general procedures two distinctions are made. The first concerns their application between Muslim and non-Muslim ships, ^{or} more specifically, ^{al} between Indian ships and European ones. The other ^{concerns} the different dues and charges levied according to the origin of ships and merchants on the one hand, and to the size of ship involved on the other. Furthermore, the general procedures, in their description as a whole, deal primarily with the Indian ships and merchants, and treat European ships as having secondary importance. This suggests that Indian merchants had long had a very significant part to play in the Aceh trade, which in turn implies a rather earlier origin of the system itself.

i. Procedures to be observed on arrival

Permit for landing

After having arrived at the harbour, all foreign ships have to obtain the ruler's seal (Cap). In practice it is a permit to disembark on Acehnese soil and to trade freely in the port Dar al-Salam. Any breach of this procedure causes serious consequence, such as befell Symon Ryser, the chief Dutch factor who was severely punished by Iskandar Muda in 1615.⁹⁰

Each ruler of Aceh had his (or her) own Cap. The Cap, which in Malay means a stamp or seal, here indicates a keris, in a scabbard either of gold or silver according to the ruler's preference. In the hilt of the keris is embedded the seal.⁹¹

The origin of the ritual of bringing the Cap is not clear. However, given the direct interest of the ruler in the relations of his (or her) state with the outside world, it may be that in the first place the Cap represented the person of the ruler, and thus was empowered to convey his order or command, and indicated his permission to land and trade.

Although every ship had to receive the Cap, a distinction was made between Muslim and non-Muslim (European in the present context) ships. We know from European sources that European ships had to wait in the roads until the Acehnese officials in charge brought it on board ship, and this took one or two days, depending on the time of arrival as well as weather conditions.⁹² According to the AA, the captains of Muslim vessels, on the other hand, have to obtain it at the customhouse after disembarkation.⁹³

The bringing of the Cap is a ceremony, and several court servants are involved. According to the AA, those involved in presenting to the ruler a request for the Cap are the Pepintakan in charge of requesting it, the Penghulu Cap i.e. chief official in charge of its custody, and an official who brings the ruler's answer, known as orang membawa ujung.⁹⁴ In the bringing of the Cap with solemn ceremonial to the ship or customhouse as the case may be, were involved another group of junior servants of the Dalam headed by a senior servant, known as Megat.⁹⁵ They were attended by the Syahbandars, and sometimes by the Laksamana during the reigns of Iskandar Muda and Iskandar Thani.⁹⁶

The actual ceremony for receiving the Cap is not described in the AA. We know, however, from the daghregister of van Oudtschoorn

(1644) the following ceremony.⁹⁷ After having entertained these officials in the cabin, the officers of European ship stood in a row on the main deck; when receiving the Cap, the commander or captain had to raise both hands above the head in an obeisance (sembah) three times while saying the words "Daulat dirgahayu tuanku", i.e. "Long live my lord", as an act of homage to the symbolic presence of the ruler, and received the ruler's order, for example, that the commander or captain of the ship should come ashore. When the ceremony had concluded, the visitors then were allowed to land.

Muslim and non-Muslim ships were required to pay at different rates for the services rendered by these officials, in addition to the dues for the Cap and surcharges pertaining to it, as we shall see later.

Landing

Once the captain of a Muslim vessels has received the Cap, he is required to follow the procedures set out below, according to the AA.

- a. The cargo-list of his vessel, together with the key to the ship's hold, is handed over to a Megat to be deposited at the citadel Kuta Dar al-Dunia (the old name of the Dalam) in the charge of the Penghulu Kunci (head of the keys).⁹⁸
- b. Before unloading his ship's cargo, the captain has to apply for the permission to discharge the cargo (izin lepas dabeuëh) to the Panglima Bandar and the Penghulu Kawal.⁹⁹
- c. If the cargo includes commodities to be traded by weight, before they may be unloaded, the captain has also apply to both the Panglima Bandar and the Penghulu Kawal for permission to have them weighed.¹⁰⁰

d. Once this permission has been given, the captain goes to the Penghulu Kawal to ask for the key back, bringing presents for him and other officials as well as for the Dalam. This procedure is called memohon kunci.¹⁰¹

For European ships, on the other hand, the procedures are somewhat simpler. The AA explicitly states that the procedures under items (a) and (d) are not to be applied to European ships,¹⁰² but those itemised (b) and (c) are applied.¹⁰³ Having followed these procedures, differentiated according to their religious persuasion, both Muslim and non-Muslim ships are allowed to unload their cargoes.

During and after unloading, Muslim vessels anchored in the roads are put under the control of the port authorities, as we have noted in the preceding section. According to the AA, vessels hailing from the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and the Maldiva islands are under the authority of the Penghulu Kawal, likewise Muslim sloops both from the East and from the West which wish to proceed up the Aceh river; as for junks and cargo-boats under a Muslim captain, these vessels are under the authority of the Penghulu Jung and the Penghulu Baluk respectively. Moreover, a Muslim vessel gets two Acehnese servants from the Dalam to mount guard, while^a European one does not get guardsmen.¹⁰⁴

Unloading

After having fulfilled these requirement for landing and unloading, and having completed payment of dues payable, the cargo is now unloaded. The Aceh river was too shallow for an ocean-going ship or a large dhow to navigate.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, small crafts such as the landing boats

carried on European ships, or native vessels (e.g. perahu, banting and sampan) were employed for this purpose.

According to the AA, if a Muslim captain makes use of Acehnese sampans to unload his cargo, the fee is four mas for each loaded sampan, and if he uses his own boats, two mas is payable. Each loaded sampan or other types of craft is attended by two guardmen, one from the civil port authorities and the other from the military one.¹⁰⁶ There is no reference in European sources to the hiring of small Acehnese crafts for this purpose, so it appears that Europeans preferred to use their own boats rather than to hire native ones, which might have been considered too small and unsafe.

For vessels employed for discharging, plying between the ship and the Aceh river, a river toll is levied, as we shall see in Chapter VI. It is noteworthy that even a ship anchored in the harbour is required to pay a sort of river toll, on top of the anchorage charges.¹⁰⁷

The procedures which follow the unloading are inspection of the ship's hold by the Acehnese officials, and registration of merchandise brought to the customshouse.

a. Inspection of the ship's hold

Once the unloading of cargo from a ship has been completed, the port authorities inspect the ship to see whether or not any merchandise is left in its hold. This inspection is termed tafahus khali, and seems to have been a precautionary measure against clandestine imports. This inspection costs the captain two tahil fifteen mas, and is conducted by a group of officials from the customshouse, the royal secretariat and

the security department.¹⁰⁸ This procedure is closely related with the deposit of the key to the ship's hold together with its cargo-list, as referred to earlier and itemised under (a). An account in the AA that this procedure for landing and unloading does not apply to European ships, suggests that they are not liable for this inspection.¹⁰⁹

b. Registration of commodities to be imported

All merchandise had first to be brought to the customhouse to be registered before it could be sold. Obviously, this was for the purpose of making a basis for taxation on imports of foreign merchants, the imposition of which was not at the time of import but after the conclusion of their business in the Acehnese capital, as we shall describe in detail in the next Chapter.

According to the AA, the following is the procedure for registration:

When requesting the registration, both Muslim and non-Muslim captains are required to present the Dalam, the Panglima Bandar and the Penghulu Kawal each with a length of cloth.¹¹⁰ Accordingly, customs officials register goods imported, either in bales or in cases. To be registered, it goes through a set of processes. One is to number bales and cases of goods. The other is to make an inventory of imports. For these services, fees are charged separately: the fee for the numbering is called hak al-rakam, and that for making inventory hak al-kalam. For the hak al-rakam, the fee payable is one mas for each bale of goods. The hak al-kalam is charged at rates determined both by the origin of goods and by the type of packing.¹¹¹

In addition, another entry in the AA states that the chief of the customhouse erects a shed on the court-yard of the customhouse,¹¹² probably used as temporary storage of commodities to be registered. For the use of this shed, the captain is payable a length of cloth to the value of one tahil.

Port dues payable on arrival

In the course of our study above, we have seen that different dues and fees are payable for the various services involved in the procedures on arrival, except for the bringing of the royal Cap, and anchorage dues. The payment of these two charges and dues was regularly claimed by the port authorities.

a. Charges for the Cap

The AA lists three kinds of payment for the Cap, namely lapik Cap i.e. charges for the Cap, hak Cap Megat serta Bujang Dalam i.e. dues for the services rendered by the court officials and servants for its bringing, and kain bersama-sama lapik Cap, that is to say a charge levied in cloth accompanying with the lapik Cap.¹¹³ These dues are assessed according to the ship's nationality, religion not being relevant in this case.

For the lapik Cap, vessels from Gujarat, Kalinga, Bengal and Europe are required to pay ten tahil, whereas those from Coromandel, Malabar, the Maldivé islands, Pegu, Tenasserim, Kedah, Perak, Malacca and other places in the east pay only five tahil.¹¹⁴

As for hak Cap Megat serta Bujang Dalam, vessels from the first group mentioned above are charged eight tahil, while those from the

second group are required to pay only four tahil.¹¹⁵

The following is payable for the kain bersama-sama lapik Cap: vessels from Gujarat: two lengths of white bafta Broach; those from Bengal: two lengths of khasa (i.e. muslin); those from Kalinga and Europe: eight lengths of white cotton or linen cloth for batik, called kain tulis muri; those from Malabar, Coromandel and the Maldiva islands: five lengths of kain tulis muri, together with 1,600 pieces of stock-fish and one jar of fish-paste (peda Diwa). These are presented to the Dalam.¹¹⁶

There exist only a few contemporary European accounts which refer to these dues. In April 1613, Thomas Best paid a sum of 120 mamudi (1 mamudi = $1 \frac{1}{3}$ mas) i.e. about ten tahil, before his landing there,¹¹⁷ but he does not specify what particular dues this was for. About eight years later, Beaulieu noted that he was obliged to pay more than 80 real (at that time one real was equivalent to $3\frac{1}{2}$ mas, thus more than $17\frac{1}{2}$ tahil) in dues for the Acehnese officials.¹¹⁸ He later states, however, that it is 50 or 60 real (eleven or thirteen tahil), determined according to the size of ship.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, a Dutch account from 1644 refers to a payment which appears to correspond to the kain bersama-sama lapik Cap and hak Cap Megat serta Bujang Dalam of the AA. It says that the charges for the royal Cap and for the officials in charge of bringing it were ten lengths of silk cloth respectively, which at that time had a cost-price value of about four and half tahil, and notes that earlier only eight lengths had been payable for the Cap.¹²⁰

It is not possible, however, to draw from this sparse information a clear picture of how the relevant dues mentioned in the AA were really levied from foreign ships. Yet there is enough evidence that somewhat similar dues were payable for the bringing of the Cap on arrival by foreign ships.

b. Anchorage dues

Two entries in the AA, under the headings adat hadiah langgar and adat hadiah langgar [setengah] describe anchorage dues payable and the way in which it is distributed among the port officials.¹²¹ The anchorage dues, as in the case with the charges for the Cap, vary according to the ship's nationality, not to its size.

According to the adat hadiah langgar, formerly an anchorage of 121 tahil 10 mas had been levied on a three-master from Gujarat, but when the 50% reduction of charges on ships from Gujarat was conceded during the reign of Safiyyat al-Din, this was reduced to 60 tahil and 10 mas, ^{the same} charges which had been levied on vessels from Bengal and Kalinga.¹²² During the same period, according to the adat hadiah langgar [setengah], vessels from the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, the Maldive islands and other regions situated to the east of Aceh the dues payable are half of this amount, i.e. 30 tahil 5 mas.¹²³

There is no mention, however, in the two entries of European ships. This, we know from another entry of the AA, is because anchorage dues are not levied on European ships.¹²⁴ But the date of the exemption from it is not given in the AA.

Although not many contemporary European accounts relevant to

anchorage dues are available, yet they suggest how the imposition of anchorage may have developed during our period. In 1613 Thomas Best paid 77 real (about 24 tahil) for anchorage to the Acehnese officials in Tiku on the west coast. He noted that this was one of the "newe customes".¹²⁵ According to Beaulieu, sometime between August and November 1621 Iskandar Muda put into force a regulation concerning anchorage charges. Under this new regulation, which was applied to all ships, an amount of 400 real (100 tahil) was payable, in addition to a sum of 200 real (50 tahil) for the officials of the customhouse, making a total charges of 600 real (150 tahil).¹²⁶ Several months later, in 1622, a Dutch factor reports that the Dutch made gifts worth 100 tahil as anchorage dues to Iskandar Muda.¹²⁷ This information is supported by accounts from Iskandar Thani's time. In his ship's journal, Peter Mundy writes in April 1637 that Iskandar Thani promised him to remit the tax imposed by Iskandar Muda, namely "[blank] Royal of eightt For anchorage of each bottom".¹²⁹ The account written in 1639 by captain John Weddel says that for anchorage in Iskandar Muda's reign they had had to pay 100 pounds (about 453 real or 113 tahil) a ship.¹²⁹

This development in the imposition of anchorage dues is evidently alluding to the fact that it was Iskandar Muda who introduced its imposition and that the dues fixed in the AA developed from the practices during his reign. To this it is to be added that the anchorage dues, as the AA's entries describe, is distributed among the port officials, the Dalam not having any quota, whereas Iskandar Muda enjoyed a greater part of this charges. This shift can be seen as reflecting the con-

traction of royal power after his reign.

ii. Practices relevant to arrival and sojourn

Once custom clearance, simply in a form of registration, has been completed, foreign merchants can freely begin to trade. There is yet a variety of procedures in the AA to be observed by them in the early stage of their sojourn. These procedures are related to a ceremonial aspect required by the Acehnese of foreign merchants and envoys with respect to their visit to the capital, e.g. courtesy calls to senior port administrators, and presentation of a letter and gifts from foreign rulers to the Acehnese ruler.¹³⁰ A detailed study of these procedures, most of which are described on pp.140a-150a of the AA, has already been undertaken by M. Lagerberg.¹³¹

Apart from these procedures, there are three practices worth studying here. Of the three practices, two are of great concern for foreign traders; one is related with shipwreck and castaways, and the other the death of a foreign merchant during his sojourn in the Acehnese capital. A third one concerns rent and tax on stalls in the market.

a. Shipwreck and castaways

There is no reference in the AA to a merchant ship in the event of wreckage offshore the Aceh coast. But during the reign of Iskandar Muda there was a rather notorious practice in which further doom befell castaways and their cargo.

According to Beaulieu, not only wrecked goods but also wrecked merchants and crew became Iskandar Muda's possession.¹³² While Beaulieu was there in 1621, a big ship from Dabul was wrecked on the coast. Its cargo was confiscated and about 120 men were enslaved. Through the

intermediary of Muslim merchants however, they redeemed themselves later, by paying ransoms of 250 real for each senior and of 50 real for each sailor.¹³³ Moreover, French merchants and crew belonging to Beaulieu's fleet, who had lost their vessel and came from Batavia to Aceh by a French ship owned by another French trading company after Beaulieu had left for Kedah, were enslaved and their merchandise was appropriated, because Iskandar Muda regarded them as lost men.¹³⁴

b. Practice related to a merchant's death

It is probable that some foreigners died while trading in the port Dar al-Salam. There exists in the AA an entry with the heading adat mati nakhoda, i.e. practice concerning the death of the captain, dealing with the death of foreigners.

According to the adat mati nakhoda, in the event of the death of a foreign ship-captain or merchant, the port officials are sent for to mount guard over the deceased's house and to draw up an inventory of the estate left by him; all his property is impounded; one tahil out of every ten of his estate is distributed among the officials involved.¹³⁵

Almost the same practice as the adat mati nakhoda is noted by Beaulieu. He notes that Iskandar Muda is heir to all foreigners who die in Aceh, and testament has no validity. According to him, no sooner has a foreigner fallen ill, the Acehnese officials took hold of his house, upon his death they carried away his property to the Dalam.¹³⁶ He adds, however, that both the English and Dutch, who had their factories at that time, and the French were excluded from the subject of its application.¹³⁷ As far as the English are concerned, this exemption was granted by a letter of al-Mukammil to Queen Elizabeth I in 1602, in

which the validity of testament and no involvement on the part of Aceh in the deceased's property are specifically stated.¹³⁸ This suggests that the confiscation of ~~estate~~^t upon the death of a foreigner had probably been one of the old practices in the capital.

c. Rent and tax on stalls in the market

We know little about the port Dar al-Salam, except that there were a few marketplaces in the heart of the capital.¹³⁹ It has been suggested in section (1) that there was an administrative body of markets, where foreign merchants traded.

The AA contains two interesting descriptions in this respect. It states that all stalls in the market are levied one mas monthly and that shopkeepers owe two mas and four mas as an annual rent (bungkal tanah) to the Bentara Blang Seri Paduka and Paduka Seri Rama for the areas occupied by their stalls and storehouses respectively, except for a small number of stalls that are waqf.¹⁴⁰ Unfortunately, the lack of relevant accounts prevent us to take the matter further.

iii. Procedures for departure

After having concluded their business in the Acehnese capital, foreign ships have to go through further procedures for leaving the port. The AA describes the following procedures.

a. Adat pinta kira-kira^c usyur furdah, formalities for requesting the calculation of a port tax (^cusyur), and memohon bercukai, requirement for requesting the collection of taxes payable

When their business is concluded, merchants and the captain have to request the officials of the customhouse to calculate the ^cusyur to be

charged. This procedure is called pinta kira-kira^c usyur furdah. On submitting the request, special provisions applied to Indian vessels. They were required to present to the Panglima Bandar, the Penghulu Kawal and the chief scribe of the secretariat of the Dalam and his deputy each with a length of Indian cloth from their point of origin.¹⁴¹ Accordingly assessment of the usyur^c and the 10% surtax is made according to the established rule (which will be discussed in Chapter VI). In addition, one length of cloth is payable to the Panglima Bandar and the Penghulu Kawal for the collection of taxes respectively.¹⁴²

b. Adat ceti furdah, procedure for a certificate of the customshouse

The scribes of the secretariat issue a certified receipt once harbour dues and the usyur^c have been paid. This receipt is verified by the affixation of the scribes' seals and is known as ceti kejelasan. Reflecting the two different ways of this tax, there are two kinds of receipt. One is for the individual merchants and officers of the ship, and this is issued by the deputy chief scribe, who bears a title of Seri Perba Khan, and it costs them two mas. The other is issued for the captain by the chief scribe Raja Setia Muda for the settlement of the 10% surtax, for which the captain has to pay five tahil.¹⁴³

c. Adat memohon memuat and adat Cap Megat memuat serta dengan Bujang, procedure for requesting leave to take on board cargo, and the dues for the services rendered by senior servant and servants from the Dalam

Once the receipt has been issued, the captain and the individual merchants make preparations for the shipment of the goods acquired at

the port. The captain has to obtain permission from the court when he wishes to load his cargo. In making his request, he has to present the court with a length of cloth. This procedure the AA terms adat memohon memuat.¹⁴⁴ Several court functionaries are involved in securing this permission, and the charge for their service is one tahil six mas. This is called adat Cap Megat memuat serta dengan Bujang. The AA suggests that the Cap on this occasion is simply a stamped permit,¹⁴⁵ not the ceremonial royal seal embedded in a keris. This stamped permit is essential if loading is to take place.

d. Adat memohon berlayar and adat Cap Megat berlayar serta Bujang,
procedure for requesting leave to set sail and the charges for the
services pertaining to it

Once goods have been loaded, the ship is ready to put to sea. However, it is not permitted to leave without the ruler's permission. This permission has to be requested in the same way as permission to take goods on board. A request has to be made to the court together with a gift of four lengths of Indian cloth, the kind of which is determined according to the nationality of the ship. In this case, no exception is made of European ships and the same quantity of cloth is the requirement for its request.¹⁴⁶

The adat Cap Megat berlayar serta Bujang relates the dues for the services in issuing a clearance permit and its distribution among the officials involved. As is the case for the bringing of the royal Cap, exclusively several court servants are involved because the issue of the permit is apparently under the control of court, not that of the

port authorities. The charge for their services is determined according to the size of the ship. It is two tahil for a three-master, and for smaller types of vessels, such as sloop or kundra from Malabar, Coromandel, the Maldive islands and the regions east to Aceh half of this amount.¹⁴⁷

e. Adat tafahus berlayar, pre-sailing inspection

Before the ship finally sails, clearance dues have to be paid. This procedure relates to the clearing dues payable, and their distribution among the port officials. The charge is fixed at 24 tahil 1 mas. Those who are involved and thus have their quota in the dues are, for example, the Keujruën Kuala, the Penghulu Kelasi, the Tandil Kelasi and the Penghulu Kawal.¹⁴⁸

The procedures laid down in the AA for the leaving of foreign ships from the harbour are complex and systematic as shown above. By contrast, European sources give us little information as to these practices. This may be partly because they regarded the procedures as of minor importance. When the English or Dutch had a factory in Aceh, the factors, who were naturally familiar with local practices and requirements, were in charge of fulfilling the requirements for departing ships, and no doubt kept an account of the various dues involved in their factory's account books. Unfortunately no such documents have survived. However, several remarks are worthy of note.

From as early as the turn of the 16th century, no person or ship was allowed to clear the land without the knowledge or consent of the Syahbandar who would send one of his men on board.¹⁴⁹ An English account

from 1615 states that "neither stranger nor subject is permitted to depart without his [Iskandar Muda's] licence, neither can, seeing we lie under the command of his castle, which is well fortified".¹⁵⁰ Nor was anyone allowed to come to ship from ashore.¹⁵¹ Thus the port authorities exercised strict control over inland navigation between the capital and the roads.

Of the first three procedures, under the items (a), (b) and (c), it is true that no direct information is available from European sources. However, as far as the procedures (a) and (b) are concerned, there is every reason to believe that they were applicable to European ships since Europeans too were liable for the imposition of the same taxes, as we shall study in Chapter VI.

European sources do however refer to the requirements for leaving the harbour itemised under (d) and (e). The usual practice was for the commander of fleet or the captain, together with his senior officers, to take leave of the ruler in a final audience, and before their departure from the harbour to make some payment in the form of a number of lengths of cloth for the necessary permit.¹⁵² In addition, we know from Beaulieu's account that about half of the amount required to pay for the Cap on arrival (i.e. 50 or 60 real) was payable for the bringing of the Cap for departure.¹⁵³ The royal Cap is brought, on this occasion, to the customhouse, not to the ship.¹⁵⁴ However, little further is known about these procedures.

We should not, however, be misled simply because of this fact. If we compare the procedures itemised (d) and (e), i.e. procedure for requesting leave to set sail and the dues pertaining to it, and that

for pre-sailing inspection, with those applied on arrival, we will see that there are many correspondences between them. Namely, the adat memohon berlayar and the adat Cap Megat berlayar serta Bujang correspond respectively with the adat lapik Cap and the adat hak Cap Megat serta Bujang Dalam, and the adat tafahus berlayar with the adat hadiah langgar. From this parallel it can be said that the request for the sending of the royal Cap when landing, and the clearing procedure are, in effect, part and parcel of the same system at that time.

To summarise, the Cap system, if we may so call the general procedures as a whole in the port Dar al-Salam, was very comprehensive, regulating the economic activity of foreign merchants and ships in the port from the time of a ship's arrival to the moment of its leaving. The fact that most of the entries in the AA, describing the general procedures, have corresponding and supporting accounts from the European side suggests that the picture given in the AA of port administration is most probably the way in which the port was really administered by the port bureaucracy.

In addition, the sending of the royal Cap at ship's arrival and departure symbolises an aspect of the power and authority of the ruler in his relation with the outer world, whereas the different procedures may be seen as expressing a practical aspect of the port administration. This interpretation of the royal Cap may be supported by the fact that as far as we know, not a single instance, in which the Cap was not delivered, is found in contemporary European sources, even in times of political tension between Aceh and European powers. The Cap system was,

however, sometimes effectively used by the ruler, who in order to gain time in complex political and commercial negotiations, delayed the bringing of the Cap for leaving.¹⁵⁵

Furthermore, the charges and dues payable for the Cap system and the way of their distribution, - the ruler on the one hand, and the port bureaucracy on the other -, seem to have been constantly evolving, reflecting the strength of the ruler's power and authority vis-à-vis that of the Orang Kaya, including senior administrators of the port. To this it is to be added that the Cap system described in the AA was based largely upon practices current under the regime of Iskandar Muda.

