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C. SNOUCK
HURGRONJE

THE
ACHEHNESE
VOL. I

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BY

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LATE E. J. BRILL
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SUBMITTED TO THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT JANUARY 1903.

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BY

**Dr. C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE**
Adviser for Native Affairs, Netherlands India,

TRANSLATED

BY

**the late A. W. S. O'SULLIVAN**
Assistant Colonial Secretary, Straits Settlements,

WITH AN INDEX

BY

**R. J. WILKINSON**
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# INTRODUCTION.

In July, 1891, I proceeded to Acheh in pursuance of instructions from the Netherlands-India Government to make a special study of the religious element in the political conditions of that country. During a residence in Arabia (1884—85) I had been in a position — especially at Mecca — to obtain an intimate knowledge of the influence of Mohammedan fanaticism upon the obstinate resistance of the Achehnese to Dutch rule; some time spent in direct relations with Achehnese on their own soil was required to round off the knowledge gained by me from literature and from my experience in the sacred city of the Arabs.

In Acheh I soon saw that the available data regarding the language, country and people fell far short of what was wanted, so I extended my enquiry beyonds the limits of my commission. In order to get at the very foundations of a knowledge of the influence of Islam upon the political, social and domestic life of the Achehnese, I took (so far as local conditions allowed me) that life in its entire range as the subject of my research. In February, 1892, I had got together enough preliminary matter for compiling a book; I worked up my materials at Batavia; and so, in 1893—94, first appeared the treatise which is now being again offered to the public in the form of an English translation.

When Mr. O'SULLIVAN, early in 1899, informed me of his project of translating the book and requested me to look through his version and give him the benefit of any amendments in the text which might seem to be needed, it was just the very time that the real conquest of Acheh was being commenced; and I — spending a great deal of my time in that country — was in an incomparably better position to investigate that old pirate-state than I had been in 1891 and 1892. Certainly had I begun to write my book in 1899, it would have differed in many respects from its actual form. Still, as the book was definitely

out, there was no justification for re-writing it and there were some serious reasons for not doing so. The Second Volume had dealt with the religious life of the people; the more abundant data which were afterwards forthcoming had only confirmed in all particulars the account that I had given. Besides, in the First Volume, there was only the first chapter which would be less useful than one written in 1899, since that latter could so deal with the general political situation as to lay more clearly before the reader the alteration in the state of affairs since 1891. Much of what had then been important, had come to lose its practical significance, — new factors and persons had brought their influences to bear. Any one writing a new introductory chapter with his eye on the altered situation would have broken, more or less, the thread of connection which ran through the component portions of my work. Moreover the state of affairs in 1891—92 long remained unchanged, while in 1899 the march of events was so rapid that the situation might almost be said to be changing from day to day. Last of all, the undertaking might have been seriously delayed owing to the fact that the translator and the author were separated — one in the Straits Settlements, the other in Netherlands India — and that both, wrapped up in official duties, would already find it as much as they could do to get through their self-appointed task, especially as the English edition would have to be printed in Europe.

All these considerations led up to the decision that the text should be left substantially unaltered, and that only occasionally would some improvements and fuller explanations be included in it, that isolated additions to the text regarding individuals mentioned in it, should be put in brackets after the names referred to, and, finally, that in an introductory article as much should be said regarding the course of recent events in Acheh as would suffice to give the reader some idea of their significance. This last seemed specially needful in an edition destined for readers outside Holland as well as in it, since foreigners had constructed for themselves a legend of the Acheh War which, though completely refuted by Dutch writings, continues still, outside Holland, to be accepted as history. Speaking generally, the most absurd errors are accepted in Europe for the truth regarding events that concern the minor states; even in Germany, the land of learning, savants take each other more seriously to task over an error in an edition of a Pushtu text or in an essay on the ethnography of Corea

than over a tissue of injustices to their neighbours and kin in the Netherlands.

Holland — so runs the European legend — has been engaged in war against Acheh for a period which has extended to about thirty years without having led to the subjugation of that native kingdom. Shaking their heads solemnly over it, many learned people outside the frontiers of Holland see in this worthy fable — to which naturally they do not devote any long investigation — a definite indication of Holland's inability to govern her colonies, whether this be due to faulty policy or to ignorance or to faithlessness on the part of those to whom the task of the subjugation of Acheh has been confided.

Now there is certainly no nation more disposed to learn from foreigners than the Dutch; and no Dutchman will deny that in the conduct of Achehnese affairs it is often hard to see how the administration can be considered to have been either adequate or suitable for what was needed. But the obstacles in the path of conquest were very, very great; with far more wisdom and power than little Holland possesses, the difficulties would have taken a long spell of time to overcome. And Holland has spent no thirty years in the effort; her error rather has been that she has continually suspended the action she has begun and that she has indulged in long periods of quiescence, — while the most serious trouble of all has lain in the fact that the strings of policy were pulled by ignorant majorities in the Mother-country, who did not discover the best path from the outset but learnt through a period of disaster and discredit the course that they should pursue. Is Holland the only colony-governing country that has now and then had cause to suffer from twinges of that complaint, or that has failed to immediately lay hands on the man appointed by destiny to put through an arduous enterprise?

Acheh was to be brought into the comity of civilized states or at least to be rendered innoxious to it. From Mohammedanism (which for centuries she is reputed to have accepted) she really only learnt a large number of dogmas relating to hatred of the infidel without any of their mitigating concomitants; so that the Achehnese made a regular business of piracy and man-hunting at the expense of the neighbouring non-Mohammedan countries and islands, and considered that they were justified in any act of treachery or violence to European (and latterly to American) traders who came in search of pepper, the staple product

of the country. Complaints of robbery and murder on board ships trading in Achehnese parts thus grew to be chronic. Of central authority there had never been any for some centuries back; and the country was practically split up into countless miniature states under chiefs whose power depended on personal energy and who were generally in a state of warfare with their neighbours unless in peace and alliance with them for the joint perpetration of their national offences. The foreigner, who had dealings with the Achehnese, as soon as he found himself in difficulties, sought vainly for some authority that might redress his wrongs. Such indeed has been the situation since the seventeenth Century when the Sultanate of Acheh lost its control over the great chiefs of the State and over their dependents; but even when the power of the Achehnese princes was at its height the foreigner could find no security for life or property in the country.

The arrangements which the British East India Company made with Acheh at the close of the XVIII$^{th}$ and the beginning of the XIX$^{th}$ Century for the establishment of friendly relations, were overridden in the most insulting way; we can satisfy ourselves upon this point by referring to a recent essay upon the treaty made with Acheh [1]) by RAFFLES in 1819, in which long extracts have been quoted from the archives of the India Office [2]).

In 1786 Warren Hastings received from the then Sultan of Acheh a discourteous letter in reply to an expression of goodwill. In that same year, Captain FRANCIS LIGHT pointed out to the Governor-General of Bengal that a settlement at Pulau Pinang possessed greater advantages than one on the Achehnese coast: "Acheen is a good road but no place of security against an enemy there. The country is fertile beyond description and very populous. *The inhabitants rigid and superstitious Mohammedans, sullen, fickle and treacherous. To form a settlement there of safety and advantage, a force sufficient to subdue all the chiefs would be necessary*". In the same spirit wrote JAMES PRICE to the chairman

1) Or rather with "Johor Allum as king of Acheen", concerning whom the Chairman of the Company wrote to Bengal on the 4$^{th}$ August 1824: "*that chief, so far as we can collect from your correspondence, not having possessed an established authority in the country which he assumed to represent, has never been in a situation to maintain the relations into which he entered*".

2) Essay of P. H. VAN DER KEMP in *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, vol. LI, pp. 159—240 (the Hague, 1900). In the English documents qnoted there are many writer's or printer's errors.

of the Company in London: "I prefer Penang to the Port of Acheen as being more healthy and entirely free from that *oppression, war and confusion which have ever* [1]) *distressed and at length driven out every European nation who has attempted to settle there*". And in 1825 Governor R. FULLERTON wrote: "With respect to the future establishment of European influence over Acheen, it may be observed that such an arrangement on our part was long considered a desirable object, but it has been found *utterly impracticable without employing a large military force to overawe the inhabitants*".

As the one power which was settled in Sumatra and had brought the other territories in the island under its suzerainty or control, Holland, during the second decennial period of the XIX$^{th}$ Century, was compelled to take measures to ensure the safety of foreign trade in Acheh. In 1824, the Dutch Government, with great lack of foresight, entered into a treaty with Great Britain, under which it guaranteed the security of trade and shipping in Acheh — with its fanatical and treacherous population, turbulent and warlike to a degree unknown among the other races of the Archipelago, as well as hopelessly divided against itself, — and made the further stipulation (which rendered its undertaking impossible to carry out) that it would respect the independence of the country.

No wonder then that in the following half-century the complaints of wrongs of every sort suffered at the hands of the Achehnese by European and American traders became more and more plentiful, and that these ultimately led up in 1871 to a new treaty with England, under which Holland was left with more freedom of action in the control of Acheh.

The British experience of 1786 — that to effect the security of trade and shipping in Acheh it would be absolutely necessary "to subdue all the chiefs" and "to overawe the inhabitants" — was now, after a long struggle, to be acquired by the Dutch as well. People flattered themselves quite seriously with the hope that a treaty with the Sultan of Acheh — forced out of him, if need be, by menaces and by the despatch of a small force, — would succeed in doing all that was wanted; they did not trouble their minds in the least degree with the internal condition of the country. Even after the war had actually begun

1) Obviously this is the correct reading, and not "however".

in 1873 they continued to entertain the vain hope that a treaty of this sort might be the basis of a solution of our Achehnese difficulties. After the abolition of the royal authority and the death of the last Sultan, the Netherlands India Government came forward as his successor and claimed the allegiance of the chiefs of the dependent kingdoms. Many chiefs of Achehnese coast-dependencies formally gave in their submission in order to protect their commerce from injury, but the number who withheld their allegiance was greater; and many chiefs in the interior did not consider themselves bound by the promises of the raja of the coast. Furthermore the state of war — as may be learnt from our first chapter — added to the many chiefs who already disputed authority in Acheh a countless number of others: adventurers, religious leaders, military chiefs of every type. For years the Dutch authorities remained under the illusion that by taking up certain strong positions (one having the former Sultan's residence as its centre and others being important harbours in the dependencies) the rest of the country could be forced to submit, and that by the submission of certain of the principal Chiefs the other headmen and the rest of the people would be brought under Dutch authority.

At last under the governorship of General van der Heyden (1877—1881) they learnt by experience that while a defensive policy in no way advanced Dutch dominion, a vigorous offensive would make the enemy come to his senses. All Great-Acheh was conquered in this way. The coast-dependencies which, in parts, were densely populated and supplied the *nervus rerum*, money, to the war-party, were of greater real importance than the mother-state from which the colonies of pepperplanters had spread out. This fact the politicians forgot when in 1881 they thought that now that the war seemed virtually at an end they could fall back upon a more defensive attitude and introduce a purely civil government. The years 1881 to 1884 were necessary to enable them to see that the establishment of widely extended military posts in Great-Acheh and the introduction of a settled administration could never lead to the breaking down of the opposition in the dependencies; and that, on the contrary, so long as one did not oneself take the offensive against the Coast-states, the military posts in Great-Acheh would be the target of continual attacks by the Achehnese. The Government and the House of Representatives in the Netherlands came to the decision — alas, an erroneous decision, — that the expenditure

on Great-Acheh must be curtailed, that the resistance in the Coast-states must be overcome by naval coercion alone, and finally that developments must be awaited and that time would reconcile the Achehnese to their Over-lords. In 1884 this "concentration-scheme" was taken up and a beginning was made by the construction of a "concentrated line" of forts stretching about the old seat of the Sultanate. A widespread opinion exists that the statesman who inaugurated this so-called scheme, besides being entirely unversed in Achehnese affairs, was cynical and sceptical and only sought for some temporary way of shelving the burden of the Achehnese question, and that Parliament followed him. I am not in a position to controvert this belief. Certainly no one ever rendered a greater service to the War-party in Acheh than the inventor of "concentration". The Achehnese were free, at whatever time and in whatever way suited them best and without heavy expenditure or loss, to harrass the line and the coast-stations, as often as they pleased; the troops within the line were as little able to prevent them as they were to punish them when the thing was done. In the presence of a quite harmless enemy within the country, the religious party and the energetic adventurers had a most desirable opportunity of establishing war-chests and, with them, *imperia in imperio*. There was no reason whatever why this most enjoyable state of affairs — for the Achehnese — should ever come to an end. Moreover all Acheh and its dependencies, including the headmen in nominal subjection to the Dutch Government, remained under the influence of the Government's foes; and these latter everywhere derived more profit than injury from the presence of the Dutch forts in the country.

Coercive measures dealing with Achehnese trade and shipping failed to be effective not only because they were not pushed on with sufficient energy, but still more because it is always possible for an Achehnese to supply himself with his own limited requirements even without the aid of foreign trade, so long as he is left (as the "concentration scheme" left him) in undisturbed possession of the whole land.

No wonder then that no one with any knowledge of local conditions expected any good from this "scheme". A child could grasp that it offered either too much or too little. If one hoped to effect the subjugation of Acheh, it offered little help, — in fact none at all; if one only desired so much conquest as would permit of the Dutch flag flying over the village of the old Sultans, then the tenure of a very small

area would have sufficed, and one might have been spared the trouble and expense incurred in the holding of the "line" which necessitated a considerable military force to do a work of the Danaides under the continuous harassing of the Achehnese.

From the commencement too, every one whose duty it was to supervise the working of this "scheme" found it necessary to do either more or less than it implied; the Governors of Acheh themselves expressed such opinions sometimes by action sometimes by recommendation. We need not trouble the reader with the dozens of different schemes proposed by officials or unofficials. It may however be borne in mind that firstly the trial of a purely civil government (based on the theory that Acheh had been sufficiently subdued), and afterwards the "concentration" (really intended to save statesmen at home from troubling their heads about these questions, but nominally based upon the theory that Acheh would ultimately submit of its own accord) take out fifteen years from the tale of the legendary thirty first referred to by us.

The last three years of the "concentration" time have earned an unhappy notoriety under the name of the "Uma"-period. This adventurer, whose character is depicted in our first volume, came from the Meulaboh country; he was a typical Achehnese in his complete untrustworthiness and in his slavery to opium and gambling, but he differed from most Achehnese headmen in his energy and consummate tact in his relations with all sorts and conditions of men. As he had acquired a commanding influence over the West coast and in one of the three *sagi*'s of great Acheh by cunning and intrigue and by violence of all sorts — and the "concentration" theory debarred any idea of depriving him of his ill-gotten authority — he was a troublesome enemy to the Dutch Government and he could become by prudent policy on the part of those in authority, a useful ally of that Government. It is true that he had many crimes standing to his debit and had more than once been guilty of double-dealing — but these are offences which can be laid to the charge of all "friendly" Achehnese chiefs, and although in Uma's case the proportions in both respects were greater than in the case of other treacherous allies, this was only due to the fact that the others were less subtle and energetic than he.

Thus in 1893 when Uma, intending to advance his own interests had repeatedly asked for the forgiveness of his past offences, the acceptance

of his submission could not be censured from the point of view of the concentration scheme. With a prudent endeavour to reconcile Uma's private interests with those of peace and order throughout the territories he ruled, there would have been much to gain and nothing to lose. For even if the fickle chief once more had changed his mind, one would still have been as far advanced as before and would have had some chance of increasing one's knowledge of the proper course to pursue in matters concerning the condition of the districts under his influence. But inexcusable it was that a Governor absolutely unacquainted with native affairs should, immediately after Uma's submission, have given his entire confidence to this adventurer and, in defiance of all warnings, should have persisted in strengthening Uma by generous subsidies of Dutch weapons and Dutch money.

Thus assisted, Uma overcame his own enemies — for partizan struggles and civil war raged even after the Dutch power was established in Acheh — and, under the guise of fighting against the foes of the Dutch regime, he dealt out, as his own, plentiful subsidies to his friends in the War-party and tried by all means in his power to acquire the maximum of influence both over the Dutch and their opponents. Of course this could not go on for long; as soon as it ceased to be possible for Uma to continue to combine the satisfaction of the wishes of the War-party with the appearance of advancing the interests of the Government, the barrel would burst — and there was not much doubt on which side Uma would elect to be. From the very first he set himself to winning substantial gains for the War-party and nominal advantages for the Dutch, which last advantages however seriously taken had no real value whatever. A "line" of greater extent than the original „concentrated" line, could effect nothing whatever in the way of terminating an insurrection that had its centres and its granaries outside Great Acheh in the dependencies. Yet this extension of the line was the only apparent gain which Uma, appointed a commander of friendly Achehnese forces and considered by the Governor as a trusty councillor, brought to his protector; and this gain was due to — and continued to depend on — the slender thread of his good-will.

In March, 1896, Uma thought that the time had come to remove the scales from the eyes of the blindly-trusting General DEYKERHOFF. He had then sufficient money and arms to play a leading part among

the War-party, and the claims which his friend DEYKERHOFF pressed upon him began to be burdensome.

His secret opposition to Dutch rule thus changed to open hostility, but since the real purport of his actions had long been as obvious as the day, we cannot speak — except in a highly specialized sense — of Uma's "defection".

The Uma episode, however melancholy in itself, indirectly exercised a healthy influence upon the management of Achehnese affairs. Its termination opened all eyes to the need of vigorous action if one did not wish to abandon altogether the subjugation of Acheh. In 1896, the war against the Achehnese, which had been allowed to be suspended since 1881 without any real resultant gain, was resumed. Above all since Governor VAN HEUTSZ in 1898 took the direction of affairs everything has been methodically done to make the necessary end, once and for all, of this insurrection.

The enemy, by nature more warlike and from of old more devoted to war than any race in the neighbouring islands, was by this time far better equipped than at the outset of the Dutch invasion of Acheh. He had a superfluity of arms and munitions; he possessed a better knowledge of the tactics of European troops and the difficulties that they had to overcome; and he had, during the concentration-time, formed no high estimate of his foe's intelligence. Thus then his self-confidence stood higher than ever.

Whenever the Dutch troops encountered the Achehnese in the open field the die was soon cast; these latter could not — owing to lack of unity and organization — keep in the field anything like a military force for long. On the other hand the Achehnese have an advantage in guerilla warfare which makes their subjugation a gigantic task and through which the combatant numbers at their foe's disposal are of even less avail than his superior strategy and organization. Between the populated districts the Achehnese finds sometimes jungles and sometimes swamps in which he can conceal himself; from the central highlands of North Sumatra where the Gayōs and Alassers live, a huge ring of forest separates him. In ordinary times he makes clearings for pepper and rice fields in the jungle; in time of need such clearings offer themselves as excellent hiding-places over which bands can scatter themselves. For gampōng-dwellers who do not wish to submit, the abandonment of their habitations is thereby rendered less distressing; they settle in

the ladangs or open up new clearings in the jungle, — for preference, in out-of-the-way corners.

Thus then the gampōngs of Acheh and its dependencies became partly depopulated, and the illimitable virgin forest became dotted, here and there, with temporary clearings used as the settlements sometimes of large communities, sometimes of petty bands, — situated as far as possible from any common path, very difficult to trace and as good as inaccessible for large military forces. The people remaining in the gampōngs in apparent submission really sided with the expelled section so that the ladang-dwellers always found a cordial reception awaiting them in the gampōngs, while the gampōng-dwellers, when they had anything to their discredit, knew where they could safely retire to. Furthermore bands could count on safe hiding-places when they wished among the Gayōs and Alassers, Mohammedan subjects of Acheh.

Achehnese bands had to gather together and act for short periods only wherever through enquiries or the reports of their spies, they had reason to believe that they stood a good chance of winning some advantage or another. They were rarely exposed to attack on any large scale, for the almost inaccessible country that they understood in every detail helped them as an ally and enabled them to break up into small parties or even singly to betake themselves to their temporary places of refuge whenever necessary. The question of provisions troubled them but little; they found on the spot pretty nearly everything necessary to satisfy their modest requirements. For serious attacks they made use of fanatics who, fortified by the assurance of their teachers that any one who fell in a war against infidels would go straight to heaven, eagerly went to their death, and of assassins who pretended to be friendly so as to help the cause by gaining admission to some camp and there plunging into slaughter. Is it wonderful then that many a man, shrugging his shoulders, asked himself how all this was to end, and believed that the troops, to accomplish their task, would have to be not only brave and resourceful but ubiquitous?

Truly FRANCIS LIGHT and JAMES PRICE, whom we have already quoted, had grasped the situation in its most literal sense. It was necessary "to subdue all the chiefs", — and their name was legion!

Only as guerillas against guerillas, by using the most lightly equipped native troops under the leadership of first-rate European officers with non-commissioned officers of like quality, and by operating in small

detachments, could any real results be arrived at. In less than six years General VAN HEUTSZ made such progress that now even the most sceptical must admit that we have come to the beginning of the end. The traitor Uma and numbers of adventurers, fanatical leaders and guerilla chiefs perished; the chiefs of dependent states, the members of the Sultan's family, and finally their head himself who in 1878 as a child had been proclaimed Pretender-Sultan, submitted almost without exception; and thousands of refugees came back to their gampōngs under the authority of Government. The continuance of the revolt is now censured by all chiefs of mark except a limited number of universally respected religious leaders. This exception — and in fact the whole attitude of the teungkus (men learned in the scriptures) during the closing years of the war — confirms anew the accuracy of what was said in this book in 1892 regarding the significance of the religious factor in the war; at that time no one believed it, but for the last two years every one has accepted it as a truth that he acknowledged from the first.

If one casts a glance over the map so as to form some idea of the extent and desolate character of the country in which, by day and still more by night, operations had to be continually carried on; if one knows that several military expeditions lasting weeks, — yes, and months — were necessary towards the central highlands of the Gayōs in order to track down the enemy; that from 1898 the rule was enforced that all houses and settlements should be spared — in the case of enemies as well as in the case of those who submitted; that one should always behave with the greatest indulgence towards hereditary chiefs, and that even repeated evidence of treachery formed no sufficient reason for not receiving them back into favour when they repented; — one then can understand what an effort must have been made to attain the position in which matters stand today.

Truly, although this guerilla warfare gave no place to feats of arms generally called famous, the courage, the devotion, the foresight and local knowledge necessary to enable officers with their small detachments of troops to march tens of miles a day over very hilly ground, often pathless, through forest, swamp, and riverbed, to reach some hidden destination, were greater than one can picture from the plain military reports; and the hardships and privations which they and their subordinates had to patiently undergo would have caused any less sober nation than the Dutch to blow their own trumpet very loudly.

The whole former kingdom of Acheh with the dependencies connected with it is now subject to Dutch rule; all the districts are administered by hereditary chiefs under the constant supervision of Dutch Civil Servants and officials, and the military force is engaged in hunting down and reducing to impotence the last elements of disorder — the irreconcilable fanatics and the incorrigible plunderers — in their own selected hiding-places. The very reciprocal dissensions of the Achehnese, their efforts to impede the subjection of their opponents among their fellow-countrymen, make this work laborious and slow, but no one has any doubt about the ultimate issue, and even the surviving bands no longer delude themselves with the hope of baffling the Dutch for long.

This commentary on the above-debated events of the last few years does not aim at giving the reader an extract of Acheh's most recent history; the treatment of history lies outside the scope of my work. But just as in 1892, for a proper comprehension of the political, domestic, social and religious life of the Achehnese it was necessary now and again to recall certain historical events in order to explain the present by the past, so now it seems desirable not to leave the reader unacquainted with the important changes which have taken place on the political stage at Acheh since the appearance of the Dutch edition of my work. This further thought occurs to me as its writer: that the period separating the two editions of the work has, in all material details, placed the seal of truth upon the diagnosis of the disease made by me in 1892, when many doubted me, while other doctors thought that the complaint was beyond healing. Now no one any longer doūbts that the dogmas of Islam on the subject of religious war, so fanatical in their terms, supplied the principal stimulus to this obstinate rebellion; that the *teungkus*, or religious leaders, came more and more during the war to be masters of the country and terrorized the hereditary chiefs as well as the populace wherever these last were disposed to peace; that only a forcible subjugation followed by orderly control over the administration could bring about peace; that the Dutch Government in Acheh could effect nothing by pressure from outside; that the control of the country through controlling its harbours was impracticable; and that Tuanku Muhamat Dawōt who had been made Sultan as a child, however much he enjoyed the homage mingled with fear that natives are apt to give to the descendants of their tyrants, was a nonentity in a political sense and was in a position neither to do the Dutch much

harm nor to give them any serious assistance in the pacification of the country.

It was precisely during the most important years of the Acheh War that the work of translation was going on, with many pauses and at a slow pace. When the book was at last completed in manuscript, and when the first volume had been printed in full and the second to the extent of some pages, Mr. O'SULLIVAN was, in August 1903, carried off by a most sudden death. Shortly before his death it had been arranged between us that he should compile an alphabetical *index rerum* which would take the place of the lists of contents of chapters as well as of the list of Achehnese words attached to the original edition. Besides this, Mr. O'SULLIVAN planned a translator's preface to follow mine. This last feature must now be lost to the reader; the compilation of the index as well as the translation of this introduction was kindly undertaken by Mr. WILKINSON who was intimately acquainted with Mr. O'SULLIVAN's project.

Besides the above-mentioned differences the English translation differs from the original edition in the following respects. Mr. O'SULLIVAN has appended some notes, marked as coming from the translator and dealing especially with the aspect of the phenomena cognate to those in the text whenever they are also met with in the Malay Peninsula. The two geographical maps which accompanied the Dutch edition have been entirly re-cast, as the expeditions which traversed the country during the last years of the war were extremely useful for topographical purposes. The portions still unsurveyed we are able to fill in by means of outline-sketches and reliable data from native sources. All that could be gathered from all the above-mentioned sources of information up to 1903 has been embodied in our two maps which were prepared in the topographical bureau at Batavia. Of the photographic plates which illustrated the first edition, some have been omitted, others replaced by better, and many are inserted for the first time. Some texts in the Achehnese language, of which a summary or translation appeared in the course of descriptions (e. g. regarding the conclusion of a marriage in Vol. I, and regarding the *sadati*-games in Vol. II), were given in the Dutch text as appendices to the first edition; these appendices are now omitted. Finally the spelling of Achehnese words has been somewhat modified to suit English eyes and ears.

The Achehnese language of which the consonants as well as the

vowels present great difficulties to foreigners and of which a correct grasp and imitation can only be acquired by Non-Achehnese after great labour, is written by the Achehnese themselves in the Arabic character. This character is inadequate for representing the consonants and wholly incapable of representing the vowels of the Achehnese. Thus it comes about that the Achehnese adhere to the spelling which represented their language in a bygone age when many sounds now lost or modified occurred in it; thus for instance they write an *r* at the end of syllables but do not sound it; they write *l* at the end of syllables but sound it as *y* or *ë*; *s* is changed in the same position to *h* or *ïh*. For all these reasons one can hardly read Achehnese as written by Achehnese without having previously mastered the colloquial.

There can thus be no question of transliterating the native tongue. We must treat Achehnese according to phonetic systems of spelling. The system drawn up by me for the purpose is now generally followed and is here employed with the necessary modifications for English use.

Here follow some remarks on the phonetic value of the letters used, though they can only serve to give the reader a rough idea of the true sound.

The ' in words like *aneu'*, *ba'*, *seu'ot*, stands for a consonant which European orthographical systems usually neglect although it occurs among us. It is that consonant with which all words begin that are incorrectly written with an initial vowel; it arises out of the rush of breath after a sudden opening of the larynx. When this consonant occurs in English between two vowels (e. g. in *be 'out, too 'old* when such words are uttered without the use of the connecting semi-vowels *y* and *w*), it is called the "hiatus", and in some words — usually interjections — where it occurs as a final, it is altogether omitted in writing just as it is omitted as an initial. In Achehnese (which knows no diphthongs) this consonant plays too great a part to be omitted; it also frequently occurs in this as well as in many other native languages as a final, and is sometimes a weakened form of *k, t,* etc. We write it as ' in the middle and at the end of a word but we leave it unwritten as an initial; this latter concession to European orthographical methods can cause no confusion.

A peculiar nasal variant of ' we write as $^{c}$; the reader must infer that the vowel following this symbol is pronounced very nasally.

The letters *d, t, l* and *n* are uttered (more delicately than in English)

by a short blow with the tip of the tongue against the base of the teeth.

*g* is approximately the English *g* in *gun*.

*j* and *ch* approach the sound of those letters in English but are enunciated in a drier way.

*h* is the well-known aspirate, but it is also very distinctly sounded at the end of a syllable, e. g. in *bòh, sah, sahbat,* however much the untrained European ear may miss it. The *h* has also its full sound when it occurs after another consonant; in *pha, kaphé, dhòë, that, lheë,* it is sounded as distinctly as in *uphold, red-heat, out-house,* etc., at the beginning as well as in the middle of words.

*ng* is sounded as in *bring* but it also used as an initial, e. g. in *ngeu*. This consonant, as also the *m,* is pronounced very nasally.

*ny* usually stands for the single sound which in French is represented by *gn,* e. g., in *oignon*.

*r* in the predominant dialect is sounded as a very soft guttural, so that this letter dwindles away at the end of a word and is not marked by us in our system.

*s* sounds like the English *th* in *think*; but it is uttered in a very *palatal* way by the pressure of the front part of the tongue against the roof of the mouth. Untrained ears often confuse this sound with *t*.

The remaining consonants need no explanation.

*a* is sounded as in French; *i* as *ea* in *sea* and *beat*; *u* as *oo* in *too* and *soon*; *é* as *ay* in *say* or *ai* in *sail*; *è* as in the French *père* or (in closed syllables) as in *set*; *ō* as in *boat, home*; *ò* as in the French *sort* but this vowel often occurs in open syllables and is then pronounced very long.

*eu* is a vowel very difficult for European organs of speech to exactly reproduced; it approaches closest to the French *eu* and the German *ö,* but one should try to utter it with firmly closed teeth and without pushing the lips forward in the least, so that the distance between the corners of the mouth is rather increased than decreased. The back of the tongue must be pressed against the palate and between these two one should force out the breath steadily with the least possible opening of the glottis. Unaccented, this vowel resembles the indeterminate vowel in the French *je, le, se*.

*ë* is a very slightly marked vowel which only appears in the prolongation of others, e. g., of *i, è, u, ò* and *eu* (thus *ië, èë, uë, òë, euë,* in which the soft connecting semi-vowel *y* is heard in the case of the

first two and the soft connecting semi-vowel *w* in the case of the last three) and it sounds then like the final vowel-sound in the French *amie* or in the Dutch harmonieën.

*ï* is almost as furtive; it only appears after other vowels (all except *i, é, è*) and separates them from a final *h*, e. g. *alōïh, bagaïh*. The *ïh* is only the corrupted sound of an original *s*.

*e* is the protracted and accented pronunciation of the vowel in the French *je, le, se*; in Achehnese verses make it rhyme with *o*.

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# CORRIGENDA.

Vol. I, p. 19, line 21: *ureuèngdagang*, read: *ureuëng dagang*.
" " " 76, line 18: *statescraft*, read: *statecraft*.
" " " 145, line 12: *negligable*, read: *negligible*.
" " " 152, line 23: *heriditary*, read: *hereditary*.
" " " 160, line 25: *strategem*, read: *stratagem*.
" " " 161, line 25: *rigourously*, read: *rigorously*.
" " " 162, line 33: *strategem*, read: *stratagem*.
" " " 163, line 9: *mustache*, read: *moustache*.
" " " 170, line 9: *irresistable*, read: *irresistible*.
" " " 177, line 14: *negligable*, read: *negligible*.
" " " 185, note 1: *died 1901*, read: *died 1905*.
" " " 190, line 16: *us Sultan*, read: *as Sultan*.
" " " " line 4: from below: *Malmut*, read: *Mahmut*.
" " " 191, line 10: *in Ach*, read: *in Achehnese*.
" " " " line 5: from below: *Abu Bahr*, read: *Abu Bakr*.
" " " " note 4: *Qadir iyyah*, read: *Qadiriyyah*.
" " " 192, line 11: *Merey*, read: *mercy*.
" " " 197, line 17: *Ihalathiyyah*, read: *Thalathiyyah*.
" " " 205, line 10: *mohammedons*, read: *mohammedans*.
" " " 219, line 24: *Abdarrhaman*, read: *Abdarrahman*.
" " " 272, line 17: *toosed*, read: *tossed*.
" " " 272, note 3, line 3: *menstruction*, read: *menstruation*.
" " " 273, line 2: *sinaleh*, read: *sinalèh*.
" " " 280, note 1: *geureupōk*, read: *geureupōh*.
" " " 297, note 1: *mauchari*, read: *manchari*.
" " " 304, line 15: *samòë*, read: *sramòë*.
" " " 330, note: *prefer*, read: *profer*.
" " " 331, line 15: *unmaried*, read: *unmarried*.

CORRIGENDA.

Vol. I, p. 338, note 4: *oneu'*, read: *aneu'*.
" " " 378, note 3: *al-aili*, read: *ai-laili*.
" " " 386, line 7: *teumpèë*, read: *teumpè*.
" " " 405, note 3: *undiko*, read: *andiko*.
" " " 409, line 14 and notes 4 and 5: *baleuëm*, read: *baluëm*.
" " " 420, note 2: *scisson*, read: *scissor*.

# CHAPTER I.

## DISTRIBUTION OF THE PEOPLE, FORMS OF GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

### § 1. Introduction.

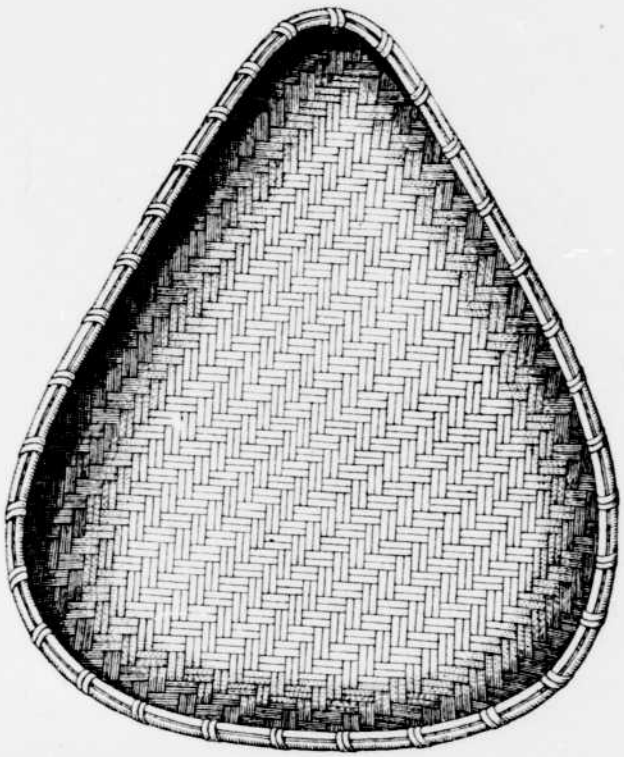
The limits of the kingdom of Acheh [1]) in Sumatra are placed by the Achehnese themselves at *Teumiëng* (Tamiang) on the East Coast, but far more to the South on the Western Coast, viz. at Baros or whatever other point they regard as marking the boundary between the territory of the princes of Menangkabau and that of the Sultans of Acheh. Far more restricted, however, is the territory they describe as "Acheh" proper, or as we are wont to term it, "Great Acheh". Boundaries of Great-Acheh.

This kernel of the kingdom, which has supplied the outlying districts with a considerable portion of their inhabitants, and has constantly striven to exercise more or less dominion over them, is according to the Achehnese idea bounded by a line extending from Kluang on the West, to Kruëng Raya on the North Coast, and passing through Reuëng-reuëng, Pancha and Janthòë [2]).

1) Some examples of the etymological lore of the Achehnese in respect to the name of their own country may be found in Van Langen's *De Inrichting van het Atjehsche Staatsbestuur onder het Sultanaat* in the *Bijdragen van het Kon. Inst. voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* for the year 1888, p. 386. There are various other explanations of the name in vogue, but not a single one is reliable. We find in Acheh but one more repetition of the phenomenon, that the names of countries, races and peoples present insoluble riddles to the etymologist, while those of villages and hamlets are as a rule fairly easy of analysis. We must thus rest content with knowing that the word Acheh, which is of unknown origin, is applied as the designation both of the whole country and of its chief town, and also of the entire population.

2) These three places lie on the footpaths uniting Acheh with the territory of Pidië (vulg. Pedir). We find the boundaries somewhat differently marked in the ordinary maps and in the above quoted *brochure* of Van Langen p. 382.