It may be concluded that the delivery of the royal Cap had been one of the long-established practices, originating from the ruler's authority as head of the Sultanate, to which great importance was attached and which, as an effective rule that constitutes a central part of the maritime laws of Aceh, was supplemented by the procedures in the AA, and in compliance with this administrative system, the port bureaucracy effectively administered the activity of foreign traders at the port of the capital. As far as the bureaucracy is concerned, there is no sign in its structure which suggests a relic of the Hindu cosmic concept of the four points of the compass. It is, in addition, to be noted that a variety of charges and dues, to which the 10% surtax is added, was an important source of income for the members of the port authorities, who were not salaried by the ruler, from the Panglima Bandar to petty functionaries. As noted earlier, the Acehnese bureaucratic practice had developed from the Malacca one, and this develop-

ment arising from the differentiation of function may substantially have contributed to the complexity of the Cap system during our period.

NOTES

1. Winstedt and Josselin de Jong, "The Maritime Laws of Malacca", *JMBRAS* 29, pt.3 (1956), pp.22-59; Meilink-Roelofs, Asian Trade, pp.40-43, 46-48.
2. This is because the port Dar al-Salam was also the centre of domestic trade.
3. Boxer, "A Note on Portuguese Reactions", pp.415-416.
4. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.110.
5. Meilink-Roelofs, Asian Trade, pp.60-73.
6. Reid, "Sixteenth Century Turkish Influence", pp.400-401.
7. Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, p.145.
8. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, pp.70-76, 79, 81, 86; Davis, The Voyages and Works, pp.143-145, 150; Both, "Oost-Indische Reyse onder Admiraal Pieter Both", in B & V, vol.2, pp.4-7; Lancaster, The Voyages, p.130, 142; Waerwijck, "Oost-Indische Reyse", p.14.
9. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, pp.82-83; Both, "Oost-Indische Reyse", p.10.
10. AA, pp.48a-49a; see also Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjéh, p.17.
11. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.72.
12. Both, "Oost-Indische Reyse", pp.4-8; Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum, vol.1, pp.19-20.
13. Purchas, Purchas his Pilgrimes, vol.2, pp.518-519; Jourdain, The Journal, pp.231-232; Best, The Voyage, p.59, 177-179; Letters Received, vol.1, p.270; vol.2, p.165, 287.
14. Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, p.163; *Ibid.*, Bustan, pp.37-39.
15. Letters Received, vol.3, pp.95-101.
16. *Ibid.*, vol.4, p.127.
17. This we know from later accounts of our period. Bowrey, A Geographical Account, p.286, 318, 321-322.
18. Letters Received, vol.3, pp.98-99; vol.4, p.125, 166; vol.5, p.31; Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.55, 67.
19. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.46, 57, 102, 104-105.
20. Keeling & Bonner, The East India Company Journals, p.140. This "Bishop" could be the same individual identified by Beaulieu as a "Cady" (i.e. Qādī) of an advanced age and of learned in religion.

("Mémoires", p.57, 62) Apart from this, it is also to be noted that in Pidie too existed a Syahbandar in 1615. (Letters Received, vol.3, p.96)

21. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.102.
22. Ibid., loc. cit.; Letters Received, vol.3, p.129, 224, 226.
23. Letters Received, vol.3, p.226.
24. Ibid., pp.98-100, 115, 125, 129, 185-186, 226. It is revealed that the Laksamana in 1615 was an Orang Kaya Hassaman. (Keeling & Bonner, The East India Company Journals, pp.130-140) We identified this Laksamana with Malém Dagang in Chapter II (section3).
25. Letters Received, vol.3, p.116, 188; Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.56, 59-61, 95.
26. Letters Received, vol.4, p.125.
27. Ibid., pp.125-126, 166-167.
28. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.102.
29. K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, f.1197.
30. Ibid., f.1199, 1201.
31. Another possibility is also likely. It is that there might be only one Penghulu Kawal, and the four Penghulu Kawal mentioned by Beaulieu could be Tandil Kawal i.e. overseer of guard, which we shall see below.
32. K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, ff.1204-1205, 1207-1208, 1221.
33. Ibid., ff.1223-1226.
34. Ibid., ff.1201-1202.
35. Iskandar, Bustan, p.53, 55.
36. K.A.1040, "Copie missive" of Croocq, 10 Sept. 1639, ff.1158-1159, 1163; K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, f.128r.-v.; Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.2, p.4. From Croocq's report it is revealed that the Laksamana Seri Perdana Menteri when van Deutecom, the Dutch envoy of 1638, was there, was dismissed in 1639. See also Chapter II (section 3).
37. K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, f.113r., 139r.
38. It included the bringing of royal keris for landing, negotiations with the Dutch for the privileges of exclusive Dutch pepper trade

- in the west coast dependency, preparations for finalising the royal edict to the dependency, appointment of an Acehnese envoy to Batavia. (Ibid., f.103r., 113r.-v., 116r.-v. 118r.-119r., 120r., 121v.-122r., 125v., 133v.-134v. 139r.)
39. The Syahbandars took considerable place of the Laksamana, particularly in the selling of the pepper owned by the Sultan. (Ibid., f.116r.-v., 118v.)
 40. AA, pp.111b-113a.
 41. Ibid., pp.117b-119b. See also Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, p.18, 23.
 42. Sources for the description is the entry perkataan jama^cat, unless otherwise stated.
 43. This Orang Kaya also mentioned as the Panglima Bandar in the entry with the heading adat Orang Kaya Seri Maharaja Lela (a description of the profits falling to the share of the Orang Kaya Seri Maharaja Lela). (AA, pp.159a-160b) On the other hand, according to another entry, an Orang Kaya Seri Paduka Tuan Seberang is the Panglima Bandar. (ibid., pp.163b-165b) We will examine this discrepancy later.
 44. The perkataan jama^cat mentions altogether seven officials by title or name. However, according to another entries, fourteen is given as its number. (Ibid., p.129b, 131a, 145a-b)
 45. Another entries state six scribes. (Ibid., p.130a, 131a) Besides seven Bujang, another Bujang with the title Seri Tentara is also mentioned in the perkataan jama^cat.
 46. According to another entries, there are one Penghulu Dacing and two Tandil Dacing. (Ibid., p.130a)
 47. Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, p.24. See further section (2) below.
 48. AA, p.168a-b. See also Drewes & Voorhoeve, op. cit., p.31.
 49. Ibid., p.128b, 130a. See further section (3) of Chapter VI.
 50. Ibid., loc. cit.
 51. Ibid., p.130b, 134b-135b. The perkataan jama^cat gives two for the number of the Orang Sagi Kawal and Orang Sagi Bandar, each representing respective Sagi.
 52. According to the Bustan, during the reign of Iskandar Muda there was an official with the title Makota Dilamcaya. This official is

- described as a sort of major-domo of the Dalam. (Iskandar, Bustan, pp.37-38) See further below.
53. For example, there are offices called Tandil Beruji and of Nazir Dalal, and an official called Tun Kota Setia.
 54. Daghregister, Batavia, 1641-1642, p.96; K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.561v., 565v.
 55. Iskandar, Bustan, pp.62-63.
 56. K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, ff.568v.-569r., 581v.-582r.; Ibid., "Copie memorie" of Compostel, f.594v.; Ibid., "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.506v., 517v.
 57. See notes (41) and (43) above.
 58. K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.574r., 579v.
 59. K.A.1100, "Originele missive" of Schouten, 16 Sept. 1655, f.277v.; Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.3, p.22. We have seen in section (2) of Chapter II that there was an Orang Kaya with the title Seri Paduka Tuan Seberang during the reign of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din, who died in 1658. This Orang Kaya was also called Tuk (Teuku?) Bahra. The words Tuk Bahra may denote the position of this Orang Kaya, namely the Panglima Bandar, as the meaning of the words implies. This tallies with what the AA says about the Panglima Bandar. On the other hand, the relevant Dutch sources do not mention the word Seberang, which means 'the other side or accross'. In this respect, the Daghregister (1663 and 1664) tells us that the Panglima Bandar Seri Paduka Tuan had rights to receive 30 bahar of tin annually from Perak. (Daghregister, Batavia, 1663, p.634; Ibid., 1664, p.110, 120) All this suggests that the word Seberang designates the place of his origin, probably Perak. Thus the Panglima Bandar Seri Paduka Tuan of the Dutch sources can be identified with the Orang Kaya Seri Paduka Tuan Seberang of the indigenous sources.
 60. Daghregister, Batavia, 1663, p.633. The indigenous source put his death in 1658.
 61. K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.553v., 557v., 566r.
 62. Ibid., "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.501r., 510v., 516r., 517v.
 63. K.A.1127, "Verbael" of Bort, f.354r.

64. K.A.1051bis, "Originele missive", 26 Nov., 1642, f.496r.; Ibid., "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.522r.; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.663r.
65. K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.663r.; K.A.1123, "Missive" of Groenewegen, 28 Jan. 1660, f.503v.; K.A.1127, "Verbael" of Bort, f.354r. This Syahbandar was a Muslim merchant residing in Aceh as early as the 1640s.
66. K.A.1051bis, "Copie memorie" of Compostel, f.596r.-v.; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, ff.683v.-684r. See further Chapter VI (section 3).
67. K.A.1127, "Verbael" of Bort, f.354r.
68. K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.554v.; K.A.1068, "Copie daghregister" of Truijtmán, f.197v., 204r.; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.664r.; K.A.1127, "Verbael" of Bort, f.354r.; K.A.1059bis, "Origineel relaes" of van Oudtschoorn, f.542v.
69. K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.501r.; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.567r., 592v.; K.A.1068, "Copie daghregister" of Truijtmán, f.197v., 202v., 204r.-v., 233r.
70. Possibly the existence of a chief inspector of the market reported in 1636, as referred to earlier, is relevant to the commercial activity in the markets in this respect. On the marketplaces, see, for example, Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.147; Graaf, De Reisen, p.13; Bowrey, A Geographical Account, p.322.
71. K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.503r.
72. The VOC records from the 1640s describe the Penghulu Kawal as playing role as chief of the police force, but its number is not given.
73. K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.503r., 510r., 511v., 517v., 518v.; Ibid., "Copie missive", 9 Nov. 1642, f.488r.; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.568v.
74. K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.567r., 568v. The meanings of Keujruën and of Kuala are given in: K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.508r.; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, 567r., 603v.; Ibid., "Origineel

- relaes" of van Oudtschoorn, f.545v.; Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, p.499.
75. K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.579r.; Ibid., "Origineel relaes" of van Oudtschoorn, f.545v.; Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, p.493.
76. Djajadiningrat, Atjèhsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, vol.1, s.v. KOEALA.
77. K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.507r., 508r., 513r.-v., 520v.; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.670r.
78. Iskandar, Bustan, p.63. In the Bustan, this official is recorded as Makota or Makhota Dilamcaya. See also note (52) above. It is probable that Makota may be a corruption of Megat, as the instance in the Hikayat Aceh suggests. (Iskandar, Hikajat Atjèh, p.190)
79. Passim in K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz. and K.A. 1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury.
80. K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.507r., 516v.
81. Ibid., ff.524v.525r.
82. K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.580r.
83. Pires, Suma Oriental, vol.2, pp.264-265.
84. Ibid., loc. cit.; Meilink-Roelofs, Asian Trade, p.41.
85. Brown, Sějarah Mělayu, pp.57-58, 95, 134-135, 272; Pires, Suma Oriental, vol.2, p.285.
86. Pires, Suma Oriental, vol.2, pp.264-265.
87. See note (65) above.
88. Daghregister, Batavia, 1641-1642, p.166; Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, p.98.
89. Daghregister, Batavia, 1663, p.633.
90. Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, p.24 fn.5.
91. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.70; Best, The Voyage, p.52, 54; Beaulieu, "Memoires", p.45; Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.1, p.117; K.A. 1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.567r.; Bowrey, A Geographical Account, p.300.
92. Bowrey, op. cit., pp.301-302. The Cap was always brought to the ship involved in the 17th century, except for on one occasion. In May 1640, Jan de Meere landed on Acehnese soil without the Cap, according to the order given by the Laksamana, acting for Iskandar

Thani who was at that time away from the capital. Yet on the following day, the Cap was brought in ceremonial procession to the customs-house. (K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, ff.103v.-104r.)

93. AA, p.125a.
94. Ibid., p.120a-b.
95. Ibid., pp.119b-120a.
96. Best, The Voyage, p.52; K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, f.1197; K.A.1040, "Missive" of Croocq, 10 Sept. 1640, f.1142; K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, ff.103v.-104r.
97. K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.567r.-v.
The Cap was to be returned to the Acehnese officials after disembarkation at the customshouse. (K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, f.104r.)
98. AA, p.125a.
99. Ibid., p.125a-b.
100. Ibid., p.126a.
101. Ibid., pp.122b-123b, 125a-b. One length of cloth is payable to the Dalam and the Penghulu Kawal each. Six mas (a ship from Gujarat) or four mas (a ship from other places) is required as gifts to the officials involved.
102. Ibid., p.125b.
103. There is little evidence of the dues pertaining to permission to unload and have cargo weighed. According to a Dutch account from 1644, the Dutch presented the Penghulu Kawal with two lengths of cloth. (K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.568v.)
104. AA, pp.134b-135a,168a-b. See further Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, p.25.
105. Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.147; Best, The Voyage, p.50; Bowrey, A Geographical Account, pp.286-287; Dampier, Voyages and Discoveries, p.86.
106. AA, pp.134b-135b; Drewes & Voorhoeve, op. cit., p.25.
107. Ibid., p.162b. The charge is one length of cloth, of a value of one tahil.
108. Ibid., p.132a-b.
109. This appears to be simply due to the fact that for European ships Aceh marked not the end of a voyage but was simply a port of call.

110. AA, p.122b, 124a, 124b.
111. Ibid., p.151a-b, 153b. See also Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, pp.27-28. For example, on the every bale from Gujarat and Bengal two mas is payable, whereas on that from Kalinga one mas.
112. Ibid., p.144b.
113. Ibid., pp.119b-122b.
114. Ibid., loc. cit.
115. Ibid., loc. cit.
116. Ibid., loc. cit.
117. Best, The Voyage, p.52.
118. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.46.
119. Ibid., p.110.
120. K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.568v.
121. AA, pp.126a-130b.
122. Ibid., pp.126a-129a.
123. Ibid., pp.129a-130b.
124. Ibid., p.152b.
125. Best, The Voyage, p.68.
126. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.90.
127. Coolhaas, Coen, vol.7, pt.2, pp.934-935.
128. Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.1, p.117.
129. Ibid., fn.5 on page 117.
130. Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, pp.26-27.
131. Lagerberg, "Some notes on the port of Atjèh"
132. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.109.
133. Ibid., loc. cit.
134. Ibid., p.90, 95.
135. AA, pp.166b-167a.
136. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.109.
137. Ibid., loc. cit.
138. Lancaster, The Voyages, p.160.
139. See note (70) above.
140. AA, p.156a, 161a.
141. Ibid., pp.143b-144a. For example, for a vessel from Gujarat: kain cindai sutra of five cubits length; one from Bengal: a roll of

kain khasa; one from Kalinga: kain tulis; vessels from Malabar, Coromandel and the Maldivé islands: kain tulis mori. However, no mention is made of the cloths required from European ships. For the details of the cloths described in the AA, see Lagerberg, "Some notes on the port of Atjèh".

142. AA, p.124a-b. According to another entry, during the reign of Safiyyat al-Din, another practice was put into force, by which costly gifts should be presented to the Panglima Bandar when he come in person to collect the taxes. (pp.142a-143b; see also Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, p.26)
143. Ibid., pp.151b-152a. This entry is repeated with minor variation on p.162a-b, under the heading adat Penghulu Kerkun.
144. Ibid., pp.122b-124a. In fact, this is not a separate entry but is included in the adat kain ke Dalam, which regulates the various dues in textile fabrics levied on a ship's arrival and departure. Ships from various part of India, except those from Malabar, Coromandel and the Maldivé islands, are required to present the Dalam with a length of cloth. As for the ships from the latter areas, and sloops from Kalinga, Bengal and Gujarat, a special arrangement is in force, the incomplete description of which precludes further comment. No mention is made of the imposition of this due on European ships.
145. Ibid., p.121b. Among the court officials involved is an Orang menaruh Cap i.e. official in charge of affixing the royal Seal.
146. Ibid., pp.122b-124a.
147. Ibid., pp.121b-122a. The entry states that the dues are distributed among the officials concerned, among whom are the officer in charge of affixing the Seal and an orang membawa éseuteumi i.e. official who conveys the royal edict or commands. Although the AA does not specify the form of permit on this occasion or the place where it is to be given into the captain's hands, we know from the contemporary VOC records that the captain had to present himself to the customshouse to receive the Cap embedded in a keris and to fulfil the final procedures for departure. (Letters Received, vol.3, p. 129; K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, f.127r., 142v.; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.679v.; Heeres, Bouwstoffen,

- vol.3, pp.495-496; Bowrey, A Geographical Account, pp.306-307)
148. AA, pp.133a-134b.
149. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.75.
150. Letters Received, vol.3, p.226
151. Ibid., p.129, 224.
152. The clearing dues that the Dutch paid in the 1640s were eight or nine lengths of silk cloth called armosyn. According to the list of presents given by P. Soury, eight lengths of silk cloth (six for the court officials and two for two of the Sultan's servants who brought the Cap), valued then at f.39 (about 3.8 tahil), were required. On another occasion in that year, nine lengths, valued at about four tahil, were paid as dues. (K.A.1051bis, "Specificatie van reecqueningh van schenckagie", f.591r.-v.) About a year later, Soury wrote that the dues were eight lengths of armosyn. (K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.679v.) See also Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, pp.495-496. The fact that the dues paid by the Dutch were rather high compared to those fixed by the AA's entry, may indicate that they probably included four lengths of cloth required for the Dalam.
153. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.110.
154. Letters Received, vol.3, p.129; Bowrey, A Geographical Account, pp.306-307; see also note (147) above.
155. This happened several times during the 1630s and 1640s. For details, see, for example, K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, ff.1226-1227; K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, f.138v., 141r., 142v.; K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.589v.; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.602., 609r.

CHAPTER VI TRADE AND TAXATION

The system of taxation on commerce at the port of the Acehnese capital, Dar al-Salam, was of vital importance for the existence of the Sultanate, not only at the time of its emergence, early in the 16th century, but throughout the years that it remained a major power in the region.

This tax revenue combined with the wealth accruing from the Sultan's rights of preemption and over the pepper-cultivating west coast dependency, to provide the economic basis for the prosperity and power of Aceh during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda and for as long as it remained the centre of the Asian transit trade.

The beginnings of the system are unknown to us. There is extant no information either from the Indian traders of the 16th century, or from the arch-enemy of the Sultanate, the Portuguese. It is only from the early 17th century that a limited amount of information becomes available from Dutch and English sources. Yet they are still far from enough for a full understanding of the system, although indispensable if we are to see developments of the taxation system in Aceh.

The fourth part of the AA, on the other hand, describes very complex different practices relating to this subject, a large part of which derives from the reign of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din.¹ It cannot be denied that many of the customs in practice before her reign have probably been transmitted into their present forms as we see in the AA.²

Given the importance of this taxation system as an integral part of the economic basis of the Acehnese state and the ruler's power, it must have been organized on a stable and continuing basis. This was probably the case, but it is almost impossible to document. For one thing it cannot be taken for granted that the taxation system laid down by the AA holds good for the earlier period, because any system that may be elicited from the AA would be built up on practices spanning over half a century at shortest. Moreover, we cannot rely much on the European sources.

If we take a bird's-eye view of the taxation system set forth in the AA, we see that it has three main components, i.e. import duties, exceptional imposition of duties on export of elephants and horses, and river tolls and weighing charges.

The charges are applicable whether the ship involved is travelling eastwards or westwards. There was considerable sophistication in the imposition of charges, and different rates were imposed on different categories of merchandise. In addition, because the Acehnese of the time attached different importance to particular items of import and export, such as rice, slaves and elephants, separate and specific rules were put in force for these different items.

However, as for the import duties, the AA is not always clear due to some problems of terminology and to the lack of some relevant entries. The terms used are cukai, ^cusyur

(dalam bandar) and bawab (or bōb ?, Panglima Bandar). Cukai (literally means import duty) is a word referring specifically to import duties imposed on textile fabrics and general goods packed both in bale and in case imported.³ U^cusyur, a port tax, was levied on all goods imported from abroad and assessed by the port authorities.⁴ Bawab, it seems, was a tax of 10% charged on goods that the port authorities were not able to assess as to their values.⁵ In other words, the U^cusyur was something like flat ad valorem taxes, and the bawab ad hoc specific duties of 10% in modern systems.

Although the AA gives in great detail those items of merchandise liable for tax, it does not state what items were difficult to be assessed at that time. All we can be sure of is that the U^cusyur and bawab (which supplements the U^cusyur) had an important role and constituted central principles in the taxation system of the time.

Taxes, then, were imposed upon goods. They were levied upon both the merchants and ship's officers concerned, and the captain of the ship in his capacity as representative of the owner of the vessel. A sort of surtax paid by the captain was called ka^didah. It was calculated as 10% of the U^cusyur imposed upon the goods imported by the merchants and ship's officers.⁶

It should be noted that the AA gives no mention of export duties levied on goods from Aceh other than elephants and horses. This was a very different situation from that

prevailing in Aceh in the early 19th century, when Anderson, in his book Acheen and the ports on the North and East coast of Sumatra, lists export duties, together with rules relating to trade, issued by Sultan Jauhar al-^cAlam in 1820.⁷

The second principal feature of the taxation system is the river tolls and the weighing charges. The river tolls had two components: charges for the use of the waterway when unloading ship's cargoes and loading goods purchased in the port Dar al-Salam, and those levied on merchandise itself.⁸ Weighing charges were also payable on incoming and outgoing merchandise,⁹ and for this service there were Syahbandars charged with the weighing, as we have already seen in Chapter V.

Before going into the details of the taxation system in Aceh during our period, it is worth while looking briefly at the practices in Malacca in the era of the Sultans and in Pasai at the beginning of the 16th century.

In Malacca, prior to the actual trading, custom duties had to be paid. Differential tariff rates were levied on imports according to the land of origin of the ship involved. For example, the vessels from India and western Asia were required to pay import duties of 6%, while those from the East of Malacca paid no duties on imports (at a later period however, duties of 5% seem to have been imposed on ship's cargoes other than foodstuffs). As for the method of assessment of the value of the ship's cargoes, a committee consisting

of a group of merchants under the direction of the head of the customhouse assessed them as a whole in accordance with fixed standards. No duties were imposed on exports from Malacca by any vessel. However, weighing charges of 1% had to be paid on all incoming and outgoing merchandise.¹⁰

The practice in Pasai described by Tomé Pires early in the 16th century is similar to that of Malacca. Duties on imports from the west were 6%, except for on foodstuffs for which the authorities simply claimed gifts. On every slave imported five mas of gold were levied as import duties. One mas was charged as weighing charges for every bahar of outgoing merchandise from Pasai.¹¹

1. Import Duties

As mentioned above, the way of imposing import duties was hybrid in nature. It is now appropriate to discuss the terminology of import duties found in the AA in more detail.

Cukai denotes 'import duty' in the proper sense of the word. According to the relevant part of the AA, it was imposed on bales containing goods and on general goods (yang rincik2).¹² However, we are told by an entry concerning the duties on general goods, entitled adat bawab yang rincik2, that on bales of general goods from abroad the cukai is dutiable and that on those items of goods not liable for the c^cusyur the bawab Panglima Bandar (a duty of 10%) is imposed.¹³ This would seem to mean that on top either of the c^cusyur or the bawab,

the import duty known as cukai was to be paid on import. Thus, it appears, in so far as the AA tells us, that taxation on imports was probably dual, namely the cukai, and either the ^cusyur or the bawab were payable.

It is unfortunate, however, that there exists no contemporary European account which substantiates this dual taxation system on imports, in particular the cukai. Even allowing that the cukai was really levied on imports, its tariff rate was approximately 1%, and it can be said that the ^cusyur cum the bawab was the basic infrastructure and essential framework of the overall taxation system of imports.

^cUsyur literally means 'tithe', but it is not fully appropriate to take the literal meaning of what the word 'tithe' does really mean.¹⁴ According to the Bustan, this charge was instituted by Sultan Iskandar Muda.¹⁵ In 1621 Beaulieu gives us an account supporting this statement in the Bustan, as we shall see later. There is no supporting evidence, however, as to when it was first imposed.

The word bawab obviously derives from the Arabic for 'a doorman' or 'a gatekeeper'. But its usage in the AA, in such combinations as bawab Panglima Bandar and bawab dacing, shows that it should be taken in the sense that of abwāb denoting 'field or domain' or 'class or category'.¹⁶ Moreover, as we shall see later, in some entries of the AA, it is used to denote, in effect, a duty. It should be interpreted according to the context it occurs.

It will be recalled that to particular items of import distinct and specific rules applied. Particular goods meant here are, among others, rice and slaves. It is quite natural and reasonable that special treatment was given in the AA to rice, the staple food of Aceh, and to slaves as an important source of manpower for the Sultanate which suffered serious loss of manpower in its wars against Portuguese Malacca.

Now, let us look at the system of taxation in more detail.

i. ^cUshur dalam Bandar, a port tax

An entry of the AA, entitled adat ^cusyur dalam bandar may be summarized as follows:

Vessels of all types which call at the port Dar al-Salam for the purpose of trading, whether a kapal (ship), a sulub (sloop) or a kundra (or gundra, a type of South-Indian vessel) are liable for tax. After having concluded their business, merchants are required to apply to the customhouse for an assessment of the duty they are to be charged. This assessment is to be made to the satisfaction of the customhouse officials in conformity with established practice. First, the total cost-price of the merchandise imported is calculated, and then multiplied by 1½. This is the figure upon which the assessment is made.

European ships are required to pay charges of six tahil four mas on every 100 tahil (thus 6.25%), for they are exempted from anchorage fees; vessels from Gujarat and Bengal, regardless of whether they are Muslim or Hindu, have to pay five tahil

four mas (5.25%), and those from Malabar, Coromandel and the Maldivé islands five tahil (5%).¹⁷

Curiously enough, the duty levied from merchants and officers of the ship concerned was only assessed in answer to their application for an assessment after the conclusion of their business,¹⁸ not immediately after their merchandise had been brought to the customhouse to be registered which we have already seen was the custom. This implies that they were free to begin trading as soon as the registration had been completed. A possible explanation for this practice is that the bringing of the royal seal when a captain applied for permission to land his ship's cargoes and come ashore, as we have already seen in Chapter V, was a token gesture to free trade.

The assessment of the cusyur was made solely by Acehnese customs officers on the respective merchants as well as on the ship's officers who also had a share in the ship's hold, without any participation from merchants. This method of assessment is different from that in Malacca noted earlier and foreign merchants in Aceh might have been more liable to extortion by the customs officers than those in Malacca.

Jan Harmansz., the chief Dutch factor in Aceh, in his report to Batavia in 1645, refers to procedures for evaluating the cargo at that time. All merchandise, he says, was first brought to the customhouse and then valued by the clerks in accordance with the market price, upon which the assessment

of customs was based.¹⁹ However, he does not refer to the process of multiplying the cost-price as is given in the AA. Beaulieu however does note this in 1621. According to him, both the English and Dutch were required to meet a tax of 7% in kind out of the merchandise they unloaded, whereas Muslims had to pay the same tax in gold according to the valuation made by the customs officers, a valuation which was usually appraised a 50% higher than the real value of their goods.²⁰

From these indigenous and European accounts, even though they are not wholly compatible one with another, it would seem that the assessment of the c_{usyur} was made by the port authorities under the superintendence of the Panglima Bandar; and that it seems that the explanation of these procedures is that merchants were wont to undervalue their goods, and that the customs officers, unable to assess the cost-price, worked out a market price for the goods to be imported, on which the c_{usyur} was then charged. This means that the assessment based on the cost-price multiplied by $1\frac{1}{4}$ (according to the AA) or by $1\frac{1}{2}$ (according to Beaulieu) may have been the original method of assessing the c_{usyur} in order simply to allow for the difference in price between the cost-price and the market price. And this eventually led to the adoption of the market price standard for its assessment.

The rates of the c_{usyur} prescribed by the AA, i.e. for European ships 6.25%, for vessels from Gujarat and Bengal 5.25% and for those from other parts of India and the Maldives

islands 5%, appear not high,²¹ provided they were applied as stated.

Although there exist some treaties of commerce and contracts for trade concluded between the Sultans of Aceh and English or Dutch in the first decade of the 17th century, they do not refer to the c_{us}ur.²² But relatively definite information about it is available in Iskandar Muda's time.

Iskandar Muda, in his letter to James I of England in 1616, writes that "for custom I am to have 7 per cento inward and outward, and for ever hereafter to expect the same and no more or less".²³ Further, in his royal decree sent to the west coast of Sumatra, he commands the Panglima Tiku that "for custom take 7 per cento out and in, according to late custom, and so hereafter continue in taking the same custom out and in. Let no man take more".²⁴ The imposition of this duty was introduced, in fact, in 1615 in exchange for concessions in the pepper trade of the west coast dependency to the English.²⁵ Later, in 1618, these new duties were also levied on the Dutch who took the place of the English in that year.²⁶

As for the duties imposed on imports by Indian Muslims, Beaulieu states that "Muslims pay nothing on exports, but on imports however they are ill treated."²⁷ As we have seen, for Muslim merchants the import duty was 7% in gold on 150% of the cost-price. Another piece of information is provided by the Daghregister. According to an entry on 6 December 1632,

Iskandar Muda promised to reduce the level of taxation charged on the Dutch to that charged on imports by the Gujaratis, i.e. from 7% to 5% both on imports and on exports.²⁸ This fact is substantially verified by Harmansz's report referred to above. In his description of the trade of Indian merchants - unfortunately this does not include the Gujaratis - in Aceh for the period 1644-1645, he notes that a customs duty of 5.25% based on a market price standard was imposed equally on the cargoes of seven vessels from Bengal and the Coromandel and Malabar coasts.²⁹

It is unsafe to draw any decisive conclusions from these very limited number of European accounts of the cusyur in Aceh at that time. The following points, however, deserve to be noted. As all the reports imply, differential tariff rates were imposed on foreign merchants according to their nationality. These differential rates gave Muslim merchants an advantage over European. The situation is rather more complex than the description in the AA which says simply that the Europeans were exempted from anchorage charges. It seems that Iskandar Muda took advantage both of the English and of the Dutch as new comers and interlopers in Aceh's trade, which had long been in the hands of Indian merchants, not only of Muslims but also Hindus. In addition, judging from Beaulieu's account, the Daghregister information regarding the tariff of 5%, and Harmansz.'s account, there can be little doubt that Indian merchants did pay import duty of 5-5.25%, even though

Beaulieu gives a higher rate (7.5%). The fact that in so far as the merchants from India are concerned, there is very little inconsistency between the indigenous and contemporary European sources leads to the supposition that Sultan Iskandar Muda continued taxation procedures imposed on Indian shipping before his reign and instituted the ^cusyur dalam bandar by the middle of his reign.

On what items of merchandise was the ^cusyur levied? As mentioned earlier, the AA gives a list of a considerable number of dutiable goods. The entry of the AA with the heading adat bawab Panglima Bandar contains the dutiable merchandise and relevant additional description about the way of application. The list includes not only merchandise imported to Aceh but also the goods produced both in the Sultanate and its dependencies, as we shall see later. According to the additional description, on those goods that are valued at the customhouse the ^cusyur are levied, whereas on those not valued and sold by measure or weight or by the piece, the bawab Panglima Bandar (a duty of 10%) is imposed.³⁰ If a comparison is made between the items listed in this entry and those in the adat bawab dacing (i.e. practice concerning weighing dues),³¹ it becomes clear that almost all the items listed in the adat bawab Panglima Bandar are those which have to be weighed, counted or measured. Yet this does not solve the problem as to what items of goods were really charged the ^cusyur. It may be suggested, however, based on the report

of Harmansz. referred to above, that various kinds of textile shipped in bale from India have possibly been the major items liable for the imposition of the ^cusyur.

In connection with the ^cusyur, mention should be made of taxes levied on the trade carried on by officers of the ship, and of the imposition of the surtax of 10% levied on the owner of the ship or the captain.³² Not much is known about the details of Indian shipping at that time, except that usually crew members, particularly the officers, did at least have a share in the ship's hold or in the cargo and were allowed to trade on their own accounts.³³ The AA is not very helpful in this regard either. Those mentioned in it are a nakhoda besar or owner of the ship, a nakhoda kecil or kabitan i.e. captain, a kerani i.e. a clerk/accountant who keeps the records of the ship, and a sarkar or manager (?).³⁴ The ^cusyur was also levied on their merchandise and it was the responsibility of the sarkar to arrange payment.³⁵

As for the surtax, it is the obligation of the captain to pay this, and it is assessed on the basis of 10% of the total ^cusyur paid by the merchants on board his ship and the sarkar. This surtax is termed the ka^ḍidah,³⁶ though in another entry, entitled orang yang meneria ka^ḍidah (i.e. those who are entitled to receive the ka^ḍidah), this surtax is called ^cusyur-^cusyur, and the ^cusyur dalam bandar is called kira-kira ^cusyur. In this entry it is said that the owner of the ship is required to pay this surtax.³⁷ These two accounts show that the owner

of the ship or, if he is not present on the voyage as is often the case, the captain as the owner's representative, is required to meet this surtax, and that it is distributed among the port officials, whereas the c^usyur dalam bandar itself is paid to the Sultan.

The sole European account relating to this surtax is provided again by Beaulieu. He notes that "for the tax of the officers of the customhouse, which they call Cayda and is newly introduced, at the ratio of 10% of the King's tax [of 7%]".³⁸ Undoubtedly, he is referring to the ka^oidah of AA, and his information shows that Iskandar Muda was the initiator of this surtax. Thus, it can be concluded, on the basis of this information and the argument advanced above about the c^usyur, that the ka^oidah was inseparable from the c^usyur, both forming a single item of taxation which was most likely introduced not earlier than the middle of Iskandar Muda's reign.

ii. Bawab (or bōb) Panglima Bandar, ad hoc specific duty of 10% on import

As noted above, the adat bawab Panglima Bandar describes specific duty of 10% imposed by the Panglima Bandar on merchandise, the value of which the port authorities are not able to assess.³⁹ In other words the bawab Panglima Bandar is levied on the goods that are not charged the c^usyur. It will be recalled however that because of absence of any clear

indication in the AA of what items of merchandise were then difficult to be valued by the port authorities, it is difficult for us to gain a clear picture of the taxation system of imports.

This entry lists more than 90 items of merchandise, including both foreign and local products. This great variety of goods listed illustrates clearly the role of the port Dar al-Salam as an important entrepot for Asian trade. The list does not state the provenance of these goods. Even though this lack of information necessitates further comparative study, based on European sources, for a better understanding of the actual international trade of Aceh at that time, nevertheless this list does provide us with invaluable data on the influx of goods into Aceh in the middle of the 17th century.

A couple of points deserve special mention. One is the inclusion of local products; the other is the figures that appear in it.

As for the inclusion of local products, we should recall that among the various ports of the Sultanate and its dependencies only the port Dar al-Salam was open to foreign merchants, so that local products offered for export, such as pepper, camphor, benzoin and resin, had to be brought to the capital.⁴⁰ Also, it should be noted that it seems of little use to classify the merchandise listed into either 'import' or 'export' items, because the trade of Aceh in our period was essentially transit and most of the goods imported would

probably have been re-exported.⁴¹

For the first eight items in the list figures are given. However, these figures are unlikely to indicate the respective prices or duties. It is almost impossible to discover what they mean. One possibility is that these rather obscure figures seem to denote weighing dues, for the same figures are also found in the adat bawab dacing which comes immediately after this entry.⁴²

The merchandise listed consists of products from several productive categories.⁴³ The list can be broken up into four categories. These categories are: a) forest products, b) agricultural products, c) mining or mineral and manufactured products and d) miscellaneous. It is worth while to look at these in some detail.

a. Forest products

Products in this category can be divided into two groups, i.e. aromatic or fragrant wood and drugs, and gum and perfumery.

The first group includes: Siamese agalloch (gaharu Siam), sapan wood (sapang), sandalwood (cendana), aloe wood (Aceh. galagarō), Chinese smilax (Aceh. peudang), Albizzia myriophylla (akar manis), root of Saussurea lappa (pucuk), bulbs of Ligusticum acutilobum (ganti), Massoia aromatica bark (mesui) and asafetida (hinggu). The second group comprizes: white and black benzoin (kemenyan putih, kemenyan hitam), catechu (kacu), colophonium (gandarukam)-resin, strax oil (minyak rasamala),

damar (damar), camphor (kapur), pitch (cin) and incense sold by weight (kemenyan yang ditimbang).

b. Agricultural products

This classification includes spices and miscellaneous products.

Spices enumerated in the list are: cloves (bunga lawang), pepper (lada), cardamon (kapur laga), cayenne pepper (Aceh. campil puta) and cinnamon (kulit manis).

Miscellaneous products consists of : opium (apium), tea (cah), coffee (bun), red dye (kesumba), dates (khurma), almonds (buah badam), wine (anggur), indigo (senam), hemp of nilam (*Pogostemon heyneanus*) leaves, silk (sutra), peeled and cleft pinang-nuts (pinang kacib) and Chinese tobacco in baskets (Aceh. bakōng Cina sekeranjang)

c. Mining or mineral and manufactured products

Products belonging to this classification include: copper (tembaga), vermilion (sedilinggam), alum (tawas), borax (pijar), saltpetre (mesiu), tin (timah putih) lead (timah hitam), orpiment (hartal), pig iron (besi apam), sheet iron (besi lantai), saltpetre (sendawa), sal ammoniac (nausyadar), sulphur (tanah cempaka), red clay (Aceh. tanòh mirah) and copper sulphate (terasi); gunpowder (obat bedil), mirrors (cermin), wax (lilin), nails (Aceh. labang), sheet steel (Aceh. meulila kulit), coco-fibre rope (tali sabut), chewing tobacco (Aceh. bakōng meulila),

soap (sabun), sugar (sakar), powdered sugar (sakar lumat), confectionary (Aceh. nabeuët), fans (kipas), fuses (tunam), sweets (juadah), cooking oil in jars (minyak barang guci), Pegu earthen pots (guci Pegu), jugs (rutu), dishes and bowles of earthenware (pinggang batu, mangko batu), rose water in casks (air mawar peti-peti putar) and bales (bandela) of cotton and cloth from Gujarat, Bengal and the Kalinga region.

d. Miscellaneous

The goods in this category include: ivory (gading), walrus-tusks (dandan), lac (ambalu), gall-nuts (manjakani), beads (manik), bird's nest (sarang burung), red coral (Aceh. pulam) and amber (ambar).

The bawab Panglima Bandar is not referred to in any contemporary European accounts. Nevertheless, the facts that the most basic imposition of duties on imports was the ^cusyur dalam Bandar, as have already seen; that the rate of the bawab Panglima (10%) is relatively high compared to that of the ^cusyur (5-6.25%); and that the actual instance of import duties levied on the Muslim vessels from India in the year 1644-45, as mentioned earlier, suggest that this bawab Panglima Bandar had simply a secondary importance, supplementing the ^cusyur dalam Bandar in cases where merchandise could not be properly valued.

iii. Taxes on specific items of import

As mentioned earlier in this section, special arrangements

apply to certain items of merchandise imported. This we learn from the AA, which singles out for special attention what is categorized as general goods, stockfish, a special product of the Maldivian islands, rice and slaves. Although these practices were relatively minor importance in the overall system of taxation on imports and the proportion of total revenue they provided was relatively small, nevertheless these items were very important for the state, since they had implication for food, and thus for labour supply. Since this was the case, they present us with invaluable data for a reconstruction of the whole system at that time.

a. Bawab yang rincik2, the duty charged on general goods

The practice referred to as adat bawab yang rincik2 is concerned with the duty charged on general goods from various parts of India and other places. An entry of the AA under this heading enumerates only few items of goods, but does not give further indication of what the term yang rincik2 means. The terms bāndela(bale) and peutōë puta (Aceh., case) which occur in this entry are ambiguous and problematic, because these terms may simply have been the major packing techniques at that time. This question is crucial to our understanding of the whole system of taxation on imports.

The relevant passage in the AA may be summarized as follows:

As for the duty on general goods, on goods from Gujarat and Bengal, four mas on every bale, one mas on every case, and on every case of rosewater two bottles of rose water are payable;

on those from Kalinga and other countries, two mas on every bale, one mas on every case, and on every piece of steel foil and basket of Chinese tobacco, two mas are charged. On other miscellaneous goods included in this category, if they are not liable to the ^cusyur dalam Bandar, the bawab rate of 10% is charged. For shoes one pair out of ten imported has to be paid in kind. As for the paper, 10% of sheets of paper imported has to be given to the royal scribe Raja Setia Muda.⁴⁴

Apparently, these goods were packed in bales or cases, but it is not known what other goods were contained in bales and cases. In fact, in the AA bales of general goods are distinguished from those in bales imported from India and other places. In addition to this, there exists in the AA one instance of the use of bandela occurring in a compound, namely bandela kapas i.e. a bale of cotton,⁴⁵ and among the dutiable merchandise listed in the adat bawab Panglima Bandar are bales from Gujarat, Bengal and Kalinga, as we have seen. It may be assumed from this internal evidence that there were two kinds of bale, one possibly containing various kinds of Indian textile, - upon which either the ^cusyur dalam Bandar or the bawab Panglima Bandar is dutiable -, and the other cotton and other general goods, which were liable for taxation according to this specific practice.⁴⁶ However, owing to the absence of relevant European sources on this question, no further details are available to us.

b. The import taxes on kembal emas (stockfish)

Generally speaking, the dietary pattern of a community is

slow to change. In the 17th century it seems that stockfish, together with rice and vegetable, was a staple food in Aceh. Of stockfish and eating habits of the Acehnese, Thomas Forrest has this to say in the second half of the 18th century:

"Many Maldivia [i.e. Maldive] boats come yearly to Acheen, and bring chiefly dried bonneta in small pieces about 2 or 3 ounces; this is a sort of staple article of commerce, and many shops in the Bazar deal in it only, having large quantities piled up, put in matt (sic) bags. It is, when properly cured, hard like horn in the middle; when kept wrong the worms get to it. I am told it is cured at the Maldivia Islands by the sun only. They [i.e. Acehnese] are so fond of fish diet, as Malays in general are."⁴⁷

It was still so at the end of the 19th century.⁴⁸ Kembal emas imported from the Maldive islands is a special product of the Maldives. It is a dried tuna or mackrel, first cooked and then dried and commonly known among the Acehnese as keumamaih.⁴⁹

There are three entries in the AA concerning the import of this stockfish. These entries are headed adat kembal emas, adat terambil bawab kembal emas and adat terambil [kembal emas belian]. The first two concern duties on the import of stockfish, while the latter concerns a kind of gifts of these fish customary to be presented to the Sultan and the port authorities. In addition, the first two entries have complementary descriptions respectively, entitled adat terbahagi i.e. the way in which this duty is to be distributed.

The adat kembalikan emas states that the duty to be paid on stockfish that is imported to be sold by measure. The duty is 600 kal (1 kal: a measure of half a coco-nutshell) for each Acehnese sampan employed in the unloading, which is to be distributed among the royal scribes and the customs officers - the Panglima Bandar and the Penghulu Kawal excluded.⁵⁰

However, we find that the adat terambil bawab kembalikan emas states that the duty on its import is payable 820 kal for each sampan, and is to be distributed among the royal scribes and the port authorities, including the Panglima Bandar and the Penghulu Kawal.⁵¹

The adat terambil [kembalikan emas belian] describes how much is due as gifts to the court on one hand, and to the Panglima Bandar and the Penghulu Kawal on the other, calculated according to the type of vessels that bring the stockfish. Ships are required to present eight diwa (1 diwa = 150 kati) to the court and three diwa to each of the officials. In the case of a sloop the gifts are six diwa, and two diwa respectively, while for kundra or gundra (South-Indian vessel) it is four diwa, and one diwa to each of them. These gifts, it is stated, can be paid in money or in lieu of money, in kind, one diwa of stockfish being valued at five tahil (at the rate of seven tahil for one bungkal gold).⁵²

Unfortunately little is known about the design of the Acehnese sampan, particularly its loading capacity. But, as the word sampan suggests, it would have been a small, long

and narrow craft with shallow draft used for fishing and the transport of goods. Its freight tonnage therefore must have been small. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that if this were the case, the duties fixed both by the adat kembal emas and the adat terambil kembal emas seem unreasonably heavy, for each sampan the total duty amounting to 1420 kal of stockfish. Moreover, amount expected as gifts is very large, for ships bringing the total to 1365 kg., for sloops to 975 kg. and for South-Indian vessels to 585 kg.⁵³ However, it seems odd that two very similar practices, that is the adat kembal emas and the adat terambil bawab kembal emas, were in force at the same time. As we shall see later, in contrast to the three descriptions in the AA of stockfish, the AA describes only two requirements in respect of the import of rice, corresponding apparently to the adat terambil bawab kembal emas and the adat terambil [kembal emas belian]. It seems therefore more reasonable to assume that only these two practices concerning the import of stockfish were enforced at one given time, and that the adat terambil bawab kembal emas was replaced later by the adat kembal emas, whereby the Panglima Bandar and the Penghulu Kawal were no longer its beneficiaries.

Since Europeans did not deal in stockfish, which had no importance to them, no information on the subject is available. In Harmansz.'s report in 1645, however, there is a vignette of this trade and of the imposition of duty. He says that "a vessel from Bengal which had loaded comble maes - a certain

type of dried fish, dried as hard as wood - in the Maldivian islands, came to Aceh and put them on the market and did good business, after having paid a sum of 50 tahil as import duty".⁵⁴ No further details of the various duties paid on stockfish are available to us.

c. The import taxes on rice

As in the Malay Peninsula and other islands of the Archipelago, the staple food in Aceh is rice. If this is not fully supplied from the hinterland, it must be imported. It is of vital significance for a state to secure stable and adequate supplies of its staple food to support its subjects.

The AA describes the import duties on rice under the headings adat terambil bawab [beras] and adat terambil belian beras. The former entry concerns the collection of import duty on rice, while the latter one relates to a kind of sales tax on rice when it is sold in the port.

According to the adat terambil bawab [beras], the duty levied on rice brought as merchandise from foreign countries is 21 arè (arè is a cubic measure in Aceh, the bamboo mentioned in various European accounts, equivalent to about 1.75 litre) for each Acehnese sampan unloaded. This charge is distributed among the officials of the port authorities.⁵⁵

As for the adat terambil belian beras, this refers to the charges imposed on the sale of rice when it has been landed. These amount to the value of six kuyan of rice (1 kuyan = 1,600

are) deducted from the total value of rice sold in the port, the value of four kuyan going to the royal household and 1 kuyan each to the Panglima Bandar and the Penghulu Kawal.⁵⁶

Unfortunately, the latter entry does not specify on what basis the charges were calculated. It is however possible to estimate the unit of assessment. By comparison with an entry concerning the levy on slaves imported,⁵⁷ it can be suggested that it may have been 100 kuyan of rice, that is to say, the merchants dealing in rice are charged 6% in total of the volume of their dealing.

Reference to these charges and duties is not found in European sources. But this does not follow that they were not imposed. In fact, in such state as the Sultanate of Aceh which always suffered from shortages of rice, as we shall see below, it would be extraordinary if rice alone was non-dutiable.

For a full understanding of the implication of these charges and duties imposed on the import of rice it is necessary to look at domestic rice production in the Sultanate during our period.