The form of this, the true Acheh, the Achehnese delight to compare to that of a winnowing-basket (*jeu'èë*), as may be seen in the



JEU'ÉË (WINNOWING BASKET). THE ACHEHNESE COMPARE THE FORM OF TRUE ACHEH TO THIS.

illustration [1]). The debouchement of the Acheh river (*kuala Acheh*) suggests to their fancy the somewhat sharply pointed mouth of the winnower, whence all unclean particles adhering to the husked rice are shaken out.

Proceeding down stream, we have the territory of the XXV Mukims [2]) on the left and that of the XXVI Mukims on the right, the intervening space up to the broad belt of outlying country being oc-

1) These baskets are made of strips of the bark of a small tree called *bili* plaited together.

2) For the derivation and meaning of the word *mukim* see § 6. In Penang and Province Wellesley the English Government has adopted the word to designate the minor subdivisions of a district for administrative purposes. In its stricter sense it corresponds almost exactly to the English word "parish". (*Translator*).

cupied by the XXII Mukims. A comparison with the three angles of a triangle has still more deeply engrafted itself into the language; these three confederations or congeries of mukims are called the *lhèë sagòë* (Mal. *tiga sagi*) i. e. the three angles of Acheh, and the three ulèëbalangs or chieftains who stand or are supposed to stand at the head of these three districts, are called *panglima sagòë*, or heads of sagi or angles.

History of Acheh.

The history of this "triangular kingdom" and of the coast-states and islands which constituted its dependencies remains yet to be written. European sources of information, such as accounts of travels and extracts from old archives, can only furnish us with very fragmentary materials; yet it is to these that we should have to look for the basis of such a work. 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 coëvals, cannot be relied on as the groundwork of history. They are but collections of fabulous genealogies, legends and tales dressed up to suit the author's fancy, which must be subjected to a careful process of filtration before they can be brought into unison with more solid materials.

Our present purpose is to describe how the Achehnese live and how they are governed, what they think and what they believe. As the present has ever its roots in the past, a retrospective glance over the earlier history of Acheh might be of great service to us in this enquiry were it not that, for the reasons just stated, this history is to a great extent wrapped in obscurity. As regards history, then, we limit ourselves to what our discussion of existing institutions brings to light *en passant* and for further information refer our readers to Prof. Veth's *Atchin* pp. 60 et seq., where the principal historical traditions are set forth in detail.

In the present chapter we propose to give a review of the distribution of population, the government and administration of justice as they existed before the Achehnese war introduced an element of confusion.

As a matter of fact, however, the disorder thus created has left the main features untouched, and anyone who has some knowledge of the public institutions of other kindred nations will if he follow our description be brought to the conclusion that these institutions in Acheh are in a large measure genuinely indigenous and of very great antiquity.

Significance of the manuscript documents respecting the institutions of the country.

Our purpose differs from that aimed at by Mr. K. F. H. Van Langen in his essay on the system of government in Acheh under the Sultanate [1]). He takes as his chief sources of information one or two manuscript documents, known in Acheh under the name of *sarakata*. They contain decrees having the force of law and are ascribed to Sultans Meukuta Alam or Iskandar Muda (1607—1636) and to Shamsulalam, who reigned for a period of one month only (1726—27) according to the Achehnese chronicles. The writer has illustrated and completed the contents of these documents from the oral tradition of the Achehnese.

To assign their true value to these documents we must allow ourselves a slight digression.

It is abundantly clear from all the sources of Achehnese history, be they native or European, that there has never been an opportunity in Acheh for a regulated and normal development of forms of government or administration of justice. In vain do we seek in any period of her history for order and repose. It is not to be found even during the reigns of those princes who shed the greatest prosperity and lustre over the land, such as Alaudin al-Qahar [2]), known also as Sidi Mukamil or Mukamal (1540—67), Eseukanda (Iskandar) Muda or Meukuta Alam (1607—36) [3]), not to mention their successors.

Examined closely, this show of royal grandeur is found to consist in some enlargements of territory, increase of authority over the ports (which are the seats of civilization and wealth in all Malayan countries) and consequent increase of revenue, which gave rise to greater splendour at court, but no serious effort towards the establishment of solid institutions such as survive the overthrow of dynasties.

The only *attempts* at centralization of authority, or reformation whether social, political or religious, are precisely these very edicts which we have just referred to. Of the contents of these by no means ample

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1) Printed in the *Bijdragen van het Kon. Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* at the Hague for the year 1888 pp. 381 et seq. In referring to this essay in future we shall call it the *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur*, and give the pages of the above number of the "Bijdragen".

2) In Achehnese *Alaédin Kha*.

3) The year 1636 is confirmed as the correct date of the death of Meukuta Alam by the pandit Raniri in his treatise بدء خلق السموات والارض (printed at Mekka in 1311 Heg. on the margin of the edition of تاج الملك) for he says that he came to Acheh in 1637 while Iskandar Thani was king.

political fragments it may be said that hardly a single one of the innovations they comprise has passed from document into actuality, but simply that the state of things they reveal as already in being has continued its existence.

It is not difficult to distinguish in these edicts the old and already established conditions from the new ones which they purport to introduce.

The principal features of this old status were the great independence of the numerous chiefs and the all-prevailing influence of traditional custom.

The new elements may be classified as follows:

1°. Attempts at an extension of the authority of the Sultan by allotting to him, the king of the port, a certain control over the succession of the other chieftains of the land — a matter which for the rest is treated in these edicts as inviolable — over the disputes of these chiefs with one another, or those between the subjects of different chiefs, and over the interests of strangers. In a word, some very moderate efforts at centralization of authority, having it for their object to make the Sultan *primus inter pares;* the establishment of a kind of indication of fealty, meant to serve as an open and visible reminder of the existence of such a relation between Sultan and chiefs.

2°. Certain rules intended to bring about a stricter observance of Muhammedan law.

3°. Regulations dealing with trade (then confined to the capital) the shares of certain officials established in the capital in the profits drawn from this trade by the king of the port, the court ceremonial, the celebration of great religious festivals etc.

During my residence in Acheh I obtained copies of a number of other *sarakatas* not included among those published by Van Langen. They were as a rule lengthy documents and most of them bore dates. The following are examples: one of Meukuta Alam or Eseukanda (Is-Muda, dated 1607, revived by the princess Sapiatōdin in 1645, intended kandar) to regulate the court ceremonial and solemnities at festivals (very rich in details); two of Meukuta Alam = Eseukanda (Iskandar) Muda, dated respectively 1635 and 1640 (*sic*); one of Jamalul-Alam (in Achehnese *Feumalōj*) dated 1689, revived by Alaédin Juhan, the second prince of the latest dynasty, in 1752; one of Alaédin Mahmut dated 1766; and certain undated edicts of Sapiatōdin, Amat Shah Juhan (the first prince of the latest dynasty) and Badrudin Asém (Hashim), all

dealing with commercial and port regulations as affecting different nationalities and different kinds of merchandise, and the collection and distribution of taxes. In these we even find detailed customs-tariffs [1]).

These documents are identical in spirit and intention with those published by Van Langen; but they contain much more information as regards the ceremonial of court and festival and the collection and disposal of taxes on imports, and are occasionally at variance with the latter as regards details.

What has been the practical development of the three new elements introduced by these edicts?

The rules noticed under heading 3° above are those which have had most significance in actual practice. Of these we may say that they exercised, during the reign of their promulgator at least, some degree of authority over life and trade in the seaport town. To assert more than this is to go outside the bounds of probability and to come into conflict with unimpeachable data. Perpetual dynastic struggles leading to the death or downfall of the rulers, the unstable character of these rulers themselves, the endeavours of chiefs and officials even in the capital to promote their own authority and profit, the want of a proper machinery of government based on other principles than "might is right", all this and much more serves to establish the fact that in the history of Acheh no period can be pointed out in which even these regulations affecting the capital have passed current as the living law of the land.

The religious elements mentioned under heading 2° were certainly not introduced into the edicts through the zeal of the princes of Acheh, any more than the proclamations of appointments of Achehnese chiefs (as drawn at the Court down to the present time) can be said to owe their almost entirely religious contents to the piety of the princes or of the appointed chiefs themselves. A Moslim prince augments his prestige vastly by such concessions to the law of his creed, albeit a serious and strict application of the latter would greatly curtail his

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1) How little reliance can be placed on Achehnese data in respect to the origin of such written laws, may be deduced from the mention of the tomb of Teungku Anjōng in the so-called laws of Meukuta Alam (Van Langen, *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur* p. 442). Teungku Anjōng († 1782 A. D.) was not even born in the reign of Meukuta Alam († 1636 A. D.). The general tendency is to refer all that has become customary law to the Sultans in general ("*adat pòteu meureuhōm*"), and to Meukuta Alam in particular.

power and impede his actions. Besides (and this is a most important factor) the supporters of the sacred law have in such countries no inconsiderable influence over the people, so that it might be dangerous for the princes and chiefs to disregard their wishes and requirements [1]). This is fully understood by these potentates, most of whom, while they follow their own devices in the actual administration of government, are wont outwardly to show all possible honour to the upholders of religion, to declare verbally that they set the highest value on their wisdom, and now and then, merely as a matter of form, to grant them access to their councils.

Such has been the system of the Achehnese sovereigns. Ulamas and other more or less sacred persons enjoyed considerable distinction in their country and at their court. They used even to "give orders" for the compiling of manuals of theology and law, which in plain language meant that they made a money payment to the writer of such a book. They would even allow themselves occasionally to be persuaded by some person of unusual influence to undertake a persecution of heretics, which however generally proved quite abortive. In their legislative edicts, which are almost all devoted to questions of trade and court affairs, they have in a fashion of their own rendered unto God the things that are God's, and so far as these ordinances confine themselves to what we should call a purely religious sphere, we have no reason to doubt the good intentions of the law-givers. Though their fleshly weakness was apparent from their irreligious life, their spirit was willing enough to remember the life hereafter, when the question came up of the building of mosques, the apportioning of money for religious purposes, the dispensing of admonitions or even the threatening of punishment for neglect of religious duties. But of any effort to introduce a system of government and administration of justice in harmony with the Mohammedan law we can gather nothing from the language of the edicts. They render in a purely formal manner due homage to the institutions ordained of Allah, which are everywhere as sincerely received in theory as they are ill-observed in practice [2]).

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1) That this is particularly true of Acheh will be more clearly seen when we come to discuss the part played in Achehnese life by the mystics, ulamas and sayyids.

2) It is well known that a man can remain a faithful Moslim in spite of transgression of almost every commandment of the law, whereas doubt or disbelief in one single jot or tittle makes him a kāfir (infidel).

Still more exclusively formal are the admonitions dispensed to the chiefs in the royal deeds of appointment. One might almost assert that the raja of Acheh who sanctioned the form of these documents must have charged his ulamas with the acceptable task of drawing them up.

Thus Acheh had sovereigns who were lauded to the skies, especially after their death, by ulamas and other pious persons who basked in the sun of their good deeds and who actually saw some of their own devout wishes realized; yet religion had little influence on the formation of her political system, less even than might be assumed from the dead letter of isolated edicts of the port-kings.

It requires no proof to show that not one of these cautious efforts at centralization of authority mentioned above under head 1°, seriously enough meant though they were, was eventually crowned with success. The most powerful sultans dared not go further than to claim a certain right of interference, constituting themselves as it were a supreme court of arbitration. It may at once be concluded how far the rest of the petty rulers of both sexes progressed in this direction, weak and indolent as they were in disposition and fully taken up with anxiety to maintain their authority in their own immediate circle. So far from lording it over the Achehnese chiefs, they were compelled to seek their favour so as not to lose their own position as kings of the ports.

Besides this it must be considered that though the Achehnese sovereigns might have gained some increase of prestige from the establishment of their authority in the interior, still this was not of sufficient importance to induce them to make great sacrifices to win it. It is the ports, let it be repeated, that constitute the wealth and strength of states such as these.

Where a port-king possesses the means and the energy to extend what he has already got, he prefers to stretch his covetous hand towards other ports, and tries to divert their trade to himself or to render them tributary. This he finds much better than meddling with the districts, desert and inhospitable both in a spiritual and material sense, which hide the sources of his *kualas* or river-mouths.

Nor do these rulers endeavour to ensure the permanence of their dominion in other ports which they have subdued by taking as its basis the introduction of an orderly form of government. The conquerors are content with the recognition of their supremacy and the payment of dues.

Thus it is very easy to show how the rajas of Acheh during the

short-lived period of prosperity of their kingdom, kept the trading ports within a wide compass in subjugation with their fleets, but never got any further in the control of the interior than the issue of a few edicts on paper.

We must not then allow ourselves to be misled by these edicts, valuable as they are as sources of information as to the history of the kings of Acheh. The danger of such error presents itself in two ways.

In the first place, the Achehnese himself, when questioned as to the institutions of his country, will refer with some pride to these documents, notwithstanding that most Achehnese have never seen copies of them and are almost entirely unacquainted with their contents.

The ordinary Achehnese does this, because all that recalls to him the greatness of his country is closely connected with the names of those very princes who are generally regarded as the authors of the *sarakatas*. He firmly believes that all that he reveres as the sacred institutions of his country (albeit not mentioned in a single one of the edicts) is *adat* [1]) *Meukuta Alam* or at any rate *adat pòteu meureuhōm*, "adat of defunct royalties", and he is convinced that information respecting them is of a certainty contained in some one or other of the *sarakatas*.

The Achehnese chiefs have a secondary aim when they refer with a certain emphasis to these edicts as the laws of Acheh. All that is contained therein respecting court ceremonial, festivals, religion etc., they regard with complete indifference; but every one of them is skilful in making quotations from the *adats* of the old sovereigns handed down in writing or by word of mouth, which may go to show that *his* power, *his* territory, or *his* privileges should in reality be much greater than what he enjoys at the present time.

The European who comes into contact only superficially with the native community, is too apt to think that the *adat* among them is an almost unchangeable factor of their lives, surrounded on every side with religious veneration. Yet it does not require much philosophic or historical knowledge to be convinced that such invariable elements subsist just as little in the native world as in our own, although among them the conscious reverence for all that is regarded as old and

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1) *Adat* is an Arabic word adopted in most Malayan languages. It means "custom", "usage", "customary law" as opposed to *hukum* or "religious law". (Translator).

traditional is stronger than in our own modern societies. In contrast to the changeableness of the individual, the *adat* presents itself as something abiding and incontrovertible, with which that individual may not meddle; yet the *adat* changes like all other worldly things with every successive generation, — nay, it never remains stationary for a moment. Even natives, whose intelligence is above the ordinary, know this well and use it to further their own purposes.

The slowly but surely changing institutions of their society are thus revered as fixed and unchangeable by its individual units. But it is precisely in this connection that opportunity is given for continual disputes as to the *contents* of the *adat* [1]). What is, in fact, the real and genuine *adat*, that which according to unimpeachable witnesses was formerly so esteemed, or that which the majority follow in practice at the present day, or that which many, by an interpretation opposed to that of the majority, hold to be lawful and permitted?

Most questions of importance give rise to this three-fold query, and the answer is, as may be readily supposed, prompted by the personal interest of him who frames it.

Our object being to arrive at some knowledge of the institutions of the country, it is impossible for us to accept the reference of the Achehnese to the edicts of the kings of olden times, which are absolute mysteries to most of them, whilst others construe them to suit themselves.

Even apart from the danger of accepting such reference as gospel, the European is exposed to a further risk, namely of misunderstanding the true signification of such edicts. Accustomed to the idea that all law should be suitably drawn in writing, he is apt to be overjoyed at coming on the track of a collection of written ordinances, especially in a place characterized by such hopeless confusion as the Achehnese states. So when he perceives that there is now little or no actual observance of these laws, he rushes to the conclusion that at an earlier period order and unity preceded the present misrule. The very contrary of this can be proved to be the case as far as Acheh is concerned. As a general rule we do not sufficiently reflect that in countries of the standard of civilization reached by the Malayan races, *the most important laws are those which are not set down in writing*, but find their ex-

1) Cf. the remarks on the adat of the rulers of Mekka in my *Mekka*, Vol. I. p. 110 et seq.

pression, sometimes in proverbs and familiar sayings, but always and above all in the actual occurrences of daily life which appeal to the comprehension of all.

Speaking of Acheh only, there will be found described hereafter laws which control the relation of chief to subject, of man to wife and children, laws which everyone in Acheh observes and every village headman has at his fingers' ends; and yet of all these living laws no single written document testifies [1]), though every single sentence of an Achehnese judge bears witness to their existence.

Such has been the case all over the East Indian Archipelago. Whoever would introduce by force an alteration in existing legal institutions found it necessary to reduce his innovation to writing, but those who were content to leave things as they were, seldom resorted to codification of the customary law. Whether changes such as these are abiding or disappear after a brief show of life, the writing remains as their witness; it is the life of the people alone that testifies of institutions which have withstood the attack of external change and modify themselves intrinsically by almost imperceptible degrees.

One might even assert that where codification of the customary law has been purposely resorted to (as in the *undang-undang* [2]) of certain Malay states) this embodiment in writing is a token that the institutions in question are beginning to fall into decay [3]). Collections of documents of this sort offer to the conscientious enquirer a string of conundrums impossible of solution, unless he be thoroughly conversant with the actual daily life of native society, of the traditions of which such legal maxims form but a small part.

What we have said above perhaps renders it superfluous to add that

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1) In entire contrast with the "*Ordinance of the 14th March 1881 with respect to the administration of justice among the native population of Great Acheh with an explanatory memorandum by Mr. T. H. der Kinderen*", Batavia 1881. As this ordinance perished at its birth, the Achehnese have never felt its effects.

2) "Laws", "code of laws" (*Translator*).

3) The case is of course somewhat different with regard to certain codes dealing with the decrees of sovereigns in regard to a limited number of subjects, such as the Hukum Kanun of Malacca and others. These are expressive not of decay, but of a temporary desire for order and reform. Of these the same holds true as of the Adat Meukuta Alam in Acheh; the real living adats are therein for the most part silently taken for granted and not committed to writing; while the new matter which the books contain must have had a very brief existence in view of the constant changes of government. They principally consist, as a rule, of regulations regarding the court of the sultan and maritime commerce.

we should be wandering altogether off the right track in seeking for the laws and institutions of countries such as Acheh in lawbooks of foreign (e. g. Arabic) origin. Such works are it is true, translated, compiled and studied in the country, but their contents have only a limited influence on the life of its people [1]). It is owing to a misconception of this very obvious truth that the entirely superficial enquiry of Mr. der Kinderen (or his secretary Mr. L. W. C. Van den Berg) has proved abortive, as may be seen from his "explanatory memorandum" just referred to. To any one who has made himself acquainted with the political and social life of the Achehnese, his remarks on pp. 17—18 of his memorandum will sound as audacious as they are untrue: "Nor indeed is there any trace of ancient popular customs in conflict with Islam, at least in the sense that would indicate a customary law having its existence in the consciousness of the people, as is the case for example with the characteristic institutions regarding the law of person and inheritance which we meet with among the Malays on the west coast of Sumatra. The native chiefs when questioned as to such popular customs, either gave evasive answers, or quoted as such certain rules for the ceremonial in the Kraton, the distinctive appellations of various chiefs etc., all of course institutions of a wholly different sort from what was intended by the enquirer. Apparently they misunderstood the drift of the question and confused the material with the formal and administrative law. Only one of them, who, it may be remarked was no Achehnese by birth, but of Afghan descent, absolutely denied the existence of any legal institutions conflicting with the Mohammedan law. . . . . .

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1) The truth of this is also entirely overlooked in Mr. L. W. C. Van den Berg's essay on the "*Divergences from the Mohammedan law as to family and inheritance in Java and Madura*" in the *Bijdragen van het Koninkl. Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* for 1892 p. 454 seq. Throughout this essay he employs as data for determining the ancient institutions of Java, regulations which appear in various lawbooks compiled under Hindu influence. To appreciate the folly of such a method we have only to imagine for a moment that the present civilization of the Javanese was by a revolution exchanged for one totally different. Then when the new order of things had been firmly established we should find in Java, not merely here and there, but everywhere, complete codes of Mohammedan law, some in Arabic, others translated into Javanese or with Javanese notes. We should thus have much stronger evidence of a theoretical application of Mohammedan law than we now find as regards Hindu law. Mr. Van den Berg could then present to our view a Javanese code of law more strictly Mohammedan than has ever been enforced in any Moslim country!

"We find in existence *undang-undang* or collections of such public ordinances attributed to various Achehnese rulers, all dealing with trade, navigation, import and export duties, administration and ceremonial. Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607—1636) in particular appears to have applied himself to calling into existence a system of rules on these subjects. His code, if we may so term it, is called Makota Alam [1]) or Adat Kanun, but copies of this are rare."

No one could have recorded in a more naive manner the want of intelligence which he brought to bear on his enquiry.

The Achehnese in general and their chiefs in particular will have themselves Mohammedans and nothing else. Within a few years previous to the visit of Mr. der Kinderen to Acheh, they had for the first time come under the control of a non-Mohammedan power, and regarded their new masters with distrust, all the more as a rumour had gone abroad that the "Gõmpeuni" [2]) was everywhere endeavouring to introduce its Christian laws and to draw the Mohammedans away from their own religion. No wonder then that the chiefs "gave an evasive answer", or imparted little pertinent information in reply to the foolish query of Mr. der Kinderen and his friends (who had never come into contact with the people) as to whether there were ancient customs prevalent in Acheh conflicting with the law of Islam. Supposing it to be true that they "did not understand the meaning of the question", the blame for this rests on him who asked it. It is undoubtedly the easiest way to conduct an enquiry to address a sort of catechism to some individuals, and then to accept as of solid worth any follies they may choose to retail to you in reply, but to do so is to trifle with a serious subject.

The chiefs were naturally afraid that an affirmative answer might give rise to all kinds of new enactments "in conflict with the law of Islam". Besides, they would be very slow to admit that any of their institutions was in conflict with Islam, and indeed are as a rule quite ignorant as to whether such is the case or not, being neither jurists

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1) This is incorrect. He was himself called Meukuta Alam after his death, and his ordinances are thus known as *Adat Meukuta Alam*.

2) Company. This appellation is taken from the Dutch E. India Company and has taken such root in the native mind that it is still used to designate the Government even after the "Company" proper has ceased to exist. Similarly in the Straits Settlements "Kompani" (= the East India Company) has survived the decease of that trading association and is still universally used to denote the British Government. (*Translator*).

nor theologians. They are all trained up in the doctrine that *adat* (custom law) and *hukōm* (religious law) should take their places side by side in a good Mohammedan country — not in the sense inculcated by the Moslim law-books [1]), that they should fall back on the *adat* whenever the hukōm is silent or directs them to do so —, but in such a way that a very great portion of their lives is governed by adat and only a small part by hukōm. They are well aware that the ulamas [2]) often complain of the excessive influence of the *adat* and of its conflict with the kitabs or sacred books, but they do not forget that they have themselves cause to complain of the ambition of these ulamas. They account for this conflict by the natural passion all men feel for extending their authority, a passion they believe would be reduced to a minimum or altogether extinguished if all men tried to be just. They see herein no conflict between Mohammedan and non-Mohammedan elements, but between Moslim rulers who "maintain the adat" according to the will of God, and Moslim pandits who "expound the hukōm", both of which parties, however, sometimes overstep their proper limits.

They have no touchstone to distinguish exactly between what is in accordance with Islam and what conflicts therewith. All their institutions they regard as those of a Mohammedan people and thus also Mohammedan, and these they wish to guard against the encroachments of the *kāfir* [3]).

That Mr. Der Kinderen and his friends found "no trace of popular customs in conflict with Islam" or of "a customary law having its existence in the consciousness of the people", is as natural as the disappointment of an angler who tries to catch salmon in a wash-tub. They exist all the same, these *adats*, they control the political and social life of Acheh, but — *pace* all dogmatic jurists and champions of facile methods — they are nowhere to be found set down in black and white. We arrive at them only after painstaking and scientific research and not through the putting of questions which the questioned "apparently do not understand".

To be explicit and avoid all misunderstanding, we should add that Mr. Der Kinderen in a later part of his memorandum (pp. 10 et seq.)

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1) And as the Afghan (!) specialist consulted by Mr. Der Kinderen asserted to be the case in regard to Acheh.

2) Religious pandits. (*Translator*).

3) Infidel.

states the case as though this faithful observance of Mohammedan law had existed *originally* in Acheh at an earlier epoch, while the few adats conflicting therewith had crept in later on during the period of anarchy and corruption. "The Achehnese chiefs", he goes on to say, "with whom we conferred, unanimously desired the maintenance of Islam and nothing more".

We shall see later on, when we come to examine the question in detail, that this comparison between an orderly past resting on the basis of the Mohammedan law and a disorderly present, is entirely chimerical and rests on false or inexactly stated data. These premisses for instance are false, that in earlier times many works on Mohammedan law were composed by Achehnese, that general ignorance now prevails as to the contents of these or that the wholly unlettered Teuku Malikōn Adé was supreme judge of the kingdom of Acheh. The ignorance of the chiefs in regard to Mohammedan law is wrongly explained; it is in fact an ignorance which they share with the rulers of most Mohammedan countries.

Nature of the popular and political institutions of Acheh.

We postpone for the present the closer refutation of these extravagances. Let us now fix our attention on the fact that the non-Mohammedan institutions of the Achehnese, which we are now about to describe, and which taken together form a well-rounded whole, exhibit themselves to the scientific observer after comparison with those of other kindred peoples, as really indigenous and wholly suitable to the state of civilization in which the Achehnese have moved as long as we have known them. In vain shall we seek for any period in the history of Acheh in which we should be justified in surmising the existence of a different state of things. All that we know further of that history makes it patent that neither the efforts of the ulamas to extend the influence of the Mohammedan law, nor the edicts of certain princes whose authority over the interior was very limited and of short duration, were able to exercise more than a partial or passing influence on the genuinely national and really living unwritten laws.

The golden age of Acheh in which "the Mohammedan law prevailed" (see p. 16 of Mr. Der Kinderen's memorandum), or in which the Adat Meukuta Alam may be regarded as the fundamental law of the kingdom, belongs to the realms of legend. If we wish to become acquainted with the institutions of Acheh we must, in default of any written sources of information, devote ourselves to the study of their political

and judicial systems and family life as they subsist at the present time. In these we can easily discover some traces of the centralizing activity of one or two powerful princes, an important measure of influence exercised by Islam and a still more important basis of indigenous adat law.

It must be borne in mind that even the most primitive societies and the laws that govern them never remain stationary. Keeping this in view it becomes easy to trace here and there efforts after change, and elsewhere again institutions which have already passed into disuse and owe their continued existence in a rudimentary form simply to the force of human conservatism. This makes us careful in forming judgments as to the antiquity of any given institution taken by itself, as we are not fully acquainted with the factors which may in earlier times have exercised a modifying influence. Still we are able with one glance over the whole existing customary law of Acheh to assert without fear of error that the institutions of that country do not date from yesterday but that, (disregarding alterations in details), they have in all main essentials existed for centuries past.

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## § 2. Elements of Population.

In Acheh we have to deal, not with an originally powerful monarchy which gradually split up into small parcels, but with a number of little states barely held together by the community of origin of their citizens and the nominal supremacy of the port-king. We must obviously therefore, in describing the political fabric of Acheh, work upwards from below; and as in that country all authority of the higher classes over the lower is exceedingly limited, we must first devote our attention to the people who inhabit Great Acheh [1]).

Origin of the Achehnese.

We have at our disposal no single historical datum from which we can deduce any likely conclusion as to the origin of the Achehnese. We can only allege on various grounds that it must have been of a very mixed description.

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1) We find in Van Langen's *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur* pp. 384—389 some of the native traditions and conjectures respecting the origin of the nation. The writer's efforts to reduce these data to one compact whole, seem not justifiable in view of the small reliance that can be placed in them.

A comparison of the Achehnese language (which exhibits noteworthy points of difference from the kindred tongues of neighbouring peoples), with those of Cham and Bahnar [2]) has at the very outset given important results, but we must for the present refrain from deciding what may be deduced therefrom as regards the kinship or historical connection between the peoples.

Of the information supplied by the Achehnese themselves as to their descent, we furnish here only such particulars as may be classed as popular tradition. Outside the limits of this tradition every Achehnese chief and ulama who takes any interest in the question has his own conjectures, partly in conflict with the traditions and partly grafted on to them.

Achehnese theories.

To the sphere of these conjectures belongs almost all that can be gathered from the Achehnese as to the Hindu element in their origin. It is past all doubt that Hinduism exercised for a considerable time a direct or indirect influence on the language and civilization of Acheh, though there is but little trace of such influence remaining in her present popular traditions and institutions. Even in Mohammedan times there are numerous indications of contact with the inhabitants of India; it is indeed more than probable that Acheh, like other countries of the Indian Archipelago, was mohammedanized from Hindostan. Not only Mohammedan Klings and people from Madras and Malabar, but also heathen Klings, Chetties [2]) and other Hindus, have carried on trade in Acheh down to the present time, and there has been from first to last no serious opposition to the permanent establishment in the country of such *kafirs*, harmless as they were from a political point of view. For all that, the question as to what Hindus or people with Hindu civilization [3]) they were, who exercised a special influence in Acheh, or what the period was when this influence made itself felt, remains enveloped in doubt. Still less is it certain in what degree Hindu blood flows in the veins of the Achehnese.

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1) See "*Bijdrage tot de kennis der verhouding van het Tjam tot de talen van Indonesië*" by G. K. Niemann in the *Bijdragen van het Kon. Inst. voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië* for 1891 at the Hague p. 27 et seq., and the *Bibliographische Bijdragen* at the same place p. 339 et seq.

2) The money-lending caste of Southern India. (*Translator*).

3) Compare again the treatise of G. K. Niemann quoted above, p. 44. The theory of van Langen cited by him, according to which the *kawōm* of the *Imeum peuët* is of Hindu origin, does not rest on popular tradition, but must be ranked among the learned conjectures of certain of the Achehnese.

How these conjectures sometimes originate and gain credit in Acheh may be illustrated by an experience of my own in that country. The well-known Teungku Kutakarang, an ulama and leader in war [died November 1895] upholds, among other still more extraordinary notions, the view that the Achehnese are composed of elements derived from three peoples, the Arabs, the Persians and the Turks. Both in conversation and in his fanatical pamphlets against the "Gōmpeuni" he constantly refers to this theory.

Though he has absolutely no grounds for this absurd idea, those who look up to him as a great scholar think that he must have a good foundation for it, and accept his ethnological theories without hesitation. While I was engaged in collecting Achehnese writings and was making special efforts to secure copies of one or two epic poems based on historic facts, an Achehnese chief suggested to me that I should not find what I wanted in these. He declared himself ready to write me out a short abstract of the history of Acheh containing a clear account of the origin of the Achehnese from Arab, Persian and Turkish elements! "Of this", said he, "you will find no mention in the poems you seek for".

The only fact that popular wisdom can point to as regards the Hindus, is that the inhabitants of the highlands of the interior are manifestly of Hindu origin, since they wear their hair long and twist it into a top-knot (*sanggōy*) on the back of the head in the Hindu fashion.

Mante. There are other stories in circulation about the *Mante* or Mantras [1]), but these are equally undependable. They remind me of what I once heard said of the tailed Dyaks reputed to exist in Borneo; the existence of these people, my informant remarked, appeared quite probable from what one heard of them all over Borneo, but they always seem to live one day further inland from the point reached by the traveller.

These *Mantes* are supposed to go naked and to have the whole of their bodies thickly covered with hair, and are believed to inhabit the mountains of the XXII Mukims; but all our informants know them only by hearsay. One here and there will tell you that in his grandfather's time a pair of *Mantes*, man and wife, were brought captive to

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1) See also Van Langen's *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur* pp. 384—85.

the Sultan of Acheh. These wild denizens of the woods, however, in spite of all efforts, refused either to speak or eat and finally starved themselves to death.

In Achehnese writings and also in the speech of everyday life, rough clownish and awkward people are compared with the *Mante*. The word is also used in the lowlands as a nickname for the less civilized highlanders, and is applied in the same sense to the people of mixed descent on the West Coast.

Malay and Kling elements.

Another contemptuous appellation of the West Coast people is *aneu' jamèë* (descendants of strangers or guests), or *aneu' Rawa*, (people from the province of Rawa), to which latter nickname the epithet "tailed" (*meu'iku*) is also added [1]). That these tailed or tail-less strangers contributed their quota to the composition of the Achehnese race is as little doubted as that the multitude of Klings (*Kléng, ureuëng dagang* [2]) in Great Acheh and on the East Coast have brought more half-caste progeny into the world than now commands recognition as such. There have been within the memory of man a large number of Klings in the highlands of Great Acheh (XXII Mukims) living entirely as Achehnese and engaged in agriculture. There were even gampōngs, such as Lam Aliëng, the entire population of which consisted of such hybrid Klings. In Great-Acheh the word *ureuëngdagang* = stranger is employed without any further addition to indicate a Kling.

The shares contributed by all these foreign elements and also the Arabs, Egyptians and Javanese are rightly regarded as having a merely incidental influence on the Achehnese race. In the capital and the coast towns of tributary states, they form an item of greater importance, for it is precisely the most influential families that are of foreign origin. All the holy men and most of the noted scholars of the law in Acheh were foreigners. So too with many great traders, shahbandars, writers and the trusted agents of princes and chiefs; nay, the very line of kings which has ruled with some interruptions since 1723 is according to tradition of Bugis origin.

Nias slaves.

Slaves are a factor of importance in the development of the Achehnese race. Most of these slaves come from Nias (Niëh), whence they

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1) There is a play on the common meaning of the word *rawa* = the tail of an Achehnese kite.

2) Mal. "orang dagang", a stranger, foreigner. (*Translator*).

were kidnapped in hundreds up to a few years ago, and are still surreptitiously purchased in smaller numbers.

It is worthy of note that the story current in Acheh as to the origin of the Niasese resembles that which prevails among the Javanese as to the Kalangs [1]). The same story in a modified form is popular in Bantën, but in the absence of Kalangs it is there applied to the Dutch.

A princess who suffered from a horrible skin-disease was for this cause banished to *Niëh* (Achehnese pronunciation of Nias), with only a dog to bear her company. On that island she found many *peundang* plants, and gradually became acquainted with the curative properties of the peundang root [2]).

It is not clearly stated what the circumstances were which induced her to marry her dog [3]); but we are informed that from this wedlock a son was born. When he grew up he wished to marry; but Nias was uninhabited. His mother gave him a ring to guide him in his search for a bride; the first woman he met whom the ring fitted was to be his destined wife.

He wandered throughout the whole island without meeting a single woman; finally he found his mother again and the ring fitted her! So they wedded and from this incestuous union is descended the whole population of Nias.

In this legend typifying the vileness of the origin of the Niasese there is wanting one feature which characterizes the Javanese myth of the Kalangs. Both have in common the dog and the incestuous marriage, but the Kalangs have in addition to this as their ancestress the most unclean of all animals, the swine. The princess who lived in the wilderness is in the Kalang legend the offspring of a wild sow, which became her mother in a miraculous manner [4]).

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1) See Veth's *Java*, III, p. 580 et seq.; a version of the story of which I made notes in Bagelen differs somewhat from that of Prof. Veth's authorities. We find the same story elsewhere also in more or less modified form; see for instance the *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* vol. XXIV pp. 257—8 and 421 et seq.

2) The Achehnese derive from Nias their knowledge of the highly prized *peundang* treatment.

3) In the Javanese story the princess drops her shuttle while weaving and being disinclined to rise, she swears an unlucky oath, that whoever should pick up her *tropong* should wed her. The dog hastened to fetch the shuttle and thus became her husband.

4) Ratu Baka rex, ut aiunt, quondam venando fatigatus, dum quietis causâ consistebat, in corticem nucis coconensis minxit, quo facto corticem in terram deposuit. Nec tamen urina solum, sed etiam semen virile in vasculo manebat, quod cum forte sus fera bibisset feta facta est et filiam peperit.

Thus although no swine appears in the genealogical legend as forming part of the family tree of the Niasese, the story goes that they are the descendants of dogs and swine, and there is a doggerel verse in ridicule of the Niasese or persons of mixed Nias descent which runs as follows; —

"*Niëh kumudèë — uròë bèë buy, malam bèë asèë*" i. e. "Niasese, that eats bëngkudu fruits [1]), smells like a pig in the daytime and like a dog at night".

In spite of all these sayings and stories (to which may be added the fact that *kurab* or ringworm is still very prevalent among the Niasese), the Achehnese set a high value on these people as slaves. They describe them as tractable, obedient, zealous and trustworthy. The women are more highly prized for their beauty than those of the dominant race, and many of the boys who as *sadati* (dancers) or otherwise are made to minister to the unnatural lusts of the Achehnese are of Niasese origin.