As early as the turn of the 16th century Pidie seems to have been the granary of Aceh.⁵⁸ Early accounts say that the land had fertile soil suitable for agriculture. The technique of rice cultivation at the time seems to have been a dry rice-field cultivation.⁵⁹ Despite the fertility of soil,

the Acehnese, it is reported, were not diligent in producing rice,⁶⁰ and consequently their efficiency in growing it was not great. Indeed, in 1621 Beaulieu states:

"the land (territoire) of his [i.e. Iskandar Muda's] principal city is not sufficiently cultivated for [supplying] the inhabitants with food; so that a great portion of the rice comes from abroad."⁶¹

This is also the case more than 60 years later. In referring to the Acehnese social life, William Dampier remarks:

".....and of late they have sown pretty large Fields of Rice. This thrives here well enough; but they are so proud, that is against their Stomack to work: neither do they themselves much trouble their Heads about it, but leave it to be managed by their Slaves: and they were the Slaves brought lately by the English and Danes from the Coast of Coromandel, in Time of a Famine there,, who first brought this sort of Husbandary into such Request among the Achinese. Yet neither does the Rice they have this way supply one Quarter of their Occasions, but they have it brought from their Neighbouring Countries."⁶²

It is inferred from these accounts that the failure to achieve self-sufficiency of rice is ascribable, to a certain extent, to the negligence of the Acehnese in their rice production. In addition, it is notable that active cultivation introducing a new technique as implicitly mentioned - probably

in the hinterland of the Acehnese capital - was far from capable of meeting the demand of the urban population at that time. Furthermore, the situation Dampier describes, it is to be noted, took place after the Dutch-backed independence of Deli towards the end of the reign of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din, as we have already seen in Chapter II (section 3, subsection iii).⁶³

Yet Beaulieu relates that Pidie yielded great quantities of rice and was called the granary of Aceh.⁶⁴ In so far as the land under the direct control of the royal household was concerned, there was no room for such negligence in its cultivation. Besides tributes, Iskandar Muda, Beaulieu says, amassed a great portion of the rice produced in his domain every year, because he had large areas of land leased to his subjects, who were in return obliged to deliver to him a certain quantity of rice regardless of the size of their harvest. As a result, they had to incessantly strive for their own support as well as for the payment of fixed royal land-tax.⁶⁵

Besides these areas, Pasai and Daya were also rice-producing areas of the Sultanate.⁶⁶ According to Beaulieu, it appears that the region between Pasai and Deli on the east coast of Sumatra was another important source of rice. Deli was reconquered by the Acehnese in 1612 and became an important dependency of Aceh.⁶⁷

An account from a later period reported that Deli could

annually export 300 or 400 lasts or rice (1 last = 20 pikuls, 1 pikul is equivalent to about 60 kg.).⁶⁸

Regarding the shipment of rice from Pidie and Deli to the capital, there is a report written in 1653 by van Oudtschoorn, twice appointed as a Dutch envoy to Aceh in the middle 1640s.⁶⁹ Envisaging a recourse to force against Aceh, he emphasizes the necessity for cutting off the supply of rice:

"[After having drawn off Dutch factors in Aceh], we, together with all our naval forces employed for this operation, are to advance along the east coast of Sumatra by sea to Dilly [i.e. Deli], which is situated 50 miles [probably German miles, 1 German mile is about 7.4 km.] to the south of Aceh and subordinate to Aceh, and from which place Aceh obtains rice and many vessels,; then put the same place to rout all at once by speedy invasion, and ruin and destroy all the crops in the fields as well as vessels; [when this operation has been carried out in Deli] we must promptly proceed northward to Pedier [i.e. Pidie] before the news [of our action reaches there]; Pedier too is a vassal of the monarchy and is situated 12 miles away from Aceh, and from there much rice is transported to Aceh; in Pedier we will commence the same operation as that proposed for Dilly. Afterwards we will advance to Aceh and blockade the [Aceh] river.; meanwhile, some small vessels must be left behind at Pedier and Dilly for the same purpose,; but in particular scrupulous

attention must be paid to the boats laden with rice bound for Aceh in order to dispossess the monarchy of that grain, a monarchy that can hardly feed herself, and by this manoeuvre the monarchy is to be driven to extremity,, because on one hand the monarchy is accommodated with rice by these places, Pedier and Dilly, but even so, both Pedier and Dilly are far from capable of supplying the monarchy with enough provisions. Indeed, a supplement must be brought from other places....."⁷⁰

Probably based on this advice on van Oudtschoorn, the Dutch brought a naval blockade of the Aceh harbour into effect in 1656.

During the two month blockade, out of 33 vessels from Deli loaded with rice and padi, 16 were taken as prize while vessels of large size were grounded and caught fire.⁷¹ According to the Daghregister 1656-1657, the rice confiscated from the 16 captive vessels amounted to 118 lasts.⁷² This quantity of rice confiscated suggests that at the very least about 250 lasts of rice were shipped from Deli in that year. This seems to confirm the estimate of annual rice export of 300 or 400 lasts from Deli referred to above. Furthermore, the importance of Deli as rice supplying region to the Sultanate leads to the assumption that the Acehnese reconquest of Deli in 1612, which had got rid of the Acehnese yoke sometime during the reign of Sultan ^cAla al-Din Ri^cayat Syah (1589-1604),⁷³ may have been partly motivated by the necessity to secure this source of supply. In addition, it has been noted earlier in Chapter II

that the Panglima were stationed in Deli, Pidie and Daya to promote the collection of tribute and land-tax in form of various local products.

This is all we know of domestic rice production, for which there is scarcity of relevant information. But it is certain that this local rice production, including that of east coast dependency, could not achieve self-sufficiency for the Sultanate. This leads us to conclude that imports of rice from abroad were essential to the very existence of the Sultanate.⁷⁴

d. The tax on slaves

Aceh was not always victorious in her campaigns in the 16th and 17th centuries. This is particularly true of its several expeditions to Malacca. The campaign of 1629 resulted in a fatal defeat for the Acehnese costing enormous loss of life.⁷⁵ Even in victorious campaigns over the states of Malay and the east coast of Sumatra, it is however certain that many Acehnese fell victim.

The other important reason for the drain of manpower was a struggle for power or the Acehnese throne. According to Beaulieu, for the period 1589-1607 more than 100,000 Acehnese, including numerous nobility, lost their lives in the political turmoils.⁷⁶

Prisoners of war taken in the Malay states and Sumatra during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda were brought to Aceh undoubtedly for the purpose of making up these losses.⁷⁷ This

apart, trade in slaves seems to have been another important source of manpower recruitment. The special attention in the AA to the import duty on slaves may be an indication that a large number of slaves was brought to Aceh by foreign merchants in the first half of the 17th century (and perhaps in the second half of the previous century too).

The AA contains an entry entitled adat pada tebusan i.e. a description of the duty on slaves.⁷⁸ This entry is very brief, and reads as follows:

As for the practice concerning the duty charged on the import of slaves: for those who import slaves, up to the value of 18 slaves for every hundred is payable, 16 going to the royal household and 2 to the Panglima Bandar.⁷⁹

Unfortunately, as in the case of rice, information about the imposition of duty on slaves is lacking in the European sources. It is however worthy of note that the tariff of 18% is very high when compared to that applied to other items of merchandise, e.g. about 6% on rice and the bawab Panglima Bandar of 10%, and to the practice in Pasai to impose 5 mas of gold on each slave as import duty, as noted earlier. We may infer from this high rate that a considerable importance was attached to slaves and to the role that slaves played in Acehnese social and economic life, particularly in the court circle at the time, and that a large number of slaves was imported to Aceh by foreign merchants in the first half of the 17th century (and perhaps in the second half of the previous century too) all of which will be further discussed in section (4) below.

2. Export Duties

We have noted in the bird's-eye view of the system of taxation that in principle duties were not imposed on exports from the port Dar al-Salam and that the imposition of duty on the export of elephants and horses was an exceptional practice. Moreover, as we have pointed out in section (1), export duty of 7% levied on Europeans in exchange for the commercial privileges granted to them in the pepper trade of the west coast dependency too was an exception to this principle.

As in the case for specific items of import, for which the AA makes special arrangements in respect to the imposition of import duty, this exceptional imposition of export duty suggests that both elephants and horses had an important role in the Sultanate, not simply as living merchandise.

European observers relate that the Aceh of the 17th century abounded with elephants,⁸⁰ and the Acehnese often went on elephant hunts. Horses, on the other hand, are exotic to the Malay-Indonesian world and were most probably brought by Indian merchants. They were widely used as domestic animals but were rarely found wild.⁸¹ It is known that from as early as the beginning of the 16th century Periaman exported horses to Sunda.⁸² Those mentioned in various European accounts of 17th century Aceh were imported to Aceh by Indian merchants.

Both elephant and horses were very useful. We have seen

in Chapter II that the elephants and horses possessed by the court were an important component of the Acehnese land force. Furthermore, horses and tame elephants were indispensable for the Sultanate on state and religious ceremonial occasions, as we have seen in Chapter IV. This indicates that state elephants and horses were in fact one of the symbols of royal power, and consequently the use of these animals was royal prerogative.

i. Duties on the export of elephants

It has been noted that the exceptional imposition of export duties applied to elephants. The AA contains entries on the export duty levied on elephants, termed adat gajah, and the way it is distributed, called adat terbahagi. The adat gajah states: As for the duty on every elephant when taken on board ship for export by the captain or merchants concerned, it is necessary to pay as a duty a sum of 23 tahil 8 mas for every elephant. The sum collected is distributed among the port officials, including the Panglima Bandar, according to fixed proportion.⁸³

Although the AA does not mention when this export duty was introduced, internal evidence in the fourth part suggests that it may have already been an established practice by the early years of the reign of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din.⁸⁴ Unfortunately, no other indigenous sources relevant to this duty are available, although both the Hikayat Aceh and the

third part of the AA do refer at some length to the numerous elephants of the court.⁸⁵

This description of the AA is supported by brief Dutch accounts. In 1650 J. Truijtmán notes that the elephant trade brings "a great profit to the Queen and to the nobles here in regard of the payable duty and various other charges more".⁸⁶ Although he does not give further details, it does confirm the exceptional imposition of this duty on elephant exports by the middle of the century.

What then was the implication of this taxation? To answer this question, we need to study the role and other aspects of elephants in the Sultanate in some detail.

The first fact to attract our attention is the wide uses to which elephants were put in the Sultanate at that time. The prime importance of the elephants owned by the court was their role as the major land force. Such war-elephants in time of peace were used for ceremonial purposes. They were also used as decoys for elephant capture. European sources refer to the number of war-elephants of the 17th century Sultans. Iskandar Muda, for example, is said to have had 900 elephants all of which were given names, and Iskandar Thani, his successor, to have had 1,000.⁸⁷

A tame state elephant was placed at the disposal of foreign envoys for transport as an expression of honour the Acehnese rulers accorded to them.⁸⁸ Both Iskandar Muda and

Iskandar Thani monopolized elephants, and consequently no one was allowed to possess or ride on one, except on state and religious ceremonial occasions.⁸⁹ However, it will be noted that the royal monopolistic ownership of elephants collapsed early in the reign of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din. As early as 1642 the senior Orang Kaya began to possess their own elephants,⁹⁰ as a result of the contraction of royal power.

Elephants were used as return gifts to rulers who sent envoys to the Acehnese rulers. Five instances of this practice are known to us.⁹¹ They were also useful as labour and a source of precious ivory.⁹²

Furthermore, it is interesting that Iskandar Thani was very proud of his remarkable elephants. In his letter of 1640 to the Governor-General in Batavia, Iskandar Thani describes himself as a king who possessed a white elephant, elephants with four tusks, reddish and motley elephants and several other elephants which cannot be identified, as well as many hundreds of war-elephants.⁹³

It is clear then that elephants were regarded as essential to the Sultanate, both in time of peace and war. It follows that the office of Panglima Gajah was a position for those destined to attain eminence as leading officials at the centre of power, as we have seen in Chapter II (section 3).

It is of interest to note how the Acehnese captured

a wild elephant. There are descriptions by Houtman (1599) and by Peter Mundy (1637).⁹⁴ The techniques as they explain them are very simple, and the requisites were simply tame elephants, long ropes made of buffalo skin, and many people. A wild elephant, decoyed by tame ones, had its feet caught in traps of rope and then tame ones and people surrounded it to prevent its escape.

The popularity of elephant hunts in Aceh is known from as early as the turn of the 16th century and the Acehnese rulers took part in elephant hunts in person. The three successive Sultans preceding Sultana Safiyyat al-Din are recorded in European sources as enthusiasts for catching elephants.⁹⁵ According to the Bustan which describes Iskandar Thani's elephant hunts on his way of pilgrimage to holy places in Pasai in 1638, wild elephants then inhabited the hilly north coastal region between Pidie and Pasai.⁹⁶ Perhaps during the early period, elephant hunts were more likely for pleasure.

From the 1640s onwards, however, the Acehnese were actively involved in catching elephants. This we learn from an increasing domestic demand for buffalo skin, and from references in VOC records to elephants hunts in the first half of Safiyya al-Din's reign. Jan de Meere, a Dutch envoy to Iskandar Thani, writes in June 1640 that a coil of rope for the purpose of catching elephants was presented

to the Orang Kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja and that the Panglima Dalam Orang Kaya Maharaja Lela asked for a Dutch rope of about 40 or 50 fathoms length to be brought on the next visit.⁹⁷ Two years later, in a diary entry for 8 October 1642, the Dutch chief factor notes that ten sheets of buffalo skin formerly costing one mas can now hardly be procured, because the Acehnese actively entered into elephant catching, for which buffalo skin is twisted into rope.⁹⁸ Eventually, in 1644 Sultana Safiyyat al-Din prohibited export of buffalo skin.⁹⁹

During the reign of Safiyyat al-Din, the task to catch elephants was mainly in the hands of senior officials and court functionaries, although Safiyyat al-Din went on an elephant hunt in 1656.¹⁰⁰ This task may have had two-fold implications. It could be an elephant hunt purely for catching elephants.¹⁰¹ Or, elephant hunts could be a pretext for the temporary expulsion from the capital of the pro-Dutch faction at the centre of power, as we have noted in Chapter II (section 3). All this indicates that elephant-catching in Aceh during our period was probably^a royal prerogative.

How many elephants could yearly be caught in Aceh at that time? P. Willemsz., who notes an increase in the price of buffalo skin above, reports that eleven elephants were caught as a result of a three-week hunt, while eighteen elephants were captured by the Kadi Malik al-^cAdil in six months in

1644.¹⁰² Although further data are not available, it may easily be estimated that the capture of 30 or 40 elephants would not have been a difficult task at that time.

The elephants caught in this way were exported from Aceh. Until export, the feeding of the captured elephants was entrusted to the senior Orang Kaya and court functionaries. For example, seven elephants out of the eleven mentioned above were put under their charge. Willemsz. adds that those who are in charge of the feeding receive 40 tahil when the elephants under their charges are sold, even though the slaves owned by the Sultana in effect take care of the elephants.¹⁰³ This is an indication that the export of elephants too was a concern of the Acehnese court and that elephant hunts in the 1640s and 1650s¹⁰⁴ were to procure elephants for export.

Thus the implication underlying the exceptional imposition of export duty on elephants is clear. Namely, since elephants were essential to the Sultanate, there was a concern that excessive elephant exports might be detrimental to the state. One way to tackle this problem was elephant hunts. Another way was the imposition of export duty, which is an exceptional practice. By comparison with the price of elephants in the 1640s, ranging from 150 tahil (a calf) to 300 tahil, as we shall see in a later section, it becomes clear that the tariff rate fixed in the AA, i.e. around 10% or often more, is rather on the high side. This may well have

functioned as a disincentive to excessive exports.

Thus far, we have mainly seen elephants in the context of the taxation system, leaving its trade out of our scope. For the elephant trade in the first half of the 17th century was indeed intricately related with the overall trade of Aceh, particularly that of rice and slaves. It will be discussed from the wider context of the trade of Aceh in section (4) below.

ii. Duties on the export of horses

Horses, as elephants, belonged almost exclusively to the royal household. And horses, like elephants, served dual function. Firstly, the royal horses were a significant part of the army, as Lombard has pointed out, as well as of the policing force, as we have seen in Chapter II. Secondly, they were used on state occasions and Islamic religious festivals. There are European accounts which describe this dual function.¹⁰⁵ An example of these accounts is Iskandar Thani's letter of 1640 already referred to above. He tells that in addition to many hundreds of horses which were assigned service in battle, he also has many hundreds of horses for uses on ceremonial occasions, all of which are magnificently adorned.¹⁰⁶

The military aspects of the use of horses was unmistakably of prime importance to the Sultanate, yet no less importance was attached to its ceremonial aspect resulting from the central role of the court in religious festivities, as we

have examined in Chapter IV. Apart from these functions, horses were used as means of transport, particularly for 'foreign envoys' convenience, their allocation being as expression of the Acehnese rulers' goodwill, as was the case of elephants.¹⁰⁷

Horses must have been imported by foreign merchants, either directly or indirectly, from horse-exporting regions until Aceh developed her own stocks.¹⁰⁸ It would therefore be appropriate to consider this import trade first.

Various episodes in the Hikayat Aceh which deal with Iskandar Muda's sophistication of horsemanship in his infancy and outstanding quality of numerous horses, suggest the importation of horses from the territories under the control of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East and their acquisition by the court.¹⁰⁹ According to the Bustan and Iskandar Thani's letter referred to, the horses belonging to the court in the 1620s and 1630s were brought from Arabia, Persia, Ottoman Turkey (Turki dan Rumi), the Balkans, Goth (?), Johor and Tongan (?).¹¹⁰

European sources are silent on the import of horses in 16th century Aceh. However, a general picture provided by van Linschoten relating to the horse trade in the western half of the Indian Ocean is worth noting. According to him, in the 1580s great numbers of good horses were exported to western

India from both Aden and Hadramaut, as well as from Hormuz, the entrepot of goods from Persia, the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan and Arabia. Many excellent horses suitable for breeding were involved.¹¹¹ This account shows that horses were one of the most important items traded to India at that time, despite the fact that horses had been bred in Gujarat and Bengal by the beginning of the 16th century.¹¹² The same trade continued in the following century.¹¹³

In view of the great numbers referred to by the Iskandar Thani, it seems surprising that Beaulieu in 1621 mentioned that Iskandar Muda owned only about 200 horses.¹¹⁴ If this reference is accurate, we must consider the possibility that Iskandar Muda wished to stock up horses by imports and other means.

Iskandar Muda procured horses firstly through the purchase from Indian merchants and his own active efforts to import them by dispatching his ships to India, and secondly through exchange of gifts with Indian rulers.¹¹⁵ For example, in early 1635 one of his ships returned from Masulipatnam, bringing nine horses which had been bartered for elephants. A few months later he also dispatched ships, together with the Muslim ship from Bengal which had brought three horses as gifts from the Mughal prince Shah Shuja in January, with twelve elephants and other merchandise on board, to obtain horses in Bengal.¹¹⁶ The exchange of Acehenese elephants

for horses from India may be interpreted as an indication that Iskandar Muda was especially concerned to form a numerous cavalry corps in addition to the corps of war-elephants.

The 1635 case given above names the regions in India from which horses were transported to Aceh. In the 1620s and 1630s, horses were imported from Bengal and Masulipatnam.¹¹⁷ Besides these two regions, Gujarat and Dabul too, regions much closer to the horse-supplying countries in the Middle East, exported horses to Aceh.¹¹⁸ According to Dutch sources from this period, the horses exported by Indian merchants and the Dutch themselves were Arab, Persian and Surat horses. It is not clear what kinds of horses were shipped from Bengal.

At what price were horses sold in Aceh? We know that in early 16th century India the most highly prized horse was the Arab one, then the Persian, while the Cambayan horse was ranked third and sold cheap.¹¹⁹ A similar valuation was also the case in Aceh more than a century later. It is noted in a Governor-General's letter to Aceh in early 1635 that there is great difference in price between a Persian horse and a Surat one.¹²⁰ In 1634 Iskandar Muda had placed an order with the Dutch for four Surat horses, for which he prepared to pay one kati of gold (1 kati of gold = 440 real at that time) a horse.¹²¹ There is only one further instance

known to us of the price paid for horse. In 1636, the last year of his reign, Iskandar Muda paid two kati of gold, thus to the equivalent of 880 real, for the two Persian horses, although they were sent as gifts from the Governor-General in Batavia, and promised to pay the same for each Persian horse.¹²²

After Iskandar Muda's death these horses were inherited by his successor Iskandar Thani. Although the 'many hundreds' of horses mentioned in Iskandar Thani's letter should not be taken too literally,¹²³ it appears to suggest an increase in number of the horses within a period 1621-1640, an increase which is proportionally very much greater than that which may have occurred in the number of elephants (from 900 to 1,000) during the same period.

This increase may well be due to the import of horses. At the same time, among the horses imported there may well have been stallions and mares suitable for breeding. So horse breeding may have developed locally during the reign of Iskandar Muda, or perhaps even earlier when we take into consideration Periaman's export of horses in the beginning of the 16th century noted earlier. In either case, it is probably that among the 'many hundreds' of horses of which Iskandar Thani mentioned, some were locally bred horses.¹²⁴

European accounts during this period make no reference to horse breeding in Aceh. There are, however, pieces of evidence

that not only local breeding took place, but Aceh actually exported horses in the reign of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din. In 1639 Iskandar Thani refused the Dutch request to pay in either horse, gun or Japanese silver for the duties to be charged on their pepper transactions on the west coast dependency.¹²⁵ No reason is given for this refusal. However, his lack of interest in horses as a means of settlement may be due to the fact that they were by then plentiful in Aceh. About three years later, in 1642, the Daghregister says that a Coromandel Muslim ship returned from Aceh carrying six Sumatran horses and a small number of elephants.¹²⁶ This is the earliest reference, so far discovered, to the export of horses from Aceh, but further details of these 'Sumatran' horses are not given. An account of W. Dampier in 1688 is informative:

"The Horses of this Country are but small, yet sprightly: and sometimes they are transported hence to the Coast of Coromandel."¹²⁷

It appears then that this export trade was a continuing one. In addition, judging from the words 'small' and 'sprightly', it is possible that the horse referred to may either have been a descendant of Prjevalsky's horse, which once roamed central Asia in great number, or a type of horse mixed Oriental and Arab or Persian breed.¹²⁸ These horses exported from Aceh were possibly used for rice cultivation

on the Coromandel coast which, as we have seen, was one of the rice-exporting region to Aceh. It may be concluded from the above that horse breeding was established as important industry and this made the Sultanate enable herself to be a horse-exporting state by the middle of the 17th century at the latest.

The imposition of tax on the export of horses from Aceh described in the AA possibly responded to this shift. According to two relevant entries in the AA, one of which entitled adat kuda, originally the tax was levied one tahil six mas, but later it was raised to one tahil nine mas during the reign of Sultan ^cAla^d al-Din Johan Syah (1735-1760); the sum collected was distributed among the port officials and the court.¹²⁹

Unfortunately, the tariff rate of this export duty cannot be calculated because of the absence of the price of Sumatran horses. It will be recalled, however, that one of the Syah-bandars, called Mu^cizz al-Muluk, together with his assistants, was assigned the responsibility in charge of horses. This is an indication that special considerations were given to its exports.

What then are implications of the imposition of export duty on horses? We have seen that both horses and elephants were indeed indispensable to the Sultanate. It is rather striking that by comparison with the tariff rate on the export

of elephants, i.e. roughly speaking 10% as a minimum and often more, that levied on horses - because of the absence of the price of Sumatran ones, calculated on the basis of that of Surat one (440 real = 20 tahlil), and taking into consideration the dearness of imported one compared to a local one - was on the low side. This difference in tariff rates between horses and elephants may have been because elephants were much more highly regarded than locally bred horses and owing to the ease of breeding horses and their relatively high fertility. Yet horses were still important for cavalry, and this military role of horses in the Sultanate probably explains the exceptional imposition of a duty on their export from Aceh.

Once again, it is worthwhile noting the contrast between the practice in Malacca in the early 16th century and Aceh in our period. It will be remembered that no export duties were charged in Malacca, whereas the Sultanate of Aceh charged very few. One reason for this may have been the important rôle of elephants and horses in the state, which was two-fold: the military one, undoubtedly of prime importance, and the ceremonial one, symbolizing the ruler's power.

Because of this importance in the running of the state, restrictions to prevent excessive exportation were necessary. We know that similar considerations were given to the export

of elephants in Ceylon and to that of horses in Persia during this period.¹³⁰ It should be noted, however, that insofar as horses are concerned, Aceh had been a horse-importing state until local breeding began to change the balance of the trade, but not to such a degree as to develop a large market of horses.

3. River tolls and Weighing charges

A river toll was levied on every boat plying between the harbour or even open sea and the Aceh river, on the west bank where the customhouse was situated. This toll was imposed on all users of the waterway, whether for the purpose of international or domestic trade, or for other purposes. The Aceh river was then the sole route by which goods were either imported to or exported from Aceh soil after custom clearance.