Later on when we come to describe the family life of the Achehnese, we shall see that he lays great stress on descent from the mother's side. Thus no Achehnese willingly becomes the father of children by his female slaves, although such a practice is freely admitted by Moslim law. It is for this reason that the intercourse of masters with their female slaves is very limited in comparison with other Mohammedan countries, and where it does take place, recourse is had to various methods to avert or nullify its natural consequences. All the same there is a certain proportion of children born of such concubinage.

There are, however, other channels through which Niasese blood has found its way into the veins of the Achehnese. For instance it not uncommonly occurs that a man who makes a long stay in a particular place, marries the slave of one of his friends or patrons. It even happens at times that an Achehnese makes such a marriage at or in the neighbourhood of his own home, setting at defiance the reproaches and hatred of his next of kin for the sake of the beauty of the woman he has chosen.

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1) These fruits are eaten by the Achehnese after being made into rujaq (*chinichah*) or boiled with arèn-juice and sugar. The Niasese are fond of them in the raw state. Another saying is "*Niëh kumudèë — biè' hana malèë*" i. e. "Niasese, lover of the bëngkudu-fruit, race that is ashamed of nothing".

According to the Moslim law children born of such unions are the slaves of the owner of the mother, for when the question is one of slavery or freedom the children follow the mother as a matter of course. The Achehnese adat, on the other hand, treats them as free; but their origin is indicated by the name *aneu' meuïh* ("children of gold", i. e. of proprietorship), and thus not at once lost sight of. A generation or two later the name *aneu' meuïh* is dropped, and their descendants become Achehnese.

Children born of marriages between slaves (generally of the same master) are themselves slaves in Acheh; but many owners set their slaves free in later life. Such free Niasese do not except in rare cases intermarry with Achehnese women; their children, however, may take wives of mixed Achehnese and Niasese descent, and in the third generation they too are Achehnese, though with a slight Nias taint.

Those who can only keep one or two male slaves generally let these remain unmarried their whole life long, the supposition being that they will find frequent opportunities of intercourse with their own countrywomen.

The Achehnese are on their own confession indolent and little fitted for regular work. This is the reason they give for the occasional importation of rice into a country possessing vast tracts of uncultivated ground [1]). There is no doubt that in days gone by they used to get their work done for them by the Niasese. Not only did they employ them for ordinary tillage and for pepper cultivation, but also as soldiers in the endless little wars that divided the country against itself. Thus it is said that during the civil war of 1854—58 of between Raja Sulòyman (Suléman) and his guardian Raja Ibrahim [2]), the supporters of the latter in particular usually employed Niasese to carry out all operations against the enemy.

Bataks. In comparison with the Niasese, the number of slaves of other races in Acheh is inconsiderable. Male *Bataks* [3]) (but very seldom females)

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1) Before the war this importation seems to have been very limited; but it of course increased greatly when most of the padi fields had long lain untilled.

2) See Van Langen's *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur* p. 397. The war was of small importance and little blood was spilt. A very correct estimate of the weight to be attached to civil wars in Acheh will be found in the "*Atjeh en de Atjehers*" of J. A. Kruyt (p. 144).

3) Most of these are imported from Singkel and Trumon. The Achehnese distinguish the *Bata' Karòè* (= *Karau*) as being the wildest and most vicious. Hence they apply this as a nickname of evil import to all Bata's, including the *Bata' Pa'pa'*, the *Bata' Tuba* and the *Bata' Malòyliëng* (Mandaïling).

are occasionally kept as slaves, but the character given them is as bad as that of the Niasese is good. The Bataks are spoken of as unwilling, lazy and revengeful. Every Achehnese can furnish plentiful examples of this either from his own experience or what he has heard from others — how one Batak has treacherously murdered his master through anger at a trifling chastisement, and another after having been treated with the utmost kindness has made himself scarce after putting his masters children to death, and so on [1]).

Other elements.

Some few persons of position have permitted themselves the luxury of importing Chinese female slaves from the Straits Settlements as concubines [2]). Still more common is it to see slaves brought home from Mekka by those who have performed the Hajj. These Africans are known by the Achehnese under the generic name of *Abeusi* [3]) (Abyssinians) irrespectively of what may be the land of their birth. Concubinage with female slaves of such origin is extremely rare; they are allowed to marry among themselves or with Niasese slaves. It is considered a mark of distinction to have such Abeusis as household servants [4]).

Achehnese slave-law.

As we noticed above, the Achehnese slave-law is not wanting in departures from the Mohammedan code. To these may be added the fact that it is everywhere thought natural and permissible for all who acquire slaves at once to violate their female captives. Even in Arabia the prescribed period of abstention in regard to purchased female slaves is seldom or never observed [5]), but in Acheh no disgrace whatever attaches to its violation, and most of the transgressors are absolutely ignorant that they are sinning against that very law which they look upon as sanctioning kidnapping.

In the highlands far fewer slaves are kept than in the lowlands, as in the former there is less to be found of all that tends to make life easy or pleasant.

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1) Very few Bataks find their way to the Straits Settlements but those who do bear out the character here given of them. I have seen two very bad cases of amok by Bataks in Penang, apparently originating from quite trifling and inadequate motives (*Translator*).

2) As to the slave trade in the Straits see my article on "*Sklavenhandel in Singapore*" in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1891, p. 395 et seq.

3) The word "Habshi" is similarly used in Malaya to designate all African negroes (*Translator*).

4) There still lives at Ulèë Lheuë (Olehleh) a freed Circassian slave, formerly the property of Habib Abdurrahman, who also imported Hindus as slaves into Acheh. Such cases are, however, rare.

5) See my *Mekka* vol. II, p. 135.

What has been said suffices to indicate the races which have in historic times contributed to ennoble or degrade the people of Acheh. Apart from this we must accept that people as an established unity, and conjectures regarding its remoter origin would at this point be premature.

Highlanders and lowlanders.

The people of the various divisions of Great Acheh differ from one another, as may well be imagined, in numerous local peculiarities of language, manners, superstition, dress etc. Most of these local distinctions, when compared with the agreement in essential features are too insignificant to be noticed here. We should however note the differences between the highlanders (*ureuëng tunòng*), by which must be especially understood the people of the Sagi of the XXII Mukims, and the lowlanders (*ureuëng barōh*) who inhabit the greater part of the two remaining sagis, including the capital.

Some portions of these last two sagis have almost the same language and customs as the *ureuëng tunòng*, as for instance the *ureuëng Buëng* inhabiting the VII Mukims Buëng [1]) in the Sagi of the XXVI Mukims.

Banda and dusōn.

As regards language and manners the lowlanders have followed the people of the capital [2]). The Dalam or residence of the Sultan, which we incorrectly term Kraton, and which is also known as Kuta Raja or "the king's fort" (a name which we improperly apply to the whole capital) formed before our war with Acheh the nucleus of a number of fine and prosperous gampōngs. The centre of these with its mosque and market-place was called *Banda Acheh* i. e. the capital or trading mart of Acheh, and gave the tone to the whole country in matters of custom, dress etc. The most important of these gampōngs were *Gampōng Jawa, Pandé, Peunayōng, Lam Bhu', Luëng Bata, Lam Seupeuëng, Ateuëng, Batòh* and *Meura'sa*. The inhabitants of these and the neighbouring villages together with their language and customs were distinguished by the epithet *banda*, that is, town-bred or civilized, and the people of other districts who conformed as much as possible to the tone of the capital enjoyed the same title. In contrast with these, all others who spoke in their own local dialects and were unacquainted with the manners of the town, were called *dusōn* (like *dusun* in Sundanese) i. e. countrified, uncivilized. From their position the low-

1) The word *buëng* itself belongs to their peculiar dialect. It means "swamp" which in other parts of Acheh is known as *paya*.

2) Cf. my essay *Studien over Atjèhsche klank- en schriftleer* in the *Tijdschrift van het Batav. Genootschap*, vol. XXXV, p. 365.

landers in general came most closely into contact with the influence of the trading centre, whilst *ureuëng dusōn* and *ureuëng Tunòng* became practically synonymous; but with this distinction, that families of standing in the Tunòng conformed as far as possible to the manners of the capital, whilst in the more distant of the lowland districts the influence of the Banda Acheh is scarcely traceable.

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## § 3. Dress, Food, Luxuries, Dwellings and Household equipment.

In dress and deportment to begin with, there is a difference between the true Tunòng folk and those of the lowland districts [1]). Clothing.

The peculiar Achehnese trousers (*silueuë* or *lueuë Achèh*) of prodigious width are characteristic of both, and both alike regard the fullness in the fork of this garment as an indication of Mohammedan dress in contradistinction with the tight forks of the trousers of infidels. Those worn by the lowlanders on the other hand are longer, and the materials most in use differ from those employed in the Tunòng. The loin-cloth (*ija pinggang*) is similarly in the eyes of both a shibboleth of Islam, as it is only infidels that feel no shame in exhibiting themselves in close-fitting trousers without further covering of the space between navel and knee. But while the Tunòng man lets his loincloth hang down to below the knees with a flap in the centre, with the lowlander it barely extends to just above the knees and its lower edge is aslant.

The lowlanders usually wear bajus or jackets (*bajèë*), either the *bajèë Achèh* [2]) with long narrow sleeves and a big gold button (*dō'ma*) in the middle, or the *bajèë ᶜèt sapay* (short-sleeved baju) the *dō'ma* of which is at the neck. The highlanders make comparatively little use of this garment and wear in its place simply a kerchief (*ija*) thrown over the shoulder or fastened round the middle or else laid on the

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1) The best data as regards Achehnese dress are to be found in Van Langen's *Atjeh's Westkust* in the *Tijdschrift v. h. Nederl. Aardrijksk. Genootschap* 2nd series, vol. V. p. 447 et seq. For an account of the Achehnese weapons see the same, p. 450, J. A. Kruyt's *Atjeh en de Atjehers* p. 56 and the *Notulen van het Batav. Genootschap* 1892 appx II. 1.

2) Usually of cloth (*sukaleuët*) or other European materials which are known as *kulèt kayèë* (= bark).

head. The head, however, is not always covered, for the Achehnese carry loads almost exclusively thereon, which method of transport they call *seu'ōn*.



GROUP OF MEN FROM THE XXV MUKIMS.

The usual form of headgear is the *kupiah* [1]), which greatly resembles the Mekka cap in colour. The body of the cap, which is cylindrical in shape, is made of close-pressed tree-cotton divided into narrow vertical ribs by stitching on the lining. On this thin strips of silk or cotton stuffs of various colours are worked together in such a manner

1) These are made by the Achehnese women themselves and are of finer quality than those of Mekka. The price of a *kupiah* varies from 7—12 dollars.

as to give the impression when seen from a distance of a piece of coarse European worsted-work. Between these ribs is often fastened gold thread spreading at the top into ornamental designs. The centre of the crown is adorned with a prettily-shaped knot of gold or silver thread. In contradistinction to the Mekka cap, which is much lower in the crown, the Achehnese call theirs *kupiah meukeutōb*; a kerchief is sometimes wound round its lower edge as turban (*tangkulō'*), but it is just as often left uncovered. The highlander draws his long hair into a knot on the top of his head, and covers it with his cap, while the lowlander, if he do not shave his head from pious motives, lets his hair hang down loose on his neck from beneath it. In the lowland districts, too, the single headcloth or *tangkulō'* is more worn than in the Tunòng, and as in Java the origin of the wearer may be inferred from the manner of folding it. The prevailing fashion in such matters is however very liable to change. During my stay in Acheh a new method of wearing the headcloth was in vogue amongst the younger men. It was carried forward in the form of a cornucopia, a fashion said to have been set by the young pretender to the sultanate.

The *reunchōng* or *rinchōng*, a dagger with one sharp edge, and the *bungkōih ranub* or folded kerchief are alike indispensable to the Achehnese when he walks abroad. In the latter are placed all requisites for betel-leaf chewing, in ornamental and often costly little boxes or cases. Its four corners are held together by gold or copper *bòh ru* [1]), and it also forms the receptacle of sundry pretty little toilet requisites, keys etc.

Persons of position or those who are going on a journey carry in addition the Achehnese sword (*sikin panyang*) which is the ordinary weapon used in fighting. It is of uniform width from end to end, and is placed in a sheath. The *glīwang* (klewang) which is carried for show by the followers of chiefs, or taken on expeditions to market or nightly walks in the gampōng, is worn without a sheath.

The Tunòng folk take with them on a journey in addition to the above, two javelins (*kapa'*) and a spear (*tumba'*), as well as a firearm of some description [2]).

The dress of the women, while in the main identical in the Tunòng

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1) This is an acorn-shaped ornament perforated from end to end with a hole through which the tips of the *bungkōih* are passed.

2) Weapons are now only worn by a few of the chiefs, the carrying of arms being as a rule forbidden by government.

and Barōh, presents one or two points of difference. In both districts they wear over the Achehnese trousers an *ija pinggang*, but in the



PEOPLE FROM THE XXVI MUKIMS.

lowlands this hangs down to the feet, while in the highland districts it comes hardly lower than that of the men. Women in general wear a *bajèë*, but its sleeves are comparatively narrower in the Tunòng, and the edging (*keureuyay*) at neck and sleeves is more ornamental in the lowlands. A cloth (*ija sawa*') is thrown over the shoulders in the same way as the Javanese slendang or scarf. The women of the lowlands use another cloth (*ija tōb ulèë*) of the same description to cover the head when going out of doors. Locks of hair (*kundè*) are generally worn hanging in front of both ears. The chignon (*sanggōy*) is among the lowland women placed on the centre of the crown, and divided into two portions suggesting a pair of horns [1]), while the Tunòng women either carry the topknot entirely to one side, or let it hang down behind in the form of a sausage [2]).

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1) This fashion is called *meukipaih China* = "like a Chinese fan".
2) The Achehnese call this *mubòh guda* = "horse's pizzle".

The remaining articles of personal adornment exhibit few differences. Girls and women who have not yet had more than one child, wear



MAN FROM THE XXII MUKIMS WITH HIS WIFE.

armlets and anklets (*gleuëng jaròë* and *gaki*) made of *suasa*, which are forged on to their limbs; also chain bracelets of silver or suasa on their arms (*talòë jaròë*). On their necks they have metal collars, the separate portions of which closely resemble the almost circular *bòh ru* on the four corners of the betel-leaf kerchief, and necklaces hanging down over the breast (*si api*) composed of small diamond-shaped gold plates. In their ears they wear large *subangs* (earrings) of gold or of buffalo-horn with a little piece of gold in the centre, by the weight of which the holes pierced in the ears are gradually widened to the

greatest possible extent. Round the waist, either next the skin or over the *ija pinggang* they wear a chain formed of several layers (*talòë ki'iëng*) fastened in front with a handsome clasp (*peundéng*) [1]); and on their fingers a number of rings (*eunchiën* or *nchiën*).

Food. In the remaining material necessaries of life also, the chief distinction between the *Tunòng* and the *Barōh* lies in the fact that the highlanders are more frugal and simple in their requirements. We need not here go into exact details. The staple form of food, eaten twice a day at 8—9 a. m. and at 5—6 p. m., is rice (*bu*) well cooked in water. With the rice is taken *gulè* (the *sayur* of the Malays), of which there are three kinds in common use; 1°. *gulè masam keu'euëng* (half-sour, half-pungent *gulè*) consisting of leaves or fruits [2]) boiled in water mixed with onions, pepper, chilis (*champli*), salt, broken rice and as sour constituents *bòh slimèng* (blimbing) or *sunti*; 2°. *gulè leuma'* (rich *gulè*, from the cocoanut milk used in preparing it). With this is mixed a larger quantity of fragrant herbs, (such as *halia* or ginger and *sreuë*); its basis is either dried fish [3]) (*eungkōt thō*) or *karéng* (small fish of the kinds *biléh* or *awō*, also dried), or the stockfish imported from the Maldives (*keumamaïh*) or sliced plantains or brinjals. The sour elements are the same as in 1°. above. *Teumeuruy* leaves are also frequently mixed with it, and cocoanut milk (*santan*) is an indispensable ingredient. 3°. *Gulè pi u* (*gulè* of decayed cocoanut). In this the sour elements and herbs are the same as in the other kinds, but an important additional ingredient is rotten cocoanut, from which the oil has been expressed; also some unripe nangka or jackfruit (*bòh panaïh*), unripe plantain, dry fish and *karéng*.

Besides rice and vegetables a principal article of food with the Achehnese is the stockfish (*keumamaïh*) imported in large quantities from the Maldives. This is prepared in two different ways; 1°. *Keumamaïh cheunichah;* [4]) the *keumamaïh* is cut up into small pieces and

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1) Compare the notes on the bridal toilet in our description of marriage (Chapter III).

2) The leaves or fruits most commonly used are *ōn muliëng*, *bòh muliëng*, *ōn murōng* and black or red *bòh trüëng*.

3) This includes dried fish of the large varieties, not the stockfish (*keumamaïh*) of the Maldives or the *karéng*.

4) The verb *chichah* has reference to the pounding up of fruits etc. and the mixing up of the whole in the compost called rujaq, which is also known to the Achehnese by the name *cheunichah* or *chinichah*.

with these are mixed ripe *slimèng* (blimbing) [1]) pounded fine, chilis, onions and *sreuë* (sĕrai) [2]); 2°. *keumamaih reundang* or *tumèh*, the ingredients of which differ little from those just described, but which is not eaten raw but fried in oil.

A fourth article of food, which is greatly relished by the Achehnese is boiled fresh fish from the sea or the rivers (*eungkōt teunaguën*). To this is added a considerable quantity of the juice of various sorts of limes (e. g. *bòh munteuë*, *kruët*, *kuyuën*, *makén* and *sréng*), with chilis and various savoury herbs. The whole is set on the fire in a pot with water, and not taken off until the water boils.

At *kanduris* (religious feasts) and suchlike occasions glutinous rice (*bu kunyèt*) coloured yellow with turmeric is a favourite dish. To this are always added either *tumpòë* (a sort of pancakes, six or seven of which are laid on top of the rice) and *cheuneuruët*, a gelatinous network formed of the same kind of rice, or else grated cocoanut mixed with red sugar (*u mirah*), or long strips of stockfish boiled in cocoanut milk, called *keumamaih teunaguën*.

At weddings, funeral feasts, receptions of distinguished guests and other ceremonious occasions, it is customary to serve up the rice and its accessories in a definite traditional manner on *dalōngs* or trays. This manner of service is called *meu'idang*, and we shall have occasion to notice it more fully later on. An adjunct of every idang, after the rice, fish and gulè, is the tray of sweetmeats, containing a dish of glutinous rice (*bu leukat*), this time without turmeric, and a dish of *pisang peungat* — ripe plantains sliced thin and boiled with cloves, cinnamon, sugar and some pandan-leaves. To these is often added *sròykaya* — eggs with cocoanut milk and herbs well cooked by steaming.

Fruits (*bòh kayèë*) are constantly eaten, but do not form the special accessories of any feast. After a funeral those who are present at the burial ground eat plantains and such other fruits as are for sale in the market.

Sweetmeats are called *peunajōh* (which properly means simply „victuals"), and are as in Java very various in form and name [4]), though

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1) The blimbing is an acid fruit (one of the Oxalidaceæ) growing on a tree of moderate size. It is very popular with the Malays as a relish or sambal in curry. (*Translator*).

2) Sĕrai is Malay for the lemon-grass. Andropogon Schœnanthus. (*Translator*).

3) All that goes with the rice is called *lawan bu* or *teumòn bu*.

4) For instance *bōy*, *halua Meuseukat*, *pasisa*, *dōy-dōy*, *peunajōh thō*, *halua u*, *halua*

they differ but little in actual ingredients. The constituents of these are almost always grated cocoanut or cocoanut milk, glutinous rice or flour made therefrom, sugar and certain herbs, eggs and oil. They are eaten at odd times and are only set before guests when (as for example at recitations of the Qurān) they are assembled for hours together, so that a single great meal is insufficient to while away the time. On such occasions tea and coffee are also served, though the use of these beverages is generally restricted to invalids.

Small *kanduris* or religious feasts are of very common occurrence. At these yellow glutinous rice forms the *pièce de resistance*, though a goat is sometimes slaughtered for the guests. Otherwise buffaloes, oxen, goats and sheep are seldom killed except at the great annual festivals or in fulfilment of a vow.

Luxuries. The use of the betel-leaf (*ranub*) with its accessories (*pineung*, *gapu*, *gambé* [1]), *bakōng* and sundry odoriferous herbs) is absolutely universal. Many both in the highland and lowland districts make an intemperate use of opium, but to nothing like the same extent as in the colonies of pepper-planters on the East and West Coasts, where all the vices of the Achehnese reach their culminating point. The prepared opium or *chandu* is smoked (*piëb*) from the ordinary opium-pipes (*gò chandu*) with the aid of little lamps called *panyòt*. In the days of Habib Abdurrahman and similar religious zealots, the smoking went on only indoors and by stealth. The opium-sheds (*jambō chandu*) which certain persons in the more distant plantations had built in order to enjoy this luxury in company, were burnt down by that sayyid.

On the West Coast especially, the practice of smoking opium in company still prevailed, and was marked by some characteristic customs. The votaries of the habit sit together in a prescribed position, and the pipe passes round. Each must in his turn take two pulls so strong as to extinguish the lamp; he then hands the pipe to his right-hand neighbour with a *seumbah* or respectful salute. The opium used in such

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*meugeunta*, *halua pisang*, *halua leungòng*, *halua pulōt*, *seupét kuét*, *kuta'kan*, *seusagōn* etc. Sweetmeats and cakes unsuited for keeping are called by the collective name of *dabeuéh peukan*, i. e. "market-wares", even though home made. The following are some of them; *bada keutila*, *bada pisang*, *gula ta'*, *gula tarê*, *karang seumòt*, *keukaraïk*, *blita talam*, *bòh rōm-rōm*, *eungkuy*, *chutōy*, *kripèt*, *apam*, *sròykaya*, *putu*, *tapè*. This list shows that there is no lack of variety.

1) Betel-nut, lime and gambir. These three with the pungent betel-leaf (sirih) form the "quid" of the Malays. (*Translator*).

assemblages is mixed with tobacco or other leaves and is called *madat* [1]). The Achehnese (of course wrongly) try to associate this word with *adat*, and assert that it means "the smoking of opium in conformity with certain *adat* or customs". In Great-Acheh, however, such public opium-smoking has always been exceptional. Every opium-smoker, be he small or great, is sure to be known as such, yet he prefers to perpetrate the actual deed in the solitude of his inner chamber.

Some Achehnese smoke opium in order, as they assert, to prolong the pleasure of coition.

The use of strong drink, which usually degenerates into excess, is especially to be met with among the lowlanders, but is restricted to the upper classes or those who come much into contact with Europeans. For the ordinary Achehnese water is almost his only drink; occasionally he takes some sugarcane juice, squeezed out of the cane by means of a very primitive press. Hence it comes that *ngòn blòë ië teubèë* "to buy sugarcane juice" is the ordinary name for a douceur.

It was an honoured tradition in Acheh that a member of the Sultan's family who had the reputation of being even a moderate opium-smoker should be excluded from the succession. Intoxicating liquors on the other hand were, as is well known, always to be found in the Dalam. I learned from a widow of Sultan Ibrahim Mansur Shah [2]), (1858—70) that the latter had once murdered his own child in a fit of drunken frenzy [3]).

The Achehnese colonists on the East and West Coasts who live there sometimes for years at a time in a society where there are no women, develop every vice of the nation to its highest pitch. The true highlanders are reputed not indeed more virtuous (for with them theft and robbery are the order of the day) but less weak and effeminate than the lowlanders. Among them opium, drink and unnatural crime exercise less influence than in the coast provinces. Unreasoning fanaticism, contempt for all strangers and self conceit are all more strongly marked in the upper country than in the lowland districts, which have

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1) From the Arabic مدد = spiritual or bodily refreshment. It was at first used as an euphemistic expression for the prohibited drug.

2) The Achehnese pronunciation is *Mansō Chah*.

3) The intemperate use of strong drink in the neighbourhood of the royal stronghold would appear to have assumed great proportions previous to the commencement of the Achehnese war.

grown somewhat "civilized" through contact with foreigners. The highlanders esteem themselves (and the lowlanders do not deny it)



GROUP OF MEN FROM THE XXII MUKIMS.

braver men than their brethren of the two remaining "angles" (*sagòë*) of the country. A hero is in common speech as well as in literature, often spoken of as *aneu' tunòng kruëng* = "a son of the upper reaches of the river."

The house and its equipment.

In the arrangement of their dwellings there is but little difference between Tunòng and Barōh. The plate and explanation given at the end of this volume show clearly the principal features of the Achehnese dwelling-house [1]). It must be remembered that these houses are com-

1) The drawing was made by Mr. M. Donk, and I owe the full explanatory notes to Mr. L. J. C. van Es, Engineer.

posed of either three or (as in the plate) five *rueuëngs* or divisions between the main rafters. In the first case the number of pillars supporting the main body of the house is 16, in the second 24. To form an idea of a house of three rueuëngs it is only necessary to cut off from that depicted in the plate all that lies to one side or the other of the central passage (*rambat*).

It has further to be noted that the back verandah (*sramòë likōt*) sometimes also serves as kitchen, and in that case the extension of the house for this purpose as shown in our plate is omitted. The gable-ends always face East and West, so that the main door and the steps leading up to it must have a northerly or southerly aspect.

Further additions are often made to the house on its East or West side, when the family is enlarged by the marriage of a daughter. These are as regards their floor-level (*aleuë*) tached on as annexes to the back verandah. Some new posts are set up along the side of the verandah to support an auxiliary roof, the inner edge of which projects from the edge of the main roof. Parents who are not wealthy enough to build for their daughters a separate house close by, retire, as far as their private life is concerned, into the temporary building we have just described (*anjōng*) [1]) and leave the inside room (*jurèë*) to the young married couple.

We shall now make a survey of the Achehnese house and its belongings, not with the object of giving a full description of its subordinate parts (which may be found in the plate), or a complete inventory of all its equipment, but to show the part played by the various portions of the house in the lives of its inmates [2]).

Round about each dwelling is a court-yard, generally supplied with the necessary fruit-trees etc. and sometimes cultivated so as to deserve the name of a garden (*lampōïh*). Regular gardens, in which are planted sugarcane, betelnuts, cocoanuts etc., are sometimes to be found in this enclosure, sometimes in other parts of the gampōng. The courtyard is surrounded by a strong fence (*pageuë*) through which a door leads out on to the narrow gampōng-path (*jurōng*); this in its turn leads

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1) The great saint of Acheh, a sayyid of the stock of Bilfaqih, whose tomb is in Gampōng Jawa, is generally known as *Teungku Anjōng* owing to his having during his lifetime dwelt in a house which was separated from the neighbouring house by such an *anjōng*.

2) The description we give here is practically supplementary to that of Van Langen in the *Tijdschrift van het Ned. Aardrijksk. Genootschap*, second series, Vol. V. p. 450 et seq.

through the gampōng to the main road [1]) (*rèt*), which runs through rice-fields, gardens and uncultivated spaces, and unites one gampōng with another. The whole gampōng, like each courtyard, is surrounded with a fence.

A good fence is generally formed of two rows of *glundōng* or *keudundōng* trees or the like, set at a uniform distance apart, leaving a slight intervening space which is filled with *triëng* or thorny bamboo. The two rows are united firmly together by bamboos fastened horizontally from tree to tree as crosspieces. There are usually from three to five of these cross bamboos in the length of the fence.

Sometimes trees or bushes of other sorts which are themselves furnished with thorns, such as the *daréh*, are employed to fence in gardens, courtyards or gampōngs.

In many courtyards [2]), as appears from what we have said above, more than a single dwelling house is to be found. As a rule each additional house is the habitation of one of the married daughters ot the same family or in any case belongs to women descended from the same ancestress.

An indispensable item is the well (*mòn*), from which the women draw water for household use in buckets (*tima*) made of the spathe of the betel-palm (*seutuë'*), where they wash their clothes and utensils, bathe (so far as the uncleanly Achehnese deem it necessary to do so) and perform other needs. A gutter (*salōran*) carries off the water etc. to an earthenware conduit, which conducts both water and dung to a manure-heap (*adén* or *jeu'a*) which is always very wet. Into this also falls by means of another gutter all the wet refuse that is thrown out from the back part of the house and kitchen. A screen (*pupalang*) shuts off those who are using the well from the gaze of the passers-by.

The space underneath the house (*yub mòh* or *yub rumòh*) serves as the receptacle of various articles. The *jeungki* or see-saw rice-pounder for husking rice; the *keupō'* [3]), a space between four or six posts, separated off by a partition of plaited cocoanut leaves (*bleuët*) or similar

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1) The point of junction of the gampōng-path with the main road is called *babah rèt* = mouth of the road.

2) The part of the courtyard in front of the house is called *leuën*, that behind it *likōt* or *likōt mòh* (the last is short for *rumòh*) and the spaces at the sides of the two gables *rabòng*.

3) Sometimes, especially in the highlands, there are found in place of the *keupō'* more solidly constructed wooden storehouses (*brandang*) either under the house or close beside it.

material thrown round the posts, and in which the newly harvested rice is kept till threshed, and the threshing itself takes place; the *krōngs*, great tun-shaped barrels made of the bark of trees or plaited bamboo or rattan, wherein is kept the unhusked rice after threshing, which barrels are also sometimes placed in separate open buildings outside the house; the press (*peuneurah*) for extracting the oil [1]) from decayed cocoanuts (*pi u*), and a bamboo or wooden rack (*prataïh* or *panteuë*) on which lies the firewood cleft by the women; these are the principal inanimate objects to be met with in the *yub mòh*.

Should the space beneath the house happen to be flooded in the rainy season, the store of rice is of course removed indoors.

Dogs, goats, sheep, ducks and fowls are also housed in the *yub mòh*. The brooding hens are kept under a cage-shaped *seureukab* [2]), the others at night in a *sriweuën* or *eumpung* (fowl-run), while the fighting-cocks are in the daytime fastened up here by strings to the posts, though at night these favourite animals are brought into the front verandah [3]).

Cows and buffaloes are housed in separate stalls or *weuë*, while ponies are tied up here and there to trees. The Achehnese however seldom possess the latter animals; those who have them use them but little and treat them with scant care [4]).

All the small live stock huddled together in the *yub mòh* naturally

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1) This foul-smelling oil (*minyeu' brō'*) is used for lamps etc. What is required for culinary purposes is first boiled and prepared so as to remove the smell and is then called *minyeu' masa'*. The Achehnese seldom boil out the oil from the fresh *santan* (cocoanut milk) since the quantity obtainable in this way is smaller. Such oil is called *minyeu leutè'*.

2) The Malay *sĕrkap*, a conical cage or basket. The Malays give the same name to a similar basket which they use to catch fish in wet padi-fields and standing pools. The sluggish fish are caught by plunging the basket down into the water, and the fish are then withdrawn through an aperture at the top. (*Translator*).

3) With regard to the fowls it should be added that they also are generally collected in the evening and placed on a bamboo or plank platform projecting outwards horizontally from the house and unprovided with any covering or fence. This is a precaution against the perpetual thefts of fowls. If the birds are gathered together in a coop, the thieves come and besprinkle them with water; this artificial rain makes them keep still, and the plunderers can carry off their booty unnoticed. But when the fowls are sitting on an open surface, they will fly in all directions at the first attempt the thief makes to catch them.

4) They are let loose in the fields by day and tied up to trees at night, generally without any shelter. Their owners often forget to water them for one or two days at a time, so that the expression "to water a horse" (*bri ië guda*) is used proverbially as a reproach to someone who puts off the performance of a duty, as one who should pay a daily visit, but only puts in an appearance one day in three or four.

render the place somewhat the reverse of wholesome. To this it must be added that much of the refuse from the house is simply thrown in there instead of being conveyed to the dung-heap by the gutter above referred to. Most contributions of this sort come through the *guha* [1]), a hole pierced in the floor of the back verandah to receive odds and ends of refuse wet and dry, but which also serves as a latrine for children and invalids! Besides this, the floor of every inner room (*jurèë*) is furnished with a long open fissure over which the dead are laid to be washed, so as to let the water used in the ablution flow off easily.

Notwithstanding all this, the *yub mòh* is also used as a temporary resting-place for human beings. If there are children in the house, a large swinging cradle is hung here for their use. Here too the women set up their cloth on the loom and perform other household duties, for which purpose a certain portion is partitioned off by a screen (*pupalang*). At festivals some of the guests are entertained in the same place; and here it is customary to receive visits of condolence for a death. Some chiefs keep imprisoned in the *yub mòh* those who refuse to pay the fines imposed on them.

At the foot of the steps leading up to the house (*gaki reunyeun*) there always stands a great earthenware water-jar (*guchi*). Close to this is a hooked stick planted in the ground to hold a bucket (*seuneulat tima*) and a number of stones rather neatly arranged. Anyone who wishes to enter the house places his dusty or muddy feet on these stones and pours water over them from the bucket till they are clean.

Where there is a separate kitchen (*rumòh dapu*), a flight of steps leading down from this allows the inmates to quit the house from the back, but as a rule the steps in front are the only means of egress, so that the women must traverse the front verandah every time they go out of doors.

Some houses have a wooden platform surrounding the foot of the steps and protected by the penthouse roof which covers the latter. It is set against the side of the house and stands a little lower than the floor of the front verandah. This serves the inmates as an occasional place to sit and laze in and also for the pursuit of parasites in one

1) The word also signifies "grotto" or "cave", but the expression *ja' tōh ᵓiᵉ' keudèh ba' guha* (Van Langen, Achehnese Dictionary p. 471) means "go and make water at the hole" and not "in the cave".

another's hair, a practice as necessary and popular among the Achehnese as among the Javanese [1]). Here too the little children play.

By the house door access is gained to the front verandah or as the Achehnese call it, the stair verandah (*sramòë reunyeun*), which is separated from the rest of the house by a partition in which are the doors of the inner chambers (*jurèë*) and the aperture leading into the central passage, filled generally either by a curtain or a door.

This is the portion of the Achehnese dwelling to which the uninitiated are admitted. Here guests are received, *kanduris* or religious feasts are given and business discussed. Part of the floor (*aleuë*) is covered with matting; on ceremonial occasions carpets (*plumadani* or *peureumadani*) are spread over this, and on top of these again each guest finds an ornamentally worked square sitting-mat (*tika duë'*) placed ready for him. A sort of bench made of wood or bamboo called *prataïh* sometimes serves the master of the house as a bedstead during part of the night, when he finds the heat excessive within. Here too are to be found a number of objects which betray the calling or favourite sport of their owner, some on shelves or bamboo racks (*sandéng*) against the wall, some stuck in the crevices of the wall itself. There the fisherman hangs his nets (*jeuë* or *nyaréng*), the huntsman his snares (*taròn*), all alike their weapons; there too are kept certain kinds of birds such as the *leuë'* (Mal. *tëkukur*, a kind of small dove), which are much used for fighting-matches.

The passage (*rambat*) is at one side in a house of three sections, but in one of five it is right in the middle between the two bedrooms. It is entered by none but women, members of the household or the family, or men on very intimate terms of acquaintanceship, as it only gives access to the back verandah, the usual abode of the women, who there perform their daily household tasks.

Some provisions are stored in the *rambat*, as for instance a *guchi* or earthenware jar of decayed cocoanut (*pi u*) for making oil, and a jar of vinegar made from the juice of the arèn (*ië jò'*) or the nipah. Here too stands the *tayeuën*, a smaller portable earthenware jar in which the mistress of the house or her maidservant fetches water from the

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1) The Achehnese however do not perform this operation in the same unsavoury manner as the Javanese, whom they nickname *Jawa pajòh gutèë* = "louse-eating Javanese".

well to fill the guchi which stands in the back verandah and contains the supply of water for household use.

Some short posts (*rang*) extending only from the roof to the floor are furnished with small pieces of plank on which are hung the brass plates with stands of the same metal on which food is served to guests, the trays (*dalōng*) big enough to hold an idang for four or five persons and the smaller ones (*krikay*) on which are dished the special viands for the most distinguished visitors. Either in the rambat or the sramòë likōt stands a chest (*peutòë*) containing the requisite china and earthenware.

Porcelain dishes (*pingan*) and plates or small dishes (*chipé*) are to be found in these chests almost everywhere in the lowland districts, but when there are no guests the simpler ware common in the Tunòng is here also used, viz. large earthenware or wooden plates called *chapah* and smaller ones known as *chuè'*.