We have given some account of the duties charged on imports. In addition, all imports traded by weight were liable to weighing charges. In principle, no duties were levied on exports, but these too were liable to weighing charges. For smooth efficient trading a weighing system, including personnel in charge of weighing, is particularly important. This section examines in detail the system of river toll and the weighing system, both as an integral part of the system of taxation and trading in the port Dar al-Salam.

i. River tolls

The AA describes the river toll in detail. The general procedures relating to the unloading (and loading) of cargo from (and to) a ship have been described in Chapter V. The entry setting out the details of the river toll is headed adat kuala, that is the custom at the river mouth. It provides a full description of tolls levied on merchants.¹³¹ In addition to this entry, there are two other relevant passages in the AA.¹³² Unfortunately all three are corrupt.¹³³ These textual corruption are mostly ascribable to copyist's omissions of words.

The following account is based on the adat kuala. A river toll of two mas is levied on every loaded boat plying the river, whether foreign or native; on goods carried eastwards or westwards (this expression probably means import to and export from the port Dar al-Salam) river tolls are charged according to the table (daftar) in the customhouse; these dues are calculated either by weight or by the piece, and are payable either in cash or in kind; two mas is charged for score of piece-goods and each bahar of goods sold by weight; one mas is levied for each sheet of steel (meulila); two mas for each diwa of stockfish, one mas for each sack of spices (aweuëh); a boat which has one or two oars and goes out to sea is charged one mas; a boat bringing rice has to pay two gantang of its cargo. The entry concludes by saying

that these tolls are imposed in accordance with the table in the customhouse; the cash and goods that they yielded are distributed among the local chiefs on both sides of the river mouth (keujruën kuala seberang sana dan seberang sini).¹³⁴

The other two references have some element in common with the adat kuala but incorporate certain differences. One of them gives the following information: on merchandise carried to the east and to the west, a river toll (keurajat) of two mas is charged; two mas for each score of piece-goods and each bahar of goods sold by weight, two mas for each diwa of stockfish, one mas for each sheet of steel and each sack of spices, and one tahil four mas for each kati of opium; the tolls levied on piece-goods and opium goes to the Panglima Bandar, whereas those on other goods distributed among the local chiefs on both sides of the river mouth.¹³⁵

The other passage describes the river toll on goods sold in the port: one in each ten of the unit is charged on board, sack, and split and dried fish (deu³ieng peuneulah); on dammer one mas is charged for each bahar; these charges are collected from the individual sellers of these goods.¹³⁶

If these three sources of information are compared, it becomes clear that the adat kuala is the central information and the other two are either by way of supplement or recapitulation. Where there are discrepancies between them,

we must assume that they were not enforced at the same time, and perhaps represent different stages in the imposition of river tolls. However, it can be deduced from this information that the river tolls comprise two elements. One element is the toll on the use of the waterway in unloading and loading cargo, i.e. a river toll in the proper sense of the word. The other is toll levied on particular items of merchandise imported or exported.

More should be said of the interrelation between the three passages, particularly the adat kuala and the others. The entry, entitled adat Orang Kaya Seri Maharaja Lela, which speaks of the benefice of this Orang Kaya as the Panglima Bandar is relevant to this question. In this entry, there is no mention of a river toll payable to the Panglima Bandar.¹³⁷ This may be a corollary from the account in the adat kuala that all the river tolls are to be distributed among the local chiefs, but not the Panglima Bandar. Moreover, it is noteworthy that an expression similar to the phrase daftar dibalai furdah in the adat kuala also found in concluding part of various entries of the fourth part of the AA, e.g. in a list of the port officials and in the adat^c usyur dalam bandar. This may indicate that the adat kuala in all probability was already in force by the year 1055 AH/1645-1646 when most entries of the fourth part were first compiled out from the customhouse register. The other

two passages cannot be dated. However, the fact that they are subordinate accounts in other entries and both use the same term for the river toll, i.e. keurajat,¹³⁸ and that the Panglima Bandar is said to share in the river toll, suggests that both are later additions to the earlier practice described in the adat kuala, additions reflecting later developments in the imposition of river toll and its distribution.¹³⁹

European sources make very little reference to the imposition of a river toll in 17th century Aceh. Only two pieces of information are available, presumably referring to the river toll levied during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda. In December 1621, Beaulieu was ordered by the Syahbandar to pay, apart from the export duties on pepper, certain dues on certain items of merchandise he bought in the port Dar al-Salam in order to sell at Tiku, dues which he had to pay to the Syahbandar and the customs officers.¹⁴⁰ Although further details of the goods purchased and the dues payable are not given, it seems that the merchandise consisted of various kinds of Indian textiles in great demand in the west coast dependency,¹⁴¹ and that the dues might have been a river toll on goods carried eastwards and westwards from the port referred to in the AA. The other piece of information is an entry for 6 December 1632 of the Daghregister relating to the imposition of the export duties on pepper from Aceh. We have noted in section (1) that in that year the Dutch

were exempted from certain dues called cleijda hawuij.¹⁴² As we have suggested, hawuij is undoubtedly a corrupt transliteration of the Acehnese word aweuëh i.e. spices, which occurs in the adat kaula and other entries. Although it is a moot point whether pepper can be classified as a spice, it seems that in Acehnese linguistic usage aweuëh is a general word which includes pepper.¹⁴³ Thus, it would not be wrong to assume that the cleijda hawuij in the Dutch account implies a river toll levied on spice - in this case, pepper - when exported.

This is the sum of information available from the European side.¹⁴⁴ This paucity does not mean that the practices described by the AA are incorrect or forged. However, owing to this lack of sources, it is not possible to take this matter further.

ii. Weighing charges

We have already referred to the requirement that the captains of foreign ships, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, had to obtain^a permit from the port authorities to have their goods weighed. The permit was obtained by presenting to the Panglima Bandar and the Penghulu Kawal with a length of cloth each. As for the weighing itself, the customhouse had several officers under one of the Syahbandars specifically charged with this responsibility.

The AA refers to weighing in the section called adat bawab dacing.¹⁴⁵ This entry set out the weighing charges to be paid to the Syahbandar who is named Saif al-Muluk. It also enumerates some 60 items of merchandise that are to be weighed. Like the list of merchandise in the adat bawab Panglima Bandar dealt with in section (1), the numerous items listed in the adat bawab dacing reveal the nature of the international transit trade in Aceh at that time. They can be classified as follows:

- a. Forest products: Siamese agalloch, sappanwood, sandalwood, aloe wood, Chinese smilax, Albizzia myriophylla (akar manis), pucuk root, bulbs of Ligusticum acutilobum (ganti), mesui bark and asafoetida; white and black benzoin, catechu, gandarukam-resin, rasamala-oil and dammar.
- b. Agricultural products: cloves, cardamon, cayenne pepper, cinnamon; opium, tea, coffee, red dye, dates, almond, wine, indigo, hemp of nilam leaves.
- c. Mineral and manufactured products: copper, vermilion, alum, borax, saltpetre (mesiu), tin, lead, orpiment, iron (besi; no further specification), saltpetre (sendawa), sal ammoniac, sulphur, red clay and copper sulphate; gunpowder, mirrors, wax (lilin), coco-fibre rope, chewing tobacco, soap, sugar, sugar confectionery (sakar nabeuŕt), fans and fuses.
- d. Miscellaneous: ivory, walrus-tusks, lac, gall-nuts and beads.

It is unfortunate that charges are not specified. It is true that figures that may be relevant to weighing charges are given at the end of the entry, but their expression is so obscure that nothing can be derived from it.¹⁴⁶

It may be noted that some thirty items listed in the adat bawab Panglima Bandar do not occur in the adat bawab dacing. Many of these appear to be the items that ought to be counted or measured, not weighed. Yet others, however, such as camphor, pepper, silk and incense always traded by weight, too are not listed.

Apart from this entry, there is a special section which relates ^{to the}weighing ^{of}iron. According to the adat besi yang bertimbang, nine ingots (perhaps out of 100 weighed) are payable to the officials involved. They include the two chief scribes of the royal household, the acting Syahbandar (Syahbandar empunya ganti), the scribe of the customhouse, the official in charge of weighing (Tandil dacing) and a customhouse worker (bujang furdah).¹⁴⁷

Elsewhere the AA clasifies iron, including steel, into three kinds, i.e. pig iron (besi apam), sheet iron (besi lantai) and steel foil (meulila kulit). The last two were undoubtedly traded by the piece. This may imply that the besi both in the adat bawab dacing and in the adat besi yang bertimbang should be taken to mean besi apam, and therefore

the latter entry probably refers to the charge for the weighing of pig iron.

Even though we have no means of discovering the sums of money involved, the references are sufficient for us to construct a department in the customhouse in charge of weighing. The weighing department consists of the Syahbandar Saif al-Muluk who is assisted by another Syahbandar Seri Rama Setia, head of weigher (Penghulu dacing), superintendent of weighing, the scribe of the customhouse and the two workers of the customhouse on the one side, and the two chief scribes representing the court on the other.¹⁴⁸

It is not easy to fill the lacunae in the AA from European sources. Europeans left very few accounts of either the weighing system or the weighing department.¹⁴⁹

As far as the departmental structure is concerned, we are able to discover that the English fleet which visited Aceh in 1615 presented "the weigher of Achin" with one white bafta in order to have him do "right in the weight of the iron".¹⁵⁰ In addition, VOC records from 1642 and 1643 refer to the weighing charges on imports and exports customarily paid to more than one Syahbandar.¹⁵¹ This corresponds with the AA's reference to second Syahbandar whose duties also are to do with weighing.¹⁵² It is quite possible that the office concerned with weighing may have been run by two Syahbandars.¹⁵³

European sources are much more informative when it comes to the information concerning the charges levied. In 1621 Beaulieu states that there is a charge of one mas for every bahar of pepper weighed.¹⁵⁴ About two decades later, in 1642-1643, the VOC records referred to above provide weighing charges of fifteen items, including local products of the Sultanate. On these goods charges were levied by the bahar. They are as follows: cloves and mace: one tahil; nutmeg, sandalwood and shellac or lac: eight mas; nutmeg of minor quality (called rompen by the Dutch) and red dye: four mas; cotton and alum: three mas; cinnamon: two to four mas; Chinese smilax and tin: two mas; iron, pepper and sulphur: one mas.¹⁵⁵

This shows that for these items the unit for weighing charges was fixed, i.e. the bahar, and charges varied according to the items weighed. It is noteworthy that as far as charges on pepper are concerned, there is no difference between those levied in the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda and that of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din.

However, iron appears to have been a special case. According to the English East India Company records, various kinds of steel, and iron (what kind of iron is not specified) imported during Iskandar Muda's reign from India and England, were sold by the hundred piece or by the bahar.¹⁵⁶ It will be recalled that AA classified iron and steel in a similar

way. It appears that these two weighing units were probably in use for these two items.¹⁵⁷

From these European accounts it appears that weighing charges in Aceh were relatively high, particularly those charged on foreign goods. Those on spices, for example, ranged from about 1.7% to 3.8%.¹⁵⁸ For the purpose of comparison, weighing charges in Malacca at the end of the 15th century were only 1% of the value of weighed goods and those in Pasai were one mas on every bahar of merchandise exported.

Given all this, we can assume that the weighing system of Aceh in our period had possibly developed from the systems both in Malacca and in Pasai, and in particular introduced new weighing charges based on the values of merchandise weighted by the weighing unit bahar, and that this development must have taken place in the early period when Aceh became a major trading centre of the region, perhaps by the middle of the 16th century.

4. Some aspects of the trade of Aceh

Under the system of taxation of trade we examined in the preceding sections, how was trade carried on in Aceh during our period? Our main concern in this section is only with some aspects of Aceh's trade, since it is not possible to deal with a variety of trade in the Sultanate in our present limited scope.

We have already seen that because of the everlasting shortages of rice production, Aceh was largely dependent on imported rice. This was, indeed, one of the difficulties that confronted the Sultanate in our period. Another problem was the drain of human resources owing to the continual losses of manpower sustained both in the military expeditions over a century and in the political turmoils related to the succession to the Acehnese throne. The slave trade was important as a source of manpower.

In addition, the exceptional imposition of a heavy duty on elephant exports arising from the important role of elephants in the Sultanate functioned as a disincentive to its excessive exports. It has been noted that the implication of export of elephants cannot be well understood unless it is examined from the wider context of the trade of Aceh, of which the elephant trade was only a part, and of the Asian elephant market.

In the following, we will study the trade of Aceh, focussing on these items of trade in detail in an attempt to broaden our understanding of the Sultanate of Aceh in our period. It should be noted that a study of the slave trade certainly necessitates an inquiry into slavery in Aceh as a Muslim state, for slaves had indeed played a significant socio-economic and political role in the Acehnese state.

i. Trade in rice

Early European accounts suggest that up to the 17th century dealing in this commodity was perhaps in the hands of Indian merchants.¹⁵⁹ They have left no records however. On the other hand, there are various European accounts available on rice imports in 17th century Aceh. Although the Europeans of the time probably knew the vital importance of rice imports to the Sultanate, it was not until the 1680's that they too began to deal in rice; in the case of the Portuguese, as we shall see later, it was at the turn of the 16th century. Because of this, statistical data cannot be expected from the accounts they left. Their accounts do show, however, how dependent Aceh was on the import of rice at the time.

Various European accounts refer to the import of rice to Aceh. An eyewitness account in 1602 states:

"rice is brought from other places thether as good merchandise, and is sold by the bambue, sixe or seaven bambues for nine pence [equivalent 1 mas at the time]: every bambue being an ale quarte [i.e. about 1.75 litre].¹⁶⁰

It is interesting to note that even the Portuguese were involved in the import of rice to Aceh while a truce between the two was in effect in the early 17th century.¹⁶¹ The most comprehensive account of rice-exporting countries is that provided in the report of van Oudtschoorn already referred

to. He continues to note:

"Indeed, a supplement must be brought from other places such as Bengal, the Coromandel coast, Pegu, Arakan etc., which is done by large and sturdy ships, which cannot enter the river on account of their freight, since at low tide it is at times not over 4 or 5 feet deep at the river mouth, whereby loaded ships are obliged to stay outside in the harbour."¹⁶²

Besides these regions, European observers also refer to rice imports from closer sources in the Malay peninsula and Java.

An illustrative and suggestive event occurred in 1645. In a report dated 25 February, a Dutch factor in Aceh noted grave anxiety among the Acehnese about the arrival of the vessels carrying rice from Bengal. He remarks:

"In this monsoon [i.e. October to February or March following year], there comes no vessel from Bengal to Aceh; the monsoon favourable for their coming hither is about to come to an end; last year and the year before the vessels were here months earlier. Many people are apprehensive that this year no vessel will come; if so, it would be entirely beyond their anticipation; indeed, this place is supported with rice from Bengal, and without its import Atchin could soon be pressed for rice, [because] they rely on rice from Bengal."¹⁶³

The Acehnese themselves caused this disappearance of vessels by ill-treating an envoy from the Viceroy of Bengal, Shah Shuja.¹⁶⁴ At that time, amicable relations were being maintained between Aceh and the Dutch, even though the Dutch pass system had already been introduced to divert Indian Muslim trade from Aceh to the new Dutch possession of Malacca.¹⁶⁵ This implies that rice imports from the east coast of Sumatra could continue without molestation from the Dutch side. The anxiety they nevertheless felt indicates that rice imports from Bengal were the main source of supply.

Fluctuation in the price of rice is another index of the Aceh's dependence on the imports of rice. Dampier has this to say:

".....a Man would admire to see what great Quantities of Rice are brought hither by the English, Dutch, Danes and Chinese: when any arrives, the Commanders hire each a House to put their Goods in.; but the rice, which is the Bulk of the Cargo, they usually retail. I have heard a Merchant say, he has received 60, 70, and 80 £ a Day for Rice, when it has been scarce; but when there are many Sellers, then 40 or 50 Shillings worth in a Day is a good Sale: for then a Mess [i.e. mas] will buy 14 or 15 Bamboes of it; whereas when Rice is scarce, you will not have above 3 or 4 Bamboes for a Mess. Bamboe is a small seal'd Measure, containing, to the best of my Remembrance, not much above half a Gallon. Thus it rises

and falls as ships come hither."¹⁶⁶

Such drastic fluctuations of price caused solely by the supply from other countries, is a useful indication of how extremely dependent Aceh was on imports of food. This dependence could be the Sultanate's Achilles' heel in case of war, or of conflict such as the hostile Aceh-Dutch relation in 1647-1650 and 1656-1659, during which period Aceh was put under Dutch naval blockade and in particular 33 vessels from Deli loaded with rice were attacked by the Dutch, as we have seen in Chapter II (section 3) and section (1) of this Chapter. This is clearly reflected in the Acehnese concessions to the Dutch of the pepper trade of the west coast dependency and of the tin trade in Perak, concessions which had followed from this naval blockade of the port Dar al-Salam.

ii. The Slave Trade

Trade in slaves was, indeed, for long an important business for the Muslim countries, in which the institution of slavery had significant social and political implications. We know that Islam admitted the ins^titution of slavery, though this was not slavery as known in Greek/Rome or the New World.

There was a direct trade between the various ports on both sides of the Indian sub-continent, including Bengal, and Aceh, perhaps from as early as the second half of the 16th century.¹⁶⁷ Portuguese sources however let us down

completely on the subject of the slave trade. Moreover, as far as we can tell, no European power except the Portuguese (in 1650) was engaged in selling slaves until the end of the 1680s,¹⁶⁸ the years in which, as already noted in dealing with rice, the English and Danes brought slaves from the Coromandel coast. There is evidence however that the Dutch purchased slaves for work in their colony at Batavia and the Spice Islands from the 1620s onwards.¹⁶⁹

The information given on Aceh is slight, however, perhaps because when the Europeans first came, the slave trade was of little importance for them, and because the purchase of slaves was liable to create problems with local rulers, particularly with strong Muslim rulers.

It is unfortunate that not much is known of the state of this trade in the first four decades of the 17th century. Only a few accounts are available. There is an English account in 1613 which mentions the existence of Indian slaves, some of whom the English purchased.¹⁷⁰ As we have noted in Chapter I, Beaulieu related that Iskandar Muda had 1,500 foreign slaves. Iskandar Muda also possessed other slaves to wait on him.¹⁷¹ Beaulieu too purchased about ten Christian slaves including 2 Portuguese captives from the Sultan.¹⁷²

In 1622 a Dutch factor reported from Aceh that Muslim ships from Coromandel from time to time transported 300 slaves or more in one ship to Aceh,¹⁷³ but this information was denied

later by a chief Dutch factor in Masulipatnam, who claimed that not more than 40 or 50 slaves were exported, most of them Muslims.¹⁷⁴ It is worthy of note that Iskandar Muda flatly rejected a request made by the Dutch in 1624 for the purchase of slaves from Aceh. He declined to allow even one slave to be taken away from his domain by foreigners even if 9,000 or 10,000 were imported.¹⁷⁵

These accounts clearly indicate that the Europeans of the time were not suppliers but buyers. In addition, in the light of what we know, the slave trade was in the hands of Indian merchants and many of the slaves in Aceh were of Indian origin. It is worth drawing attention to the fact that the large number of slaves owned by the royal household is consistent with the reference in the AA to the imposition of duty on slaves imported, sixteen in every hundred slaves going to the royal household.

The information from the 1640's give us a somewhat clearer picture of the slave trade. In October 1642, there came to Aceh a Kalinga ship from Porto Novo on the Coromandel coast whose cargo consisted of 98 slaves and 150 bales of various sorts of cloth.¹⁷⁶ About forty days later, i.e. still in the same year, there arrived in the roads a Danish ship from Pippli in Bengal, carrying 200 slaves and bales of cloth belonging to Muslim merchants on board the ship. The Danes received from these merchants four real per head of slave as

freight charges.¹⁷⁷ Further, during the period September 1643-July 1644 slaves were transported to Aceh by various vessels from India, but neither their numbers nor the places from which slaves were brought is known.¹⁷⁸ In an official report in December 1644, however, van Oudtschoorn mentions places in the Kalinga region such as Teganapatnam, Negapatnam or Tranquebar, Masulipatnam and Palikat which were noted for the export of slaves.¹⁷⁹ Further, in October 1649, there is a record of a Kalinga ship bringing a large number of slaves from Negapatnam.¹⁸⁰ It should be noted that Deli on the east coast of Sumatra, according to the Daghregister, and Nias, according to Beaulieu, are also said to have exported slaves.¹⁸¹

Owing to the worsening relations between Aceh and the Dutch, resulting from the Perak issue in 1651, VOC records from the 1650s make little reference to Indian Muslim trade. However, there is an interesting reference to the Portuguese involvement in the slave trade. According to the Governor-General's report of February 1651, the Portuguese in Negapatnam equipped four vessels loaded with 700 slaves and 80 bales of cloth, three for Aceh and one for Tenasserim.¹⁸² Further, Muslims and Hindus residing in Negapatnam, under Portuguese rule, sent two ships carrying 300 slaves and 180 bales of cloth to Aceh in 1654 - but never reached Aceh, disposing of their cargo in Tenassarim instead.¹⁸³

In 1660, a large number of slaves were imported from the Coromandel coast and Kalinga. In April, the Mamady, a ship belonging to the nabob Mosemchan or Chanchanan, brought 80 male and female slaves as part of its cargo from Masulipatnam. Three months later, in July, the Abdusalky, a ship belonging to the 'king' of Golconda, arrived from Masulipatnam. Its cargo included 300 slaves. The last vessel mentioned, carrying about 200 slaves and cloths, came from Porto Novo in November.¹⁸⁴ Slaves were also transported from Masulipatnam and Negapatnam in 1662.¹⁸⁵ It is noteworthy that in 1663 Sultana Safiyyat al-Din consigned 3 kati of gold to a Kalinga vessel going back to Negapatnam for the purchase of slaves there.¹⁸⁶

This is all the information about the trade in slaves in the 17th century that has come to light so far. It may safely be concluded from these accounts that the slave trade in Aceh of those days, like that of rice, was almost entirely in Indian merchants' hands, and those who engaged in it were most likely those who had political authority, either direct or indirect, in the region, as the two examples in 1660 suggest. Moreover, it seems evident that from the viewpoint of those Indian merchants, this trade was a very important part of their business, since slaves composed a major and significant portion of the ship's cargo.

At first sight, it may appear paradoxical that the major

rice-exporting regions to Aceh, i.e. Coromandel, Kalinga and Bengal should also have been the source of slaves. The paradox is resolved when we realize that these areas were liable to severe droughts and perhaps were highly populated. Professor Meilink-Roelofs has made very clear that large-scale droughts occurred periodically in Coromandel in the 16th century, resulting in famine, and slaves were the victims of the famines.¹⁸⁷ It is evident that agriculture was at the mercy of drought, both because of the nature of agriculture and the limitation of the technology then available. Probably this was also the case in Bengal. It is, however, not our present aim to detail the calamities in these regions. Here, it may suffice to show how people coped with situations of famine.

Thomas Bowrey tells us that in the early 1670's, Bengal was visited by severe famine and many thousands of people died from it, and "many [were] glad to sell their own children for a handful of rice." He adds that among the merchandise brought to Aceh from Bengal in his time were "slave boys and girls".¹⁸⁸ The same is true for Kalinga and Coromandel. W. Dampier, who it will be recalled left the invaluable data about rice cultivation in Aceh quoted earlier, gives additional documentation of this situation:

"There [i.e. the coast of Coromandel and Malabar] a
Famine happens more frequently, and rages sometimes to
a Degree beyond Belief; for those Countries are generally

very dry, Neither are they (sic) such large rivers to fatten the Land: but all their Crop depends on Seasons of Rains only, to moisten the Earth: and when those Seasons fail, as they do very often, then they can have no Crop at all. Sometimes they have little or no Rain in three or four Years, and then they perish at a lamentable rate. Such a Famine as this happened 2 or 3 Years before my going to Fort St. George [in 1660], which raged so sore that Thousands of people perished for want, and happy were they that could hold out until they got to the Sea-port Towns, where the Europeans lived, to sell themselves to them [i.e. the Europeans], though they were sure to be transported from their own Countries presently."¹⁸⁹

The victims of this famine, as Dampier mentions later, were transported to Aceh as slaves by the English and Danes while he was there.¹⁹⁰ There can be no doubt that destitution, caused by famine, was the main reason for the traffic in slaves or debt-bondsmen from these regions.

Slavery in Aceh during this period deserves careful study, for an understanding of it as an institution will throw important light both on the Sultanate, and on Acehnese social life. It must be understood, from the outset, that this was a different slavery as noted earlier, and to grasp it, we must consider it, above all, as a Muslim institution. Then we can understand better the legal position of slaves in

Aceh and their role in the state.

Islam allows its followers to take as slaves to their own use the 'infidels' of any country which is neither subject to nor an ally of a Muslim power. However, it forbids coreligionists to be enslaved whether purchased or taken as prisoners of war. A creditor is not allowed to sell his Muslim debtor into slavery. However if a slave embraces Islam - slaves often do - he (or she) remains a slave. Slaves, according to the Law, have no legal rights whatever and are the chattels of their owner. What they earn belongs to their master, and even the child of a married female slave belongs to her master. However, the Law books stipulate that a slave may, at the order of his master, make contracts concerning property and liability. Such a case might occur when a slave was a shop-assistant. In addition, in the Qurʾān not only is good treatment of slaves recommended but their manumission is regarded as a praiseworthy act. There is moreover the practice of self-redemption in Islam.¹⁹¹

Prisoners, including women and children, taken in the wars against the various Malay states, as we have seen, were used to make up the Acehnese losses in manpower, and they were probably used for forced labour.¹⁹² It is not known whether they were enslaved in the legal sense of the word. We do know, however, that this was the fate of Portuguese captives, who were indeed made the slaves of the Sultans.¹⁹³

The Acehese rulers were great slave holders, and indeed slaves were indispensable for the running of the royal household.¹⁹⁴ Sultan Iskandar Muda used slaves for a variety of services. According to Beaulieu, it was their responsibility to keep a watch on the nobles and to carry out executions and murders as the Sultan ordered.¹⁹⁵ Apart from these soldier-slaves like Turkish Janisaries, there also existed large numbers of slaves employed in various productive areas. They were employed in agriculture, particularly for pepper and rice cultivation, breeding cattle, forestry, the construction of buildings and ships, and trade.¹⁹⁶ Noteworthy is the fact that they negotiated an agreement with Iskandar Muda concerning their treatment and working conditions, an agreement which secured them many privileges. As a result of it, they were no longer chained and simply worked under the direction of three or four superintendents. Out of every eight days, they had to work four in the ruler's service, and during the remaining four for their own livelihood. Those who knew something about trade and were able to make a moderate living could purchase exemption from this compulsory labour by paying him five sols per day.¹⁹⁷ In addition, they were able to redeem themselves, the ransom varying according to the quality of the slave in question.¹⁹⁸ After observing the condition of these slaves, Beaulieu concludes that "slavery in this place, in my opinion, is more tolerable than in any other places come to my knowledge."¹⁹⁹

The information Beaulieu provides, is evidence for rather special features of slavery in the Sultanate during the reign of Iskandar Muda. It may be noted that what a slave earns, as Beaulieu suggests, belonged to him, not to his owner. There is however ambiguity in his account. For example, it is not clear whether the slaves who made an agreement with Iskandar Muda were prisoners of war or those who were brought to Aceh as living merchandise.

This observation of Be^{au}lieu is, by and large, endorsed by Dampier about 60 years later. According to his account, not only rice cultivation and forestry but also fishery, and trade in the gold produced in Pasai were conducted by slaves. It should in addition be noted that slaves were allowed to hire themselves out to commoners who had need of their services.²⁰⁰ Dampier further relates:

"He [i.e. the Syahbandar] had not less than 1,000 Slaves, some of whom were topping Merchants, and had many Slaves under them. And even these, tho' they are Slaves to Slaves, yet have their Slaves also; neither can a stranger easily know who is a Slave and who not among them: for they are all, in a manner, Slaves to one another: and all in general to the Queen and Oronkeys; for their Government is very Arbitrary. Yet there is nothing of rigour used by the Master to his Slave, except it be the very meanest, such as

do all sorts of servile Work: but those who can turn their hands to any thing besides Drudgery, live well enough by their industry. Nay, they are encouraged by their Masters, who often lend them Money to begin some trade or business withal: Whereby the Servant lives easie, and with great content follows what his Inclination or Capacity fits him for; and the Master also, who has a share in the gains, reaps the more profit, yet without trouble. When one of these Slaves dies, his Master is Heir to what he leaves: and his Children, if he has any, become his Slaves also: unless the Father out of his own clear gains has in his life time had wherewithal to purchase their Freedom. The Markets are kept by these People, and you scarce trade with any other. The Money-changers also are Slaves, and in general all the Women that you see in the streets; not one of them being free.Yet tho' all these are Slaves, they have habitations or houses themselves in several parts of the City, far from their Masters Houses, as if they were free People."²⁰¹

Although both Beaulieu and Dampier are looking at Aceh through European eyes (and consequently have their blind spots, or are influenced by their own conceptions and institutions), they can be regarded as presenting an accurate, if limited, picture of a system of slavery which struck them as novel in many respects. Their accounts reveal that the

system in Aceh conformed in many ways with that set up under Islamic Law and with that which prevailed in other states during this period. There are some facts worthy of analysis in some detail.

Slavery in Aceh was basically in accordance with what the Law prescribes. Yet local custom is discernible too. The agreement referred to by Beaulieu indicates that slaves were relatively free in their choice of the work they did for their masters according to their abilities. In addition, the sort of business partnership between slaves and their owners mentioned by Dampier, supports the probability that slavery was not altogether burdensome to them and that they enjoyed, though limited, some freedom. Notable is the fact that even under an extremely arbitrary ruler such as Iskandar Muda they had the opportunities to redeem themselves.²⁰² Although little is known of the reason for these local customs, it is not unlikely that both the Sacred Law and Muslim captives in war may have been a contributing element.

Secondly, it is clear that slaves played a role of great significance in social-economic life of the time. This is particularly true of the royal household. Among others, two aspects are of importance. They can be seen acting as both labourers and tradesmen.²⁰³ It is no doubt

that as labourers, their work in the various production sectors, in particular agriculture for the supply of victuals and staple export crops such as pepper, was extremely important for the Sultanate. In addition, it is remarkable that even common people were able to take advantage of the services of slaves by hiring them and this prevalence of slave employment among the Acehnese as a whole may be an indication of the great importance attached to slaves as a source of manpower, although, of course, they were low in their social status. Slaves were probably also indispensable in the distribution system of goods centered on the capital, and at the same time they were likely to have acted as middlemen in the dealings of the Sultan or Sultana and the nobility. Such slaves formed what might be called an upper class in the hierarchy of dependence.

Thirdly, we know that they had some role in the ruling institution. However, unlike the Ottoman Empire, evidence concerning this aspect in the Acehnese institution is sparse. The only hard evidence we have is their peripheral participation functioning as part of the military machinery of the ruler as royal guards. How limited or extensive their military role was is not very clear. We have already seen that the AA gives an account of the ceremonial procession on the festival of sacrifice in the month Dhu'l-ḥijja and mentions large numbers of foot soldiers, cavalry and corps

of war-elephants. As we have seen in Chapter II (section 1), except the slave-corps, there is no evidence, however, of the existence of a standing army in the proper sense of the word. However, taking into consideration the fact that both Beaulieu and the account in the AA refer to the state of affairs in the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda, it is not improbable that some parts of the army that took part in the ceremonial procession on that occasion may have been slaves.

In addition, we have already noted that Iskandar Muda's soldier-slaves who served as royal guards also functioned as executioners of punishment and a sort of corps of assassins. It would be necessary for an autocrat like Iskandar Muda to have much-feared agents of royal power and totally loyal to him under any circumstances, as well as a control over weaponry in the state.²⁰⁴ It may well be that the royal slave corps of foreign origin, and trained as warriors since their youth, may have been the only standing force of the time. This apart, however, there exists for Aceh no sign that the door was open for slaves to play roles of great political importance as is known to have been the case in the Ottoman Empire.²⁰⁵ The so-called 'slave-family' system, on which the Ottoman Empire based its political institutions, did not develop in Aceh, and this absence of an elaborate slave system tightly connected with the political administra-

tion may have resulted in a relatively low political status for slaves there.²⁰⁶

Fourthly, mention should be made of the relationship between slavery and Islamisation. As already mentioned, after capture, slaves usually converted to Islam. This is especially true of the Ottoman Empire, of which the entire system of slavery strongly promoted the proselytization of Christians in servitude.²⁰⁷ What was the case in Aceh?

There is only one account explicitly referring to religion that slaves from India embraced. As already noted, A. Soury, a chief Dutch factor in Masulipatnam in the early 1620s, states that most of the slaves exported from there were Muslims. This information of Soury does imply at the same time that Hindus and other non-Muslims were also among them. There are some examples that throw light on this question.

In 1599 a number of Dutch prisoners, among them F. de Houtman, were enslaved by the Acehnese ruler, and later some of them became Muslims in exchange for the release from confinement.²⁰⁸ In 1635, still in the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda, as a result of shipwreck off the coast of Aceh on their way from Goa to Malacca, 40 Portuguese were captured and made slaves. After they had been circumcised

however, the skipper rose in the Sultan's favour and within a year was granted the title of Poulewel (?) Raja.²⁰⁹

In the same year, two Chinese junks from Batavia were seized by the Acehnese armada dispatched for the Pahang expedition. The crew and merchants of one of the junks were also circumcised and those of the other were also persuaded to embrace Islam.²¹⁰ A similar situation occurred immediately after Sultan Iskandar Thani broke off the short-lived truce and peace negotiation with the Portuguese in 1638. Some 150 Portuguese and mestizo captives were made slaves and forced to convert to Islam.²¹¹ Further, after the detection of an attempted escape by some of them, Iskandar Thani had 65 Portuguese put to death, but had some 20 Portuguese boys circumcised and distributed as slaves among the nobility.²¹² In addition, in connection with the release of the Chinese mentioned above, he made his point clear to a Dutch envoy in 1639, saying that Chinese to be supplied in exchange for those captured in 1635 had to be those who embraced Islam and were 'clean-shaven' men who would work exclusively in his service.²¹³

From all these instances, we may infer that as far as slavery in the Acehnese capital was concerned, it certainly contributed greatly to the conversion of non-Muslims to Islam, although the number who did so was on a much smaller scale

than the slave system in the Ottoman Empire. This leads us to the assumption that Hindu slaves from India were also, in all probability, converted to Islam in order to maintain the Islamic homogeneity, at least, of the capital.²¹⁴

Last but not least, Muslim slaves from Coromandel and probably from other parts of India too, are worthy of special attention. Islam forbids enslaving other Muslims, except those who convert during slavery. Trade in Muslim slaves, therefore, is contrary to what the Law prescribes, thus it is an illegal trade. According to Soury, those slaves were not born slaves but those who went into bondage as the victims of the famines, i.e. debt-bondsmen (or women). The existence of those who were in bondage probably relevant to the local custom of slavery in the Sultanate, in which Islamic Law was then predominant law. The question of cleavage between the ideas of Islamic slavery in theory and in practice, however, demands further study from a wider perspective.

It may be concluded that slaves or debt-bondsmen, most of whom were brought as living merchandise from various parts of India mainly by Indian merchants, formed a very important, indeed indispensable social class in the Sultanate, in which they assumed considerable responsibility for the existence of the state, and that slavery in Aceh followed largely the prescriptions of Islamic Law. Although the system was not

well developed as in the Ottoman Empire, it was a significant institution for the Acehnese ruling authority during this period.

iii. Trade in elephants

It is not known when Aceh began to export elephants. There is evidence from the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda. One of the earliest accounts is a Dutch report from Masulipatnam written in September 1628. In a report to Batavia, the Dutch factors note that "by this time, they [i.e. Muslim merchants of Golconda - a region between Gingeli in Orissa to Manikpatan, north of Palicat -] also bring many elephants from Aceh and Arakan in their ships every year".²¹⁵ In the same year, Iskandar Muda sent twelve elephants as return gifts to the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan.²¹⁶ As far as is known, a total of 62 elephants were shipped to India, mostly to Masulipatnam and Bengal, for the period 1628-1635.²¹⁷ Noteworthy is the fact that Iskandar Muda himself took a direct part in the trade. According to the Daghregister, in 1634 Iskandar Muda shipped eleven elephants, together with various kinds of merchandise, to Masulipatnam for the purchase of horses.²¹⁸ In the following year he exported twelve elephants to Bengal to barter them for horses, as referred to in section (2). This confirms that trade in elephants was royal prerogative, which resulted from the

monopolistic ownership of elephants by the Acehnese rulers, and that the elephant was the currency of barter, particularly for this exchange. Moreover, this barter trade of Iskandar Muda was probably carried out for military purposes.

Golconda and Bengali merchants were not the only ones involved in the Aceh elephant trade. In 1638 P. Mundy notes that "From hence [i.e. Aceh] allsoe they [Muslim merchants from various parts of India, including Coromandel] carry yong Elephants, this Country accompted to breed the biggest and Fairest".²¹⁹ This was the case in the 1640s and onward, as we shall see below.

Only one piece of hard data is available from Iskandar Thani's reign. The Gujarati ship which had brought gifts from Aurangzib, at that time ruler of the Mughal Empire, in late 1640, was granted four elephants as return gifts, and bought another four elephants on the ruler's account soon after the death of Iskandar Thani (in February 1641).²²⁰

This is all the information available as to the trade during the reigns of Iskandar Muda and Iskandar Thani. Because of the scarcity of data, it is not possible to see whether or not elephant export could have created a shortage that would have a damaging effect on the Sultanate.

There are however relatively adequate accounts of the trade during the reign of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din, parti-

cularly its first two decades. Clearly the elephant trade was becoming increasingly important as one of the staple exports during these years. In the table below, the numbers of elephants exported and the places to which they were shipped are shown:

Table 1 Elephant export during Sultana Safiyyat al-Din's reign

Year	Masulipatnam	Bengal & Orissa	Coromandel	Total
1641	4 + 4 (on the Gujarati ship referred to)	24		32
1642	11	7 + 5	x ¹ (calf elephants)	23 + x
1643		7		7
1644	4 + x (by a Gujarati ship)			4 + x
1645	4	17	7 + x	28 + x
1647 ²		23		23
1649	15	6	x	21 + x
1653		x		x
1654		17		17
1660	14 + 2 ³		16	32
1661	2			2
1662	x	12		12 + x
1663	19	14	10	43

As we can see from Table 1, those who engaged in this trade were Indian merchants from Masulipatnam, Bengal and the

Coromandel coast. Their involvement in Aceh's elephant trade was, in fact, motivated by the needs of Indian rulers, including two sons of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan, i.e. Aurangzib and Shah Shuja, and several governors and lords (Sar-i-khali, Khan-khanan, Nawab).²²¹ The motivations underlying the import of elephants by them are unknown.

Shah Shuja's interest shown in this trade when he was viceroy of Bengal, is particularly worthy of note. His earliest trade in elephants noted in VOC records is in 1642, in which year a ship belonging to Shah Shuja transported seven elephants from Aceh.²²² Two years later, in 1644, he sent an envoy to Aceh on a three year appointment to arrange the purchase of 125 elephants on his behalf.²²³ About the same time, the governor of Golconda (with Masulipatnam as its main port) also became interested in the trade.²²⁴ The highest number of elephant exported from Aceh, as far as is known, is the 43 recorded in 1663. This figure and Shah Shuja's three year plan provide a basis for the estimate that 30 to 40 elephants were exported annually during these two decades.

The Table provides evidence that Aceh's elephant trade during this period clearly shows an increase, compared to the 1630s. Yet the level of exports cannot be considered high, when we recall the large number of elephants possessed by

Iskandar Muda (900) and Iskandar Thani (1,000). It is beyond doubt that this steady elephant trade coincided with frequent hunts to capture elephants in the same period referred to in section (2).

What was the price of elephants? An entry in the Dagh-register for 2 Oct. 1642, citing the report of P. Soury, states that Muslim merchants from India were obliged to make very valuable gifts to the Sultana and officials merely for permission to purchase and export elephants, and the Acehnese raised their price 'by manipulation' up to 1,000 and to 1,200 real (=250-300 tahil) each.²²⁵ More detailed information is available in 1645. Prices varied according to size. For example, an elephant of 3½ or 4 cubits high (probably a calf) was priced at from 70 to 150 tahil, while bigger ones sold for as much as 200, 250 and 300 tahil.²²⁶ An idea of the relative cost of an elephant may be gained from the fact that the monthly running expenses of the Dutch factory in Aceh (in 1644), consisting of ten personnel, was only 242 guilders, i.e. less than 25 tahil. Even the chief factor's monthly salary was only nine tahil.²²⁷ It may be concluded therefore that the export of elephants was a very profitable business and brought enormous wealth to the Sultana. Indeed, a report of the Dutch envoy to Aceh in 1650 notes that Muslim traders of Masulipatnam and Bengal "yearly barter cheap cloths and linen for the beasts and carry them away from there, having a great profit to the Queen".²²⁸

It is then possible that the elephant trade was regarded as a profitable trade and elephants had more flexibility in exports which could serve as foreign exchange from this time onwards. Yet the export of elephants - which was a part of royal trade in the view of the Acehese ruler - remained restricted.

It is now appropriate to look at the elephant trade of Aceh from the wider context of the trade of Aceh as a whole.

The Dutch themselves took no interest in the Asian elephant trade until 1642. On the contrary, in 1633 the Governor-General and Council complained to the Gentleman XVII of unexpected expenses incurred for the breeding of elephants in their possession. Because of this unwelcome expense, estimated about 1,000 guilders (100 tahil) a year, they shipped two of the elephants to Surat and the other two to Coromandel to use as gifts or to sell.²²⁹ This active disinterest of the Dutch in this trade largely accounts for our very limited knowledge of the subject until 1642.

However, after the Dutch conquered Malacca, their attitude changed. This was in keeping with their policy to develop their new possession as part of the only emporium in the archipelago.²³⁰ As early as May 1642, participation in the elephant trade was regarded by the Dutch as one of the measures necessary for this end. At this time, J. van Vliet, Dutch

envoy to the Siamese court, and J. van Twist, the first governor of Dutch Malacca, advised the Governor-General to take the necessary steps for elephant hunts to encourage Malacca's trade,

"because the Muslims of Bengal and Coromandel very earnestly rummage these beasts in Siam, Aceh, Pegu, Arakan, Ceylon, Kedah and other Malay lands and pay for it ten times higher price than last six years ago, the value having increased because of the incessant troubles in the Siamese kingdom."²³¹

They also suggested that catching elephants in the neighbourhood of Malacca, using elephants from Siam or Aceh, would attract Muslim merchants to Malacca.²³²

Of the situation of Aceh's trade in the same year, J. Compostel, former Dutch chief factor in Aceh, and P. Soury, the Dutch envoy of 1642, have the following to say. Compostel reports that the trade of Muslims and Hindus in Aceh was on the increase, bringing a great quantity of cloths in exchange for "elephants, pepper, tin and gold", and that the Dutch conquest of Malacca created favourable conditions for the Aceh trade, because the Portuguese had constantly hindered Indian trade there. He proposes however that it is not advisable to follow the Portuguese precedent in view of the VOC's predominance in the west coast pepper trade, but it is advisable to introduce the Dutch version of the pass

system.²³³ Soury's report refers more explicitly to the significance of elephant hunts in Malacca:

"It is the expectation and hope of the Muslims that elephant hunt will be set up there in order not to be exposed any longer to so many vexations by the Acehnese, this year having made excessive presents to the Queen and the nobles in order only to be allowed to buy elephants and export them from the country, elephants which are deceitfully sold for the very high price of 1,000 or 1,200 real each [200-300 tahil], a business that is considerable and it is absolutely expedient to make preparations for elephant-catching in Malacca in a proper way."²³⁴

Encouraged by the advice from Malacca and the reports from Aceh, the Dutch in Malacca set about organizing the capture of elephants and made preparations for participation in the elephant trade according to the policy referred to above. However, their elephant hunts seem not to have been successful. The Governor-General's annual report of 1644 relates the result of their efforts and the Muslim merchants' reaction to their entry in the trade.

"If the Kedah elephants do not sell better than those from Ceylon, the trade will not be of much advantage to us. It seems the Muslims deliberately do not intend to buy the animal from us, but endeavour to retain the

elephant trade for themselves, so that they administer the trade in Bengal in such a way [in order to prevent us from it]; that according to the letter from the senior factors Junius and De Vroede in Pipely [Pippli in Bengal], our Ceylonese beasts were never once demanded. Presence of Muslims, who devote themselves much to its procurement everywhere, such as in Kedah, Siam and Aceh, and pay more for it than what we offer in Bengal, such can easily be conjectured [as] their maxim. Wild elephants are still observed daily in Malacca's territory, there [we are] undertaking to capture [them] with tame ones, but up to now [we have] not succeeded. Some were, not long ago, caught in traps but escaped; another was captured in a hole, [but] died, regretably, If the capture can be managed, Malacca will, hence, have a great run [of merchants]."²³⁵

That the elephant-capture program in Dutch Malacca was unsuccessful can be proven from the fact that the elephants they shipped to India from about this time onwards were from Siam, Ceylon and various states in the Malay Peninsula, but not Malacca.²³⁶ It is noteworthy that among the Muslim merchants of India, more precisely of Bengal, the Dutch attempt to encroach on the elephant trade aroused a hostile response, which overrode economic considerations.

In the meantime, by the middle of the 1640s elephants became one of the most important items of export of Aceh, of far greater significance than pepper. This largely owes to the concessions of 1641 granted to the Dutch relating to the west coast pepper trade, as we have seen in Chapter II (section 3), and by making full use of which the Dutch began to buy the major portion of the west Sumatran pepper on the spot. The order of Aceh's staple exports in Compostel's report above, i.e. elephants, pepper, tin and gold, was an accurate reflection of this shift. This shift continued to such a degree that van Oudtschoorn, Dutch envoy in 1644, noted that "except elephants and gold, Aceh had few goods to be taken away [by foreign merchants]".²³⁷ He too points out the necessity for catching elephants and providing quantities of gold in Malacca for Muslim merchants from India.²³⁸

Although the hunt of elephants in Malacca was not successful, the Dutch did not give up their attempt to take part in the elephant trade in order to attract the Indian Muslims to Malacca. This time they hatched a plot to participate in the Acehnese elephant trade. In 1650 a mission was dispatched for this purpose to Aceh, then still under Dutch naval blockade. In the previous year, it will be recalled, further concessions in the pepper trade of the west coast dependency were grudgingly granted by Sultana Safiyyat al-Din to the

Dutch. According to the instruction given to J. Truijtman, the envoy charged with this mission, he was to exert himself to purchase some elephants and ship them to Bengal, and to set up a trade in Acehnese elephants for the Company.²³⁹ In compliance with this order, Truijtman made his request to the Sultana. Contrary to his expectation and despite the gun-point diplomacy of the Dutch, the Sultana rejected his request firmly and promptly. Truijtman writes:

"the projected elephants could not be sent, on account of a begrudged trade by the Acehnese to the Netherlands' Company, which the Queen, by a dissuasive advise of the Company's unfavourable [faction], has by no means wished to approve of, nor give consent to buy one head of the animal, without giving any acquittable restraining reason for her denial, ... except that in Mochon Macotta Alam's time [Marhum Makota Alam, i.e. Iskandar Muda], her father's time, the Company had never traded any elephant nor taken any away from the Acehnese dominions, and also specially made me understand among other things by specific words, namely up to the present Her Majesty had successively conceded enough to the Company, such as that one day the same [i.e. the Sultana] had granted through prerogative gifts all benefit of the whole pepper trade on the west coast of Sumatra as well as even the Perak tin trade recently, to the exclusion of all other nations, Europeans as well as Indians; therefore one day we should be satisfied, without thinking

of further pretensions or proposing new desires."²⁴⁰

As the Sultana's explanation to Truijtman for her decision clearly indicates, the main reason for her refusal to allow the Dutch to participate in Aceh's elephant trade was, indeed, an Acehnese reaction to the Dutch inroads into Aceh's trade. In this regard, it should be noted that her refusal forms a very striking contrast to her approval given to Truijtman in the very same year on the conclusion of an agreement on the Perak tin trade, as we have seen in Chapter II (section 3).