The back verandah serves as it were as a sitting-room and as we have seen often answers the purpose of a kitchen as well. It contains a sitting mattress (*tilam duë'*) with a mat on it especially intended for the use of the master, when he comes here to eat his meals or to repose; while a low bench (*prataïh*) similarly covered with a mat serves as a resting-place for small children. Here are to be found, on shelves or racks fixed against the wall, plates, earthen cooking-pots (*blangòng*), circular earthen or brass saucepans (*kanèt*) [1]) in which rice is boiled [2]), earthen frying-pans with handles (*sudu*) for frying fish etc., the curry-stone (*batèë neupéh*) for grinding spices etc., with the grater (*aneu'*) that appertains to it, and earthenware or brass lamps (*panyòt*) in the form of round dishes with four or seven mouths (*mata*) in each of which a wick is placed. Some of these lamps are suspended by cords from above (*panyòt gantung*), others rest on a stand (*panyòt dòng*). From the rafters and beams hang at intervals little nets called *salang*, neatly plaited of rattan, for holding dishes which contain food, so as to protect their contents to some extent from the attacks of various domestic animals.

Drinking vessels of brass (*mundam*) or earthenware (*peunuman*) are

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1) Hence the collective name in Acheh for pottery, *kanèt-blangòng*.

2) These pots are generally used in Acheh for cooking rice with water (*taguën*). Steaming (*seu'òb*) is only resorted to in the case of gelatinous rice (*bu leukat*), certain ground fruits and a few sweetmeats such as *sròykaya* or *apam*. For this are employed utensils called *puncheuë'* similar in shape to the *kukusans* of Java. As a matter of fact the cooking of rice in water (*liwët*) is the rule in Java also in many more districts than is generally supposed.

to be found in all the different apartments. They have as covers brass drinking-cups which are inverted and replaced after use.

Cooking is performed in a very simple manner. Five stones arranged almost exactly in this form ⁘ constitute two *teunungkèës* [1]) or primitive chafing-dishes in which wood fires are lit, one for the rice and the other for the vegetables (*gulè*). The use of iron chafing-dishes (*kran*) on three legs is a mark of a certain degree of luxury.

The holy of holies in the house is the one part of it that may be really called a room, the *jurèë*, to which access is had by a door leading out on to the back verandah. Here the married couple sleep, here takes place the first meeting of bride and bridegroom at the *mampleuë* (inf. chapter III, § 1) and here the dead are washed. These rooms are seldom entered by any save the parents, children and servants.

The floor is as a rule entirely covered with matting. The roofing is hidden by a white cloth (*tirè dilangèt*) and the walls are in like manner covered with *tirè* or hangings. Round the topmost edge of the *tirè* runs a border formed of diamond-shaped pieces of cloth of various colours; these when stitched together form the pattern called in Acheh *chradi* or *mirahpati*. Such disguising of roof and walls is resorted to in the other parts of the house only on festive occasions. On a low bench or platform (*prataïh*) is placed a mattress (*tilam éh*) with a mat over it, and this couch is usually surrounded with a mosquitonet (*kleumbu*).

Besides this there is spread on the floor a sitting-mattress (*tilam duë'*) of considerable size, but intended only for the man's use, and thus provided with a sitting mat. On both mattresses are piles of cushions (*bantay susōn*) shaped like bolsters and adorned at either end with pretty and often costly trimming. A sitting mattress has about four, a sleeping mattress as many as fifteen cushions of this description.

The clothing and personal ornaments are kept in a chest which stands in the *jurèë*. Well-to-do people generally have for this purpose chests the front of which is formed of two little doors opening outwards. These are called *peutòë dòng* or standing chests to distinguish them from the chests with covers. When the Achehnese learned to use European cupboards, they gave them the same name.

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1) *Tungku* in Mal. and Jav.

Along the small posts (*rang*) inside the house there is usually fastened a plank set on edge on the floor. This serves as a specious screen for all manner of untidiness, concealing all such rubbish as the inmates may choose to throw between it and the wall.

The women as well as the men are dirty and slovenly, and but few of the objects forming the household equipment have a settled place. All manner of things are piled on the upper beams or on the small platforms (*para*) which rest thereon, access to which is gained by climbing up steps made of pieces of plank fastened to the walls or posts. Various objects are to be seen hanging against the wall, or when its structure admits, stuck into its crevices (*lhat*).

Lamps and drinking-cups are of course not lacking in the *jurèë*, still less the requisites for chewing betel. The betel-leaves in neat little piles with pieces of betelnut on the top are contained in a little brass cup of almost the same form as the drinking-cups and like them called *baté* with the word *ranub* added to show their purpose. The cup is covered inside with a cloth lining, which, like the tirè-borders, exhibits the variegated pattern known as *mirahpati* or *chradi*. On top of the betel are placed two small boxes, the *krandam* and *cheuleupa* containing respectively lime and tobacco mixed with spices. The outfit is in fact the same as the pedestrian carries with him in his *bungkōih*, or if he be a person of distinction, has carried for him by his attendants.

The whole house belongs in Acheh to the category of movable property. Every peg is made much too small for its hole and is kept in its place by means of large wedges. For anyone who understands the uniform structure of the Achehnese house — and every native of the country is an adept in this — the task of taking a house to pieces and setting it up again elsewhere is but the work of a moment.

So when an Achehnese sells his house, this means that the purchaser removes it to his own place of abode; a change of residence by the proprietor or rather the proprietress to another gampōng is quite a rare occurrence among the Achehnese.

Houses are transported in large numbers from the highlands to the lowlands, but seldom vice versâ, since the Tunòng possesses a greater abundance of building materials.

It is to be understood that even the most solidly built Achehnese house shakes if anyone pulls at the posts. Thieves and burglars begin by shaking the house to discover whether the inmates are sound

enough asleep to admit of their carrying out their nefarious purposes. If they hear from the *jurèë* or the front verandah the cry "who is that shaking the house?" they know that the time is unfavourable for their task.

Men who have forbidden intrigues with the wife or daughter of the house make known their presence in the same way, so that the object of their affections may come out to them if opportunity occurs.

The same course is adopted by the revengeful, who seek treacherously to slay the master of the house. Having ascertained that the latter is sound asleep in the *jurèë* they can generally ascertain, as they stand underneath the house, on what part of the floor he is lying. Then follow one or two rapid spear-thrusts through the thin planks, and all is over.

To force one's way into the house at night is difficult, as the doors are fastened with wooden bolts (*ganchéng*, *aneu' ganchéng*) and besides every movement inside the house would be likely owing to the instability of the floor, to wake the inmates up.

Many houses are regarded as possessed, because their inmates are continually falling sick. To protect a house from such malign influences various expedients are adopted.

A favourable time for commencing to build is carefully chosen. The work always begins with the setting up of the two principal posts with the cross-beams that unite them; while this is in progress, sundry prayers and formulas are repeated. These two posts which when the house is completed stand in the *jurèë*, are called the *raja* and the *putròë* (prince and princess). For them the soundest and best wood is selected; the raja is first set up and then the putròë. At a wedding the bridegroom takes his place next the "prince" post, while the bride occupies a seat under the "princess".

Should the ceremonies at the setting up of the principal pillars prove propitious for continuing to build, then as soon as the house is finished a lucky day is again chosen for moving into it.

On this occasion a *kanduri* or religious feast is given, to which the *teungku* of the *meunasah* (vide inf. § 5) and some *leubès* are invited. After this gathering there commences the customary "cooling" [1] (*peu-*

1) An odd contrast is to be found in the English name for the initiation of a new house, "house-warming". To natives of warm climates coolness and not warmth appears the *desideratum* (*Translator*).

*sijuë'*), which consists in sprinkling all the posts with flour and water (*teupōng tawcuë*) by means of a broom formed of plants and twigs having a "cooling", that is an evil-dispelling influence. The same process is resorted to whenever there has been any unusual feast or ceremony in the house, since such occurrences are supposed to set the heat, that is the powers of evil, in motion. Of all the pillars the raja and the putròë receive most attention on such occasions.

The two "royal" pillars and sometimes others as well are at the time of building covered at the top with a piece of white cloth, over which again is placed a piece of red, so that they look as though they had turbans on their heads. This is also supposed to contribute to the protection of the inmates from evil influences.

## § 4. Distribution of the people; clans and tribes.

The family and the tribes (kawōm, sukèë).

The family, whose dwelling-place is the Achehnese house just described, its origin and the customs and laws that control its daily life are all dealt with in a later chapter. There we shall see how among many genuine patriarchal institutions, survivals are not wanting of the former prevalence of what the Germans call "Mutterrecht", or to which they apply the curious hybrid name "Matriarchat."

The child never ceases to regard the house and gampōng of his mother as his own. The daughters continue after marriage to reside in their mother's house (in which case a *jurèë* is vacated in their favour) or obtain another house in its immediate neighbourhood. The sons when married are said to "go home" (*wòë*) to their wives, yet they remain, except when visiting their wives, citizens of their mother's gampōng, where in common with all whose wives do not reside in that gampōng or who are still unmarried, they pass their nights in the *meunasah*.

Thus descendants of a common ancestress through the female line are usually to be found living as relatives in the same neighbourhood, while those derived from a common ancestor are scattered about in different villages.

These and similar facts, however, interesting though they may be, have at the present time only a rudimentary signification for the Achehnese community. When mention is made of a family in the more

extended sense of a tribe (*kawōm*), this is taken to include all the descendants of a common ancestor in the male line, however far apart from one another they may happen to reside. And this is no new conception, nor should it in all probability be ascribed to the influence of Mohammedanism alone, though no doubt greatly strengthened thereby; most of the old Achehnese adats and institutions bear witness to and confirm this patriarchal origin.

Thus a *kawōm* [1]) includes all whose pedigrees followed up in the male line coincide in a single ancestor. Even where the line cannot be clearly traced (and few Achehnese know their descent for more than three generations) they still hail one another as fellow-tribesmen as long as the feeling survives that they are connected in the manner indicated with a common ancestor.

Van Langen [2]) has very properly represented the division of the Achehnese people into *kawōms* as the ancient and patriarchal, as opposed to the territorial distribution, the latter being a more recent and higher phase of the political development of Acheh. Even now, after government and judicial administration have been for centuries based on the territorial distribution, the *kawōms*, those genealogical units which flourished at a period when might was superior to right and when there was no central authority controlling parties, have by no means lost all significance.

In connection with this fact it follows naturally that the *kawōms* have maintained most force in those parts of the country where the political development is most backward, as in the Tunòng (the XXII Mukims), in Pidië (Pedir) and in the VII Mukims Buëng (the part of the XXVI Mukims that has most in common with the highlands in language and manners). In the lowlands on the other hand, and especially in the neighbourhood of the Dalam, where blood-feuds (*bila*) are not so much the order of the day, and where the upholders of territorial authority depend less on their kawōm than on their own energy and other personal characteristics, the distribution into kawōms

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1) From the Arab. *kaum* = people, tribe.

2) In his *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur*, pp. 384—390. The theory there propounded (p. 387) that this distribution was introduced on a sudden during the reign of a certain Sultan of the 16th century is unworthy of acceptance and is also at variance with tradition. The transition took place naturally, growing with the growth of the people. What the writer puts forward as Achehnese tradition is to an undesirable degree mixed up with modern conjectures and the theories of certain Achehnese.

is of continually diminishing import. Everything tends to show that even if the country were left entirely to itself, the development of Acheh would gradually result in the entire dissolution of the influence of the *kawōm*.

None the less it has occasionally come to pass in more recent times that a lowland tribe which has greatly increased in numbers, has cherished the desire of seeing a *panglima kawōm* [1]) established *more majorum* at its head.

The fulfilment of such a wish has however for a long time past depended on the concurrence of the territorial chief, the *ulèëbalang*. The latter first considers whether it is desirable to acquiesce in the request of the "family" whose proportions have so much increased, and further whether the proposed candidate is to be depended on to uphold the interests of his kawōm, and especially those which relate to blood feuds or *bila*. A territorial functionary is never selected as *panglima kawōm*, since the two-fold office would bring him at times into conflict with himself. If the ulèëbalang concurs in the request, the appointment is made in the presence of a solemn assembly of certain office-bearers and a number of members of the kawōm or tribe. The new leader of the tribe receives from the ulèëbalang a *seunalén*, that is an outfit of clothing and another of weapons, and this present binds him as it were expressly to fealty to the ruler of the country. The *ulèëbalang* or an experienced speaker on his behalf announces the appointment of the *panglima kawōm* to the assembled crowd, and finally the newly-appointed chief is smeared behind the ears (*sunténg*) with yellow glutinous rice, a ceremony resorted to on all sorts af solemn occasions to ward off evil influences.

The appointment of a *panglima kawōm* takes place in the lowland districts whenever there are satisfactory reasons for it, even though the tribe has no traditional appellation and though its connection with one of the four great tribes (*kawōm* or *sukèë*) presently to be noticed is entirely unverified. But as already observed, such appointments are of uncommon occurrence, and the fact that they belong to one of the four great kawōms is as a rule only brought home to the lowlanders by occasional troublesome demands for help and support from their unknown brethren of the highlands.

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1) Chief or leader of the *kawōm*.

The demand for blood-vengeance (*bila*) or a blood-price (*diët*) by the next of kin of a slain man, which is very common in the lowlands, need not be gone into here in our description of institutions strictly Achehnese, as it is universal in all Mohammedan communities.

The Tunòng or highlands of Great-Acheh are, comparatively speaking, up to the present time the true sphere of the *kawōm*. Here we find the four great tribes (*kawōm* or *sukèë*) to one or other of which every true highlander regards himself as belonging, and from which it is generally asserted that every Achehnese must be descended [1]). Here a strained relation between two tribes may result in a hostile attitude, be it only such as that of the Bedouins, a war without battles, but marked by many thievish raids and treacherous attacks, and sometimes actual homicide.

To learn for himself all that there is still to find out about these *kawōms* the enquirer should devote a considerable time to personal investigation in the Tunòng. From the actual popular traditions of the place he would be able to deduce — not how the four tribes originated, for that is known to none, and still less the course of their history even in modern times — but what the mutual relations are which subsist between the tribes themselves. By examining actually existing disputes and the manner of their settlement, he would come to know what the *adats* are which really control the tribal life — which never can be learnt from the answers of the highlanders to the questions put to them, since each one is apt to try and show off by his answers his own wisdom and the greatness of his own *kawōm* or *sukèë*.

There are many arguments against the theory of the descent of all Achehnese from the four *sukèës*, leaving aside the question as to how these latter originated. For instance we find that many of the lowlanders are absolutely ignorant as to which of the *sukèës* they can claim to belong to; then again we know that there has been from early times a considerable intermixture with foreign elements in spite of all racial pride. The Sultans of Acheh were in part Malayan, in part

1) The number four is a favourite one in these genealogical subdivisions. It is known that the sukus (the word actually indicates the fraction $\frac{1}{4}$) of the Mĕnangkabau people are also based on the number four. Anyone at all versed in genealogical legends is aware that all such tables of descent are as regards their uppermost part artificial or mythical or in brief fictitious, while the really traditional or more reliable elements must be sought for in the most recent branches. In the earlier portions we find represented in genealogical form units which history shows to have really been gathered from the four winds.

Arab, and in part — as with the line of princes who have now occupied the throne for more than a century and a half — of Bugis origin. The great literati or holy men were almost without exception foreigners, and the same is true of many of the rich traders and high officials. The Klings and Arabs settled in Acheh, nay even some of the slaves have after several generations become an integral part of the Achehnese people. From this it may be readily concluded that the four great tribes, while comprehending the whole of the Tunòng people, who owing to the nature of their environment were least of all exposed to foreign influence or admixture, never included all the Achehnese. This remains probable even in view of the indubitable fact that the tribal relations which did actually prevail, are in the lowlands fading away and gradually disappearing under the pressure of the superior power of the chiefs.

The slight information which we here furnish as to the four kawōms, their tradition and adat is from the nature of the subject merely preliminary, and will we hope be improved or better still completed by others.

All that can be gathered of the origin of the four *kawōms* or *sukèës*, even with respect to their names is thus to a hazardous degree mixed up with modern Achehnese philosophy and conjecture. These materials though they wear the outward appearance of having been handed down from distant ages, exhibit manifest traces of having been thought out in a period much too remote for accuracy from the origin of the tribes, or concocted to suit the real or supposed meanings of the names [1]). The very circumstance that these kawōm-legends diverge as widely as the poles should cause us to abandon as hopeless the search among them for "germs of history."

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1) See also Van Langen, *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur* pp. 387 et seq. The explanation there given of the distribution of the people into *kawōms* as based on difference of race, thus giving us a Mante-Batak, a Hindu and a half-caste *kawōm*, and also one of more recent origin, rests again on modern Achehnese theory and is as little trustworthy as the doctrine of Teungku Kutakarang (see p. 18 above) according to which the people of Acheh was composed of Arabs, Persians and Turks. The flights of fancy indulged in by the Achehnese expositors are shown by the explanation of the name of the kawōm *Tō' Batèë* on p. 388 of the above work. They derive it from the circumstance that on one occasion through the help of this tribe "stones enough" were found. In the first place, the proper meaning of *tō'* is "to arrive" and not "to be enough." Besides this, however, the word *Tō'* is a common abbreviation of *Datō'* which like *Ja* means ancestor, and as a matter of fact the tribe in question is just as often called *Ja Batèë* as *Tō' Batèë*.

Thus much is, however, certain, that from the earliest time three of the four kawōms were even when taken together inferior in numbers and strengh to the fourth, and therefore combined in opposition to the latter. Through this conjunction and also perhaps through attendant political circumstances the nature of which we can now hardly conjecture, this trio of tribes succeeded, at the time when the Achehnese passed from what we have termed the genealogical or patriarchal to the territorial distribution, in retaining for themselves the highest positions and excluding their common rival therefrom. Thus the united three restored the balance of power and even made it turn in their favour, but not before they had transferred the conflict to another sphere than that of the *kawōms*.

The three kawōms and the Imeum Peuët.

While the tribes *Lhèë reutoïh*, *Chut* (also known as *Ja* or *Tō'*) *Sandang* and *Tō'* or *Ja Batèë* all contributed members to the families of the territorial chiefs or high officials to the chief town of the kingdom, no single member of the fourth tribe, the *Imeum Peuët* has attained to more than the modest rank of chief of a *mukim*.

The names of the kawōms teach us little; let us however recapitulate them.

1°. *Lhèë reutoïh*, i. e. the Three Hundred, without doubt a peculiar title for a genealogical unit. If it may be assumed that three hundred families or three hundred fighting men were originally intended by the name, it is probable that we have to do with an ancient federation called into existence at some crisis of public necessity or conflict and afterwards remaining united and increasing in numbers chiefly if not altogether by propagation. But who can vouch for the correctness of this supposition?

2°. *Chut*, *Ja* or *Tō' Sandang*. *Ja* or *Tō'* as we have seen, means forefather. Both names, like *eumpèë* (Mal. *ĕmpu*) are also applied to revered and personified objects, such as sacred trees, wells, rocks and cliffs, the worship of which clearly dates from heathenish times, but has here survived in spite of Islam.

*Chut* properly means "little". It is used as a prefix to the names of children and (at least in more recent times) of men and women of position. *Sandang*, which properly means "to carry something under the arm suspended to a rope or strap passing over the shoulder", is also sometimes used as a male proper name [1]).

1) For instance the cousin and *banta* of the present Teuku Nè' is called Teuku Sandang.

Van Langen notices a tradition according to which the name of this tribe was originally that of an individual from Lampanaïh in the XXII Mukims, who used to bring every year to the Sultans of Acheh in token of fealty a bamboo filled with palm-wine fastened to a cord passing over his shoulder [1]).

Another legend which I have heard, while equally unreliable from a historical point of view, is much more generally current among the Achehnese, and serves to illustrate an adat which prevailed up to the latest times at the installation of a new Sultan.

According to this story, one of the Sultans of Acheh once found himself constrained to go and enforce in person his authority over the district of Pidië. His route thither lay through Lam Panaïh in the XXII Mukims. Here he suffered from thirst, but none was found to bring him anything to drink, till at last a man of humble rank brought him milk in a bamboo vessel (*pachō'*), which he carried in the way expressed by the word *sandang*.

The Sultan was extremely grateful and invited him to come to him when the war was over and His Majesty had returned to the Dalam, as he wished to give him an earnest of the honour and favour in which he held him. "But how", objected the old man, "shall an insignificant person like myself be recognized as he who helped to assuage your thirst, and admission to the Dalam be accorded me"? "You must", replied the Sultan, "twist a white cocoanut spathe round your head by way of sign, and hang your bamboo vessel over your shoulder as it now is". *Ja Sandang* did so, and both he and his descendants enjoyed the utmost consideration at the Court.

Teuku Kali. Later on the ruler of Acheh who reformed or endeavoured to reform the administration of justice, chose his court judge from the tribe of *Ja Sandang*, which had meantime greatly increased in dignity. This official received the title of Kali Malikul-ādil (Malikōn Adé) and the judicial office or at least the title appertaining to it remained hereditary in his family.

The later bearers of this title gradually acquired the positions of masters of ceremonies at the Court. Those who have seen them in the exercise of their functions at the installation of a new Sultan, can testify that on such occasions the Teuku Kali wore a white cocoanut

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1) *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur*, pp. 388—389.

spathe under his head-cloth, and a blunderbuss attached to a leathern belt passing over his shoulder. The reason given for adhering to this adat is that the titular "judge" appeared also in the character of the representative of his tribe the *Ja Sandang*. As, however, customs change with lapse of time, the later Sultans had permitted the holders of this office to exchange the bamboo vessel for a blunderbuss and to hide the cocoanut spathe to some extent beneath their head-cloth.

We let this legend pass for what it is worth, merely adding that the members of this tribe are not allowed to eat the flesh of white buffaloes or the salt water fish *alu-alu*, both of which are tabooed (*pantang*) for them. There is of course no lack of stories to account for this prohibition. Similar rules affecting particular families or tribes are very common in Java; among the Sundanese they are known as *buyut* or in some cases *chadu*.

Such pantang-rules, even though strictly observed by Mohammedans, date of course from pre-Mohammedan times, and in so far they perhaps argue a much greater antiquity for the *sukèë* of *Ja Sandang* than the Achehnese themselves are aware of.

3°. *Ja* or *Tŏ' Batèë* = Forefather or Grandfather Stone. It may be conjectured that the tribe so named regarded its individuality as embodied in the common worship of a sacred stone [1]).

4°. *Imeum peuët* or *the four imāms*, evidently a very modern appellation as compared with 2° and 3° above. It seems to indicate that this tribe or confederacy existed or was formed under the leadership of four chiefs called imāms. As we know, the office of *imām* (Ach. *imeum*) stands entirely apart from the organization of the kawōms. We have in Acheh imeums who take the lead in devotional exercises without deriving from this function any particular rank in the community. Again we find imeums in the position of headmen of districts (mukims), whose office was according to the intent of its founder without doubt closely connected with religion, but has degenerated into one of purely worldly authority. Neither of the two seems to suggest the constitution or appellation of a *sukèë*.

It appears to me not improbable that a number of smaller kawōms

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1) Compare *Ja Karieng*, a dreaded tree on Pulŏ Lam Puyang, the subject of many vows, *Eumpèë Lulu*, a mountain on the coast of the IV Mukims which plays a part in the rain-making superstition, *Eumpèë Bliëng*, a holy well in the IX Mukims, which also helps to cause rain, etc.

each with a name of its own but without any collective appellation used to band themselves together in time of danger; and that at the time when the greatest efforts towards centralization of control were being made in Acheh, this confederacy obtained four *imeums* to look after their mosques and maintain their connection with the territorial rulers. Later on then, when this tribe had greatly increased in numbers and spread itself throughout every district, the name survived.

Many however take the view that the name points to an original quartet of *tribes*, united to one another in the same way and for the same reasons as the three *sukèës* first mentioned (*Lhèë reutoïh*, *Ja Sandang* and *Ja Batèë*). Such a supposition finds some support in the description of the Achehnese people as the seven *kawōms* or *bangsas*, which is to be met with occasionally in their literature. This expression however, the meaning of which even the most intelligent Achehnese declare themselves unable to understand, is just as likely to have originated in a totally different manner, nor have I met with any popular tradition according to which these "seven tribes" might be taken to be composed of four clans of the *Imeum peuët* and the other three tribes. Be this as it may, human memory discloses nothing with respect to this fourfold division, and if it ever did exist, the fusion is now quite complete.

Original territorial significance of the distribution into kawōms.

The distribution into *kawōms*, even though not originally resting on a purely genealogical basis, afterwards obtained a genealogical significance, since the increase of each *kawōm* was due in the first place to natural propagation, and that too exclusively in the male line. Beyond all doubt there was nothing territorial in this distribution; for no matter where a man may choose to take up his abode, the bond which attaches him to his *kawōm* remains unsevered.

Still we may readily suppose that the *kawōms* were more or less territorially distinguished from one another by position, like the tribes of Israel or the Bedouins of Arabia both past and present. Indeed the instinct of mutual self-support that was unquestionably the weightiest factor in the formation of the kawōms, was most intimately connected with community of the place of abode.

Concentration was especially resorted to against threatened danger from the other clans; and it follows as a matter of course that there could be no community of residence with an enemy. A manifest survival of this separation of clans, which was undoubtedly much more

marked in ancient times, is to be found in the adat-rule, often transgressed yet always recognized in theory, that marriage while permitted between members of the first three confederated tribes is forbidden between these and the *Imeum Peuët*.

Had the territorial chiefs succeeded fully in carrying out their purpose, such a prohibition would of course have lost all its force. Indeed, where the *kawōms* have been constrained to live at peace with one another and to submit their disputes to the arbitration of third parties, there has been an end of all impulse to such a social separation, which is besides opposed to the teaching of Islam. It is, however, equally certain that such severance and isolation were very much more prevalent prior to the time when the ulèëbalangs and other chiefs began to exert control over all alike without distinction of *kawōm*.

Free intermarriage between the three allied *kawōms* dates of course from their federation.

It does not require a great stretch of the imagination to realize the peculiar consequences of free intermixture of the *kawōms*, where the tribal distribution still retains its true significance.

We have already seen that the adat-prohibition just noticed is very frequently transgressed. When once the wall of separation between two families is thrown down, a feeling of kinship arises between them and they no longer trouble themselves over the circumstance that the one belongs to the Imeum Peuët, and the other to one of the three allied tribes. Now all goes well as long as nothing occurs to disturb the peace between the *kawōms*. Suppose however that a blood-feud springs up between the two and is not at once amicably settled; suppose, as often happens, that such a *bila*-dispute gradually assumes greater proportions and that the two parties constantly widen the breach between them by robbery and murder? Then we shall find the son fighting against the *kawōm* of his mother, against his own uncles and cousins, where he belongs say to the *Tō' Batèë* and they to the *Imeum Peuët*. Or let us take the case of two sisters whose family belongs to the *Tō' Batèë*, and suppose that one marries a member of the *Imeum Peuët* (thus transgressing the theoretical rule), and the other a member of the *Lhèë Reutoïh*. The usual place of residence of the two husbands, if they do not neglect their wives, will, in accordance with the Achehnese adat, be in the same house or at least in the same courtyard. Should a conflict such as we have just supposed arise, the brothers-

in-law would have to avoid each other as enemies until peace was concluded.

Such a state of things is not merely hypothetical, but often actually arises. It is true, most civil conflicts among the Achehnese express themselves rather in high words, empty burning of powder and unexecuted plans than in sanguinary battles. Yet blood-feuds are distinguished by a certain degree of violence, and it is these in particular which give rise to tribal dissensions.

We can thus understand the rationale of this adat-rule, and perceive that it must in earlier times have had a wider influence and been more strongly enforced than at present.

If the social separation of the *kawōms* is gradually ceasing to exist, their territorial severance has long been a thing of the past. Even in the highlands the three allied *kawōms* do not live apart from one another, but reside peacefully side by side in the same districts or gampōngs. Natural as it now appears, this gathering together within the same village enclosure and under the same territorial chiefs must at one time have been a gigantic stride along the road of political development. This reform cannot be ascribed to the influence of the sultans, since everything points to the fact that the *ulèëbalangs* had made good their territorial power long before they were compelled to recognize the supremacy of the port-king. We may assume that the efforts of certain energetic individuals towards the establishment of territorial authority were crowned with success because the time was ripe for political reform, and because all men, however disinclined they might be to leave the decisions of their bloodfeuds to others, saw that it was for their interest to adopt a regulated social system in which the *kawōm* played but a secondary part.

This reformation has virtually abolished the clan system. In the lowlands as time goes on it is becoming entirely forgotten. In the highlands it still possesses considerable significance; but this must gradually decrease unless unforeseen events arise to annihilate the comparative order that now prevails there.

The most important *panglimas* of the *Imeum Peuët* are those in the VII Mukims Ba'ét, and outside these at Lam Leu'òt. There are however chiefs of this most numerous clan to be found in other places as well, and in like manner the other three *kawōms* have their panglima in every place where they are at all well represented as regards num-

bers. The post of *panglima kawōm*, like all Achehnese offices, devolves by inheritance, but as we have seen above, the holder of this office



TEUKU CHUT EUMPÊÊ ARA (XXII MUKIMS).

may take no share in the territorial government. As regards the panglimaship, the three allied tribes count as one; where there exists a panglima of any one of them, he has no colleagues from the other two and attends to the interests of all alike. A blood-debt of any one of these kawōms is also regarded as resting on all three.

Settlement of blood-feuds seems in ancient times to have been made almost exclusively by the exacting of vengeance. While the latter is expressed by a word of Indian origin (*bila*) the milder custom of blood-money is only denoted by the Arabic appellation *diët*. Although the

Vengeance for blood and blood-money.

idea of a blood-price is not foreign to native customary law in other parts of the Eastern Archipelago, this method of settlement seems to have been introduced into Acheh through the medium of Islam, — though not without modifications.

It is not necessary here to go into the rules of Mohammedan law in respect of the *jus talionis* and blood-money. It need only be borne in mind that in case of wilful murder or hurt, the Moslim law gives the right of retributive vengeance to none but the heir of the victim or (in case of hurt) to the wounded man himself. The execution of this vengeance is made subject to the supervision of the public authorities. At the same time the injured party is left free, nay in many cases advised to content himself with the blood-price fixed by law instead of exacting a personal vengeance.

In Acheh however it has remained an etablished rule that blood-feuds are decided without any interference on the part of the territorial authorities, simply under the direction of the panglimas of the kawōm, who are tribal and not territorial chiefs. Exceptions occur now and then through the authority of some unusually energetic ulèëbalang or unusually influential ulama. Here again we find all the members of a *kawōm* jointly and severally liable as concerns *bila*, so that a blood-feud may keep two clans for years in a state of mutual hostility [1]). Should, however, the influence of the *panglima kawōm* or the pressure of the higher powers be able to prevent the feud and induce the injured party to accept blood-money, then the guilty party, who is in most cases unable to make up the required sum [2]), considers himself more or less entitled to demand contributions from all his well-to-do fellow-tribesmen, or if he belongs to one of the three allied *kawōms*, from all the members of these three tribes. Thus the highland blood-debtor, to whom a period of one or two years is granted for paying off the *diët*, goes on a journey "to collect subscriptions" (*chò' ripè*). Such debtors often come down into the lowlands and apply for contributions to those of whose connection with their tribe the recol-

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1) In the highlands also vengeance for blood is more under the control of the adat than of Mohammedan law. Where the guilty party cannot be pointed out with certainty, but where it is known to what family he belongs, the injured party is entitled to take his revenge by slaying or wounding one member of the family. Vengeance for blood also extends to the *auctor intellectualis* who has for example bribed or instigated others to commit the deed.

2) The ordinary blood-money for causing death in Acheh is 500 Spanish (Mexican) dollars.

lection still survives. The lowlanders even say that their highland brethren are in the habit of making a profit from their murders by collecting several times the amount due from the fellowtribesmen whose existence they only remember on such occasions.

Rhymes on the mutual relations of the tribes.

The relation of the *Imeum Peuët* to the three united *kawōms* has found expression in a popular doggerel of a somewhat partial description. As appears from the conclusion, which is the same in every version, the verses may be considered to have originated with the *Imeum Peuët*, as this clan is therein celebrated as the most powerful of all. But the other *sukèës* have, partly by giving a special explanation of what is said of them in this popular ditty and partly by giving a different version, extracted the sting so that they are able to quote it in honour of themselves [1]).

*Sukèë Lhèë Reutōih*
*ban aneu' drang*
*Sukèë Ja Sandang*
*jra haleuba.*
*Sukèë Ja Batèë*
*na bachut-bachut;*
*Sukèë Imeum Peuët*
*nyang gō'-gō' dōnya.*

If we translate the verses in the sense originally given them by the Imeum Peuët, the meaning is: "The tribe of the Three Hundred is (insignificant) as the seeds of the *drang* (a bush which grows like a weed along fences); the people of the clan *Ja Sandang* are even as anise and cummin (thus a little more valuable); those of the Ja Batèë (count) for something; the *Imeum Peuët* it is which makes the world to tremble."

When a member of any of the three united tribes explains these verses, he prefers to ascribe the comparison of the Lhèë Reutoïh with *drang*-seeds to their numbers and the cummin and anise to the choice flavour of the Ja Sandang, who though not great in point of numbers

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1) Van Langen has quoted this doggerel in his *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur* and in his Achehnese Dictionary under دڠ, with some different readings and not without errors. Every verse of an Achehnese poem consists of 4 lines of 2 feet each. The pair in the middle rhyme with one another (like *drang* with *Sandang* above, and also *bachut* with *peuët* allowing for the customary poetic license). The last syllable of each verse rhymes with the last syllable of the next (*haleuba* with *dōnya*). It must be understood that the necessities of rhyme and metre exercise some constraint on the contents of the verses; the sense is clear enough, but too much stress not be laid on the exact wording.

yet as holders of important offices impregnate all Acheh with their savour. Still more does he prefer to offer you another edition which clearly shows how the *Imeum Peuët* has through the united power of the other three clans been excluded from all high offices and has thus become subject to the latter so far as territorial supremacy is concerned. In this version the first verse runs as follows:

*Sukèë Lhèë Reutōih*
*ulèëbalang.*
*Sukèë Ja Sandang*
*jeuët keuraja.*

"The clan of the Three Hundred are *ulèëbalangs*, that of *Ja Sandang* may become rajas" [1]).

Before taking leave of the *kawōms*, the survivals of the Bedouin-period of the Achehnese people, we must notice one other important alteration introduced in their mutual relations by the territorial subdivision of Acheh which has gradually come into being. Although the members of a *kawōm* are and remain united for the purposes of exacting vengeance for blood, of protection against others who demand such vengeance or for the collection of the blood-money — in territorial or political contests the importance of the *kawōms* is entirely driven out of the field. We now find members of the *Imeum Peuët* fighting side by side like brothers with those of the other clans, and vice versa, in two forces hostile to one another men can be found who belong to one and the same *kawōm* [2]).

## § 5. The Gampong, its Government and Adats.

The Gampōng.

Next to the house and its enclosure, the smallest territorial unit is the *Gampōng* (Malay *kampung*) or village, the external appearance of which we have to some extent described above. There are the courtyards, part of which are utilized as gardens, containing one or more

1) The word *raja* which is chosen for the sake of the rhyme and of variety has here exactly the same meaning as *ulèëbalang*. We shall presently see that the *ulèëbalangs* are as a matter of fact the rajaś of Acheh.

2) [An official enquiry recently made has elicited the fact that the tribal life has lost its force to a great extent in the XXII Mukims also. In the quarrels and petty wars of the highlands in the last century the *kawōms* have played but a secondary part. It is a suggestive fact that as regards more than one chief in this district the very kawōm to which he belongs is a matter of controversy.]

houses separated from one another and from the gampōng-paths (*jurōng*) by fences; then the whole gampōng surrounded by a fence of its own, and connected by a gate with the main road (*rèt* or *ròt*) which leads through fields and gardens (*blang* and *lampōih*) and tertiary jungle (*tamah*) to other similar gampōngs.

Real forest (*uteuën*) is less often to be found in the neighbourhood of gampōngs in the lowlands than in the Tunòng, and virgin jungle (*rimba*) in the Tunòng only.

Accepting as accurate our hypothesis with regard to the *kawōms*, namely that they were originally separate in a territorial as well as a tribal sense, we may then assume that in former times each gampōng comprised a *kawōm* or a subdivision of one, which added to its numbers only by marriages within its own enclosure, or at most with the women of neighbouring fellow-tribesmen. The former headmen of the gampōngs would in this case have been the panglimas of the kawōms. Later on, however, came the great step in the advance of political development, by which chiefs or princes (*ulèëbalangs*) were made rulers over the inhabihants of a certain district, without distinction of *kawōm* or *sukèë*. To this was added the residence together in one and the same village of people of different *kawōms*, their intermixture by marriage etc. So soon as this had come to pass, the head of the tribe had to give place to the head of the village, and depended for his authority as much on the will of the lord of the province as on the recognition of his fellow-villagers.

Many usages and customary laws may have succeeded in surviving this reform, and that such was the case appears probable from the primitive nature of adats which are still observed. In one respect, however, a change must gradually have crept in; the chief of the village naturally found duty coincide with inclination in wresting for himself as much as possible of the authority of the *panglima kawōm*, and the ulèëbalang whose deputy he was, was certain to lend him his full support in this.

Much, in fact most of the old *adat kawōm* was thus transformed to *adat gampōng*, and the enforcement of this adat became the task of the headman of the gampōng. Only the blood-feuds, which according to Achehnese ideas are matters of a most private nature, yet cannot be confined to the circle of a single family, remained in the hands of the chiefs of the *kawōms*.

Such is, briefly stated, the most probable history of the formation



GAMPŌNG-FOLK IN THE MARKET OF KUTARADJA.

of the present Achehnese gampōng; though all that we can know with entire certainty is the final result, which we must now proceed to describe. Before approaching the method of administration we must add to our sketch of the village itself a word respecting the *meunasah* [1]).

The meunasah.

In the gampōng or in its immediate neighbourhood there is always to be found a building constructed in the same way as an ordinary dwelling-house, but without windows, passage or any kind of division. Close to the steps leading to this building is a water-tank either simply dug in the ground or built of masonry. A pipe or gutter of bamboo sloping downwards from the mouth of the nearest well opens into the tank, so as to make it easy to draw the water daily from the former.

These *meunasahs* serve as the nightly resting-place of all the full-grown youths of the gampōng, and of all men who are temporarily residing there and have no wife in the gampōng. This category includes both strangers and those whose mother for example lives in the gampōng, and who are not for the moment desirous of visiting their wives who reside elsewhere. For all such it would be regarded as improper except in case of illness to lodge in a house. Scapegraces who carry on intrigues with the women are shortly called *ureuëng tamòng gampōng* i. e. "men who come into the gampōng", in which expression night-time is meant to be understood, and the gampōng is supposed to mean all the dwelling-houses as opposed to the *meunasah*.

It may be concluded with certainty that this institution is of great antiquity, much more so than the present name applied to the building itself, which is derived from the Arabic. We find indeed amongst neighbouring peoples heathen as well as Mohammedan the same nocturnal separation, and a *balè* or some such building in which the young

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1) This word which also appears in the forms *beunasah*, *meulasah* and *beulasah* is derived from the Arabic *madrasah*, meaning a teaching institute; it has also other secondary significations. The statement made by Van Langen in his *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur* p. 391, that the *teungku* (who is in charge of the meunasah) is a kind of subordinate village headman, is erroneous. It sometimes occurs indeed, that one *gampōng* has more than one meunasah (in rare cases as many as four), but in every case the relation between the teungku and the keuchi' within the sphere of each meunasah is indicated by the comparison "the keuchi' is the father, the teungku the mother", and each has his own limit of action and his own appointed duties. Where the number of meunasahs in a gampōng is too great for the keuchi's control, he is represented by *wakis* in one or more meunasahs. Where a single keuchi' is placed in charge of more than one gampōng, as often happened in former times, such representation is the rule.

men sleep and in which meetings are occasionally held for the discussion of matters of public interest [1]).

When Islam established itself as the rule of life in Acheh, this resting-place for men became also a house of prayer or chapel for the gampōng, such as are to be found in Java under the appellations *langgar*, *balé* [2]) or *tajug*. There are however few gampōngs in which religious zeal is strong enough to cause the assemblage of a considerable number in the *meunasah* for the five obligatory daily prayers.

Prayers.

All are at work or employed in their own affairs, and whoever wishes to perform the appointed prayers (*seumayang*) does so at home or wherever he may chance to be at the time. The most that is done at the *meunasah* is to beat at sunset the great drum (*tambu*) made of a hollowed tree-trunk with buffalo-leather stretched over one end. This is beaten to announce the time for the *mugréb* prayer which in all Mohammedan countries is more strictly observed than the other four and is generally begun punctually at sunset, its appointed time. The day's work is then as a rule finished and the young men assemble at that hour in the *meunasah* in any case, albeit not for the purpose of performing the *seumayang*.

If the heads of the village are not particularly zealous and devout, and the young men are not impelled to the performance of this duty by shame or through fear of some religious teacher, it not unfrequently happens that few or none of those present perform the *seumayang*.

It is only in the fasting month that prayers are offered up with regularity, at least in the evenings; but as we shall see in a later chapter the proceedings at these are of such a nature that really pious people avoid the neighbourhood of the *meunasah* as much as possible.

In some gampōngs, however, the *meunasah* responds better to the religious purposes for which it is intended. Not only are the obligatory religious exercises held there by a congregation of men under the leadership of a *teungku*, but they sometimes also while away the evenings or nights with non-obligatory acts of devotion. Prominent

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1) Among the Malays of the Peninsula such nocturnal separation is practically unknown. The *manasah*, as the Malays call it, is to be found in some Malay kampongs but by no means in all; it is however devoted entirely to religious uses and is not, like the Achehnese *meunasah*, a sort of "club" or common lodging-house as well as a "chapel". The *balei* or public meeting house is also a common feature of the Malay kampong. (*Translator*).

2) In Bantën the village chapel is called *bale desa*, which seems to point to a similar origin to that of the *meunasah*.

among these is the simultaneous intoning of the terribly noisy *ratéb saman* (Ar. rātib Sammān, from the saint of that name who lived at Medina a couple of centuries ago). This litany is also popular in Java and may be heard almost every week in many Batavian kampongs.

The young people, however, delight more in the chanting of other *ratébs* which have in common with the religious litanies only the name and the noise, such as the *ratéb pulèt* and the *ratéb sadati*, which we shall notice under the heading of games and recreations. Thus there are always to be found among the furniture of the *meunasah*, in addition to the *tambu* aforesaid, certain objects required for these *ratébs*, such as the kettledrums called *rapa'i* or *rapana*, the wooden rings known as *pulèt* etc.

With these exceptions the furniture of the *meunasah* is but scanty; a large lamp (*kandé*) only lighted on the nights of the fasting month, it being left at other times to those who use the *meunasah* to bring their own lamps if they require them; sleeping-mats which each lays down for himself, and an occasional mosquito-curtain (*kleumbu*) form its entire equipment.

Where the heads of the village are not both pious and watchful, the *meunasah* it apt to become the scene of all manner of Achehnese iniquities. In its courtyard fights of cocks and other fighting birds are held, while within the building gambling goes on and paederasty is shamelessly practised at night.

Besides being a sleeping-place for the men, a rest-house for strangers and a house of prayer or chapel, the *meunasah* also serves as a place of assemblage on various special occasions. The affairs of the gampōng are there debated, village festivals held, contracts of marriage concluded etc. A person of rank who comes from elsewhere to pay an unexpected visit to the people of the gampōng, usually goes in the first place to the *meunasah*, and from thence sends someone to announce his arrival.

Some gampōng-chapels are built not on posts but on a raised stone foundation finished on the top with cement. A stone stairs gives access to the building which is itself generally of wood, with a masonry niche (*mèhrab* or *mèrab*) to indicate the direction of Mecca. Its courtyard is sometimes surrounded by a low stone wall forming a square. Such more imposing structures are called *déah* [1]), and fulfil the same purposes Déahs.

1) This word, which is also pronounced *dèah* and *dèe'ah*, is derived from the Arab. *zāwiyah*.

as the *meunasah*. There are also however certain teachers of note who for their own use and that of their pupils construct a *meunasah* or *déah* in their own courtyard. Similar chapels may also be found near sacred graves, but the purpose of such buildings is obviously different from that of the *meunasah* or *déah* of the gampōng.

The Friday services are never held in these chapels any more than in the langgar in Java.

In the neighbourhood of the *meunasah* or *déah* there often stands a *balè* i. e. a raised covered platform, which serves as auxiliary to the former.

The administration of the gampōng.

Let us now consider the administration of the gampōng. This is composed of three elements:

I. The *keuchhi'* with one or more *wakis* at his disposal.

II. The *teungku*.

III. The *ureuëng tuha*.

All three are worthy of closer remark.

The keuchi'

I. The *keuchi'* [1]), the headman or father of the gampōng, borrows his authority from the *ulèëbalang* of the province to which his village belongs. This office, like almost all others in Acheh, has become hereditary, and even an infant son (under the guardianship of a male relation) often succeeds his father therein; but every *keuchi'* is aware that the first of his forefathers who held the post was appointed by the ulèëbalang and that the latter can at any moment deprive him of it.

Where the appointment of *keuchi's* is, as occasionally happens, in the hands of the imeum of their district, this simply testifies to the great personal influence of such imeum, to whom the ulèëbalang has delegated a portion of his own authority.

The fact that the keuchi' can as a rule exercise his authority without opposition is however due not so much to the support he enjoys at the hands of his chief, as to his being always the representative of the interests and as far as possible the wishes of the whole gampōng against the ulèëbalang himself as well as against other gampōngs, or against the exaggerated demands of some of his own subjects. It is no empty saying which the Achehnese quote to one another in their councils —

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1) This word, which is in its other uses generally abbreviated into *chhi'*, signifies "old". *Ureuëng chhi'* is the exact equivalent of "elders". *Teungku* or *Teuku Chhi'* with the name of the district added is a very common title of chiefs in the dependencies of Acheh.

*keuchi' eumbah, teungku ma* = "the keuchi' is (our) father and the teungku (our) mother".

All peace-loving inhabitants of a gampōng are convinced of the necessity for having one person to speak or negotiate in the name of all; the more so because as we shall presently see, sundry family matters such as marriage, divorce, the bringing up of orphans or changes of residence are treated in Acheh as matters affecting the whole gampōng. Equally convinced are all, that this representative of their common interest should be someone who finds favour in the eyes of the ulèëbalang. At the same time he is not likely to become too willing a tool in the latter's hands, for he too is an inhabitant of the gampōng. His office is essentially an honorary one. It is no doubt much sought after, but is only desirable when the holder can hit it off well with his own people.

The devolution from father to son is also regarded as natural and right, not only because other dignities are hereditary, but also because there is in the nature of things stored up in an ancient family of keuchi's a collection of traditional knowledge with regard to the laws and usages of the country that might in vain be sought for among others.

The best of keuchi's would fail to compel his people to obey unreasonable commands. Vain would be his interference with all trifling matters not classified in accordance with the adat as "interest of the gampōng". This he knows too well to run the risk of burning his fingers. But when the keuchi' emphatically lays down that one of his fellow-villagers shall not sell his rice-field to A or marry his daughter to B, or himself not wed in gampōng X, or must yield to his neighbour in some disputed right, so little suspicion is entertained of the purity of his intentions, that disobedience to his word is rendered practically impossible by the agreement of the majority.

Acheh is certainly to an exceptional degree a land of polyarchy and misrule; in vain do we seek for discipline, whilst we meet with a quarrelsome and capricious spirit at every step. Taking this into account, and disregarding those few individuals of unusual strength of will and capacity to lead whom one meets with as exceptions in every rank, we can safely assert that the authority of the keuchi' rests on a firmer basis than that of any other chief.

Most keuchi's exercise control over a single gampōng only; there

are, however, some who have from two to four gampōngs in their charge.

We have already noticed and shall presently deal with in greater detail the Achehnese adat according to which the husband takes up his abode with the family of his wife.

In connection with this custom it will be understood that it is particularly desirable for a future keuchi' to marry in his own *gampōng* as otherwise his place of abode as a married man would lie within the sphere of another keuchi', and he would appear in his own territory as a stranger and be obliged to lodge in the *meunasah*.

There are however exceptions to the rule that the husband follows the wife, and to these belong such cases as that of a keuchi' who finds himself constrained by circumstances to marry a woman from a different village. With the approval of the family or rather of the authorities of the gampōng of the woman, the latter may then accompany her husband to the scene of his official labours.

Sources of income of the keuchi'.

We have called the office of a village headman an honorary one, and indeed the sources of income to which he may lay claim according to the adat are scarcely worth mentioning. They are in fact confined to what is called the *ha' katib* or *ha' chupéng*, the fees for his indispensable help in the arrangement of the marriage of a woman of his gampōng. Even though everyone adds what his means allow to the amount, absurdly small for these times, of ¼ of a dollar (*samaïh* = one mas) allowed by the adat, the total income derivable from this source remains extremely small. As the keuchi' has no real judicial power, the only profit he can obtain from the fines and costs of process which the administration of justice brings in to the ulèëbalang takes the form of a present for his trouble in bringing the parties from his gampōng and collecting the requisite evidence for the questions at issue. The same holds good of the percentages levied by the ulèëbalang on the division of heritages and other similar sources of income.

There are however other methods — part permitted, part underhand, — by which the keuchi' can derive some slight profit from an office as burdensome as it is honourable.

It is no part of his duty to augment the number of lawsuits between the people of his gampōng; on the contrary he must try, like a good father, to bring every difference to an amicable settlement. Suppose now that a case presents itself in regard to which he can say with certainty that if brought before the ulèëbalang it would involve payment of a

considerable fine by the party found to be in the wrong; or suppose again that his mediation is called in for the collection of a debt, and he can prove by examples that the ulèëbalang would not assist the creditor to recover his due without a deduction of one-third or one-half of the amount. Is it to be wondered at that the father of the gampōng impresses emphatically upon his children the advantage of submitting themselves to his decision, and the fairness of giving him for his trouble a small share of what they would otherwise undoubtedly lose?

An esteemed and intelligent keuchi' is able to give to these arbitrative decisions (for which he is endowed with full powers) a very wide range, to his own great advantage and yet not to the detriment of the suitors, who know only too well that the judgments they would obtain by resorting to chiefs who have less sympathy in their interests, would be more costly but no whit better than those of the keuchi'.

Other services which the keuchi' renders to his dependants are performed by him with greater or less readiness and zeal in proportion to the amount of the presents [1]) which "cement friendship" [2]). The "father" on his part can always make such claims on the good-nature of his "children" as are recognized as lawful. At all gampōng-festivals — and these include the most important family feasts as well — the place of honour is allotted to the keuchi'. He has thus no lack of meals for which he has nothing to pay, and in Acheh such trifles form a serious part of the emoluments of office.

Thus we may say upon the whole that the office of the Achehnese keuchi', the "father of the community", is held in high esteem chiefly on account of the honour, but also because of the more solid advantages connected with it.

As subordinates, who are more properly at the keuchi's disposition than the people of the gampōng in general, he has his *wakis* [3]), literally attorneys or deputies.

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1) Presents made to a keuchi' to ensure the proper presentation of a suit to the ulèëbalang are called *ngòn blòè ranub* i. e. (money) to buy-betel-leaf. Fees to persons of humbler rank are called *ngòn blòe ie teubèë* = "(money) to buy sugar-cane juice" the usual harmless beverage of the Achehnese.

2) The Dutch proverb is *kleine geschenken onderhouden de vriendschap* "little presents cement friendship". It is not a genuine Dutch proverb but is adopted from the French "les petits cadeaux entretiennent l'amitié". (*Translator*).

3) From the Arab. *wakil* = attorney or agent. Waki is used in Achehnese in the same general sense.

Every keuchi' has at least one such subordinate, and where he exercises control over more than one gampōng, one for each gampōng. The position taken by the wakis greatly depends on their personal characteristics. Some are not much more than the messengers of their keuchi's, while others actually take the place of the father of the community in many cases, or even govern him to some extent through their greater strength of character. The profits enjoyed by them may be described as the gleanings of those which the keuchi' reaps from his office.

In the dialects of the highlands (XXII Mukims) and of the VII Mukims Buëng [1]), which as we have seen have so much in common with the Tunòng, the father of the community is called *waki* and his subordinate *keuchi'*, or *geuchi'* as it is there pronounced.

Authority of the keuchi'.

It is the duty of the keuchi', assisted by the other authorities of the gampōng whom he can always summon to his aid, to maintain to the best of his ability the good order and safety, and also the material prosperity of his domain. Of this prosperity abundance of population is regarded as an important factor; and thus a close supervision on the part of the "father" over the comings and goings of his "children", so far as these might tend to dispersal of the united body, is considered as amply justified.

The keuchi' cannot without difficulty prevent a full-grown man from straying away as a pepper-planter to the East or West Coast or elsewhere, however much he may deplore the gap caused by his absence. But the wanderer must leave his wife at home; the adat will not permit her to accompany her husband except in performing the pilgrimage to Mecca or in the rare cases where the wife, after due deliberation of the two gampōngs concerned, leaves her own house and gampōng for that of her husband.

Change of residence of a family to another gampōng does not take place without the consent of the keuchi', which is equally required for a strange household to establish themselves for the first time in his gampōng.

No marriage can be concluded without the consent of the keuchi'. Only where the population is superabundant and the supply of marriageable girls and women without husbands by no means excessive, will

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1) In Buëng we find a further peculiarity. Under each imeum of a mukim there are exactly *four* wakis or fathers of communities, each of whom with his gampōng is responsible for one-fourth of the common interests of the district, such as repair of mosques etc.



GROUP OF PEOPLE FROM THE MUKIM OF LUËNG BATA.

he agree offhand to a man of his gampōng marrying outside it. "There are plenty of women here", he objects, "why should you go and scatter your seed elsewhere?" This hampering of the freedom of marriage, which is based alone on the adat and is positively in conflict with the *hukōm* or religious law, has at present much greater practical significance than the adat-theory forbidding intermarriage between certain kawōms, which we noticed some time back.

The keuchi' will rarely raise objections to the marriage of girls of his gampōng to men from elsewhere; the increase of population due to such unions is half of it pure gain.

As we see, the Achehnese are far from being afraid of over-population. The gampōng as a whole takes all the more trouble to keep its component parts together and ensure increase of numbers, because the individuals are often too little disposed to contribute their share. The Achehnese themselves assert that married couples with a number of children are very much in the minority; by their own confession they make much use both in and out of wedlock of expedients for preventing pregnancy or causing miscarriage [1]).

The teungku. II. The *teungku*, says the proverb, is the mother of the gampōng.

Teungku is the title given in general to all in Great-Acheh who either hold an office in connection with religion or distinguish themselves from the common herd by superior knowledge or more strict observance of religious law. In Pidië and on the East Coast the holders of worldly offices or worldly distinctions also enjoy the title of *teungku*, but such persons are in Great-Acheh distinguished by that of *teuku*. The *keuchi'*, the *panglima*, the *imeum* and the *ulèëbalang* are all called by the latter title, and so also are wealthy people, elders and even persons without any real claim to distinction, by those who regard them as their superiors or wish to flatter them. In the case of ulèëbalangs or distinguished imeums the word *ampōn* is affixed [2]) both in the

1) Recipes for this purpose are to be found in all the books of memoranda of literate Achehnese. These recipes sometimes consist merely in *tangkays* (formulas) to be recited on certain occasions, but more material methods are also recommended in great variety. The following is one of the commonest: choose a ripe pineapple, and cut off a piece from the top, letting the fruit still remain attached to the stalk. Then take out a little of the inside and fill up the space so made with yeast. Close the fruit up again by replacing the piece cut off; fasten it up tight and let it hang for another day or two. The fruit is then plucked and it is said that the woman who eats it will find it a sure preventive of pregnancy.

2) For example: *Teuku ampōn ka geupòh lōn* = "Teuku ampōn (the ulèëbalang for instance) has beaten me"; and in the 2nd person: *Teuku ampōn bè' marah* = "I pray thee be not angry".

second [1]) and third persons. Both the words *teungku* and *teuku* appear to be originally contractions of *tuanku* (my lord) which in its full form, with or without the addition of *ampōn* (always with it in the presence of the person meant) is only applied to the descendants of sultans.

The title of *teungku* [2]) is applied both to the *leubè* [3]) who, even though he be no scholar, observes his religious obligations faithfully, the *haji* who has performed the pilgrimage to Mekka, the *malém* [4]) who has some knowledge of the kitabs or holy books, the *além* [5]) who has brought his studies to perfection, the *ulama* [5]), who is looked upon as an authority on the subject of religious law and doctrine, and the sayyid (*sayét*) or descendant of Mohammed. It is also applied to both men and women who give elementary instruction (even if it be only in reciting the Qurān) and to the kalis who act as ecclesiastical judges in an ulèëbalangship, as well as to the male "mother of the gampōng" with whom we are now concerned.

This last *teungku*, when it is necessary to distinguish him from all the others who enjoy the same title, is called the *teungku meunasah*, using the latter word not so much in the sense of the mens' lodging as that of the chapel of the gampōng. From this it may be seen that this office is connected with religion.

Just as the *keuchi'* devotes himself more especially to maintaining the adat, though the promotion of godly living among his people is also regarded as a part of his duty, so is the upholding of the hukōm (religious law) the special province of the *teungku*, though a knowledge of and regard for the customary laws is in his case also regarded as indispensable.

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1) In Achehnese it is less common than in many other native languages of the Archipelago, to employ titles for the 2nd person. We can say: *ban hukōm Teuku* or *ban hukōm Teuku ampōn* = "as Teuku or Teuku ampōn wills"; but it is equally commonly expressed by *ban hukōm drèeneu* = "by your will". In assenting politely or submissively to what some one has said, the title is simply used by itself *teungku!* or *teuku!* or *teuku ampōn!* etc. = "exactly so!"

2) Among the Malays the word *tungku* is only applied to those of royal blood. Sultans are addressed both thus and as *tuanku*, which is more honorific. The 2nd personal pronoun is never used in addressing persons of distinction; and *ampun* (= pardon) is never used as an affix to *tungku*, though it is sometimes prefixed to it as a humble form of address. The form *teuku* has no equivalent in Malay. (*Translator*).

3) *Leubè* thus means the same as the Sundanese *lĕbe* and the Javanese *santri*.

4) From the Arab. *muʿallim* = teacher, master.

5) From the Arab. *ʿālim*, learned man or pandit. The plural *ʿulamā* is also used as singular with a slight change of meaning in Achehnese and other languages of the E. Archipelago.

Hukōm and adat.

"*Hukōm* and *adat* are inseparable, even as God's essence and his attributes" [1]), says the Achehnese proverb. To make the sense complete we may well add, "but the greatest of these is adat". This may indeed be seen from the attitude of the representatives of these two inseparable elements. In most cases, it is true, where a matter affecting the interests of the gampōng or its inhabitants has to be decided, father keuchi' and mother teungku both appear on the stage, but the *teungku* has as a rule little to say, and appears to be present rather *honoris causâ* except in matters relating to marriage. We shall see presently that the relation between the ulèëbalang and his *kali* exhibits many points of resemblance to the above, but is if possible still less favourable to the hukōm.

As *teungku meunasah* it would naturally be the duty of the "mother" of the gampōng to see that this building answered to some extent the religious objects for which it is intended. Such however is very rarely the case, and in these exceptional instances it is more due to the piety of the *keuchi'* than to the faithful fulfilment of his duty by the *teungku*. Not every teungku is able (and few indeed have even the inclination) to appear in the *meunasah* and lead the service, at the times appointed for the five daily prayers; it is much if he does so fairly regularly at sunset (see p. 62 above).

As regards the furniture of the meunasah he need take little trouble, since as we have seen it is exceedingly sparse and most of it is private property. The task of sweeping the floor and keeping the *kulam* (water tank) full devolves on the younger occupants of the meunasah. This *kulam* is used for washing the feet or for ritual ablutions by all who enter the building and for bathing by the young men. Should the latter prove neglectful in the fulfilment of their duties they are reminded of them by their seniors.

It is only in the fasting month (*Puasa*) that the *teungku* is noticeably the man of the *meunasah*. When we come to review the calendar of feasts we shall see that during the nights of this month there is a great deal of vitality in the *meunasah* and that the presence of the teungku is indispensable for various matters, but especially for the performance

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1) *Hukōm ngòn adat han jeuèt chré, lagèë dat ngòn sipheuèt.* Another version is *hukōm ngòn adat lagèë mata itam ngòn mata putéh; hukōm hukōmōlah adat adatōlah.* i. e. "Hukōm and adat are like the pupil and the white of the eye; the hukōm is Allah's hukōm and the adat Allah's adat."

of the trawèh service (see Chapter II § 2). The popular idea of the Achehnese is that the pitrah which the teungku receives from all at the end of the fasting month is a sort of payment for this trawèh!

If the teungku is more or less *malém* (skilled in booklore), this will tend greatly to increase his revenues, as he will then be called in to give his help in all kinds of sickness or other misfortune, and receive payment for his ministrations. Sick children will be brought to him that he may blow on their heads after muttering a *tangkay* (prayer or formula to lay evil spirits), or else he will be requested to charm some water. On such occasions no great demands are made upon the skill of the exorcist; women are often heard to say to those who refuse to render such a service on the ground of absolute want of skill, "oh, do just blow a little!"

The teungku is also occasionally the recipient of votive gifts, either some flowers from the market, such as the Achehnese delight in attaching to their head-gear, or dishes with good things of various sorts. When a gift of this sort has been vowed to the Prophet, to the saint Mirah Sab or Meurasab (who lies buried at Nagore in British India) or even to Teungku Anjōng, whose tomb is in Gampōng Jawa, the vow may be fulfilled by handing over the thing promised to a teungku for his own use. All that the latter need do is to recite over the gift the first chapter of the Qurān (the *fātihah*), and dedicate the celestial recompense for that recitation to him to whom the vow was made.

Beyond these special sources of income (which in cases of total incompetence are withheld from the teungku and fall to the share of some leubè or malém) he has no lack of other more or less obligatory presents in kind. For instance, not only is it adat to invite the teungku to every *kanduri* or religious feast, but there are many kinds of kanduris which cannot be held without his presence, even such as do not require the attendance of the keuchi'.

Where the teungku gives religious instruction this again brings him in no inconsiderable profit; though here of course some grasp of his subject is indispensable.

The most certain sources of the income of the teungku are:

Sources of income of the teungku.

1°. The *pitrah*, paid by almost every householder for himself and his family at the conclusion of the fast. It consists of two *arès* of husked rice for every person so taxable, which includes almost the whole community. This tax is, however, sometimes commuted for a

money payment in the following manner. The teungku sells his own rice to his debtor, who then hands back the quantity due as *pitrah*, thus paying the tax according to law "in the staple grain of the country".

2°. The *jakeuët* (*zakāt*). This is not so regularly paid as the pitrah, many contributing a portion only and some none at all. We speak only of the rice-zakāt (*jakeuët padé*), which consists of one-tenth of the harvest. *Jakeuët* of cattle is seldom or never contributed, and those who pay it on gold, silver or merchandise do so entirely of their own accord and are equally free in the manner of its distribution. In many districts the teungku himself goes to the fields where the crop is standing to remind the owners of their obligations. The latter then set apart the smallest sheaves and give a portion of these to the teungku, keeping the rest for the wandering poor strangers, hajis and converts (*mu'alah*) who are wont to come and beg for this dole. We shall again allude to this custom in dealing with the subject of agriculture. In some provinces a considerable portion of the *jakeuët* and *pitrah* falls into the hands of the ulèëbalang while the teungku only gets the share elsewhere allotted to the "poor and necessitous" (*paki* and *meuseukin*).

3°. Money presents for the arrangement of marriages. The fee fixed for this purpose by the theoretical adat is merely the *ha' katib* or *chupéng* of $^1/_4$ of a dollar for the keuchi'; but as a matter of fact the keuchi' gets more and the teungku hardly ever less than a dollar. Further mention of this will be found under the heading of marriage.

4°. The *ha' teuleukin* or burial fee. According to the theoretical adat this amounts to $^1/_4$ of a dollar for each interment but in practice it is generally a dollar or more. The teungku is also presented with the *ija peukréng* or cloth wherewith the body is dried after the ablution, and a certain sum for *tahlils* [1]). His help is also required for the ceremonies which take place during the first 40 days after the death, and for this he receives a further remuneration. All this will be described in greater detail when we come to treat of funeral ceremonies.

5°. Various gleanings from the fees of the keuchi' when the teungku accompanies the latter on his visits to the ulèëbalang for the settlement of profitable suits.

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1) Continuous repetitions of the Mohammedan confession of faith "lā ilāha illa'llāh" = there is no God but God." The merit of this act of piety is supposed to be communicated to the deceased.

There are no doubt some teungkus of capacity, but on the whole their ignorance is proverbial. Thus in the common speech of the Achehnese, when a teungku is specially referred to as *teungku meunasah* (in contradistinction to *leubès, maléms*, etc.) there is generally a covert allusion to his lack of learning. This is not to be wondered at, as the office in most cases devolves on the son or nearest male heir of a deceased holder of the post. A child is, however, seldom or never made teungku, and the uléëbalang more often diverges from the rule of devolution in the appointment of a teungku than in that of a keuchi'. Still hereditary succession remains the rule.

It may be well imagined how much more scandalous are the results of adhering to this principle in the case of an office for the proper discharge of the duties of which some study of Mohammedan law is indispensable, than in that of appointments connected with adat, for which a practical knowledge of the world is more requisite than scholarly lore. A keuchi' of scant experience is merely a less useful man than others of his class, and finds in his gampōng plenty of people who can supply the gap by advice and practical help; but an unlettered teungku is absolutely useless.

Many teungkus then simply hand over the discharge of all their functions to some better instructed fellow-villager. At the same time they make no abdication of their office, and none dares to perform their duties without their express authority or invitation. They take delivery of the profits themselves, giving some small recompense for their trouble to the leubès or maléms who act for them.

The sphere within which the teungku exercises his functions is usually a single gampōng, or if the gampōng has more than one meunasah, a single meunasah.

III. The *ureuëng tuha*, which is the exact equivalent of our word "elders". They are the men of experience, worldly wisdom, good manners and knowledge of adat in the gampōng. They are generally persons who have reached a certain time of life, but if a younger man is distinguished by the above characteristics, he is equally eligible as an ureuëng tuha [1]), and is reckoned as one of the body of elders, which lends an indispensable support to the keuchi' and teungku. The elders.

1) *Ureuëng tuha* properly means "old people". Like keuchi' which also means "old", it conveys in this connection no idea of the actual age of the persons spoken of. [The Malays use *orang tua* in exactly the same way.] (*Translator.*)

The number of the members of this body is uncertain; they are neither appointed nor regularly chosen but so to speak silently acknowledged by common assent. When the teungku and keuchi' meet to discuss important gampōng affairs (including most family matters), the elders are also to be found whether summoned or not. No unauthorized person ventures to take part in these debates, as by doing so he would expose himself to ridicule; but when calls have once or twice been made on the tact, experience and knowledge of adat of any individual, he becomes known as an *ureuëng tuha* and his voice has its weight in all future deliberations.

Mupakat. The Achehnese are great lovers of *mupakat* [1]), in form at least if not in actuality. The most insignificant subjects give rise to diffuse exchange of opinions. The more important chiefs are loth to deal with questions affecting their districts and their dependants except in the presence of some persons who as it were represent the latter; did they neglect to "deliberate" with these delegates they would quickly lose their influence. Habib Abdurrahman once told me that the *mupakat* forms the strongest factor in the statescraft of an administrator [2]) among the Achehnese; such deliberative gatherings are the instrument by which he ensures the carrying out of many a scheme. By this device his weaker opponents are terrorized, while the stronger are flattered, and finally many are won over and even persuaded that they themselves were the originators of the proposed plan.

It thus follows as a matter of course that in the gampōng, that great household of father keuchi' and mother teungku, the eldest sons at

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1) From the Arab. *muwāfaḳat*, which word the Achehnese have naturally mistaken for a verbal form derived from a root *pakat* to which they give the meaning of "plan, deliberation". *Meu* (or *mu* before labials) is almost the equivalent of the Malay *bĕr*. Thus from *pat* = "place" we have *sapat* = "in one and the same place" and *meusapat* = "to come to or be in the same place, to assemble together." In the abortive ordinance of Mr. Der Kinderen (p. 2 par. 2 etc.) he has made this latter word a substantive and has at the same time changed the first vowel into "u". "These (the native tribunals of whose existence in Acheh Mr. Der Kinderen assures us) bear the name of Musapat". These "musapats" however belong to the realm of fancy. [Since the Dutch government has become established in Acheh, justice has been in fact administered by native tribunals under the guidance of European officials, and these courts have been called by the name manufactured by Mr. Der Kinderen. But these "musapats" differ greatly both in the manner of their constitution and their functions from the creations of Mr. Der Kinderen].

2) He meant of course an Achehnese raja or an Arab of distinction such as Sayyid Abdurrahman himself, not an infidel overlord who is simply obeyed on account of his temporal power.

any rate, and such of the citizens as may be regarded as brothers of the two parents, have a voice in every discussion.

In the orations which the Achehnese addresses either directly or by proxy to the authorities of his gampōng, the prelude always runs thus "*Now, oh Teuku Keuchi', Teungku and ye who are elders of this gampōng*". To these are also addressed the notices employed on some few occasions to announce certain events (such as a divorce for instance) to the whole gampōng. These three components of the governing body of the gampōng are deputed to make proposals of marriage, it is they that receive the bridegroom in the name of the gampōng and help to decide questions as to the bringing up of orphans, and in their presence all important bargains are concluded.

Among them also are to be found the speech-makers of the gampōng. We shall meet later on some specimens of Achehnese speeches for particular occasions, which though tedious are sometimes not ungraceful, and are very full of interest from an ethnological point of view as a storehouse of old formulas.

They are almost invariable in form although there is no lack of local differences and individual embellishments. The keuchi' or whoever may be acting as president of the assembly does not always know these long formal orations by heart, and it is thought quite the correct thing for a chief to transfer the task of speech-making to another by a nod. In such cases the speaker is usually one of the *ureuëng tuha*.

The adat meulangga.

We have seen that the keuchi' and his colleagues take the position of arbitrators in the widest sense of the word, but possess no judicial authority properly so called. There are, however, individual cases which are controlled by an adat of native growth, which has clearly lost much of its original severity, called the *adat meulangga*. In these cases the keuchi's appear in form as the representatives of the two parties, but as a matter of fact as settlers of the dispute.

Occasion for the application of the *adat meulangga* is generally given by an actual injury or slight. For example, someone in gampōng A has without just cause maltreated or injured a child or relative of someone in gampōng B, or has laid hands on something belonging to the latter in a manner clearly indicative of contempt for the owner. Independently of all rights of blood-vengeance or blood-money (which according to hukōm and adat are the natural consequences of the deed, and are entirely unaffected by the *adat meulangga*) something must at

once be done to wipe out the insult. To this end the injured party calls upon the authorities of his gampōng, and the latter summon all who are able to bear arms to help their brother. The party who has given the offence knows that he has this to expect, either from hearing the rumour of the preparations or because it is an obvious consequence that the offended one should not let the matter pass without *meulangga*. Here too the authorities of the gampōng are notified and prepare for resistance.

In due time the men of the offended gampōng appear in the vicinity of the other, and the keuchi' of the latter goes forth to meet the uninvited guests and after greeting them respectfully (*seumbah*) asks what they require. "We have come" they reply, "to uproot by force the trees and courtyard-fence of your fellow-villager X, by reason of the injury he has done to one of our people". Thereupon the other keuchi' says that he feels bound to acknowledge the fairness of the complaint, but that this just demand can be satisfied without having recourse to deeds of violence. The father of the offending community then brings to the other one or two plantain-stems from the courtyard and a glundōng-tree from the fence of the guilty party, saying "Here is what you ask for". Sometimes, where the injury is a very serious one, he grants them permission to enter upon the courtyard of the offenders and cut down a certain number of trees. Should the atonement offered by the keuchi' not suffice for the satisfaction of honour according to the adat controlling quarrels, long-continued hostilities between two neighbouring gampōngs may supervene; but for the most part the mediation effected under the auspices of the two keuchi's is found sufficient.

The day after this symbolical satisfaction the parties meet again to consult as to the guarantees for the establishment of peace. An idang of yellow gelatinous rice (*bu kunyèt*) and a piece of white cloth must without fail be offered by the offender for "cooling of the blood of others" (*peusijuë' darah gòb*) which he has shed, as the saying is. To this is often added a money present of some considerable amount.

This method of settling a quarrel is never applied to real cases of theft, adultery or homicide, or even of bodily hurt of a serious description. The wounds inflicted must be healed before recourse is had to *meulangga*.

If the injured party is a person of position or a member of the

family of such a one, or his follower, then something further must be done, as the injury is regarded as more serious in proportion to the high standing of him who is the subject of it. The ulèëbalang himself when one of his folk is the injured party enters the lists not as chief or judge but as avenger. Either in person or by one of his next of kin as deputy, he goes forth at the head of a host of followers to the gampōng of the offenders, where he is received with special tokens of humility and prayers for pardon.