Truijtman's analysis of the reasons for Safiyyat al-Din's refusal is, however, rather different from those given by her. According to him, it was unquestionably principally with an eye to the opposition of the Muslim merchants from Masulipatnam and Bengal, who had been engaged in this trade from time immemorial, so that they would not be excluded from Aceh.²⁴¹

In his report to the Governor-General, Truijtman further notes the concern of the anti-Dutch faction in court circle, who convinced the Sultana of the correctness of their opinion concerning the danger of allowing the Dutch to take part in this trade. He writes:

"they had not only presumed that in case that once purchase of the beast is permitted, we [the Dutch] would undoubtedly continue this trade and try to win it completely for us with the intention of gradually ex-

PELLING the Muslims of Masulipatnam and of Bengal from there and as a result deprive them of their old commerce thereby, but had also moreover assured that Her Majesty that if our intention has so long been harboured, such must have already begun to be in effect in some degree on the Coromandel coast as well as on the Bengal coast by means of threatening severe and public injunctions relating to the trade in Aceh referred to; for this reason not a single ship ~~from~~ these regions, contrary to expectations, has come this year."²⁴²

The apprehension of the anti-Dutch faction mentioned by Truijtman was not their imagination but an accurate assessment of the real intention behind the attempted Dutch participation in the Asian elephant trade planned in 1642. The disappearance of the Muslim merchants was, as the anti-Dutch faction correctly presumed, because of the Dutch-Mughal treaty signed in September 1649. It decrees that Muslims of Surat, Bengal and other parts of India must henceforth abandon their voyage to Aceh until all differences between Aceh and VOC have been fully settled.²⁴³ Thus, the Aceh of 1650 can be said to have been threatened by insatiable Dutch policy and encroachment on its trade, a policy arising from the steep decline of Malacca's trade from 1646.²⁴⁴

In this connection, Truijtman's analysis of Aceh trade of the time is particularly important. In the concluding

part of his report, he remarks:

"It is true that the Muslims from Coromandel and Bengal are inconvenient for us, particularly in the traffic of cloths, because of their bringing in of their goods; nevertheless what they take out on their return is not so prejudicial as those of Surat, since they carry out from there a small quantity of tin, neither pepper or benzoin, nor camphor, but only elephants and gold, whereas those from Surat draw all the afore-said goods in large quantity, except elephants and gold, ... the Muslims of Aceh have not mentioned once the disappearance of the Gujarati Muslims this time, but have complained of the disappearance of the Muslims of Masulipatnam and Bengal."²⁴⁵

The textile fabrics both from Bengal and from Coromandel and Masulipatnam were indeed indispensable to the trade of the Sultanate, the former being in demand in Aceh and on the west coast dependency for the pepper trade, and the latter, especially those from Palicat and Masulipatnam, being supplied to Perak via Aceh in barter for tin.²⁴⁶ In addition, we have already seen that these regions were suppliers both of rice and slaves seriously needed by the Sultanate. Thus their disappearance from the scene had a critical effect on the Sultanate. In effect then, the Sultanate of Aceh had become victim of Dutch economic policy following their acquisition of colony of Malacca, a policy which caused not

only a decline in the economic power but also the political disintegration of the Sultanate as a political entity towards the end of the reign of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din. The elephant trade remained an intact resource to attract the merchants of the east coast of India, a resource by no means to be conceded to this encroacher threatening the very foundation of the Sultanate.²⁴⁷

To summarize, the elephant trade of Aceh was a very significant part of the trade of Aceh. Elephants as living merchandise were an important export of Aceh to Bengal, Kalinga and the Coromandel coast in barter for horses (particularly in the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda), rice, slaves and textiles, all of which were essential not only for the socio-economic interests of the Sultanate but for the running of the state itself. The Dutch failure to enter Aceh's elephant trade was to be expected, because to grant the Dutch a concession for this trade would be a threat to Aceh's life line, the supplies of rice, slaves and textile. Thus we can see both the importance of the elephant trade, particularly during the reign of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din, and reasons why the Dutch were never granted a concession to take part in it, notwithstanding the fact that they succeeded in gaining exclusive rights to the pepper trade in the west coast dependency relatively easily, and in establishing a foothold for their inroads into the tin trade of Perak by the end of the 1650s.²⁴⁸

NOTES

1. Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, pp.17-18.
2. To be more precise, a variety of practices during the reigns of al-Mukammil and Iskandar Muda. The fourth part also includes different practices dated to the 18th century owing to the fact that the AA was compiled into present form in the 1810s. (Ibid., pp.7-8, 23-32; see also Introduction)
3. Drewes & Voorhoeve, op. cit., p.28.
4. Ibid., p.28, 31.
5. Ibid., loc. cit.
6. Ibid., p.25.
7. Ibid., p.8; Anderson, Acheen and the ports, pp.212-216.
8. Drewes & Voorhoeve, op. cit., pp.29-30.
9. Ibid., p.31.
10. Meilink-Roelofs, Asian Trade, pp.42-44.
11. Pires, Suma Oriental, vol.1, p.145.
12. AA, p.153b. According to the AA, on every three bales of Indian goods, the cost-price of which was valued at one kati (= twenty bungkal) gold, the cukai is due ration one mas to one bungkal gold, that is, $1\frac{1}{2}$ tahil; while on general goods it is levied at $1\frac{1}{2}$ tahil to a cost-price of 120 tahil. The valuation of one bungkal gold, according to the AA (p.138b), is fixed at seven tahil.
13. Ibid., p.151a.
14. Drewes & Voorhoeve, op. cit., p.28.
15. Iskandar, Bustan, p.36.
16. Bawab may be a corruption of abwāb by the copyist, or a corrupt form current in Acehnese. Cf. Djajadiningrat, Atjèhsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, vol.1, s.v. BŌB.
17. AA, pp.152a-153a. See also Drewes & Voorhoeve, op. cit., p.28.
18. Ibid., p.154a.
19. K.A.1058bis, "Copie missive" of Harmansz., 25 Feb. 1645, f.464v.
20. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.110.
21. Meilink-Roelofs, Asian Trade, pp.44-45. But it is rather high when compared with that levied in Surat, where it was 3%. (Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.150, 152) The tariff rates levied on Indian

merchants are approximate to that in Pasai (6%) about a century earlier.

22. This is simply because of the fact that they were granted the privilege of exemption from customs duties. But the stipulation in the contract made in December 1600 between the Sultan and P. van Caerden is suggestive. The Dutch fleet under his command was required to pay an export duty of 5%. (Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum, vol.1, pp.19-20)
23. Letters Received, vol.4, p.125.
24. *Ibid.*, p.126.
25. *Ibid.*, vol.3, p.210, 218.
26. *Ibid.*, vol.6, p.72; Coolhaas, Coen, vol.7, pt.1, p.396, 399.
27. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.110.
28. Daghregister, Batavia, 1631-1634, pp.129-130. This reduction was never granted. The Dutch had to pay a duty of 10% on pepper exports, except certain dues called cleijda weijda and cleijda hawuij, exemption from which was granted by Iskandar Muda. Cleijda weijda may be ka'idah wadan i.e. weighing dues, and cleijda hawuij ka'idah aweuëh i.e. charges on spice. It is possible that the former charges were probably weighing charges levied on spices imported or exported, for which the AA, as we shall see later, makes a special arrangement called the adat bawab dacing, and the latter ones a river toll. See section (3) below.
29. K.A.1058bis, "Copie missive" of Harmansz., ff.463v.-464v. According to Harmansz., they were two from Negapatnam, one from Tegenapatnam, one from Palicat, one from Masulipatnam (all situated on the Coromandel coast), one from Wingurla on the Malabar coast and one from Bengal. From these vessels other than the Bengali ship (which brought stockfish from the Maldive islands) and that from Tegenapatnam belonging to the ruler there, duties amounting to 1558 tahil out of a total cargo price of 29140 tahil, consisting chiefly of varieties of Indian textiles, were collected for the royal household.

Mention should be made of export duties referred to in the various contemporary European sources. Europeans were required to pay both import and export duties. This was mainly because of their trading

activities in the west coast dependency. They had to obtain a special licence for free trade there from the Acehnese ruler, otherwise their trade would have been regarded as a clandestine one. From the viewpoint of the Acehnese ruler, granting a trade licence for the west coast dependency was virtually a commercial concession to the northern European powers. In contrast, merchants from India, particularly the Gujaratis, were excluded from the direct west coast pepper trade as early as 1608, and this in fact originated from the monarchy's monopolistic policy on the pepper trade introduced by Iskandar Muda, whereby he intended to centre all foreign trade in the capital. By procuring a special trade licence the northern European powers enjoyed the privilege of direct access to the west coast pepper. Therefore, export duties imposed upon them in Aceh may be regarded as a sort of compensation for this. This interpretation is supported by the fact that in 1615, 1616 and 1618, the import and export duties both in Aceh and in the west coast dependency were put into force at the same time, in exchange for the trade licence. Thus, it seems that the imposition of export duties may not have been usual in Aceh. (Purchas, Purchas his Pilgrimes, vol.2, p.519; Letters Received, vol.1, p.254, 270; Jourdain, The Journal, p.231) See also Daghregister, Batavia, 1661, pp.15-17.

30. AA, p.165a-b. See below (sub-section iii.)
31. Ibid., pp.165b-166b. See section (3) below.
32. Ibid., pp.130b-132a, 153b-154a. Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, p.25, 28-29.
33. Lagerberg, "Some notes on the port of Atjèh", pp.31-32.
34. AA, pp.148b-150a, 154a. See also Lagerberg, op. cit., loc. cit.
35. AA. p.154a. This may imply that the office of sarkar was concerned with trade management or accountancy so that the term sarkar might be another designation for kerani, and that the special mention in the AA of the sarkar may be an indication that the ^cusyur was levied not only on the officers' goods, but also on those which belonged to third parties not on board the ship, which were naturally entrusted to the officers of the ship.
36. Ibid., loc. cit.

37. AA, pp.130b-131a.
38. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.69-70.
39. AA, pp.163b-165b.
40. On the other hand, merchandise to which specific rules applied is omitted from the list. See further sub-section (iii) below.
41. Cf. Lombard, Le Sultanat, pp.110-111.
42. AA, p.166b.
43. See also Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, pp.30-31.
44. AA, pp.150b-151a.
45. AA, p.144a.
46. It is curious, however, that some of the items mentioned in this entry, such as rose water, steel and Chinese tobacco, are also enumerated in the list of adat bawab Panglima Bandar above.
47. Forrest, A Voyage from Calcutta, pp.44-45.
48. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol.1, pp.30-31.
49. Kreemer, Atjèh, vol.1, p.202, 330; Daghregister, Batavia, 1661, p.17.
50. AA, p.136a-b.
51. Ibid., pp.136b-137a, 137a-138a.
52. Ibid., p.138a-b.
53. In the case of stockfish, one kati = 0.65 Kg. (Kreemer, Atjèh, vol.2, pp.65-66)
54. K.A.1058bis, "Copie missive", of Harmansz., f.464r.
55. AA, pp.138b-139b; Kreemer, op. cit., pp.65-66.
56. AA, p.139b; Drewes & Voorhoeve, op. cit., p.45; Kreemer, op. cit., loc. cit.
57. AA, pp.139b-140a. As we shall see later, the unit of assessment is the hundred.
58. Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.145; Unger, De Oudste Reizen, pp. 72-73; Both, "Oost-Indische Reyse", p.8.
59. Davis, op. cit., p.146; Lancaster, The Voyages, p.136; Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.96.
60. On the contrary, they are reported to have been industrious to such extent that al-Mukammil forbade them to plant new pepper, and ordered to cultivate rice instead. (Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.98-99; Broecke, Broecke in Azië, vol.1, p.174)

61. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.98.
62. Dampier, Voyages and Discoveries, p.91.
63. This rice cultivation by slave labour in the 1680s and onwards in the interior of Aceh Besar had been a part of the reconstruction of the economic basis of the Sultanate, which had lost not only the rice-producing east coast dependency but also the pepper-producing west coast dependency. As far as rice is concerned, rice-cultivation developed to such extent that rice was no longer ^{an} important item of import in the 18th century. (Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.54)
64. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.99; a similar description is found in K.A. 1058bis, "Vervolch van Attchin's daghregister", f.445r.
65. Ibid., p.107.
66. Ibid., p.99.
67. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", pp.170-171, 179.
68. Daghregister, Batavia, 1643-1644, p.125.
69. His report, based on his own observation both on the spot and from Malacca (he held the office of governor of Malacca from 1645 to 1647), was prompted by an inquiry set forth by the Governor-General and Council as to their policy towards Aceh in connection with the redress for the murder of their factors in Perak (1651), the issue of war or peace hanging in the balance.
70. K.A.1091, "Origineel advys" of van Oudtschoorn, ff.227v.-228r.
71. K.A.1104, "Copie missive" of Truijtman, 2 Oct. 1656, ff.176v.-177r. According to the Governor-General's annual report in the same year, total number of vessels is 31. Those that escaped the blockade were of small size. (Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.3, p.93)
72. Daghregister, Batavia, 1656-1657, p.70.
73. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht", pp.170-171.
74. Mention should be made of the sole instance in which Aceh exported rice. According to Beaulieu, in 1621 Iskandar Muda sent 40 ships loaded with rice to Perak. However, this does not mean that it was surplus of their own production. Rather, it seems that he might have been taking advantage of the devastation in Perak resulted from the Acehnese expedition in the previous year. The rice he exported was in fact rice levied from his subjects. Beaulieu explicitly

noted Iskandar Muda's manipulation of rice collected as land-tax, and tells us that the rice was stored in his warehouse until the end of the year in order to make an extravagant profits on its sale; and if it is a year of abundance in Aceh and he hears of any place where there is a scarcity of rice, he sends it there to dispose of it. ("Mémoires", p.107)

75. Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht" pp.154-181; Boxer, "The Achinese Attack on Malacca", pp.105-121.
76. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.112-114.
77. For example, in 1618 about 11,000 people were brought from Pahang as prisoners of war and again in 1635, about 2,700; in 1619, 4,000 from Kedah; in 1620, 5,000 from Perak. According to Beaulieu, Iskandar Muda had about 22,000 people taken away from Johor, Deli, Pahang, Kedah and Perak - though he further says that now there are 1,500 of them left. (Broecke, Broecke in Azië, vol.1, p.177; Tiele, "Europeërs", BKI (1887), pp.246-247; Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.1, p.103; Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.83, 114; K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, f.1214) See also Letters Received, vol.1, p.270; Colenbrander, Coen, vol.1, pp.27-28, 100 349, 436; Coolhaas, Coen, vol.7, pt.1, p.400, 403, 613.
78. AA, pp.139b-140a. Tebusan literally means a person who is freed. In the context of the entry, apparently it signifies a slave or bondman.
79. Besides this entry, the AA also makes mention of slaves brought from Deli. One slave for every sixteen is payable to the Panglima Deli. (Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjéh, p.46) Although the AA and the Daghregister (Batavia, 1643-1644) suggest that Deli was a slave-exporting region during this period, further details are not known.
80. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.84, 88, 90; Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.147; Lancaster, The Voyages, pp.136-137; Waerwijck, "Oost-Indische Reyse", p.14; Best, The Voyage, p.157; Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.1, pp.128-129; pt.2, pp.331-332.
81. Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië, vol.3, pp.227-228. Based on the French version of Reysen van Nicolaus de Graaff, Lombard claims that hinterland of Aceh yielded wild horses at that time.

However, he seems to be a victim of mistranslation of Jak-halsen, which means jackals, not horses. (Le Sultanat, p.44, 89; Graaff, De Reisen, p.12)

82. Pires, Suma Oriental, vol.1, p.160.
83. AA, pp.154a-155a.
84. Ibid., p.111b, 159a, 160b; Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, p.18.
85. Lombard, Le Sultanat, pp.88-89; see also Chapter IV.
86. K.A.1070, "Copie missive" of Truijtman, 2 Oct. 1650, f.324v.; Ibid., "Origineel rapport" of Truijtman, 13 Jan. 1651, f.309r.; Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.2, p.462.
87. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.105; Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.1, p.129; pt.2, p.332. It is reported in 1613 that Iskandar Muda's elephants were about 200 of its number. (Best, The Voyage, p.169, 171, 213) The royal war-elephants of the mid 1680s are said to have numbered 500 or 600. (Bowrey, A Geographical Account, p.312, 325)
88. In 1618 a state elephant was not put to this service for the Dutch. (Coolhaas, Coen, vol.7, pt.1, p.614)
89. Best, The Voyage, pp.54-55; Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.2, p.331; Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, fn.6 on page 27.
90. K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.585r.; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.668v.; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.589v.; Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vo.2, p.520; Daghregister, Batavia, 1653, p.40
91. Namely, Iskandar Muda's return gifts to the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan (1628), to the Governor-General in Batavia (1632, see note (229) below), and to the ruler of Bengal (1635), that of Iskandar Thani comprising four elephants to Aurangzib (1640) and that of Safiyyat al-Din to the envoy sent by Shah Shuja (1644), Aurangzib's brother and then the viceroy of Bengal. (Coolhaas, Coen, vol.7, pt.2, p.1302; Daghregister, Batavia, 1631-1634, p.130; Ibid., 1640-1641, p.207; Ibid., 1641-1642, p.96; K.A.1030, "Copie missive" of G. Corszen, 6 May 1635, f.481; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.589r.-v.)
92. K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, f.1216. On working elephants, see, for example, Lancaster, The Voyages, pp.136-137; Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.2, pp.333-334. Elephants were also

- used for elephant-fight to amuse foreign envoys.
93. Daghregister, Batavia, 1640-1641, pp.6-7. War-elephants' paws were covered with bullet-proof iron and their tusks and legs were shield with steel and copper respectively.
 94. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.84; Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.2, p.332.
 95. Sources listed in note (80) above.
 96. Iskandar, Bustan, pp.54-57.
 97. K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, f.134v. See also note (106) below.
 98. K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.521v.
 99. K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.569r.
 100. Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.3, p.92.
 101. K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.502v., 516r.-v.; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, f.670v.
 102. K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.522v; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.583r. The Kadi Malik al-^cAdil was presented by van Oudtschoorn in 1644 with a coil of rope 38 fathoms long. (Ibid., f.610r.)
 103. K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., ff.522v.-523r.
 104. K.A.1070, "Origineel rapport" of Truijtmán, f.311v.; Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.3, p.92. Throughout the 1650s only two instances of elephant-capture are reported. This is simply because of the political tension between Aceh and the Dutch during this period, as we have already seen in Chapter II.
 105. For example, Best, The Voyage, p.166, 171; Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.1, pp.122-124; Bowrey, A Geographical Account, pp.325-326.
 106. Daghregister, Batavia, 1640-1641, p.7.
 107. K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.553v.; K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.578v.
 108. The case for Periaman, it was from the early 16th century, as noted earlier.
 109. Iskandar, Hikajat Atjéh, pp.59-62.
 110. Iskandar, Bustan, p.49; Daghregister, Batavia, 1640-1641, p.7.
 111. Linschoten, Itinerario (second edition), vol.1, p.33, 36, 41.
 112. Ibid., p.41; Pearson, Merchants and Rulers, p.13; Pires, Suma Oriental, vol.1, pp.20-21, 43-44; Barbosa, The Book, vol.1, p.118.
 113. Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.1, pp.466-467; K.A.857, "Missive

- oen Gerrit Corsz.", 29 Jan. 1635. ff.255-258.
114. Beaulieu, "Mémoires" p.106. Beaulieu writes that Iskandar Muda "has approximately 200 horses in the stable in his castle, about 50 of which may be worth 500 escus in France and the rest are of little importance, and they are superbly and richly caparisoned".
115. Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.1, p.192; Daghregister, Batavia, 1624-1629, p.129; Ibid., 1631-1634, p.454; Coolhaas, Coen, vol.7, pt.2, p.1457; K.A.1030, "Copie missive" of Corszen, ff.481-482; K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, f.1206. Corszen reports that horses were sent from various regions in India to Iskandar Muda, and that Iskandar Muda related this, adding that "who keeps friendship with me will send me horses and dogs". Aurangzib sent two reddish horses with caparisons as gifts to Iskandar Thani in 1640. (Daghregister, Batavia, 1640-1641, pp.206-207) In addition, the Dutch too presented Iskandar Muda with two Persian horses both in 1633 and in 1636. (K.A.857, "Missive" to Corszen, f.255; Daghregister, Batavia, 1636, p.214)
116. K.A.1030, "Copie missive" of Corszen, ff.481-482.
117. See note (115) above.
118. K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, f.1206; Tiele, Bouwstoffen, vol.2, p.308; Daghregister, Batavia, 1636, p.214.
119. Pires, Suma Oriental, vol.1, p.21.
120. K.A.857, "Missive" to Corszen, ff.255-256.
121. Daghregister, Batavia, 1631-1634, p.454.
122. K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, f.1204, 1224; Tiele, Bouwstoffen, vol.2, p.307.
123. According to Bowrey, in the 1680s the court owned more than 500 horses. (A Geographical Account, p.326)
124. It is reported in the early 1640s that the court possessed 38 Persian horses. (K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.512r.)
125. K.A.1040, "Copie missive" of Groocq, 10 Sept. 1639, f.1173.
126. Daghregister, Batavia, 1641-1642, p.288.
127. Dampier, Voyages and Discoveries, p.89.
128. Encyclopaedie van Nedelandsch-Indië, vol.3, pp.227-228.

129. AA, p.155a-b, 161b-162a.
130. Linschoten, Itinerario, vol.1, pp.40-41; Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.1, p.722; K.A.857, "Missive" to Corszen, ff.255-256.
131. AA., pp.162a-163a. See also Chapter V (section (2), sub-section (i), unloading).
132. Ibid., p.156a-b, 158b.
133. This is particularly conspicuous as regards the term for river toll used in them.
134. According to another passages, another arrangement is in force for vessels loaded with stockfish. For every Acehnese sampan twenty pieces of half a coco-nutshell were payable. (AA, p.135b, 162b)
135. Ibid., p.156a-b. This account is included in a passage called adat Orang Kaya Maharaja Mangkubumi, i.e. an account of the profits payable to the Orang Kaya Maharaja Mangkubumi. Little is known about him, however.
136. Ibid., p.158b. This passage appears to be part of an account called adat Orang Kaya Laksamana, in which an account of tax imposed upon Infidān merchants in the first half of the 18th century by way of penalty is given. (For details, see Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, p.29) However it seems more likely to be a continuation of the account of the profits payable to the Orang Kaya Maharaja Mangkubumi referred to above. A river toll on opium is also mentioned in this passage, but the amount is not given.
137. AA, pp.159a-160a.
138. The Acehnese word keurajat is a corrupt form of Arabic kharāj i.e. land tax. According to Djajadiningrat's dictionary, it means, however, a tax of one tenth formerly levied on all goods carried by proa (perahu) using the waterway. (Atjèhsch-Nederlandsch-Woordenboek, vol.1, s.v. KEURADJAT) However, as far as the use of keurajat (p.158b) is concerned, another interpretation might not be impossible if we place emphasis upon the description on that page which reads "Akan sekalian adat ini pada orang yang menjual dia." In this case, it is a kind of sales tax.
139. In addition, a development in terminology is discernible. The name given to the river toll is not always consistent. Terms used are: adat kuala, adat [kuala pada] dagangan, adat [kuala pada] perahu,

adat keurajat and keurajat. However, as the heading of the main description concerning the river toll i.e. adat kuala suggests, adat kuala was probably the general term for the river toll of the time, while the toll termed adat [kuala pada] dagangan may have become known later as adat keurajat.

140. Beaulieu, "mémoires", p.95.
141. Letters Received, vol.4, p.5, 71.
142. See note (28) above.
143. Djajadiningrat, Atjèhsche-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, vol.1, s.v. AWEUËH, LADA.
144. This is perhaps only to be expected, because on the whole Europeans did not deal in the items listed in the adat kuala, except in pepper.
145. AA, pp.165a-166b.
146. The figure given in the entry is: $\frac{2}{1} \frac{?}{14}$. As already noted, the same figure is found in the adat bawab Panglima Bandar. (Ibid., p.163a)
147. Ibid., p.150a-b. The sum total of kerat i.e. pieces distributed among the six officials amounts only to eight, not nine, and no mention is made of the unit of its assessment. (Drewes & Voorhoeve, Adat Atjèh, p.27) This means that the adat besi yang bertimbang too is corrupt.
148. Based on the relevant entries and the list of the port officials referred to in Chapter V (section 1).
149. It is surprising that European observers make little mention of the weighing system, though they often complain of manipulation in weighing by the officers in charge both in Aceh and its west coast dependency. The VOC record from 1640 tells of an episode in new scales, weighers and scribes were sent from Aceh to the west coast in compliance with the petition presented to Iskandar Thani by the Dutch. (K.A.1042, "Daghregister" of Meere, f.118v., 129r., 134v.)
150. Letters Received, vol.3, p.96.
151. K.A.1051bis, "Copie memorie" of Compostel, f.596r.-v.; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, ff.683v.-684r.
152. AA, p.112a. The office of Syahbandar Seri Rama Setia, who has two officials under him, is said to be concerned with weighing. See

also section (1) of Chapter V.