In addition to the traditional plantain-stalks and glundōng-trees which represent the destruction of the plantation of the guilty party, the latter's house must in this case be symbolically burnt. Accordingly a hut (*jambō*) is constructed of slight materials and set on fire amid the plaudits (*sura'*) of the avengers. Though all are aware that this burning is the veriest farce, great insistence is laid upon its performance in serious cases. The dependants of the chief can afterwards proudly say to the people of the surrounding gampōngs: "Saw ye not the smoke rise from the burning of the house of X? Yes, we are no Niasese slaves or Klings to let ourselves be injured without exacting vengeance, or to content ourselves with a mere indemnity!"

Destruction of house and courtyard, probably accompanied by bodily hurt or even death to the owner [1]) was the original *meulangga* as the word itself (cf. the Malay *langgar*) implies.

More peaceful times and calmer manners have substituted for this the dramatic exhibition we have just described, a sort of gampōng-duel, usually of quite a harmless character.

*Meulangga* may take place within the gampōng also, when anyone has injured his fellow-villager. It is then the male relatives of the injured party that proceed to make the demand, and those of the offender who satisfy it, while the gampōng authorities merely take care that no excess is committed.

In conclusion, it sometimes happens that one ulèëbalang has to *meulangga* upon the territory of another. Suppose for instance that a servant (rakan) of ulèëbalang A has wounded a dependant of ulèëbalang B without clear proof of strong provocation. After preliminary notice B proceeds with his followers to some place within A's territory

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1) This may be concluded from the words in which those who come to *meulangga* still announce their demands: "We come to slay X, to burn his house and to raze his hedge and garden to the ground".

and demands of him that the house of his guilty dependant be burned down. A small hut brought thither for the purpose is generally burnt to satisfy the claim, and thus honour is appeased; for the rest the case is dealt with in the ordinary manner, the blood-debt being made good in accordance with the adat.

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## § 6. The Mukim and its Administration.

The Mukim.

Between the gampōng-authorities and the ulèëbalang or territorial ruler stand the *imeums*, the chiefs of the *mukims*. We have already concluded in regard to a certain portion of the political structure of Acheh, that it owes its origin to the centralizing activity of one or more port-kings. The same analogy holds good beyond question as regards the distribution of the territory of an ulèëbalang into the districts known as mukims and the office of imeum or district chief. We might even go further and assert that this institution has sprung from the influence of the ulamas and other representatives of religion at which we have already hinted (see p. 7 above). In this way alone can we explain the fact that a political distribution not Achehnese in origin has established itself in a fairly uniform manner both in the three sagis or main divisions of the kingdom and in its subordinate parts as well.

It is difficult to determine to what particular prince we should ascribe the subdivision into mukims. Whoever he was, he did not in all probability invent it of himself; something of the kind originated of its own accord in those parts of the country most subject to the influence of religion, and was later extended over the whole territory by the activity of the ulamas. It is certain, however, that the real intention of this political innovation failed in the long run.

Original intention of the subdivision into Mukims.

The nature of this intention may at once be seen from the names. *Mukim* is an Arabic word, the proper meaning of which is the inhabitant of a place. The Mohammedan law, as interpreted by the Shafiite school which is dominant in Acheh, teaches that in order to form a quorum for a Friday service the presence of at least forty free male *mukims* of full age is required [1]). If the number falls short of forty,

1) We may remark in passing that as soon as the Law began to make a technical use of this word, it became necessary to define closely the length of residence which suffices to

those assembled must hold in place of the Friday service an ordinary midday prayer. In places where the number of forty can never be reckoned on, no arrangements whatever are made for the Friday service; hence in the gampōng chapels in Acheh as well as other parts of the Archipelago the requisite apparatus for this service is never to be found.

On the other hand the Moslim law requires of every free male believer of full age that he should attend the Friday service if such be held within a certain distance of his abode, unless circumstances (which in their turn are clearly defined) prevent him from doing so. From this personal duty he is by no means excused on the ground that there is, for example, a full congregation of forty without him. Thus pious and influential Mohammedans must make it their object to multiply the opportunities for attending this service, and to further the erection of mosques for Friday prayer [1]) in all places where a congregation of forty or upwards can be reckoned on.

In Acheh as well as elsewhere the devotees of religion have undoubtedly laboured in this direction since the time that the creed of Islam began to take root there. Where a number of gampōngs lay sufficiently close to one another to admit of their being united into a single Friday association (if we may so term it) in accordance with the above-mentioned behests of the religious law, they constructed a mosque (*meuseugit*), choosing for the purpose the most central possible site. This might sometimes fall within one of the gampōngs so united, where this gampōng happened to form the central point of the union, or again a place lying without all the gampōng enclosures might be considered the most suitable position. For some of these associations the gampōngs of which are most widely dispersed and at the same time most numerous (some include from 10 to 12) "district" would be the most applicable name. Others, whose gampōngs rather resemble "wards"

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constitute a man a *mukim* of any given place. Thus we find some persons who according to our ideas are not in any sense inhabitants of a community, regarded by the Mohammedan law as its *mukims*. This word has in Kedah the same modified meaning as in Acheh (Newbold, British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca II : 20); and the peculiarity that in the former place each mukim consisted originally of at least 44 families, is a clear indication of the original intent of this territorial subdivision.

1) Called *jāmi'* or *masjid jāmi'* in Arabic, to distinguish them from the smaller mosques. In the Indian Archipelago they are usually termed *masjid* (*měsĕgit* etc.; Achehnese *meuseugit* or *seumeugit*) in contradistinction with *langgar*, *taju'*, *balé*, *surau* etc. (Ach. *meunasah*).

lying side by side and do not generally exceed four, the normal number in Acheh, might more fitly be termed "townships". The Achehnese call them all *mukim;* such distortion of the original meaning of Arabic words is no rare phenomenon in the native languages of the Indian Archipelago.

The imeums. At first the chiefs of the mukims had without doubt a wholly or largely religious task to fulfil, namely to provide that God's law should be enforced and especially that the prescribed rites should not be neglected. Their official title of *imeum* (Ar. *imām*), brings them into close connection with the meuseugit, which forms the centre of their sphere of action, and with the religious worship held therein [1]). They should be for the mosque what the teungku is for the meunasah.

The Achehnese mosque differs little from the *déah* described above (see p. 63). Like the latter it is built of planks and rests not on posts but on a raised stone foundation, and is provided with a stone niche. Close to the niche stands a pulpit (*bimba* from Ar. *mimbar*). There is also the traditional staff (*tungkat*) which the preacher holds in his hand, and some mats for those who perform the seumayang or service of prayer.

Certain mosques the erection of which is among the institutions ascribed to the Sultan Meukuta Alam (1607—36) were recognized as "great mosques" (*meuseugit raya*) both on account of their size and the fact of their being erected by a sovereign prince, and also because they were regarded as being the head mosques of a great number of mukims. Such is *the* great mosque *par excellence*, the Meuseugit Raya of the capital, from which the whole district surrounding the ancient seat of royalty takes its name. Besides this there was one for each of the three sagis of Great Acheh viz. that of *Indrapuri*, which still exists, for the XXII Mukims, that of *Indrapeurua* (in the VI Mukims of the XXV) for the XXV, and that of *Indrapatra*, almost in the very place where Ladòng now stands, for the XXVI Mukims. Of the last two scarcely any trace remains. In Pidië too there were a number of mosques which enjoyed the reputation of having been erected by Meukuta Alam and which were thus also called meuseugit raya.

It is impossible now to trace the extent of the supervision over the

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1) The use of the word imām in the sense of the chief of a state or community is almost entirely limited to books. Where used it always means the supreme authority. It is quite out of the question that the name of the Achehnese office should have been originally used in *this* sense.



THE MEUSEUGIT (MOSQUE) OF INDRAPURI.

gampōngs allotted to the imeums according to the original intent of the distribution into mukims. In Acheh as in other Mohammedan countries, so soon as a degree of religious supervision is permitted to any individual, a wide field is opened to his ambition, since in theory *everything* can be brought within the scope of religion and religious law. At the same time the door is opened to manifold competition and strife, since the existing chiefs naturally set their faces against any unwonted invasion of their sphere of authority.

So much is certain, that the imeums were necessarily always subordinate to the ulèëbalangs, to whom they owed their election, while they stood superior in some respects at least to the authorities of the gampōng.

Degeneration of the office of imeum.

Their office, however, speedily degenerated; it went the way of all Achehnese offices which have not sprung up of their own accord from native sources, but have been naturalized in the country at the will of individuals. In the times of some sultans of unusual power and energy, the central authority undoubtedly proved strong enough to carry out the ruler's wish to reform existing institutions. But to ensure the durability of such reforms, the moving power should have been less short-lived, and there should have been more continuity in the action and methods of the various rulers.

Apart from the small interest which the port-kings were wont to display in the affairs of the interior, their government was always based on rapacity, and disorder was its only constant feature.

Every office instituted by them showed a tendency soon after coming into being, to assimilate itself with one of true Achehnese origin, preferably such as carried with it social influence and opportunities for enrichment. No office was more distinguished by these characteristics than that of ulèëbalang, and thus we see all holders of offices so artificially created endeavouring by every means in their power to assume the rôle of ulèëbalang.

This was done by the *imeums* among the rest, and they succeeded pretty well in their object. We have unequivocal proofs to show that more than half a century ago, the imeums were already minor ulèëbalangs.

A celebrated Achehnese heroic poem, the *hikayat Pòchut Muhamat*, depicts with no small skill the conflict waged by that prince in behalf of his brother Alaédin Juhan Shah (1756—60) against the latter's Arab rival Jamalul-alam. In spite of sundry embroideries which characterize

this poem, it is to be noted that it was composed shortly after the war which it describes, and gives upon the whole an accurate description of the events and condition of things at that period. Here, then, we find the *imeums* appearing as military leaders among whom the prince seeks his supporters, and as chiefs who of their own initiative take the part of the hero or oppose him. It is clear from this epic that even at that time some of the imeums troubled themselves little about the ulèëbalang, to whom they were nominally subordinate, whilst others appear in the retinue of their chiefs as minor ulèëbalangs.

Present character of the office of imeum.

So it has continued. The imeums are all adat-chiefs without any religious character. Some of them have attained to the independence of ulèëbalangs and lack the name only; we need only instance the well-known imeum of *Luëng Bata* who played so distinguished a part in the war with the Dutch as a military leader, or the imeum of Chadé' who in the last conflict for royal honours before the Achehnese war was the most powerful supporter of the finally defeated candidate. The majority are, however, actually subordinate to their ulèëbalangs, though the energy of individuals may reduce their subordination to a minimum.

The personelle of the mosque.

With the mosques, which were the cause of their first creation, they either do not concern themselves at all (this depends on their personal character) or only just as much as any ulèëbalang who interests himself in religion. The *personelle* of the mosque in Acheh when complete, consists of the self-same group of three [1]), which we find elsewhere in Sumatra; the *imeum* [2]) who should properly preside at all the daily prayers as well as at the Friday service, the *haṭib* (*chaṭib*), who takes the lead in the Friday prayers and the *bileuë* (*bilāl*) who intones the call to prayer (*adan, bang*) and keeps the furniture of the mosque in order.

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1) The Malays have besides the three here named, a fourth mosque official called the Siak, Pënghulu Mukim or Pënghulu Mesjid. His duties are the last of those assigned to the *bilal* in the text; those of the latter are according to Newbold (British settlements in the Straits of Malacca p. 249) mainly sacrificial, but as a matter of fact the bilal only intones the bang or call to prayer, and it is the imam who recites the talkin or funeral service over the grave. The bilal often performs the duties of shrouding and washing the dead, but he does this only as an eligible elder, as any devout person who knows the ceremonial rules in these matters may perform the task. (*Translator.*)

2) Imeum here does not of course mean the chief of the mukim, but a servant of the mosque who derives no influence whatever from his office.

The officials of the mosque are usually ignorant men, and whenever they can find others more devout and learned in the law they gladly make over their duties to them. Should such be wanting, the *personelle* of the mosque is often insufficient and it rests on chance from week to week whether the Friday service shall be held or replaced by an ordinary midday prayer. Sometimes again the congregation of 40 males falls short, and sometimes no one can be found who is able to read a sermon.

The Friday service.

Complaints of ulamas and other pious persons as to the lack of interest in public worship are universal. Should a mosque fall into disrepair, the greatest difficulty is experienced in collecting the necessary funds and building materials for its restoration. The general co-operation for the re-building of the *Meuseugit Raya* or principal mosque of Acheh, which took place in the prime of Habib Abdurrahman's activity, is always quoted as an exception to the rule. Such an unusual personality, revered by many and dreaded by the rest, is required in order that even the most moderate demands of religion may be satisfied. The true Achehnese, if he does not entirely neglect the calls of his creed, takes part with more zeal in the religious or quasi-religious gatherings in the meunasah than in the assemblages at the mosque, where he feels himself but half at home.

Kanduris (religious feasts) he gives and attends with pleasure; at ratébs or recitations, whether real or only imitative like the *ratéb sadati* and *pulèt*, he can excite himself to the highest pitch; but the ritual prescribed by the law fails to rouse his enthusiasm.

It is not surprising then that an *imeum* who tries to assume the part of leubè or theologian is from his very rarity an almost ludicrous object in Acheh. The real imeum goes armed like the ulèëbalang, with an armed following. His position is at once to be gathered from his distinctive appellation which is *teuku* and not *teungku*, the latter being in Great Acheh the title of all who borrow their rank to some extent from religion. By his own dependents in his capacity of chief of the mukim, he is even exalted to the dignity of *teuku ampōn* when addressed directly.

This office also is generally hereditary [1]), subject to the power of appointment and dismissal vested in the ulèëbalang.

1) See p. 65 above.

Having seen that hardly anything still survives of the original functions of the imeum, it now remains for us to describe those which have arisen in its place.

The imeum is regarded by the gampōngs subject to him as a sort of acting ulèëbalang, and the latter employs him as his deputy in making known and helping to carry out his commands and decisions within his (the imeum's) jurisdiction. In some parts of the XXII Mukims which are situated too far from the headquarters of the ulèëbalang to admit of all matters of importance being subjected to his decision, the adat has assigned a measure of judicial authority to specified boards of imeums. Groups of three or four mukims are united for this purpose, and the decision of the three or four imeums has the same force as that of the ulèëbalang [1]).

This is however exceptional; as a rule the imeum has just as little judicial authority as the heads of the gampōngs, but in the quality of arbitrator he can deal with questions that lie outside the reach of the village authorities, inasmuch as more than one gampōng is concerned in them. As his income depends entirely on chance profits, he naturally makes it his object to bring as many such questions as possible within his own scope, always on the pretext of acting as mediator, so that his clients may avoid the heavy fines and costs exacted by the ulèëbalang.

Under a powerful ulèëbalang the imeum is not much more than a go-between; under a weak ulèëbalang an energetic imeum can within the limits of his own jurisdiction entirely supplant his chief. Not unfrequently an imeum when called on by the ulèëbalang to come to his assistance with his followers in time of war, simply remains inactive or even categorically refuses. In times of disorder especially, such as the present, when parties are being formed by others than the traditional chiefs, considerable independence is attained by many imeums. As we have already shown, however, many of them succeeded in emancipating themselves from control in earlier times as well.

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1) Examples of such unions are Lam Lheuë, Lam Kra', Kruëng Ma' and Ateuë'; Sibrèë, Ba'ét and a part of Lam Ara; another part of Lam Ara, Aneu' Glé and Jruë'.

## § 7. The ulèëbalangships and their constitution.

The ulèëbalangs.

The ulèëbalangs, as we have repeatedly said, are the lords of the country, the territorial chiefs *par excellence*. They are thus called the rajas (in Achehnese parlance = chiefs) of their territories in writings as well as in the spoken language. As the word ulèëbalang signifies military leader, it is not inconceivable that this name was given them under one of the most powerful of the port-kings, who endeavoured to render them subordinate and allowed them the command over the fighting men in their districts, while he tried gradually to monopolize the supreme power for himself. This effort however, was unsuccessful, for the ulèëbalangs have always continued governors, judges and military leaders in their own country, in which as a matter of fact they admit no higher authority.

The territory of an ulèëbalang has no distinctive name in Achehnese, like "mukim" and "gampōng". The expression "ulèëbalangschap" has been adopted by the Dutch, while the Achehnese speak of "the country (*nanggròë*) of ulèëbalang so and so" or of "the so many mukims". For the sake of clearness and distinction they sometimes unite the two expressions as in "*the seven Mukims Ba'ét*" i. e. the ulèëbalangship consisting of seven mukims, whose chief is called Teuku Muda Ba'ét.

Although the title borne by these chiefs may have been derived from the court at Banda-Acheh, their authority is beyond all doubt of more ancient origin and dependant on no royal letters-patent. Their position was confirmed, not created, by the port-kings. Even the edicts of the most powerful rajas of Acheh express themselves with much circumspection touching the ulèëbalangs, which shows that these rajas, while endeavouring to establish a kind of hegemony, understood that they would do better to respect the powerful position of these potentates of the interior.

The ruling of the adat Meukuta Alam [1]) that the ulèëbalangs should receive no letters-patent of appointment from the sultan, was prompted by the consideration that they received their office as an inheritance from their forefathers. This rule however appears to have been forgotten later on; at least now-a-days both ulèëbalangs and chiefs of depen-

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1) See Van Langen's *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur*, pp. 401 and 437.

dencies regard their rights as by no means dependent on such letters-patent, though both one and the other set some value on them as an embellishment of their rank.

Before leaving the subject of the relation of the ulèëbalangs to the Confederations. The three sagis.



TEUKU MUDA DAWŌT, ULÈËBALANG OF SEULIMEUM (XXII MUKIMS).

sultanate, which will be dealt with more fully when we come to speak of the sultans themselves, we must make one or two remarks on the confederacies of the ulèëbalangs. We have seen that Acheh proper, outside the limits of the actual sultanate, is divided into three *sagòës* (sagis) or «angles", each of which is composed of a certain number of mukims whence they derive their names viz. *Dua plōh dua* (the XXII Mukims), *Dua plōh nam* (the XXVI Mukims) and *Teungòh lhèë plōh*

(the XXV Mukims). We may notice in passing that the gradual increase of population gave rise here and there (and especially in the XXII Mukims) to the formation of new mukims within the limits of such a sagi [1]), so that its name does not always correspond with its actual proportions. The question that excites our special interest is — to what are we to ascribe the origin of this distribution and what has been its significance in regard to the political life of Acheh?

The first question, like most enquiries into the history of Acheh, does not admit of a decisive answer. In the historical notes in the possession of some of the Achehnese chiefs, we meet with the statement that the distribution into sagis came into being in the reign of the sultana Nurul-alam Nakiatōdin (1675—77) [2]). But such traditions are of very little value. To judge of their reliability we have only to reflect that many Achehnese at the present time attribute the introduction of Islam into their country to the saint Chèh Abdōra'ōh (Abdura'uf = Teungku di Kuala), although it is clearly established that this man lived no earlier than the 17th century. If we might assume that the institution of panglimas of sagis was brought about by a royal edict with the view of emphasizing the authority of the sovereign over all the ulèëbalangs [3]), it would appear very extraordinary that it should have attained its consummation under the weak rule of a sultana.

The highest significance which I should venture to ascribe to the historical note in question is this, that under the weak female rule which was highly favoured by the ulèëbalangs for reasons easy to conceive, the latter were able to bring it to pass that every succession to the throne should take place in conformity with the decision of the representatives of the three sagis. Sagis, that is to say confederations of ulèëbalangships, had however undoubtedly been long in existence before they succeeded in bringing the sultanate like an infant under their joint guardianship.

Were it otherwise, and had the sagis been artificially constituted by the sultans or sultanas, they would have fallen into disuse again after the lapse of the shortlived period of prosperity of the port-kingship.

This has not taken place. It is true that there has been no lack —

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1) Thus the sagi of the XXII Mukims now contains 37, or 46 if we include the VII Mukims Pidië (*Mukim Tujōh*); the latter are really 9 in number.

2) See also Van Langen's *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur* p. 393.

3) Van Langen, *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur* p. 392.

what else could be expected in Acheh — of quarrels and even petty wars between ulèëbalangs and imeums belonging to the same confederacy, and the people under the jurisdiction of the same ulèëbalang have always felt more united in mind and purpose with one another than with their other brethren of the same sagi. Still the great mass of chiefs and dependants of any one sagi are understood to form a single united body. This may be regarded as due to propinquity, similarity of manners and dialect and above all community of interest.

The origin of such confederacies is to be ascribed to the force of circumstances. From ancient times, and still more in former years than at the present day, internal conflicts and wars of every description have been the order of the day in Acheh. Just as the gampōngs which standing alone would have lain at the mercy of the first freebooter, protected themselves by uniting under a single ulèëbalang, so must the ulèëbalangs in their mutual strife have perceived the usefulness of offensive and defensive alliances with their neighbours.

It of course remained open to all of them in case of need to seek their allies where they would. Nor was the federation so close as to prevent an occasional defection, or an absence of readiness to burn their fingers on behalf of their allies — a characteristic by no means confined to Acheh. Self-interest has always been the ruling motive, but for this very reason we must admit that the ulèëbalangships which united themselves into sagis had in reality abiding communities of interest; otherwise the very name of the institution would scarce have survived [1]).

The panglima sagi.

That each federation felt the necessity for a single head, and chose to this end the most powerful and influential ulèëbalang from their midst, is an obvious result of what has been said. The authority of such a panglima sagi extended however only to matters of general interest. For the rest the remaining ulèëbalangs governed their own territories just as though there were no sagi in existence.

All authority in Acheh is in the highest degree personal. Rank is acquired by inheritance, but whether its possessor exercises the influence that attaches to it depends on his individual characteristics. Thus although the rank of panglima sagi became heritable in the

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1) There are in Pidië also federations of the same sort. Just as Acheh has its XXII Mukims of Panglima Pòlém, so we find in Pidië the XXII Mukims of Béntara Keumangan, etc.

family of him who at the conclusion of the alliance was recognized by his fellows as chief, this could not prevent the inheritors of the office from being outvied by others at a later period. Still the feeling of respect for tradition in Acheh is great enough to leave the name and certain outward forms intact.

There was besides the usual conflict between one who is endowed with a loosely defined supremacy and those who find themselves subjected to it; on the one hand eagerness to shake off the yoke as far as possible, and on the other efforts after extended power [1]).

Wars and other such special crises always showed whether the panglima sagi had inherited the influence as well as the rank of his forefathers; in times of comparative order and repose he was and still is a mere ulèëbalang like the rest.

Ulèëbalangs of the Sultan.

We may here make cursory mention of two other sorts of ulèëbalangs, who exercise no authority within the three sagis. The first is the *ulèëbalang pòteu*, i. e. "ulèëbalangs of our lord (the Sultan)", who either held a position of trust within the Sultan's own territory, or filled a high post at Court, or else owed their titles simply to the royal favour. Such offices are hereditary like the rest. The second is to be found among certain of the chiefs in the outlying dependencies who take some pride in adopting the title of ulèëbalang as a general designation of their rank. The chiefs in Acheh proper who rather look down on these aspirants, are wont to remark in contradiction of their claims, that the rulers of the dependencies are really only *keujruëns* (*këjuruan*) or *meuntròës* (*mantri*) no matter what titles they may have gained from chance, royal favour or their own arrogance.

Attendants of the ulèëbalang.

To return to the ulèëbalangs of Acheh proper, we find then that they are both rajas, military commanders and judges in their own territories. For the exercise of their authority they have the following helpers:

Bantas.

*a*. Their younger brothers or more distant next-of-kin, generaliy known by the name of *bantas*. Of these one is the *banta* [2]) *par excellence*, the ulèëbalang's right-hand man. His duties are something like those of the patih of a Javanese princedom or regency.

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1) As to this see also Van Langen's *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur*, p. 398.

2) It must not however be always assumed from the occurrence of this word in the proper name or official title of a chief, that the latter is acting or has acted as a *banta*. In consequence of the devolution of titles by inheritance, it often happens that a man whose ancestor was a *banta* bears this title without any respect to his present rank.

*b.* Their *rakans* (prop. = "companions") i. e. the followers who live in their house or its immediate neighbourhood and receive from them food and clothing for themselves and their families. To these are sometimes added the *ureuëng salah* as they are called, persons who have been enrolled in the following of the ulèëbalang by way of punishment for some offence or for debt. Rakans.

*c.* The *panglima prang* also ranks to some extent as a member of the ulèëbalang's suite. Anyone who has distinguished himself on some few occasions as a warrior is raised (in just the same way as the *panglima kawōm* [1]), to the rank of *panglima prang*, a rather empty dignity if considered alone. The weapons (*sikin panjang* and *reunchōng*) which he receives from the ulèëbalang on his appointment, he must return to him again if he should ever embrace the cause of an enemy of the latter.

In times of peace these officers have no share in the government or administration of justice; in war the amount of confidence reposed by the ulèëbalang in his *panglima prang* as leaders of his fighting men depends on the personal qualities of the chief himself.

In ordinary life the title panglima is given to anyone who is known to have taken a share in warlike operations on some few occasions; the abbreviation *pang* serves as a minor distinction. In Acheh proper as well as the subordinate districts there is in most gampōngs of importance one person who bears the title of panglima prang, but these so-called "war-chiefs" have really nothing to do with war, being only the messengers or attendants of the chiefs.

*d.* A further measure of help is derived by the ulèëbalangs from the *imeums* and *keuchi's* within his jurisdiction. These however represent other interests also besides those of their ulèëbalang, and are thus only conditionally at his disposal. Imeums and keuchi's.

*e.* For the administration of justice the ulèëbalang avails himself of the services of a *kali* (*kādhi*), whom he himself nominates. The jurisdiction of this officer, as we shall immediately see, is limited to certain minor portions of the family law, and he does nothing except at the command or with the approval of his chief. A more important section of judicial work, which rests almost entirely on adat, is taken out of

1) See p. 46 above. We have thus three kinds of panglimas of vastly different position: the panglima sagi, who is in name at least one of the principal ulèëbalangs, the panglima kawōm or chief of a tribe, and the panglima prang here described.

the hands of the ulèëbalang by the so-called friendly settlements effected by his imeums and keuchi's.

How far the ulèëbalang can, in the event for example of a hostile invasion of his territory, reckon upon the help of the above-mentioned officials and of his subjects in general, depends entirely on his personal tact and energy and the influence of his family connections. Though the bantas are his relatives, he must find means to attach them to his cause; the rakans elope if sufficient attention is not paid to their maintenance; the imeums and keuchi's in times of difficulty and danger will only follow an ulèëbalang who is able to inspire them with fear or with affection, and otherwise remain inactive or even lend their support to the enemy. Furthermore, the chief who has powerful allies outside his own territory can always exert more influence over his own people.

There is hardly any trace of systematic management in regard to affairs of general interest. The maintenance of public order is effected by the punishment of open offenders, unless the offence has been already avenged either privately (as in most cases of manslaughter, hurt or other personal acts of violence) or through the adats controlling the dwellers in the gampōngs.

Administration of justice in Acheh.

We now come to the administration of justice. We know that the Mohammedan law requires independent judges (*kāḍhis* or their deputies) who are indeed appointed by the head of the community but who, though liable to dismissal for neglect of duty, need never conform to the will of temporal authorities but alone to the all-ruling law of Allah. I have repeatedly drawn attention to the fact that this ideal is never even approximately attained.

Administration of justice in Mohammedan countries generally.

This may be partly ascribable to the desire of all Mohammedan rulers to monopolize power, which makes it impossible for them to tolerate in their neighbourhood independent judges with so wide a jurisdiction. But there is more than this: the Mohammedan law is unfitted for the practical administration of justice [1]), among other

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1) The ideal character of the Mohammedan law, developed as it was for the most part in the schools, out of reach of all close connection with the real requirements of daily life, has been described by the author in *Mohammedaansch recht en rechtswetenschap* (Indische Gids 1886) and *De fiqh en de vergelijkende rechtswetenschap* (Rechtsgeleerd Magazijn 1886) and by Dr. Ign. Goldziher in *Muhammedanisches Recht in Theorie und Wirklichkeit* (Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, vol. VIII). A further striking example of

reasons because it greatly hampers the detection of crime, imposes impossible demands on witnesses and fails to take cognizance of historical changes.

As the Mohammedan law itself excludes on principle all intrinsic reform, rulers have everywhere found themselves compelled to provide a practical method of administering justice, and this they have done by constituting themselves the judges in all cases, following partly the prevailing custom of the country and partly their own inclination.

Respect for the admittedly perfect religious law (described in self-justification as *too* good for modern society) made a twofold concession desirable; first the admission of an appeal to the divine law, of which license it is well known that advantage will hardly ever be taken, and secondly the handing over to the ḳādhi of the decision of such cases as are more especially regarded as being of a religious nature, including the law relating to families.

Adat and religious law in the Indian Archipelago.

The first of these two concessions is wanting in the judicial institutions of most peoples of the Indian Archipelago. In its place it is represented as being God's will that the *adat* (conceived as the ancient law of the land in the broadest sense of the word, altered but little by the spirit of Mohammedanism) and the *hukōm* or religious law should govern side by side [1]), though in practice the former plays by far the larger part.

But in Acheh even the jurisdiction in matters affecting the family has not been entirely made over to the kali. The latter's most usual duties are:

*a.* The declaration of the pasah (fasch), the judicial dissolution of a marriage at the instance of one of the parties. Even this is only done by the kali by the authority of the ulèëbalang specially given in each case. The usual recompense to the kali for such a sentence is four dollars. To this is sometimes added a handsome fee for the ulèëbalang, especially when the grounds of a woman's request for *pasah* are of doubtful sufficiency.

*b.* Acting as the *wali* of maidens who wish to get married, and whose

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directly contradictory rules in regard to questions of the highest importance, which find authoritative supporters even within each of the four orthodox schools, is supplied by the admirable description of the Waqf-law of the Hanafites by J. Kresmarik in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, Band XLV. 511 et seq.

1) See pp. 14 and 72 above.

proper walis by kinship are either dead or reside at a distance (the limits of which are fixed by the law) from the home of the bride.

The fees for this service vary according to circumstances, just like that given to the teungku meunasah for concluding marriages, one of his duties under the adat.

*c.* Taking the lead in the very customary *balé' meudeuhab*, a curious evasion of the law, through which the Achehnese consider themselves justified in marrying girls who are not of age, even though the authoritative walis (those in the ascending line) are wanting. Further details on this head will be found in our description of the marriage law. In this case again the regular fee is four dollars.

*d.* Making the requisite calculations for the division of inheritances, a task which the ulèëbalang is of course unable to perform for himself. The latter however in such cases uses his kali simply as an accountant, as he wishes to keep the control of such matters in his own hands. The ulèëbalang receives the 10% commission allowed him by the adat as *ha' pra'é* or succession duty, and even assumes control of the shares of absent heirs and some of those under age, the usual result being that these shares are considerably diminished or entirely disappear.

For making these calculations, which are in all essentials worked out in accordance with the Mohammedan law (v. inf. in our description of customs connected with decease) the kali gets simply such recompense as the ulèëbalang may choose to allow him.

In all other cases or suits brought before the ulèëbalang, the kali as a rule holds aloof. This is because not only the system of evidence adopted, but also the sentences passed, are in such direct conflict with the sacred law that the presence of the representatives of this law would only bring it into contempt. Yet there are some ulèëbalangs who summon their kali on such occasions for form's sake, and after enquiring of him with much apparent solicitude, what would be the fiat of the hukōm in the case under consideration, beg of him to allow the decision in this one instance to be given in accordance with the adat; whereto the kali assents with a respectful *seumbah*.

The kali rabōn jalé and the kali malikōn adé.

Some few pious ulèëbalangs, who of their own accord allowed their kalis a larger share in the administration of justice, or conformed to their advice, are cited as rare exceptions.

The panglima sagi was the chief ulèëbalang of his confederation, and

his kali was in like manner the chief kali of the sagi. We may perhaps ascribe to the centralizing efforts of certain of the port-kings an attempt which was made to reduce all the other kalis to the position of mere deputies of the chief kali, nominated by him or at least with his concurrence, whilst the chief kali of each sagi received his appointment direct from the hands of the sultan. The bombastic title of these kalis of the sagis, *Kali Rabōn Jalé* (from the Arab. Qādhi Rabbul Jalīl) = "Judge of the Almighty Lord" [1]), undoubtedly dates from the times of active organization in the capital.

Writers on Acheh have accustomed us to the idea that above the kalis of the ulèëbalangs and of the panglima sagi there was enthroned in the capital a supreme hereditary judge who bore the title of *Kali Malikōn Adé* (*Qādhī Malikul Adil*) i. e. "Judge of the righteous King". For this notion it appears that we have again to thank Mr. Der Kinderen, whose chief guide in forming this conclusion was the bearer of the title himself. The latter appears (for reasons not difficult to surmise) to have told Mr. Der Kinderen tales regarding his exalted position in flagrant conflict with the truth. He painted an idealized picture of the importance of that position as it was at the time of its first establishment, some two and a half centuries ago, and furbished this up as representing the actual state of things at the present day [2]).

The original intention of the powerful port-king (whether Meukuta Alam or an earlier sovereign) who instituted the title of Kali Malikōn Adé, was undoubtedly to have a president of the royal court of justice possessed of an adequate knowledge of the religious law. In making this appointment it was of course never intended to apply this law in its full extent. Such a scheme could have been realized in no Mohammedan country in the world within the last twelve centuries. The whole political system of the port-town even at the zenith of its prosperity was in conflict with the law of Islam.

Perhaps those Achehnese chiefs are not entirely wrong who assert that the wish of the prince who created the office was that his kali

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1) This expression is also to be found in Malay works in the sense of "The Judge, the Almighty Lord" = God, e. g. in Ganjamara, Singapore Edition p. 159 جك بوسلاعن در فد كاة عمب اين سلطان تمفلق ثمب فد هاري اخرة دعدافن قاضى رب لجليل.

2) *Ordonnantie van 14 Maart 1881 betrekkelijk de rechtspleging onder de inheemsche bevolking van Groot-Atjeh, met een memorie van toelichting van Mr. T. H. Der Kinderen*, Batavia 1881, pp. 18, 22 seqq.

should apply the adat as well as the hukōm, and on this account gave him, in contradistinction to the "judges of the Almighty Lord" in the three sagis, the title of "judge of the righteous king". In fact it is in this way that the difference in nomenclature can be best explained [1]).

Degeneration of the office of Kali Malikōn Adé.

Whether the sultan who established the office in question wished at the same time to endow his own judge with a measure of supremacy over the other three chief kalis, remains uncertain. We only know that if such a scheme existed, nothing came of it. In the first place the great independence of the three sagis would have resisted any such attempt, and in practice a higher appeal from the sentences of the "judges of the Almighty Lord," to the royal court of justice would have miscarried owing to sundry insurmountable difficulties. But besides this the office of "judges of the righteous King" very quickly deteriorated, until in the end it retained nothing more than the title indicative of its origin.

Various causes combined to bring about this deterioration. First the hereditary nature of the office which did not of course endure that the heir should be as learned as his predecessor; then the residence of the holder of the title in the immediate neighbourhood of the court, by which he gained a favourable opportunity of having his office converted into a sort of ulèëbalangship, the end and aim of all Achehnese office-bearers; and lastly the rapid decay of the central power, by which various offices created during the brief period of prosperity lost the reason for their further existence.

Even in the later edicts, which always more or less idealize facts, we find the Kali Malikōn Adé represented as a distinguished courtier, a sort of master of court ceremonies, to whom a fixed portion of the harbour dues was assigned. He became what was called *ulèëbalang pòteu*, "ulèëbalang of our lord" (the sultan), equal in rank to the almost independent provincial chiefs, with all the worldly pretension appertaining to their rank, but without territory. The official title of Teuku which he bore and still bears, points unequivocally to the complete secularization of his office.

Finally one of the holders of this title, making use of the special favour of the prince towards him and of the weakness of the then

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1) Prof. Niemann in his *Bloemlezing uit Maleische geschriften*, Part 2, p. 25 notices that Malikul Adil is a common title for qadhis in Malay countries.



THE LATE TEUKU KALI MALIKÖN ADÉ STANDING ON THE STEPS OF HIS NEW HOUSE.

Panglima Meuseugit Raya (the head of the 24 or more gampōngs on either side of the Acheh river, in the neighbourhood of the court and principal mosque) succeeded in gaining control over half the latter's jurisdiction. Since then we find the Teuku Kali at the acme of the wishes of an Achehnese official, chief of a small but important territory, and at the same time, in his capacity as a court dignitary, not without influence in the choice of a successor to the throne. We thus see that Mr. Der Kinderen quite missed the mark in finding anything extraordinary in the fact that the "hereditary supreme judge" of the kingdom could neither read nor write. Teuku Kali was ulèëbalang of 12 gampōngs, and shared this ignorance with many of his equals in rank, while those who are charged with administering justice according to religious law can all read and write and have most of them carried their learning much further than these rudiments.

The rule that the chief kalis of the three sagis should be appointed by the sultan speedily became a dead letter, and the practical results of the aims at centralization founded on this rule proved very trifling.

The kali rabōn jalé.

The office of *kali rabōn jalé* also, in complete opposition to its character and object, became in the end hereditary; nay more, during the latter part of the century, the son, brother or nephew of a deceased title-bearer has succeeded the latter without even having to demand a sealed deed of appointment from the sultan. Such being the case, we may be surprised to find that this kali-ship did not deteriorate so much as that of Mr. Der Kinderen's "supreme judge".

The *kali rabōn jalé* of the XXII Mukims, though according to custom he acquires his office by inheritance, is as a matter of fact a man of learning. According to Achehnese custom the late kali, like his forefathers before him, was called after the gampōng he lived in, Teungku Tanòh Abèë [1]). By reason of his learning this chief esteemed himself too highly to act as a sort of acolyte of the Panglima of his sagi, and refused to appear at the call of the Panglima Pòlém. This powerful ulèëbalang was thus constrained when need arose to seek the help of teungkus of inferior qualifications [2]), while his hereditary kali devoted his time to study and the instruction of his disciples.

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1) He died in 1893.

2) The chief of those who rendered service in this way was Teungku di Lheuë, an ulama of inferior repute.

In the XXV Mukims in like manner there flourished for a short time a tolerably learned head kali, Teungku Lam Paya [1]), who died some years since. He enjoyed, at least in the later years of the sultanate, a certain precedence on official occasions, and was sometimes bidden to the Dalam, probably because he lived nearest at hand. His son, who succeeded him under the same title, is said not to be particularly learned in the law, but very ready of speech.

When the Dutch first came to Acheh, the chief kali of the XXVI Mukims was a man named Teungku Lam Gut, the grandfather on the mother's side of the present *hatib* (preacher) of the principal mosque at Kuta Raja. Born in Lam Gut and appointed as the successor of his father, who had some reputation for learning, he subsequently changed his abode, in consequence of his marriage, to Lam Bhu' close to the Dalam. Here he married his daughter to a scholar of Pidië named Chèh Marahaban, long a resident in Mecca, who was ulama and kali to the sovereign of the port [2]) during the last years of the Sultanate. Teungku Lam Gut was thus able to rely in his official work on the superior knowledge of his son-in-law, for he himself though a man of sound intelligence was devoid of learning.

The principle of inheritance could not of course be applied to the kali-ship in the same degree as in the case of offices controlled by adat; still it was sometimes pushed to a great extremity. Thus it by no means rarely occurred that in the very smallest duties of his office the kali, like many a teungku meunasah, [3]) had to invoke the assistance of some learned man of only second or third rank.

This is equally true of the ordinary kalis of the ulèëbalangship, who according to the intention of the centralizing ruler were supposed to be appointed by the chief kali, but as a matter of fact inherited their office as a family chattel, and were only hampered in their right of succession by the occasional interference of their ulèëbalangs. Accordingly we find side by side in all these offices functionaries without title and title-bearers without function.

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1) Not to be confused with his contemporary, the still greater pandit Teungku Lam Paya, who was distinguished from the kali of that name by the addition of the word *ulama* or *alêm*.

2) Thus even in the rare cases where the Sultan of Acheh had need of the advice of those learned in the law, his real adviser was Cheh Marahaban and not Teuku Kali.

3) See above p. 75.

We might to some extent apply to the relation of the ulèëbalang to his kali the expression which the Achehnese use to denote the mutual positions of the chief of the gampōng (*keuchi'*) and the teungku meunasah, and represent the ulèëbalang as the father and the kali as the mother of the ulèëbalangship; but with this distinction, that the position of this "mother" of a province is relatively very much lower than that of the "mother" of a village.

Administration of justice by the ulèëbalangs.

Thus the administration of justice remains mainly in the hands of the ulèëbalangs. It is only however in the direst necessity that their mediation is sought, for these chiefs hold it before them as their principal aim to get as much hard cash as possible for themselves, and take but little pains with cases, however weighty, from which there is not much profit to be won. We shall now enumerate the principal matters which give rise to blood-vengeance or to sentences of the ulèëbalangs.

Vengeance for blood and blood-money.

Bodily injuries, hurt or manslaughter originating in ordinary quarrels, are as a rule avenged without recourse to any authority by the injured party with the help of his kawōm or kindred. If however at the end of the mutual reprisals a considerable debit balance remains over on one side, the matter is submitted to the ulèëbalang, who in this case simply directs the payment in accordance with religious law of the *diët* or price of blood by the offender to the injured party. For this diët a tariff is to be found in the Moslim law-books. Where the ulèëbalang is himself unlearned, he applies for enlightenment to a kali or ulama.

Long continued petty wars only arise out of blood feuds in such cases as when a simple hurt is avenged by manslaughter, or the recognized limits overstepped in some other such way.

We have already [1]) alluded to the peculiar gampōng-adat of *meulangga* which is employed to wash away the insult inseparable from the injury done, and which does not interfere with the debt in blood or money which accrues therefrom.

We may add that an insult offered by a person of high rank to an ordinary citizen is obliterated without recourse being had to *meulangga*, simply through the so-called cooling (*peusijuë'*) [2]) or another form of

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1) See p. 77 above.
2) See p. 78 above.

compensation in which all ceremonies are dispensed with. Indeed it sometimes happens that an injured villager on receiving compensation at the hands say of an ulèëbalang's son who has done him an injury, actually begs the latter for forgiveness.

Injuries done to persons of position by those of inferior are never atoned for without a formal request for pardon. Injuries to those of high rank.

One of the lower orders who has committed some offence against a chief below the rank of ulèëbalang, seeks the presence of the chief with gifts, accompanied by relatives and friends who plead in his behalf. To an ulèëbalang the offender is brought wrapped up in a cloth as though he were dead or seriously ill.

Keuchi's or persons of higher rank who go into the presence of their ulèëbalang as penitent sinners are generally accompanied by a number of their fellows of like rank. Either the offender himself or one of his colleagues who out of friendship for him assumes the part of substitute or scapegoat, covers his head with a white cloth, and thus habited as a corpse takes his stand before the ulèëbalang's door, while his companions rëiterate the cry: *ampōn! ampōn!*

For a long time the ulèëbalang feigns to take no notice, so that nothing may be wanting to the publicity of the affair, which he deems indispensable for the satisfaction of his honour. Finally he comes forward and says: "It is well", whereupon the suppliants enter the house and sit down for a short time, without however being made partakers of any hospitality.

Ulèëbalangs who desired to atone by an appeal for pardon for a sin of commission or omission against the Sultan, were generally summoned to the Dalam for this purpose. Here they received from their royal master a costly platter (*dalōng*) on which lay an iron chain under the usual covering (a conical plaited cover = *sangè* and a cloth = *seuhab*). This served as a gentle reminder that they must consider themselves as prisoners and not return home until they had received forgiveness. Thereupon followed a discussion as to the terms of the pardon.

Towards the ulèëbalangs of Acheh proper, however, the sultans never indulged in such highhanded methods; it was only the less important chiefs of the dependencies that would submit to such ignominy.

Where the ceremony of "cooling" takes place between two persons of equal rank, the offender asks forgiveness of the injured party who is seated opposite, and to this end rises first from his place; but if the

injured one is somewhat younger or inferior in rank, he must spring quickly forward to meet the penitent so as to appear to take the initiative.

In cases of manslaughter the *diët* is seldom accepted, more substantial vengeance being sought for. The guilty party in such cases usually flies from the highlands to the lowlands or vice versâ, and enjoys the protection of the gampōng whose hospitality he invokes [1]). The ulèë-balang whose subject the deceased was, after having ascertained the facts, proclaims that the offender may be slain by anyone into whose hands he falls.

Where the bloodguilty party dies either a violent or a natural death, the affair is regarded as settled.

It was understood that persons guilty of manslaughter could save themselves by flying to the Dalam, but they were then regarded as chattels of the raja.

Theft. A thief is according to Achehnese law punishable with death, even if not caught red-handed [2]). In addition to the great divergence from the law of Islam in regard to the severity of the penalty, we find a further conflict with that law in the estimation of the punishment as an act of private vengeance, which only the victim of the theft or his representative has the right to exact.

If he whose goods are stolen has caught the thief red-handed and slain him, he must in accordance with the rules of evidence required by the adat, prove that the deceased has actually committed theft, as otherwise he would become involved in a blood-feud. Where the thief is not at once captured, the fact must in like manner be "proved", so as to give the aggrieved party the right to slay him without being exposed to the vengeance of his kindred.

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1) Even Teungku Tanòh Abèë, the learned kali of the XXII Mukims, alluded to above has for years past harboured a *bila gòb* (a man guilty of homicide, literally "blood-sacrifice of others"), who has meantime become under his guidance a diligent student of the kitabs.

2) According to Mohammedan law, as we know, the thief should be deprived of his right hand, for a second offence of his left foot, for a third of the left hand and finally of the right foot. But theft as defined by that law is exceedingly difficult to prove according to Mohammedan rules of evidence. As we shall see presently, the infliction of these punishments was among the prerogatives of the Sultan. Nevertheless even in recent years this right was usurped by the chief of the sagi of the XXII Mukims, who most probably paid no heed in dealing with such cases to the strict requirements of the Mohammedan law of evidence in the matter of theft. No other chiefs of sagis or ulèëbalangs have ever assumed this privilege.

According to the adat the only proper method of proving the crime is for the ulèëbalang to establish the fact by personal investigation at the scene of the theft, and to identify the thief, a process known to the Achehnese as *peusah* [1]) *panchuri*.

In the XXVI Mukims this peusah should according to the adat be carried out only by the panglima sagi [2]), and in the XXV by any ulèëbalang; in some parts of the XXII Mukims the ulèëbalang if he reside at too great a distance may be replaced by a conclave of three imeums [3]).

The elders and those learned in adat are wont to enumerate four sorts of testimony, which whether taken alone or in conjunction give the right to regard the accused as a thief. The Achehnese have a great preference for the number four. They are also fond of employing in the discussion of adat-subjects terms which no one fully understands, and in regard to which every successive speaker can thus exhibit greater wisdom than his predecessor. These four traditional forms of proof are as follows:

1°. *yad* (Arab. properly = "hand") i. e. that the suspected party has been seen lurking in the neighbourhood of the house of him whose goods have been stolen; 2°. *kinayat* (Arab. = "covered or metaphorical proof") i. e. that he has been seen to enter the house; 3°. *peunyabét* (from Arab. *thābit* = established, "that which establishes a fact") i. e. that he has been seen holding or touching the stolen object; and 4°. *ḥaleuë meuë* (properly *ḥalāl* = "permitted" and *māl* = "goods, object of possession") i. e. that he has been discovered with the stolen object in his possession.

Other kinds of evidence are mentioned, but these are all equally remote from the original as well as the technical sense of the Arabic words; and these words themselves do not appear in any such connection in the Mohammedan law, with the exception of *yad*, which means actual possession.

In practice however they do not confine themselves to these rather more than vague rules. The *peusah* generally rests on the ground that the body of the slain thief has been found lying close to or in the neighbourhood of the stolen object, which token (*tanda*) is still further

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1) The causative of sah (Arab. ṣaḥḥ) = true, certain; the word thus means: to declare as certain, ascertain.

2) I have grave doubts of this as I received the information from the present panglima of this sagi himself, a young man who has little reliable knowledge of the ancient adats.

3) Cf. p. 87 above.

strengthened by traces of housebreaking. It may also be supported by the fact that the thing stolen is found in the possession of another (the receiver) to whom compensation is paid on the condition that he points out the thief; or again, the fact that it is found in the gampōng and that various circumstances point to a particular person as the thief who has escaped pursuit.

In order to give some idea of the peculiar adats among the Achehnese in criminal cases, which are characterized no less than their family life by set speeches and dramatic display, we append an example of the peusah panchuri in a case in which the thief has been killed on the spot. The attendant circumstances are imaginary, but most of the formulae are invariable.

The body of the thief, with the objects which serve as testimony, are left undisturbed till the ulèëbalang [1]), who is notified as soon as possible, appears in the gampōng attended by some imeums and keuchi's.

These authorities seat themselves over against the slayer of the thief, and the people of the gampōng crowd around on all sides. The slayer is usually represented by a speechmaker of the gampōng, but he may of course speak for himself if he wish. Standing up in his place he delivers himself on this wise:

"I beg forgiveness of you all, oh *Teungkus* [2]), ye that are my kings, for the reason for which I stand here, oh *Teuku ampōn*, is threefold.

"The first reason is, that I desire to pay homage to you, oh Teukus, who are my kings. The second reason is, oh Teuku ampōn, that I wish to relate to you that which has befallen me. The third reason is, oh Teuku ampōn, that I have to inform you as follows. During the past night, Friday the 15th of Mò'lōt, I was sleeping in the meunasah. At about midnight, as well as I could guess, I was startled and awaked from sleep with a feeling of uneasiness. I took my weapons, a sikin, a reunchōng and a spear, and went back into the gampōng [3]), for I keep a beast there.

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1) Or else, as we saw above, the panglima sagi, or a council of three imeums, as the local custom may dictate.

2) Although almost all those present actually bear the title *teuku*, it is the traditional custom for the speaker to use the word *teungku* in the commencement of his address. Subsequently he directs his narrative more exclusively to the ulèëbalang, whom he addresses according to custom as *teuku ampōn*.

3) The houses of the gampōng in contradistinction to the meunasah are here meant. Cf. p. 61 above.

"So then, oh Teuku ampōn, having come into the gampōng, I took some buffalo fodder and laid it in the manger. Then I saw that the beast did not approach. I felt for the rope; there was no rope to be found. Then I approached the door of the stall and found it standing open. Then I wandered hither and thither till I came upon a man leading a buffalo in a place which is only separated from my house by a single garden.

"Thereupon, oh Teuku ampōn, I cried out, who is that leading a buffalo? but he answered not. Then I drew my sikin and called help! help! He took his stand against me, I smote at him and there lay the leader of the buffalo dead!

"As to the buffalo, oh Teuku ampōn, it is my property. For the rest, as concerns the man, if the Supreme God so will, it shall be as ye, oh Teukus who are my kings, shall be pleased to decide. What name shall we call this dead man by? [1])

"Thus much only have I to say."

After the hearing of this or a similar story, the ulèëbalang says to those present:

"What is your opinion, Teukus, in regard to what this man (or this master) has related?"

A chorus of the villagers here interrupts:

"That is clear enough, it may at once be answered, oh Teuku!"

The ulèëbalang however transfers this task to his proxy speaker, one of the elders, and says to the latter, "let answer be made."

"How am I to answer?" he enquires.

"What means this 'how,' is it not clear enough?" pursues the ulèëbalang.

After this authorization the elder speaks thus:

"Good then, as to what this man has related, how stands it? Know ye that are here (this to the next of kin, neighbours etc. of the slayer) aught of it? Tell us what ye know."

The answer, given more or less in chorus, runs thus: "It is established, even as this man has related it, oh Teuku ampōn, so is the knowledge of all of us."

The ulèëbalang to the elder: "well, if that be so, then is this fellow (the deceased) buffalo-flesh, it is permitted us to eat it!"

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1) That is to say: I leave it to you to decide, whether he shall be esteemed *thief* or not.

The elder: "This fellow is even as the flesh of buffaloes, it is permitted us to eat it! Let us cry aloud now all together, the name of this fellow is thief! Cry with one voice, let us kill the thief dead!"

These last words are loudly repeated by all present, and thus the case is concluded. It might be almost expected that at this last cry a simultaneous attack would be made upon the body of the thief, but now-a-days at least this does not take place.

Not till the conclusion of this ceremony can the thief be buried. Before the formal *peusah* the body may be moved to the extent of dragging it a few paces along the ground, but to raise it entirely from the earth would according to the adat have the effect of making the sentence impossible.

It is obvious that proofs such as those we have enumerated are not always forthcoming in all the numerous cases of theft in Acheh and especially in the highland districts, yet the adat with its peculiar rules of evidence demands "tanda" or tokens, and it is an established rule that where such tokens are wanting, no crime can be taken to be proved. On the other hand it often happens that all are morally convinced that a certain person is in the habit of stealing or has done so in a particular instance, without their being able with the best will in the world to adduce the requisite proofs.

It may for example be safely asserted, in view of the habits of life of the Achehnese, that any one who after nine o'clock in the evening is found lurking in a strange gampōng where no festival is being held, has come there with criminal intent,and generally with the object of committing theft.

In such cases there prevails a custom, not indeed theoretically recognized, but in fact commonly practised, of artificially supplying the necessary tandas or proofs after the evildoer has been put to death.

The slayer for instance breaks a piece out of the wall of his house, and places a chest which he has himself taken out of his house near the body, or ties his buffalo to the leg of the slain man, so as to give the appearance of his having met him leading the animal away.

Though all who attend at the verification (*peusah*) are well aware of the true origin of the evidence, they lend their support before the ulèëbalang (who is often as much in the secret as themselves) to a solemnly paraded fictitious story of the theft, and the declaration "This fellow is as the flesh of buffaloes, it is permitted us to eat it," sets the slayer free from all guilt.

Nay more, this facile method of *peusah panchuri* is frequently resorted to even when there is no question of theft. Suppose for instance that a man has detected his daughter, who is unmarried or whose husband is away, in the act of illicit intercourse, and has slain her lover. According to Achehnese adat he would now be exposed to blood-vengeance unless he had also killed his daughter, and if he admitted the true nature of the case, he would subject her to the penalty of death by strangling and drowning combined (*cheukië'*) by command of the ulèëbalang. For a moderate consideration, however, the latter may be induced to recognize as true the "tokens" of theft brought forward to suit the case of the homicide, accompanied by a story that harmonizes with the circumstances, and which is upheld by the unanimous voice of the fellow-villagers of the slayer, who are not likely to leave their comrade in the lurch.

Even ordinary murders attributable to no such circumstances as the above, but merely to hatred and the desire for revenge, are sometimes settled by the *peusah panchuri* through the venal connivance of the ulèëbalang.

For the tracing of the criminal in case of a theft established by proofs, various methods are furnished by the adat; and these, while especially applicable in case of theft, are also employed in detecting those guilty of other crimes.

When strong suspicion rests on a particular individual, and it is desired to extort confession, recourse is had to the method called *wéng* or *séng ba' pha siblaïh*. This consists in fastening a strip of rottan round the thigh of the suspect, and tightening it by twisting the ends together while the interrogation proceeds. Various other similar tortures are also employed.

When a thief chances to be captured instead of slain, his relatives are given opportunity of ransoming him. In theory the blood-price or *diët* has to be paid in such cases, but in practice a sum proportioned to the resources of the family is accepted. Such ransoms are especially customary in the highlands, where theft is very common. Elsewhere, for instance in the XXV Mukims, thieves are more usually put to death on the spot.

The following methods serve to identify the thief from among a number of persons one of whom is believed to be the guilty party. Ordeals.

*Peutasa'* or *peuklò' minyeu'* ("the boiling of oil" or "the plunging

(the hands) into oil") is an ordeal requiring for its success that he who boils the oil should be able to do so in the proper manner and should know by heart the necessary incantations. Then the hand of the guilty person and none other will be scalded.

In like manner *pumuë' breuëh* ("bolting of raw rice") has the desired result only when the requisite incantations are uttered over the rice. Then it is the guilty one alone that fails to swallow the rice.

Another ordeal is *teumanòm* ("burying something"). The ulèëbalang calls together all the suspected persons into the meunasah, and gives them three days time to restore the stolen object secretly to its owner. Should this not be done they must again assemble. Then some person skilled in magic art "enchants" a kundur-fruit (*bòh kundō*), and this is buried where the main road enters the gampōng. The result is that the stomach of the guilty party quickly swells up or bursts.

*Peulièh beusòë* ("licking the hot iron") is also in use. This kind of ordeal is even expressly recognized in the so-called edict of Sham-sul-alam [1]).

A simpler plan, but one less effective than these ordeals, is the summoning of all the suspects into the meunasah, where the teungku causes them one by one to swear a solemn oath of exculpation [2]). The usefulness of ordeals of course lies in the belief which the majority of the people have in them. Where they are made ready with the requisite circumstance and solemnity, the guilty party often confesses at once, before recourse is had to the actual trial, and even if this be not so, the demeanour of the criminal at the commencement of the ordeal generally proclaims his guilt.

Knowing this, some ulèëbalangs have been wont to invite the attendance on such occasions of a teungku from some distant place, distinguished by a great beard or some other such impressive characteristic; this startling apparition has often resulted in confession.

In cases of petty theft it is not unusual for the thief to be kept imprisoned for some days in or near the residence of the ulèëbalang. Before being released he has to promise under oath never to steal again.

Illicit intercourse.

Next to theft illicit intercourse (Arab. *zina*, Ach. *dina*) claims our attention.

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1) See Van Langen, *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur*, p. 469.

2) Such administration of oaths is an affair of the gampōng, which the keuchi' can undertake upon his own responsibility, but the ordeals can only be applied by the ulèëbalang.

The punishments imposed by Mohammedan law for this offence (sexual intercourse between two persons not in the mutual relation of man and wife or master and slave) differ in proportion as the guilty parties may or may not have at some time in their lives had sexual intercourse in a lawful marriage. If so the punishment is stoning to death, if not, 100 stripes with the lash, followed (according to the Shafiite school) by banishment for at least one year.

The application of this law is extremely rare in Acheh, although its provisions are pretty generally known. This is undoubtedly due to some extent to the great difficulty of proving illicit intercourse according to the requirements of the Mohammedan law of evidence; it is not permissible to apply a punishment ordained of Allah to a crime which, clear though it be to human insight, is insufficiently proved in accordance with the rules of evidence prescribed by Allah's law.

In has happened in some few cases that some influential supporter of religious law has endeavoured to make an example by applying it in all its rigour to this sin so universally prevalent in Acheh. This was done for instance by Habib Abdurrahman, and the news spread throughout the whole country that a couple had indeed been stoned for illicit intercourse. When however some ulèëbalang conceives the same idea, there is generally found something lacking both in the proofs which the law requires and in the complete execution of the punishment.

As a matter of fact *dina* is the order of the day in Acheh, whilst its punishment is of exceptional occurrence unless where the injured husband takes active measures. Many chiefs carry on intrigues with the daughters of men of lower degree, and are generally able to nullify or prevent the visible consequences. The same is done by persons who hold forbidden intercourse with women of their own standing (generally *balèë* i. e. widows or divorced women). *Dina* with married women is also far from uncommon.

There are two different sorts of punishment for this offence, whenever any cognisance is taken of it.

1°. Wreaking of vengeance by the injured party (the husband, father, brother or other near relative of the party concerned), sometimes followed by a further punishment at the order of the ulèëbalang, if the injured party has only half finished his task according to the requirements of the adat.

The injured party may for instance slay the violater of the honour of his house on the spot, or elsewhere afterwards, if he can prove by a tanda (such as a garment of the offender who at first escaped him) that the deed has actually been perpetrated. If however he does not also slay the guilty woman (she being his wife or his blood-relation) he exposes himself to blood-vengeance, unless the other party chooses to refer the matter to the ulèëbalang and the latter lets the adat-penalty of *cheukië*[1] be executed on the woman. This is done by taking the guilty woman to the bank of a river where she is laid on her back and held down under water; a bamboo is at the same time placed athwart across her throat, and on either end of this a *rakan*, or follower of the ulèëbalang, stands so as to throttle her.

As a rule however her family forestalls this public scandal; she is secretly put out of the way by one of her own relations, though not before her lover has preceded her to the next world.

It is to be noted that it very rarely occurs, and then only by mistake that the injured party slays the woman (his own wife or blood-relation) while letting the man escape and yet retaining some article belonging to the latter as evidence. To fulfil the demands of morality in such cases there was in ancient times a custom, described by Van Langen in his Achehnese Dictionary, p. 35, but known to the present generation by tradition only, so long has it been discontinued. This custom was as follows: the escaped offender was dressed in the peculiar garments assigned by tradition to those guilty of manslaughter, and placed in the midst of a square, one side of which was formed by his own blood-relations, and the other three by those of the slain woman and her husband. He had then to cleave a piece of wood, after which the injured side had the right to chase and kill him, unless he succeeded in escaping to the line occupied by his kinsfolk. In that case he was exposed to no further persecution. But as we have said, such a state of things rarely occurs and this method of dealing with the offender has now fallen entirely into disuse.

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1) This dress consisted of the *beungkōng* mentioned by Van Langen (a cloth wrapped round the body in a peculiar way), an iron *bajèë* or jacket, and a set of weapons (*sikin* and *reunchōng*) the handles of which were furnished with no horizontal hilts for the hand to grasp. These were called *alat sigeupòh* = the weapons of one condemned to death. The general meaning of *sigeupòh* is one who is doomed either as *bila gòb*, or as an outlawed thief or by the sentence of a judge. For a considerable time weapons of this pattern became fashionable and were those most commonly used in Acheh.

It may be seen from what has been just said, that illicit intercourse is usually treated in Acheh as a private rather than a public breach of law and order.

2°. The ulèëbalangs are quite ready to punish the offence of *dina*, even when no one has complained of it, provided no disagreeable consequences result to themselves or their friends. Here again their action is dictated not so much by a wish to maintain law, order and morality as to enlarge the profits of their privy purse.

Occasion for such interference especially arises when the pregnancy of an unmarried woman (the most unequivocal *tanda* of all) becomes publicly known. The causer of the pregnancy is traced down and the guilty parties reminded by the ulèëbalang that they are really liable to the penalty of death (by suffocation and drowning), but at the same time given to understand that the affair can be settled by payment of a certain fine, provided that the *tanda* disappears. The fine is generally paid and abortion procured at the command of the ulèëbalang, or else the latter (and this often happens) compels the guilty parties to wed one another.

Artificial abortion is of the commonest occurrence in Acheh, both in and out of wedlock, and is especially resorted to in order to destroy that *tanda* of illicit intercourse which is the foremost means of proof prescribed by the adat.

Even where the guilty parties are unable to pay the fine, the ulèëbalang seldom exacts the extreme penalty of the law. He prefers to punish them by incorporating them among his followers as servants without pay (*ureuëng salah*), a step which is often accompanied by a compulsory marriage between the parties.

The *rakans*, or followers of the ulèëbalang, sometimes try to catch couples in forbidden amours, in order to hale them before the ulèëbalang, who squeezes them to the limit of their paying capacity by threats of other punishments. Nay, reliable witnesses declare that in the highlands especially, the *rakans* of the chiefs, in order to increase these fines (a share of which they receive for their trouble) have women in their service who make it their business to entrap men into quite innocent conversations in lonesome places. The woman can easily get the man to sit down by her for a moment, a thing quite feasible owing to the comparative freedom of intercourse between the sexes in Acheh. Then the rakans rush up to them, tear off a portion of the clothing

of both man and woman and set this aside as "tanda." Where this is confirmed by the woman's "admission" that she has had prohibited intercourse with the accused, it becomes easy for the ulèëbalang to extort a fine from the victim of the trick.

Adat-punishments.

In the case of those who are entirely without means, the adat is sometimes made to appear to have as its sole purpose the punishment of immorality. The following are among the punishments inflicted; fifty or more strokes of the lash inflicted by the rakans of the ulèëbalang, in the presence of a crowd of the fellow-villagers of the accused; holding up to public gaze for a few moments by suspension from a tree by a rope passed under the arms; exposure for a whole day to the sun; being tied up for a whole night in a place swarming with mosquitos or close to a nest of red ants etc.

There are no definite adat-rules in regard to all these punishments. They are applied at the whim of the ulèëbalang not only in the case of illicit intercourse but also of other favourite sins of the Achehnese, whether some sacred occasion or place has been thereby extraordinarily polluted, or where the offence has been perpetrated with outrageous shamelessness, or by persons who are specially obnoxious to the chiefs or whose misdeeds they do not feel bound to overlook.

For ill-treatment of women an adat punishment now little in vogue was formerly resorted to. The offender was set on a cow-buffalo and led round followed by a hooting and jeering crowd. The late chief of Lhō'-Kruët on the West Coast used to apply this punishment to all sorts of other offences, not excluding dina [1]).

Imprisonment, generally in chains, serves less as a punishment than to accelerate the payment of a heavy fine, or to detain the prisoner for further enquiry when it is feared that he might otherwise make good his escape.

All acts are rigorously punished which in the opinion of ulèëbalangs or other chiefs amount to a slight upon the honour or dignity of themselves, the members of their families or their friends. Those who are without

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1) In Acheh and its dependencies, just as in other Mohammedan countries, arbitrary punishments are often elaborated and inflicted by the chiefs. Thus the present chief of Teunòm used often to cause adulterous lovers to be deprived of their virility by the objects of their passion. He also punished many transgressors of the law as to fasts by having them led about the country on all fours for some days with rings in their noses like buffaloes, and forcing them to eat grass.

means are put to death for such offences, while others are heavily fined.

To ensure the payment of the fines in such cases a peculiar method of compulsion is employed, called *langgéh umòng* or the "excommunication of the rice-fields." The ulèëbalang causes a stake to be fixed in the rice-field of the guilty party, with the white spathe of a young cocoanut palm fixed to its upper end. From that time forth it is forbidden the owner to till his rice-field until the ulèëbalang is pleased to remove this token. Langgéh umòng.

Such removal, however, does not take place until the case is settled, i. e. until the owner as it were redeems his right of possession by a money offering. Where he is unable or disinclined to do this, the excommunication lasts sometimes for years. The ulèëbalang proceeds gradually to have the field tilled by his servants or (as a sort of feudal service) by his subjects, or else by private contract in consideration of $^1/_2$ the nett produce (*mawaïh*). After some years it passes irretrievably into his possession.

This *langgéh umòng* takes place when the offender has been guilty of striking (be it even on strong provocation) a member of the ulèëbalang's family, or lost a weapon entrusted by the chief to his charge or the like. Wilful provocation is often given in order to increase the cases of confiscation and more than one of the ulèëbalangs has the name of being "very clever in annexing rice-fields."

With the daily life of the gampōng in the narrower sense of the words the ulèëbalang has little to do. Even the *meulangga* described above (pp. 77 et seq.) is carried out without his intervention. He must however be consulted in certain cases of change of residence and of alienation of rice-fields.

Changes of residence are opposed as much as possible by the heads of the gampōng, and as good as forbidden in the case of females. For changes of abode on grounds recognized by the adat, e. g. in order to exercise personal supervision over a part of the paternal inheritance situated elsewhere, permission is required from the keuchi's both of the gampōng vacated and of that where it is intended to reside. Change of residence.

Where however the cause of the removal lies in the fact that the would-be emigrant has always lived on bad terms with his fellow-villagers, his rice-field in his former gampōng remains his own property, but he is not permitted to take his house with him; this is confiscated by the ulèëbalang.

We should rather have said "her house," because in the division of inheritances houses are as far as possible assigned to female heirs. The father of the family can hardly be said to "change his residence," since he either lives in the house of his wife or occupies a temporary lodging.

Sale of lands.

Sale of rice-fields, sugarcane gardens or court yards [1]) cannot take place before the owners of the lands bounding those that are for sale have waived their privilege of buying in the immovable property in question for the price offered by the would-be purchaser.

Both sale and mortgage of real property are executed with some ceremony in presence of the authorities of the gampōng, and also, where possible, of a large number of witnesses. On such occasions certain formalities of the Mohammedan law are also observed [2]). 1% or over of the value of every rice-field sold must be paid to the ulèëbalang.

Suits to recover debts.

Suits for the recovery of debts are submitted to the ulèëbalang when all other means of settlement are found to be fruitless. The chief requires both parties to deposit a sum equal to that in dispute. This deposit is called *ha' ganchéng*, lit. = means of including or binding. This the Achehnese regard as a *tanda jih maté lam jarò̈ hakim* = a token or pledge that the suitor hands himself over as a dead body into the hands of the judge to deal with as he will. After the decree of the ulèëbalang has been carried out, he restores the *ha' ganchéng*, but deducts from the debt settled by his intervention a portion (sometimes amounting to from one-half to one-third of the whole), by way of recompense for his trouble.

Sources of revenue of the ulèëbalangs.

So far we have sketched the functions of the ulèëbalang as military leader, administrator and judge; we shall now add, partly by way of recapitulation, and partly to complete the picture, a resumé of the principal revenues and profits arising from the office.

*a.* The three chief ulèëbalangs or panglima sagi used to receive a present from the sultan on the latter's accession to the throne. This "wedding gift" (*jinamèë*) has in later times amounted to $ 500, but against this it became later the established rule for a newly constituted panglima sagi to pay at least an equal sum to the sultan for the letters patent by which he confirms his appointment. These three chiefs also

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1) Houses are not included, as in Acheh these belong to the category of movable property.

2) Further details as to these formalities, which are also required by the adat at the sale of ploughing cattle, will be found in our description of agriculture.

received gifts in money from the sultan on the occasion of some of the important events of their family life.

*b*. Fines imposed on his subjects for sundry offences or illegal omissions. Under this head we may especially mention the confiscations of rice-fields.

*c*. Fees for the *peusah panchuri* (verification of thieves), sometimes paid even though there is no question of theft, and various other profits which are the fruit of venality.

*d*. In some districts, one or more per cent of the value of rice-fields sold under supervision of the ulèëbalang. Where the sale takes place without his interference, these profits fall to the imeums or to the teungkus and keuchi's, while all witnesses of the sale are treated to a feast by the vendor.

*e*. 10% of all inheritances distributed by the intervention of the ulèëbalang (*ha' pra'é*), a small share being reserved for the teungku or kali who prepares the accounts and for the keuchi' of the gampōng.

*f*. A share of all fish caught by means of drag-nets (*pukat*) wherever such fisheries exist within the jurisdiction of the ulèëbalang.

*g*. Where there are navigable rivers, *wasé kuala*, a toll of 1 dollar (according to some originally *samaïh* = $^1/_4$ dollar, or a certain quantity of husked rice) on every vessel that sails up the river, 5% on all goods imported by foreigners, and 2 to $2^1/_2$% on those imported by natives of the country.

*h*. A portion, often very considerable, of the debts recovered by the ulèëbalang's help.

*i*. The *adat peukan* or market tax, levied by the rakans of the ulèëbalang (on the East Coast by separate officials known as *haria*) on the frequenters of all markets.

*j*. Houses declared forfeit by reason of change of residence on the part of the owners owing to continual quarrels with their fellow-villagers.

*k*. Untenanted rice-fields or gardens whose owners have long since left the neighbourhood and have not since been heard of; also the heritages of strangers who have formed no household in Acheh and of natives of the country who have died without leaving any lawful heirs.

*l*. Contributions (almost compulsory in character) of imeums, panglimas, keuchi's etc. to defray the expenses of important family festivals of the ulèëbalangs and their relations.

*m*. The services of those who are embodied in the following of the

ulèëbalang either by way of punishment for offences committed, or on account of their inability to pay the fines imposed upon them.

*n.* Unremunerated services required of their subjects by influential ulèëbalangs for the construction of their houses and strongholds or the tilling of their rice-fields.

Besides the above, the uléëbalangs lay claim to a number of other sources of profit which vary with the locality, such as imposts on the sale of firewood, bricks, cocoanuts, cocoanut oil etc., a share of all jungle-produce or plants sawn in the forests, gifts of the rice or fruits that first ripen, a portion of all cattle slaughtered, fees for the right to collect turtles' eggs, a share of the profits of gambling, a portion of the pitrah and jakeuët etc. The ulèëbalang is also paid for the certificates required for the issue of ordinary passports and those for the haj. Where pepper is grown, the chief gets so much a pikul as *wasé*.

As we have already seen, a portion of the administration of justice is taken out of the hands of the ulèëbalangs by the imeums and keuchi's by the way of amicable settlement. It is only however by like amicable means that the latter officials can obtain payment of their dues. They dare not for instance apply the punishment of *cheukiè'* or other adat-penalties or fines, or excommunicate rice-fields, or identify thieves, or exact a deposit of *ha' ganchéng* in dealing with suits to recover debts, or embody men among their followers etc. At any rate, imeums who venture on such measures have already reached the rank of independent ulèëbalangs.

Attitude of subject to chief.