153. One possibility is that one Syahbandar was in charge of weighing of incoming goods, and the other Syahbandar was concerned with weighing on the occasion of export transactions by foreign merchants. Yet demarcation between the two Syahbandars' areas of responsibility is not clear.
154. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.69-70.
155. 1051bis, "Copie memorie" of Compostel, f.596r.-v.; Ibid., "Factura en cognossement", f.599r.; K.A.1052, "Gehouden daghregister" of Soury, ff.683v.-684r. These fifteen items of merchandise are the items that the Dutch principally dealt in at that time. All the items except pepper, sulphur and tin are imported goods. Thus, it would be wrong to conclude that the remaining items listed in this entry were not liable for weighing charges. But the details about these items unfortunately elude us.
156. The various kinds of steel referred to are bessée mallella and leda courboo from the Coromandel coast, and besse ganda from Surat, which were traded by the hundred pieces (on one occasion by the thousand pieces). (Letters Received, vol.3, p.188, 234; vol.4, p.5, 23, 71; vol.6, p.71, 72, 74) These types of steel may be equivalent of the steel foil (meulila kulit) of the AA. Although no specification is made of iron in the English records, there is enough evidence in them to support the hypothesis that iron was traded not only by the piece but also the bahar. For example, Iskandar Muda bought from the English 168 bahar of iron in 1613 and 103 bahar in 1615. In addition, English factors report that 150 or 200 bahar of iron are annually vendible in Aceh. (ibid., vol.1, p.271; vol.3, p.128, 185, 190) The only reference to iron ingot is found in a report from Tiku. It states that Tiku annually demands "100 bahar of iron, for 9 or 10 ends per bahar". (ibid., vol.4, p.91; see also vol.6, p.28) On the usage of iron, see Chapter II (section 1).
157. Unfortunately, on sheet iron (besi lantai) no account is available from the European side.
158. Based on the weighing charges for the fifteen items of goods and their market prices provided by the Dutch accounts, the following

percentage of weighing charges are obtained: cloves: 2.2-2.4%; mace: 1.7-2%; nutmeg: 2.5-3.8%; sandalwood: 1.7-2.5%; shellac or lac: 1.4-3.6%; nutmeg of minor quality: 2-2.5%; red dye: 1-1.8%; cotton: 1-1.9%; cinnamon: 1.4-3.6%; Chinese smilax: 1-1.4%; tin: 1%; iron: 1-1.1%; pepper: 1.3%; sulphur: 2.1-3.1%. Among the weighing charges levied on the local products of the Sultanate, including Perak, the percentage for sulphur is relatively high, for what reason is not apparent.

159. Tomé Pires is not very clear about whether rice came from Pegu, Bengal or Gujarat to feed Pidie. (Suma Oriental, vol.1, p.134)
160. Lancaster, The Voyages, p.136. One of the earliest accounts of rice imports from India is from 1599. In that year, a ship of Negapatnam loaded with rice was seized on its way to Aceh by the Zeelanders' fleet of 1598. (Davis, The Voyages and Works, p.154)
161. Lancaster, The Voyages, p.101; Unger, De Oudste Reizen, p.105.
162. K.A.1091, "Origineel advys" of van Oudtschoorn, f.228r.
163. K.A.1058bis, "Copie missive" of Harmansz., f.467r. A similar account is also found in K.A.1060, "Verbael van Attchin", f.168r.
164. K.A.1059bis, "Origineel relaes" of van Oudtschoorn, f.548r.-v.
165. For further details of the Dutch pass system, see Arasaratnam, "Dutch in Malacca", pp.480-490.
166. Dampier, Voyages and Discoveries, p.94. Although Lombard has diagnosed, as Reid points out, the insoluble problem of rice as one of the reasons for the eventual decline of the Sultanate, there exists no account, as far as is known, that corroborates his supposition for the second half of the 17th century. (Le Sultanat, pp.60-61; Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.54)
167. European sources from the turn of the 16th century and the very beginning of the 17th century, though limited and fortuitous, sketch some aspects of trade in general in Aceh when the English and Dutch arrived on the scene, aspects which may have also been in existence throughout the second half of the 16th century. Unfortunately, they have no reference to the slave trade.
168. Dampier, Voyages and Discoveries, p.91.
169. Colenbrander, Coen, vol.3, pp.177-178; Haan, Oud Batavia, vol.1, pp.451-452, 455, 518.

170. Best, The Voyage, pp.174-175.
171. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.108.
172. Ibid., p.73. 75.
173. Colenbrander, Coen, vol.3, p.177.
174. Coolhaas, Coen, vol.7, pt.2, p.990.
175. K.A.995, "Copie missive" of Jansen, 12 Jun. 1624, f.226. Actually, this plan was already made in 1622, initially for the purpose of the construction of Batavia.
176. K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.506v.
177. Ibid., f.508v., 524v.; K.A.1051bis, "Originele missive naer Batavia", 26 Nov. 1642, f.496v.
178. K.A.1059bis, "Copie daghregister" of van Oudtschoorn, f.570v., 571r.
179. K.A.1059bis, "Origineel relaes" of van Oudtschoorn, f.548v.
180. K.A.1068, "Copie daghregister" of Truijtmán, f.249r.
181. Daghregister, Batavia, 1643-1644, p.125; Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.98. See also note (79) above and Pires, Suma Oriental, vol.1, pp.148-149.
182. Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.2, p.479.
183. Ibid., p.791.
184. Daghregister, Batavia, 1661, pp.16-17.
185. Ibid., 1663, p.212.
186. Ibid., 1663, p.431. A kati for the weight of gold is equivalent to about 880 gm. One kati of gold was 440 real in 1636. (K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, f.1224; Bowrey, A Geographical Account, pp.281-282) According to Beaulieu, a ransom of 40 real could release an ordinary slave from slavery. ("Mémoires", p.108)
187. Meilink-Roelofs, Asian Trade, p.66.
188. Bowrey, A Geographical Account, pp.226-227, 290.
189. Dampier, Voyages and Discoveries, p.32. Similar situation occurred at around 1618. (Coolhaas, Coen, vol.7, pt.2, pp.990-991)
190. Dampier, op. cit., p.91. See also section (1) above (sub-section iii.).
191. EI, vol.1, s.v. ^cABD.
192. This is the case of the captives of Kedah. (Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.83)

193. On Portuguese captives in the reign of Iskandar Muda: Letters Received, vol.3, p.228; Beaulieu, "Mémoires", pp.60-61, 73, 75-76; K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, f.1200. On those Iskandar Thani's reign, see below.
194. According to Beaulieu, the Orang Kaya in Iskandar Muda's time too owned their own slaves. ("Mémoires", p.108, and 62, cited by Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.51)
195. Beaulieu, "Mémoires", p.103.
196. Ibid., pp.107-108.
197. Ibid., loc. cit. This was done on the condition that they would not attempt to escape, or assume a hostile attitude against their superintendents.
198. See note (186) above.
199. Reid, "Introduction: Slavery and Bondage", in Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia, pp.1-37.
200. Dampier, Voyages and Discoveries, p.91, 93-94, 98.
201. Ibid., pp.98-99.
202. The practice of self-redemption in Aceh presents a striking contrast to the slave system under the Ottoman Turks, in which there was no real process of emancipation and slaves remained in servitude for life. (Lybyer, The Government of the Ottoman Empire, pp.47-48, 55-56; Gibb & Bowen, Islamic Society, vol.1, pt.1, pp.41-45) Dampier's relation that even slaves had their own slaves is remarkable. But it seems rather dubious considering that, on the one hand slaves were entitled to redeem themselves, and on the other hand because the so-called slave-family system of the Ottoman Empire and elsewhere, which facilitates possession of slave by slave, seems unlikely, as we shall see later, to have developed in Aceh. Lack of relevant sources precludes further comment.
203. Slaves were no less important as domestic servants of the royal household, but there is not enough information on this subject.
204. Reid, "Trade and the Problem", p.49; see also Chapter II (section 1.).
205. Particularly in the central administration. (Lybyer, The Government, pp.35-61, 90-145; Gibb & Bowen, Islamic Society, vol.1, pt.1, pp. 45-137, 314-362)

206. It will be recalled that some senior officials at the centre of power during the reign of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din were of Malay origin. Undoubtedly, they were brought to Aceh as captives during the reign of Iskandar Muda. This may indicate that the line between captives of co-religionist and free Acehnese was less well established. It may be suggested that a demarcation might be set up between Malay Muslim war captives and debt-bondsmen of Indian, both Muslim and non-Muslim. Further study is needed.
207. Lybyer, The Government, pp.62-70; Gibb & Bowen, Islamic Society, vol.1, pt.1, pp.41-44.
208. Unger, De Oudste Reizen, pp.82-83, 85, 87, 96, 100-101. Furthermore, in 1601 fourteen Dutch captives were detained in Periaman on the west coast by the command of the Sultan of Aceh, - measure taken in retaliation for the arbitrary confiscation of pepper from Indian ships anchored in the Aceh harbour by van Caerden in Jan. of the same year -, were threatened by the local officers with forcible conversion to Islam at their arrival in Aceh, otherwise they would be thrown before elephants and trampled down or sold to the Portuguese as slaves. (Pietersz. & Senescal, "Verbael uijt het Journael van de Voyage", in B & V, vol.2, pp.19-20, 23)
209. K.A.1031, "Origineel daghregister" of Compostel, f.1200.
210. Ibid., loc. cit. One junk was boud for Inderagiri on the east coast when it was seized and brought to Aceh, together with the nineteen men on board. The other junk with its captain and 23 men was seized on its way to Cambodia.
211. K.A.1040, "Copie missive", 12 Nov. 1638, f.1177; Tiele, Bouwstoffen, vol.2, pp.364-365.
212. K.A.1040, "Copie missive" of Meulen, 13 Feb. 1639, f.1181; Ibid., "Originele missive" of Meulen to C. van Saenen, 13 Feb. 1639, ff. 1186-1187.
213. Ibid., "Copie missive" of Croocq, 3 Jul. 1639, f.1200; Ibid., "Copie missive" of Croocq, 10 Sept. 1639, f.1160. Possibly 'clean-shaven' denotes short-haired, without pigtail. Besides circumcision, this was usually the symbol of Islamisation, particularly of Chinese.
214. Snouck Hurgronje's observation on the elements of the Acehnese

population in the 1890s makes clear assimilation of foreign elements, both Indian, and Malayan and other Sumatran, into Acehese society. (The Acehese, vol.1, pp.16-24) There are no relics of Hindu Indians or animist Bataks, Gayos or Nias.

215. Coolhaas, Coen, vo.7, pt.2, p.1451.
216. Ibid., p.1302.
217. Ibid., p.1451, 1649; Daghregister, Batavia, 1631-1634, p.365. Of 23 elephants shipped to Masulipatnam in 1629, two are reported to have been owned by a certain Orang Kaya. Unfortunately, further details about him are not known. It may be that he was a member of the royal family, or at least had a relation by marriage.
218. Daghregister, Batavia, 1631-1634, p.365. These elephants were bartered for the nine horses that were transported to Aceh in early 1635. See note (115) above.
219. Mundy, The Travels, vol.3, pt.2, p.337.
220. Daghregister, Batavia, 1641-1642, p.96. The Bustan too describes this return gift, consisting of eight elephants, not four. Seven elephants out of the eight are recorded by name. (Iskandar, Bustan, p.60)

Notes on Table (1)

1. 'x' denotes an unspecified number of elephants shipped.
2. For the reason for the inadequacy of information from 1647 to 1659, see note (104) above and Chapter II (section (3), sub-section iii.). It is reported in August 1662 that sometime towards the end of the 1650s a sum of 30,000 real (about 7,500 tahil) in merchandise was shipped by a certain Mughal governor's ship to Aceh to purchase elephants for the Emperor. (Daghregister, Batavia, 1663, p.313)
3. On the two elephants exported, see note (247) below.

Sources

Daghregister, Batavia, 1640-1641, p.96; 1641-1642, p.288, 299; 1643-1644, p.249, 290, 292, 293; 1644-1645, p.346; 1661, p.16, 41, 118, 399, 408; 1663, p.212, 313, 431, 632; Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.2, p.328, 720, 796; K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.505v.; K.A.1051bis, "Daghregister" of Soury, f.582v.; K.A.1058bis, "Vervolch van Attchin's daghregister", f.437v., 440v.; K.A.1058bis, "Copie missive" of Harmansz., 25 Feb. 1645, ff.463v.-

- 464v.; K.A.1068, "Copie daghregister" of Truijtman, f.201v., 223r., 224v.; K.A.1068, "Copie rapport" of Truijtman, 29 Nov. 1649, f.184r.
221. Daghregister, Batavia, 1643-1644, p.290; 1661, p.118; 1163, p.212, 313, 431, 632; Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.2, p.717. See also Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies, pt.2, p.390
222. K.A.1051bis, "Copie daghregister" of Willemsz., f.505v., 526r.
223. K.A.1058bis, "Vervolch van Attchin's daghregister", f.437v.
224. Daghregister, Batavia, 1643-1644, p.290.
225. *Ibid.*, 1641-1642, p.176.
226. K.A.1058bis, "Copie missive" of Harmansz., ff.463v.-464v.
227. K.A.1059bis, "Origineel relaes" of van Oudtschoorn, f.551r.
228. Sources listed in note (86) above.
229. Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.1, p.431. As noted in note (91) above, Iskandar Muda presented one elephant to the Dutch mission in 1632, but the envoy declined to accept it on the excuse of the difficulty of shipping it. (Daghregister, Batavia, 1631-1634, p.130)
230. Arasaratnam, "Dutch in Malacca", p.481.
231. Daghregister, Batavia, 1641-1642, pp.155-156.
232. *Ibid.*, pp.156-157, 159; Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, p.89.
233. Daghregister, Batavia, 1641-1642, pp.173-174.
234. *Ibid.*, p.176.
235. Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.2, pp.240-241.
236. *Ibid.*, p.386, 446, 448, 646; vol.3, p.26, 103, 167, 225, 269, 299, 357, 395, 433, 446, 508; Heeres, Bouwstoffen, vol.3, p.233.
237. K.A.1059bis, "Origineel relaes" of van Oudtschoorn, f.548r. An account of the same type as this is also found in the Governor-General's report of Jan. 1653. (Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.2, p.647)
238. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.
239. Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.2, p.461.
240. K.A.1070, "Copie missive" of Truijtman, ff.323v.-324r. See also Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.2, p.462; K.A.1070, "Origineel rapport" of Truijtman, ff.309r.-310r.
241. K.A.1070, "Origineel rapport" of Truijtman, f.309r.; Cf. Coolhaas, Generale Missiven, vol.2, p.462.
242. *Ibid.*, ff.309v.-310r.

243. Arasaratnam, "Dutch in Malacca", p.486.
244. Ibid., loc. cit.; Heeres, Corpus Diplomaticum, vol.1, pp.523-524.
245. K.A.1070, "Origineel rapport" of Truijtman, f.319r.-v.
246. K.A.1059bis, "Origineel relaes" of van Oudtschoorn, f.548r.;
Daghregister, Batavia, 1644-1645, pp.43-44.
247. Only one instance is known of Europeans exporting elephants from Aceh. As shown in the Table, the two elephants exported to Masulipatnam in 1660 were actually purchased by the English in exchange for 60 pieces of artillery made of copper, and were sold in Masulipatnam on their way to Coromandel. In addition, the sixteen elephants bought by Muslim merchants from the Coromandel coast in the same year were shipped by an English ship, the Anna, which charged 700 real freight for each elephant. (Daghregister, Batavia, 1661, p.16, 41) However, this English participation in Aceh's elephant trade seems to have been exceptional. Probably, it was allowed because of supply of artillery, which the Sultanate, just relieved from the Dutch aggressive operations in the late 1650s, would need for national defence.
248. See Chapter II (section (3), sub-section iii.)

CONCLUSION

The picture of the Sultanate of Aceh which we have constructed in the present study is different from and in some cases runs counter to that given by scholars of past generations. In addition, contrary to the rather negative views of such scholars on the value of Malay writings as sources of information, it has been established that not only the AA but also the Bustan have an importance equal to that of the European sources, and in many respects are even more valuable and informative for the writing of a history of Aceh in our period.

Apart from many specific findings documented in this dissertation which have enabled us to date, with greater accuracy than has hitherto been possible, particular events in Acehnese history, we have been able to construct a general picture of the Sultanate during our period closer to historical reality than has previously been achieved. The Sultanate may be concisely described as follows.

Aceh in the second half of the 16th and the first three quarters of the 17th century was an Islamic state under a Sultan (or Sultana). The Sultanate was basically an autocratic and highly personal or patrimonial state: the ruler embodied the state and the state was the ruler. The degree of autocracy actually exercised varied according to the political power and skill of different rulers. It was established on a basis of what we have here called 'pseudo-feudalism', that is to say, on a ruler-retainer relationship, in which the Acehnese ruling classes (including the highest level) had various duties and obligations to fulfil in exchange for appanage or benefice lands granted to them

by the Sultan (or Sultana). Thus the term as we use it refers to a relationship between the ruler, the upper classes and the land, not between upper classes, land and peasantry.

Another characteristic of the Acehese political system was a familial ethos, which was a notable and significant feature of the Sultanate. By familial is meant not only blood relationships, but also personal associations that developed between the ruler and other individuals within court circles, possibly from childhood onwards. As head of the 'family' the Acehese rulers controlled his (or her) 'family', the members of which in turn governed their territories, known as Nanggròë, in the name of the ruler.

These two salient features may perhaps be regarded as corresponding to the patrimonialism of Max Weber, a system which enabled the capital to develop into what is often referred to as a city or port state. It should be noted, however, that to classify the Sultanate under this heading provides only a partial truth if due attention is not paid to the internal governing system. Various branches of the governing apparatus were firmly established and highly centralised especially by the autocratic Sultan Iskandar Muda and continued to exist throughout the rest of the 17th century. However, the machinery of government was not a well-bureaucratized institution, resulting from the nature of the polity of the Sultanate as described above.

Furthermore, as a result of our research, the legal administration in the Sultanate now appears very different from its representation in earlier accounts. The sources of law were plural: the royal

adat or edicts, Islamic Law, and those judicial practices at different levels. The understanding of the term 'adat' at this period was, however, clearly different from the sense in which Dutch scholars later understood it. 'Adat' was understood by the Acehnese of our period to signify practices and edicts as laid down by the rulers, into which part of older practices or customary law of the land had probably been absorbed. This is a more precisely delimited sense than the 'Adat law' of Dutch scholars, used to mean the ancient (unwritten) customary law of the land in the broadest sense of the word.

Contrary to Snouck Hurgronje's negative view of the role played by Islamic Law in the Sultanate, it exercised considerable influence upon the administration of law and justice through the efforts and influence of the senior religious figures of the realm, who were the rulers' religious and spiritual preceptors. This was particularly true for Acehnese social and family life in the urban area of the capital. The enforcement of Islamic Law can be easily observed in a number of actual cases. In fact, the ruler as head of an Islamic state, and Islam as both creed and source of law were inseparably linked, the ruler playing a central part not only in the judicature but also in the great Islamic rituals, the celebration of which was led by the Court. Nevertheless, the Islamic legal system as such occupied a secondary position in the overall legal system of the Sultanate. The will, and often whim, of the sovereign was, in effect, the prime and ultimate law of the Sultanate, and administrative practices based on such precedents (i.e. the will of ruler) came in time to be regarded as 'Adat' in the eyes of the Acehnese of the capital.

The port bureaucracy, the general procedures observed at the port Dar al-Salam, and the system of taxation of trade, as a whole, represent the outward aspect of the authority of the Sultanate. They were quite systematically established. This originated in the fact that Aceh during our period was the most important emporium of Asian trade in the region, with links to India and to West Asia, and various practices relevant to foreign trade had taken form to meet the needs of commercial activity of foreign merchants in the capital on the one hand, and to augment the wealth of the ruler on the other. In addition, the fact that Islamic commercial law is not as meticulously detailed as other branches of Islamic jurisprudence was another contributing elements to the development of the complex system of taxation in Aceh.

The administrative personnel of the port was extremely functionally organised to bear the responsibility of the running of the port and trade. This, together with the elaborate system of taxes levied on trade, clearly demonstrates the importance of Asian trade for the Sultanate as an essential part of its economic infrastructure. It was in fact closely connected with internal economic control over export products, such as pepper, tin and other goods produced in the dominions and dependencies, by means of the various governing apparatus concerned more with domestic aspects of political rule. Moreover, in the description of the way in which the port administration operated, it has been shown that the Sultanate made use of and developed further practices used in Malacca in the era of the Sultans.

A period of prosperity of the Sultanate over a century owed much to Aceh's significant position in Asian trade, particularly in

the pepper trade, since the early decades of the 16th century. Essentially the trade of Aceh was royal trade, a prerogative of extreme importance intrinsic to the sultanate, and which was dependent largely on the political power and authority of Aceh's rulers. This means that the economic and commercial prosperity of the Sultanate was largely a product of Aceh's hegemony in the region, both in the northern half of Sumatra and on the Malay Peninsula. However, the diffusion of royal power on the one hand, and increasing Dutch supremacy as the dominant political and commercial power in the region from the 1640s onwards, brought about an inevitable change in the trade pattern which had lasted for a century, yielding to a force which was to unveil itself as a regional political power rather than a trading company. Aceh was deprived of a major part of its trade (i.e. pepper and tin) by the Dutch East India Company by the middle of the reign of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din. Yet the elephant trade of Aceh continued to flourish and attract the merchants of the east coast of India, who exported rice, slaves and textiles, which were essential to the very foundation of the Sultanate, even though the Dutch actively attempted to erode this trade too by means of power diplomacy in the 1640s and 1650s.

During the reigns of Iskandar Thani and Safiyyat al-Din, the gradual ascendancy in political power of the Orang Kaya at the expense of the ruler, the Dutch capture of Portuguese Malacca in 1641, and the subsequent aggressive and forceful commercial policies of the Dutch from 1644 onwards resulted in the contraction of royal power and an overall diminution of the power of the Sultanate.

Firstly, in the early years of Safiyyat al-Din's reign the less forceful personality of the ruler brought about an internal shift from autocracy to something more like a 'feudal' system.

Secondly, increasing Dutch power backed by their inescapable military supremacy deprived Aceh of the dependencies which had been of enormous importance to the Sultanate as an integral part of its economic infrastructure and prosperity.

Thirdly, an increase in the power and independent status of the Orang Kaya and the Ulèëbalang towards the end of the Sultana's reign eventually resulted in the formation of a new political element that existed side by side with the authority of the ruler, i.e. the three Sagi and their chiefs, the Panglima Sagi. Even so, however, the Acehese rulers of our period were not, in most cases, merely nominal over-lords as Snouck Hurgronje has claimed.

Upon the death of Safiyyat al-Din in 1675, the Sultanate entered into a new era, and the last quarter of the century was a period of transition from the old powerful and prosperous Sultanate to a new kind of political entity. As a result of the loss of authority over its dependencies, and of the emergence of the Panglima Sagi, whose power was to surpass that of the ruler, a 'new' Sultanate was to be constructed. This 'new' Aceh, in our view, needs to be studied and re-examined in the kind of historical framework that we have outlined, because the Aceh of the last quarter of the 17th century and onwards was very different from the Aceh of the period of this study. It may be fruitful, perhaps indispensable, to take into account every indigenous source. It is apparent that this requires

much detailed study and analysis if the scope and potential of these sources - and their limitations - is to be fully realised. At the very least, this study has, I hope, proved conclusively, that the dependence on European sources, and the down-grading of Acehnese materials, has yielded a sadly incomplete and distorted picture of the Sultanate

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* Archives under this classification have been reclassified as VOC Archief in 1980. However, I have been obliged to follow old classification in the present study simply because of my careless oversight to check new classification numbers of several volumes.

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