The Achehnese has been accustomed for centuries to a considerable degree of independence in the management of his own affairs. He pays but little heed to the ulèëbalang or other authorities in matters appertaining to his family and gampōng, and is wont to show a certain impatience of control more akin to license than to servility. Yet he approaches the representatives of territorial authority with deep submission. The ordinary man of humble rank makes his *seumbah* (the habitual native greeting) at their feet or knees or, if at a distance, by placing his hands on his head with the words *seumbah ulōn tuan* = "your servant's respectful greeting" [1]). If the ulèëbalang wishes to be very polite, he replies *seumbah keu pòteu Alah* = "respectful greetings

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1) This is the token of respect under the adat. In the case of teungkus, leubès etc., it is replaced by the arab *salām* (Ach. *saleuëm*).

are for our Lord God"; or where the reverence consists only in an obeisance made at his feet or knees, by receiving this as it were with his hands (*samböt*). Many however take no notice at all of the *seumbah* of their dependants.

The Achehnese are, comparatively speaking, among the least well-mannered of the inhabitants of the Archipelago, yet in their behaviour towards their chiefs they pay regard to sundry formalities. If a man be sitting on the roadside as the ulèëbalang and his retinue pass by and omits to ask *meu'ah* or forgiveness for his presence, he may feel sure at the least of a beating from the rakans by way of correction. Both the chiefs and all the members of their retinue are as a rule very free with such sharp admonitions towards persons of low degree. The ordinary Achehnese, who is prone at the smallest insult to draw his *reunchöng* or *sikin* on his equals, shows no rancour against ill-treatment on the part of the ulèëbalang and his folk or even the imeum. He fears them, and it is his natural impulse to bow to superior power alone, but to this he submits unconditionally.

Impossible as it is for the ulèëbalangs to exercise despotic power, they loom before the individual as irresistible forces, even though he has the support of his *kawöm* to rely upon. The ulèëbalang has a powerful and numerous kawöm united to him through interest and otherwise; he has also his various rakans, who, though taken as a whole they would not be likely to make an imposing impression on a European, constitute a formidable force in the eyes of each kawöm and gampöng.

Every real or supposed shortcoming on the part of their subjects is heavily punished by these chiefs; but who can help the former to obtain justice against an ulèëbalang? They have only to hope for his mercy, and as a rule he inspires mistrust rather than hope. It is only when he can shelter himself among the ranks of some rival leader that the Achehnese will put himself in opposition to a chief [1]).

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1) During the last three years, that is to say since a serious attempt has been made towards the proper government of Great Acheh, the ulèëbalangs and their subjects have learned to live in peace with each other. They have been taught to submit their disputes to the decision of the Dutch Government, to carry on the administration of justice and the control of their districts entirely subject to the guidance of Dutch officials, who are invested with civil authority.

## § 8. The Rajas (Sultans) of Acheh.

The rajas (Sultans) of Acheh.

Our description of the political system of the Achehnese has made it apparent that the "Sultan of Acheh" is far from being an indispensable element therein. Yet so far back as the sources of history extend, Acheh has always had her kings. In the official (Malay) documents the king is called sultan. The Achehnese, however, term him *raja Acheh* and also call him *pòteu* (= "our lord") in the third person, and in the second *harab meulia*, sometimes pronounced *haram lia* (lit. "may splendour be thy portion"; but the expression has obtained the force of a title and is used to signify "Your Majesty"). The affirmative answer to a question, command or remark of the sultan is *dèëlat* [1]) (i. e. *daulat*, prosperity or happiness).

In the introduction we have already learned in a general way the true significance of these port-kings in the history of the country of which they are the nominal rulers. There is nothing to justify us in regarding the condition of misrule in which we find the country as the ruins of a past well-ordered government. Even the demands made on the ulèëbalangs by the port-kings in the most flourishing period of their rule, the second half of the 16th and first half of the 17th century were extremely moderate and bear witness partly to the want of power on the part of these princes to control the government of the interior and partly to the small interest they seem to have taken in any such interference. Even the edicts ascribed by general consensus to Meukuta Alam (1607—36) confine themselves within very narrow limits, although that prince had at his command a considerable fleet and a small standing army. Besides, these documents are not evidence of a state of things that ever actually existed, but simply the expression of the wishes of the king and his councillors as to what they would see carried out. It was enough for the successive Sultans to have immunity from annoyance at the hands of the numerous potentates of the interior, and this object they easily gained by the means that lay beneath their hand.

The actual domain of the the Sultan.

The portion of the lowlands which they governed directly as their actual domain was not very extensive [2]), and even this small territory

1) This word, like the Javanese *kangjëng* is used simply for confirmation or acquiescence, but never replaces the pronoun in any other sense than this.

2) As regards this question see Van Langen's *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur* pp. 405 et seq.

was in a great measure withdrawn from their direct control in the period of their decline. Some few gampōngs, peopled for the most part by strangers or servants or slaves of the sultan, remained subject to the private lordship of the rajas, but the major portion of the territory adjoining the Dalam, about 24 gampōngs in all, was administered by a Panglima as an appurtenance of the principal mosque (*Meuseugit Raya*). The office of *Panglima Meuseugit Raya* was hereditary, and thus soon came to be distinguished from an ordinary ulèëbalangship only through the name and proximity of the Dalam.

The ambitious efforts of Teuku Kali Malikōn Adé towards the acquisition of a territory which would make him an ulèëbalang in the full sense of the word, were crowned with success at a favourable moment, and he wrested from the weak Panglima Meuseugit Raya the half of his territory, twelve gampōngs on the right bank of the Acheh river.

How little these two ulèëbalangs can be recognized as simply servants of the sultan, may be judged from the fact that they occasionally made war on one another. The sultan helped first one and then the other with money and munitions of war, and his followers were to be found in both the rival camps. When a dispute arose as to the succession to the throne the Panglima Meuseugit Raya and the Teuku Kali Malikōn Adé usually espoused opposite sides.

Besides this special territory of the sultans, which quickly dwindled to such slender proportions, Achehnese tradition notices an important means adopted by the earlier sultans for strengthening their internal authority, namely the institution of wakeuëh lands [1]).

Wakeuëh lands.

*Wakeuëh* (*wakap* in Javanese, Malay and Sundanese) is the Arabic *waqf*. This last word signifies property withdrawn in perpetuity by its owner from all alienation, and devoted to some object permitted by the Moslim law. *Wakeuëh* is known to the Achehnese also in this sense; they use it especially to denote things the use or proceeds of which are devoted by the original owners to the purposes of a mosque,

1) It is impossible to fix the exact time when this institution was first established. Sundry kindred institutions are undoubtedly assigned to too late an epoch by Van Langen in his *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur* pp. 405 seqq. The great antiquity of *wakeuëh* appears from the fact that the peculiar position of the people of the Mukim Lhèë or the III Mukims Keureukōn may be directly traced to it, though the original intention was never attained. Besides, it could only have originated at a time when the sultans still exercised considerable power.

as for example gardens, the furniture of a chapel etc. Rice-fields which are made waqf for the benefit of a mosque are however usually described by another term, *sara* [1]) and are spoken of as *umòng sara* or *umòng sara meuseugit* or *meusara meuseugit*.

But *wakeuëh* is much better known in the sense of a territory or a piece of land which has been placed in a peculiar legal position by the sultans. What this position originally was cannot now be easily traced, as the institution has entirely degenerated. From the information given by the Achehnese we might conclude that wakeuëh lands were those the usufruct of which the sultans had presented to some one or other of their favourites after duly compensating the owners. The epithet is also applied to the strip of ground seven great fathoms (*deupa meunara*) on each side of the Acheh river, reserved from ancient times to the sultan. Subjects might build or plant within this reserve but the land never became their property, and the sultans could always withdraw the right of user. This royal privilege no doubt originated in the interest of an unimpeded exercise of their sovereignty by the kings of the port. The name *tanòh raja* is indeed more commonly used than *wakeuëh* to describe this reservation. Then again we find this latter word applied to the *inhabitants* [2]) of a certain district who have been relieved from sundry burdens and duties exacted from the rest, and exempted from the authority of the local chiefs, a condition which we find elsewhere described by the term *bibeuëh* [3]).

Another explanation given for this word assigns to it a purely

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1) This has nothing to do with *shar'* = "sacred law", for this word would be pronounced in Achehnese as *chara'* or *sara'*. It is sometimes explained by its meaning of "with," "along with," thus indicating the rice-fields that appertain to or are connected with the mosque. It is probably however derived from the Malay *sara* which means "provisions," "means of support."

2) In the two ancient epic poems of Acheh, Malém Dagang and Pòchut Muhamat (see p. 84 above) we find frequent mention of *ureuëng wakeuëh niba'* (or *uba'*) *raja* = "wakeuëh-men on the side of (or with) the king." This appears to mean that a certain district was allotted them to live in, within which they enjoyed complete independence, while they remained responsible to the king alone for their actions. They were thus a sort of free-lances.

3) The term *bibeuëh* is also applied to persons who enjoy a kind of independence owing to their descent or their personal importance. For example where a scion of a distinguished family or a pandit of widespread celebrity together with his next of kin resided in the territory of an ulèëbalang, it was regarded as a matter of course that the latter should exert but a very slender authority over them, and that he should abstain from pressing in their case the claims which he ordinarily made on his subjects. These persons were *bibeuëh* (Mal. *bibas*).

political meaning. According to this one of the early sultans succeeded in getting the ruling chiefs both in Acheh proper and the various dependencies to consent to a certain portion of their territories (usually 3 mukims) being severed from their control. The chief or chiefs of these smaller districts were thus brought directly under the sultan's rule and withdrawn from that of the ulèëbalangs.

It is said that the inhabitants of some of these wakeuëh-districts were bound to render certain services to the sultan on particular occasions. At the same time there is clear evidence that the institution of wakeuëh-districts was not due to the sultan's requiring labourers or servants. Their object was to possess within the sphere of each powerful ulèëbalang a territory of their own on which they could rely to give support to their efforts at centralization.

The inhabitants of such a district were required to refrain from taking any part in the incessant quarrels between great and small ulèëbalangs, to stand without and above parties, and to maintain a neutral field of observation and operation for their superior lord, who could appoint as chiefs of these districts persons in whom he reposed the greatest confidence. The word *wakeuëh* in the Achehnese vernacular represents more than one of the ideas just alluded to. That some truth lurks in the last mentioned political explanation may be gathered from certain features of the condition of the country as the Dutch found it at the commencement of the Achehnese war.

The district of the "III Mukims" *par excellence* [1]), generally called *Mukim Lhèë*, and now officially known as the III Mukims Keureukōn, belonged to none of the three sagi of Acheh. Both the sagi of the XXVI and that of the XXII Mukims claimed that this district *originally* belonged to them, but both allowed that it had for a long time past been withdrawn from all connection with their Panglimas. The people of the "Mukims Three" were also well aware of this, though they acknowledged that they were *ureuëng Tunòng*, thus admitting the correctness of the assertion of the sagi of the XXII Mukims.

In the wars between the two above-named sagi, the Mukims III took part with neither side. The people of the latter thus removed the

1) Even now this district is usually described as *Mukim Lhèe* (the "Mukims Three"), whilst other ulèëbalangships of three mukims are called "the three mukims so and so" e. g. Lhèë Mukim Lam Rabò, Lhèë Mukim Kayèë Adang etc. In like manner the IV mukims of the XXV are always known as *Mukim Peuët* and the VII Mukims of Pidië as *Mukim Tujōh*.

corpses of the slain for both parties, and permitted no fighting to be carried on within their own territory.

The only instance of the administration of these Mukims by a single ruler within living memory is that of a certain ulama named Teungku Chòt Putu, who succeeded in attaining to some degree of authority there in the middle of the present century. This expounder of the law derived from his piety, learning and severity such an overwhelming influence over the three imeums and their subjects, that although not invested with any political power, he acted in fact as ruler of the Mukim Lhèë. Before his appearance and after his death these mukims were self-governing, yet held in due respect the tradition of their peculiar constitution. His son Chèh Chòt Putu, though essentially a worldly man and no scholar, inherited some of the respect paid to his father, but his efforts at playing the rôle of ulèëbalang of the III Mukims have not been crowned with success.

The name of III Mukims Keureukōn now usually given to that district, coupled with the fact that a family resided therein, one male member of which enjoyed the hereditary title of Teuku Keureukōn, points to the efforts made by the holders of that dignity to gain the supremacy there. Here we have another example of that same degeneration of offices in Acheh, which we have seen above [1]) in the case of the Teuku Kali Malikōn Adé etc.

Among the principal court officials in the period of prosperity of the sultanate there was a royal secretary with the title *Keureukōn Katibulmuluk* [2]) (vulg. "Katibōy mulut"). This title could more easily pass from father to son than the art of composing and writing Malay letters; and besides, the importance and extent of such correspondence dwindled with the decay of the court.

The work performed in earlier times by the *Keureukon Katibōy Mulut*, in so far as it did not altogether fall into abeyance, was carried on by common servitors of no rank, who were called *Krani Pòteu* or "writers to our supreme lord." As however all official documents have even down to the present day been modelled on the pattern of those of the prosperous period, there were and still are often to be found at the beginning of letters and edicts of the sultans of Acheh

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1) P. 98 above.

2) More properly *kātib ul-mulk*, "writer of the kingdom."

the words: "His Majesty ordered this to be written by the Keureukōn katibulmuluk [1])."

We have here thus another example of an hereditary title-bearer who became an *ulèëbalang pòteu* without work or fixed income and without territory. Since the establishment of one of their number in the Mukim Lhèë, the Keureukōns have been among those whose influence was a factor to be reckoned with in that wakeuëh-district, although they have never come to be recognized as its chiefs.

Three of the XXVI Mukims were in like manner free from the control of the Panglima Sagi [2]); and though it cannot be said that the sultans held supreme control there in more recent times, it still seems probable that this district also was made wakeuëh originally with the intention just indicated.

The mukims Luëng Bata, Pagarayé [3]) and Lam Sayun are regarded as properly belonging to the XXV Mukims, yet this trio seems also to have been formerly wakeuëh. Within the memory of man however, the only trace of such a status has been the independence of the chiefs of these mukims. The influential and powerful imeum of Luëng Bata was indeed on many occasions the adviser and ally of the sultan, but this very relation made it necessary for the latter to hold this chief in great respect and treat him with marked distinction.

We must thus regard these wakeuëh-districts of 3 mukims as being merely the relics of earlier conditions; the period during which they served to advance the political aims of the sultans was in any case of very short duration.

Similar survivals of wakeuëh districts of this description are to be found in Pidië and some other dependencies, but their chiefs have long been free from the control of the sultans.

It is said that there were on some of the islands (Pulò Wè for example) wakeuëh lands of a different class, reserved by the sultans with the view of appropriating their produce.

Maintenance of the court.

Of the remaining methods resorted to by the sultans for the maintenance of their authority, we have already made mention of several in

1) Some writers have made a false deduction from this circumstance, and would have us suppose that the office of confidential secretary here referred to was in active existence down to the most recent times.

2) See Van Langen's *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur*, p. 406, sub. 5.

3) From the Malay *pagar ayer*, the Achehnese for which is *pageuë ië*.

the course of our description of the system of government in Acheh. The edicts quoted above (see p. 5), dealing with the ceremonial observed at court on all solemn occasions, have given an exaggerated impression of the importance of the port-kings, which has been still further corroborated by the reports of European travellers who saw them at the zenith of their prosperity. In these edicts are set forth the names, relative rank and high-sounding titles of a considerable number of court dignitaries. In some cases they also mention the duties which these officials had to perform, though it is impossible in many instances even to guess at the true significance of the offices they held. There is no doubt that many of them served simply to enhance the glitter of the court. These gradually disappeared, leaving no trace behind, when the kingdom and the power of the sultans dwindled away, and the latter were forced to share with others even that little that was left them. Some again underwent the change we have so often referred to; their titles became hereditary, and they found means on the one hand to have allotted to themselves a portion of the revenues of the port-town, and on the other to seize some favourable opportunity of changing from *ulèëbalang pòteu* into ulèëbalangs with a territory of their own.

Efforts of the courtiers to attain the ulèëbalangship.

To the examples of *Teuku Kali Malikon Adé* [1]) and *Teuku Keureukōn* [2]) quoted above in illustration of this revival of offices, we may now add one or two others.

Teuku Nanta Seutia was originally an "ulèëbalang of our supreme lord," with which hereditary rank he was invested for exceptional services to one of the princes. Such a rank carried with it no more than dignity and claim to respect, but it made its holders unwished-for guests in the ulèëbalangship where they established themselves. Here they were of course free from all control (*bibeuëh*) and in a position to make inroads on the rights of others. Nanta Seutia succeeded in detaching the VI Mukims from the control of Teuku Nè', chief of the great mukim of Meura'sa, and the protests of the latter reïterated down to the present day have been of no avail against this secession. [In 1896 the Nanta family having taken a prominent part in the treachery of Teuku Uma against the Dutch, the Nè' family was

1) See p. 98 above.
2) See p. 124 above.

restored to power. When the Nantas were expelled, the Dutch Government appointed as Chief Teuku Raja Itam, a son of the Teuku Nè' who was ulèëbalang of Meura'sa at the beginning of the Dutch operations in Acheh].

A teacher of celebrity, *Teungku Hamba Alah* whose tomb in the mukim of Silang is still revered as a holy place, exercised during his life a powerful influence on the people of the XXVI Mukims. The panglima of that sagi, whether from respect for his learning or in order to neutralize his influence, made over to him the government of thirteen of his mukims and let him enforce Allah's law there to his heart's content. Circumstances favoured the efforts of his descendants to retain this control, and thus the hereditary ulèëbalangship of the "XIII Mukims Tungkōb" became established without any distinctively religious character, so that the later bearers of the title have exchanged the religious dignity of Teungku for the worldly one of Teuku Imeum Tungkōb.

To take one or two further examples from the dependencies, the title *Teuku Hakim* borne by one of the three chiefs in the upper part of Daya points to the fact that its bearer was originally charged with the administration of justice; but within the memory of man he who holds this title has been nothing more than an ordinary datō', as the adat chiefs are generally called on the West Coast. The *Pangulèë Sidè* of Meulabōh, who who was undoubtedly at one time an official under the chief of that place, charged with the task of making judicial enquiries, is now in fact no more than headman of Pulò U (vulg. Simalur).

So little control had the Sultans of Acheh over the course of events, that whatever may have been their purpose in establishing these various offices, the latter became in a short time part and parcel of the indigenous institutions of the country, or else disappeared altogether.

The portion of the port-king's supremacy which survived longest was a kind of lordship exercised over the neighbouring seas and harbours, and this it is in which we must seek the true significance of the sultanate from the very commencement. With the shortlived period of prosperity ended all such glorious expeditions as those undertaken in the 17th century against Malacca and Pahang, but the bold seafarers and pirates of Acheh continued to make themselves dreaded along the coasts of Sumatra and among the surrounding islands. The monopoly of trade claimed by the great sultans could in the end no longer be

maintained. Yet it was only a few of the dependencies that dared to refuse payment of the *wasé* (the sultan's share of the harbour dues) though they managed to reduce the amounts demanded by bargaining. The sums collected by expeditions sent round for this purpose, together with the sadly dwindled harbour dues of Banda Acheh, formed the principal sources of revenue of the later sultans. Much of this however stuck to the fingers of collectors and administrators.

The Achehnese slave-traders were until quite recently the terror of Nias and the adjacent islands.

The seven prerogatives.

In oral as well as written tradition we find occasional mention of the sultan's seven prerogatives. They alone had the power to inflict certain punishments, five in number, which could never be imposed by ulèëbalangs, viz. the lopping off of hands, impaling, a sort of crucifixion which consisted in the exposure to view of the dead body of the offender nipped in a cleft tree-trunk, the slicing off of flesh from the body of the condemned (*sayab*), and the pounding of the head in a rice-mortar (*sròk*). The privilege of firing a cannon at sunset, and the right of being accosted with the expression *dèëlat* [1]) completes the tale of the seven privileges. It is to be observed that the two last-named are of little real importance, while the special powers of punishment reserved to the sultans were, it is true, seldom or never exercised by ulèëbalangs, but very rarely also by the sultans themselves, if we except the occasional lopping off of the hands of thieves.

To these seven privileges may be added the right of of coining money, which was also reserved to the sultans [2]).

Other functions of the rajas.

The obligation laid on the ulèëbalangs by some of the edicts, of reporting to the sultan the sentences imposed by them, and bringing before him all suits in which strangers (including Achehnese from other ulèëbalangships) were concerned, always remained a dead letter. Such reports were never made, the sentences of ulèëbalangs were on the same footing as those of independent chiefs, and cases affecting Achehnese not subject to their jurisdiction were either decided by them in consultation with their fellows, or remained unsettled and gave rise to quarrelling and strife. How the law stood in the case of real foreigners may best be learnt from the common saying of the Achehnese to

1) See p. 120 above.

2) As to coin in Acheh we need here only refer to Van Langen's *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur* pp. 427—435.

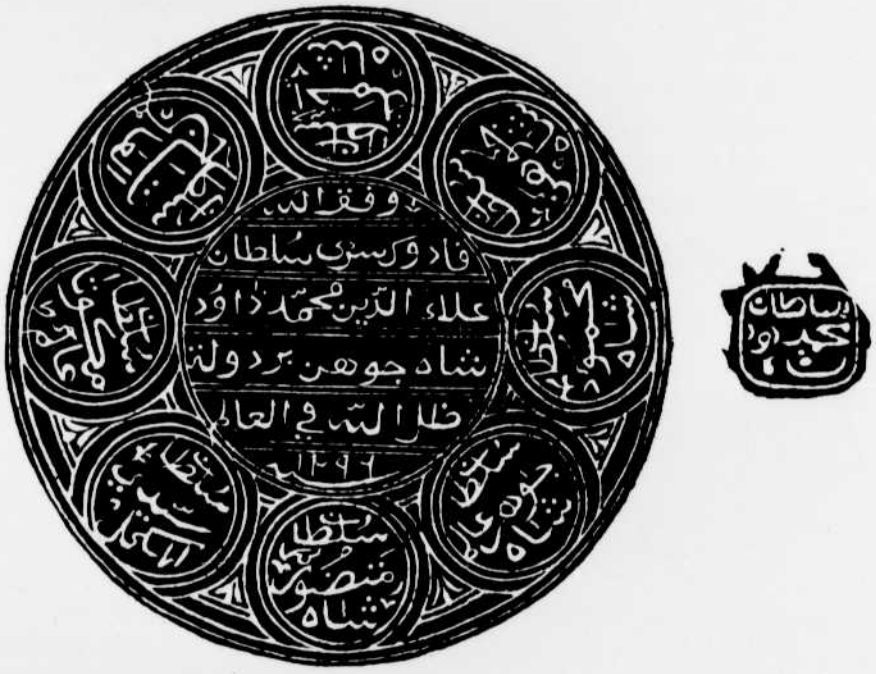
those who would injure them: "Do you take me for a foreigner (or a Kling) to whom anything may be done with impunity?"

Even property left by strangers who die in Acheh without having formed a household there, falls into the hands of the ulèëbalangs!

We have already clearly seen [1]) how little the appointment of imeums and the subdivision of the country into mukims contributed to centralization of authority and conformity to religion.

Some show of supremacy was maintained by the *sarakatas* already referred to [2]), letters patent of appointment or rather recognition of the

Deeds of appointment or recognition.



CHAB SIKUREUËNG OF THE PRETENDER-SULTAN TUANKU MUHAMAT DAWŌT.

principal hereditary holders of offices or titles. At the end of this chapter will be found a translation of one of these latest products of the royal chancery, the deed of recognition of the present Panglima Meuseugit Raya by the pretender to the sultanate at Keumala. This document like all the sultans' edicts of appointment I have met with (even including those of very early date), is composed according to established models with slight occasional modifications. It differs only

1) Pp. 83—84 above.
2) Pp. 7—8 above.

in some trifling details from the other deeds which the chiefs on this side of the "linie" or Dutch pale [1]) have succeeded in obtaining by pilgrimages to Keumala.

At the top of such *sarakatas* in the middle of the sheet, we find the *chab sikureuëng* or "ninefold seal" [2]) whence the documents derive their common name. This contains the name of the reigning sultan in the central space, and in eight circular spaces surrounding it the names of eight celebrated sultans who preceded him, and whose blessing is thus invoked on the deed. The choice of these eight names rests with the reigning sultan; those of Eseukanda Muda (Meukuta Alam), *par excellence* the prince of old Acheh, and of the immediate predecessors of the reigning king are never omitted, but great freedom of choice is shown as regards the rest.

On some of these documents there stands at the side of this seal the small rectangular private seal of the reigning prince.



PRIVATE SEAL OF THE PRESENT PRETENDER-SULTAN.

In the preamble, which is somewhat magniloquent and besprinkled with Arabic words and phrases, the blessing of Allah, of the Prophet, the saints (of whom Abdul-Qādir Jilānī is specially named as the prince of mystics) and the deceased kings of blessed memory is invoked upon the sultan's decree. Of his predecessors, sometimes the whole eight who appear in the seal, sometimes only two or three are invoked by name. The sultan then reminds the ulèëbalang, whom he recognizes as the successor in office of his forefathers, of the obligations which he lays upon him. The enumeration of the duties, however, teaches us nothing in regard to the nature of

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1) The "linie" was a line of fortresses thrown up by the Dutch in Acheh during the period of their policy of "concentration" (1884—96). This policy, which has now been abandoned, is in itself enough to account for the slow advance of the Dutch in their conquest of Acheh. Within the "linie" was the seat of government and so much of the country as had been absolutely reduced to submission. Outside were those openly hostile or of doubtful fidelity, interspersed here and there with a few who were loyal to the Government. We are reminded of the "pale" in Ireland in the 16th century (Translator).

2) See the plate on p. 129.

the offices, since it is purely religious in character and almost uniform in all such sealed documents.

To restore mosques which have fallen into disrepair, to build new ones, to compel his subjects to perform the public prayers and especially the Friday service, and observe the fasts in the month appointed, such are the chief duties of an ulèëbalang according to the *sarakatas* with the *chab sikureuëng*.

From this it is abundantly clear that the sultans under whom the original models were composed had them drafted by ulamas who stood high in their favour, and whose influence in the country was not a negligeable factor. Their employment for this purpose gratified the religious zeal of the ulamas and flattered their vanity, making them believe that they were carrying out a work of great importance; but for practical politics their labour was entirely thrown away.

The ulèëbalangs, then, regarded these documents as nothing more than embellishments which they were glad to possess, but could do without if occasion required. The one object which the Sultans imagined they would attain by means of these deeds of recognition, viz. some influence in the choice of the successor, was never actually reached. A new title-bearer did not report himself to the capital until the most influential men in his district had agreed on his appointment, or in other words satisfied themselves that he was according to the adat the lawful next of kin to the deceased ulèëbalang, and suffered from no moral or physical defect which rendered him unfit to hold office.

In the decadent period many ulèëbalangs and other chiefs found the lustre to be derived from the possession of the nine-fold seal not worth the trouble and the inevitable expense connected with it, such as doing homage to the sultan, gifts to officials and writers etc. They thus entered on office without any *chab sikureuëng*, or were content with keeping in evidence the deeds of appointment executed by former sultans in favour of one or more of their forefathers.

The position was the same, though on a very much smaller scale, as that of the Mohammedan kingdoms during the decay of the khalifate of the Abbasides. While the latter were hardly masters in their own palace, we find in Egypt, Syria etc. one prince thrusting another from his throne and robbing him of his provinces, and finally in his own good time going and demanding at Bagdad a solemn confirmation of

the *fait accompli*, making it appear that the new state of things had been brought about at the will of the Khalif himself,

The nine-fold and the five-fold seal.

There are sayings and stories current among the Achehnese which show that they believed that the like had happened in their case; of these the most graphic is the following: a sultan once confirmed in his authority a chief who had risen to power through acts of injustice and deeds of violence, usurping the place of the rightful rulers. On his attention being drawn to the contempt which such an appointment would bring upon hereditary rights recognized by his predecessors in many documents, the sultan replied: "What avails the *chab sikureuëng* (the nine-fold seal) to him who cannot show himself possessed of the *chab limòng*" (the five-fold seal, i. e. the hand as the symbol of power).

Again when we speak of the sultanate of Acheh as it appeared in our own time, as being the ruined relic of what it once was, we must remember that this only applies to the importance of Banda Acheh as a commercial town and the external influence of the rajas, for even in past centuries the influence they exercised on the affairs of the interior was limited to certain short periods, and left no enduring results behind.

The sultanate retrograded in its relations with the interior also; but in this sense, that whereas in former times the sultan was *primus inter pares* as regards the ulèëbalangs, he was reduced to be a mere ward under the three great panglimas even before the end of that 17th century which began so magnificently [1]).

Acheh as the imperishable bride.

These three chiefs were the guardians of Acheh, which was represented as a bride that continually renewed her youth; they gave her in marriage to whom they would after mutual consultation. They usually selected the bridegroom from the family of his predecessors, yet did not shrink upon occasion from the introduction of a new dynasty or even the choice of a foreigner, as we see in the case of the Sultans of Arab descent. The bridegroom had to pay to each of the chiefs a sum of 500 dollars as a wedding gift (*jinamèë* or *jeunamèë*).

The power of the panglimas of the sagi.

The three guardians, the panglima sagi, did not however succeed in the long run in retaining the supremacy over the federate dominions which they had possessed when this metaphorical marriage-contract was concluded.

Panglima Pòlém (Lord Elder Brother) is the title which the chief of

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1) See pp. 89—91 above.

the XXII Mukims has borne for many generations past. He is regarded as the *doyen* of the chiefs of the sagis on account both of the antiquity of his lineage, the bravery of the men of his sagi and its wealth. His sagi really numbers many more mukims than the name implies. Increase of population has given rise to the formation of new districts, yet the traditional name of the sagi has survived. The same is true, though in a less degree, of the XXV Mukims, while the XXVI continue to correspond with their ancient name.

A tradition which represents the Pòléms as sprung from the sultans is contradicted by them, and is without doubt partly legendary and partly concocted by their enemies to bring a stain upon their family. The legend is as follows: the great Meukuta Alam once suffered from a venereal disease and in order to cure it had recourse to the remedy (held in much repute among natives) of having intercourse with a healthy woman [1]). For this purpose he employed a black slave, and did actually recover from his disease. The slave however became pregnant, and as in Acheh great weight is given to descent from the mother's side, he was distressed at the prospect of having to acknowledge as his son the child of a black woman. Accordingly he sent her forth into the jungle, in other words into the district of the XXII Mukims. In regard to her journey there exist numerous stories which chiefly serve to account for the origin of the names of certain localities. According to the legend, the son, whose life was spared by the highlanders, became the first Panglima Pòlém, chief of what is in many respects the most important sagi of Acheh.

This tradition, of which there are also other versions less insulting to the honour of the Pòlém, does not seem to me to contain a single grain of historic truth. The title of "elder brother" probably typified the original relation between the powerful sagi-chief and the sultan. Just in the same way we find two ulèëbalangs with the official title of "grand-fathers" (*nè'*) of the sultan viz. the chief of the Mukim Meura'sa (and also in earlier times of the VI Mukims) and the chief of the IX Mukims of the XXV, Teuku Nè' Raja Muda Seutia and Teuku Nè' Peureuba Wangsa. The title of the chief of Lhō' Seumawè, Mahraja or Mbahraja, is also explained by the Achehnese as expressing such a

1) It is a wide spread theory among the natives of the Archipelago, that if a person suffering from a contagious disease infects another with it, he thereby ensures to himself recovery from or mitigation of the ailment.

relationship ("father of the king"); it would indeed be very strange that such a chief should obtain the title of Maharaja while his liege lord was simply called Raja of Acheh.



TEUKU MUDA LATÉH, A COUSIN OF PANGLIMA PÒLÉM.

The relations which prevailed between the house of Pòlém and the sultans of Acheh give continual proofs of the respect commanded by the powerful chief of the highlands. Various stories are told about the father of the lately deceased Panglima Pòlém, resembling those narrated of the father of the present Teuku Nanta Seutia, chief of the VI Mukims of the XXV. On the few occasions on which they complied with the summons of the sultan to come and discuss affairs of state, they entered the royal dwelling in foul clothing and addressed the

sultan as *gata* (the equivalent of *tutoyer*) remarking "we are not wont to say *dèëlat*." Of the Panglima Pòlém it is said that he often disregarded for months all invitations to the Dalam, and finally, as a token of goodwill, journeyed to the Sultan's frontier and had a heavy gōng beaten to announce his presence, after which he returned home! Yet there arose in his own sagi another chief who thought himself no whit his inferior, the ulèëbalang of the VII Mukims Ba'ét. The power and influence of these two potentates are among the most ancient and most firmly established of all that now exist in Great Acheh. In the other sagis the preponderance alternated between one ulèëbalang and another.

The panglima of the XXVI Mukims, had long been a person of small importance, as may be gathered from what follows. When the holder of the title died during the reign of Ibrahim Mansō Shah (1858—70), one Teuku Muda Lampasèh was according to the adat the proper successor; he was accordingly, after reporting himself in the Dalam, solemnly recognized by the sultan as panglima.

Even before he had quitted the Dalam the firing of guns was heard from the direction of the XXVI Mukims, and it appeared on enquiry that the people of that district, who objected to Teuku Muda Lampasèh ón the ground that he was an opium-smoker, had installed a younger brother of the deceased panglima as the latter's successor. This was Teuku Chut Lamreuëng, father of the present panglima Teuku Nya' Banta, who is also called Teuku Lamreuëng [1]).

The sultan knew no better way out of the difficulty than to recognize the second aspirant as well, so that there were then two panglimas in the XXVI Mukims.

At the commencement of the war both chiefs fled to Keumala, but Teuku Lamreuëng in the end re-established himself in his territory and tendered his submission to the Dutch Government. For this he was murdered in Pidië, whither he had gone to fetch his family, by the adherents of Teuku Lampasèh. His infant son escaped the same fate through the help of a faithful servant.

This son was afterwards recognized by the Government as Panglima of the XXVI Mukims, while after the the death of Teuku Muda Lampasèh, the latter's son Teuku Juhan was appointed panglima at

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1) Both were called *benta* as they had borne this rank during the panglimaship of their predecessor. See p. 92 above.

Keumala. The journeys to Keumala undertaken by the ulèëbalangs who had tendered their submission to the government resulted in the



TEUKU NYA' BANTA, PANGLIMA SAGÒË OF THE XXVI MUKIMS.

recognition of Teuku Nya' Banta by the court, so that the double panglimaship continued to exist, but in fact Teuku Juhan is not able to pose as a rival of Teuku Nya' Banta.

Teuku Imeum Tungkōb [1]) is to this day a powerful chief in the XXVI Mukims. The power of Teuku Ateuë' (chief of the IV Mukims Ateuë') on the other hand was according to tradition much more considerable in earlier times than it now is.

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1) See p. 127 above.

The present panglima of the XXV Mukims is called Teuku Seutia Ulama, a name which lends weight to the conjecture that an earlier



TEUKU CHUT TUNGKÖB, ULÈÈBALANG OF THE XIII MUKIMS TUNGKÖB.

holder of the office may have distinguished himself by his legal learning. His name among the people is Teuku Siah (one of the Achehnese forms of the Arabic *Shaikh*) Ulama. He has occupied himself but little with the government of the district, and for a long time past the power of some of the other ulèëbalangs appears to have put that of their nominal chief in the shade. The true potentates of this sagi are Teuku Nè' Peureuba Wangsa, chief of the IX Mukims, Teuku Nè' Raja 'Muda Seutia, ulèëbalang of the Mukim Meura'sa (and earlier

also of the VI Mukims), and Teuku Nanta Seutia, who wrested the VI Mukims from the last mentioned chief [1]).

At the election of a new sultan, which was usually decided by a war between the different parties, the scale was turned not so much by the support of the panglimas as by that of the real wielders of power in their sagis. Thus in process of time the number of guardians of the sultanate increased, and the Achehnese authorities on adat have in noticing this change given the rein to their predilection for round numbers. They speak of the "twelve ulèëbalangs, who appoint and dethrone princes"; and describe them as consisting of four from each sagi [2]). To make up the tale of twelve, they call the head kalis of the three sagis ulèëbalangs, which is quite inaccurate. They of course include in their list the panglima sagi [3]); thus two are left for each sagi who are regarded as the principal ulèëbalangs, or rather were so accounted at the time when the tradition was placed on record. These chief ulèëbalangs are: for the XXV Mukims, the two Nè's already several times alluded to; for the XXVI Mukims Teuku Ateuë' and Teuku Tungkōb, and for the XXII Mukims, Teuku Ba'ét, ulèëbalang of the VII Mukims, and Teuku Waki Chi' Gampōng Barōh, chief of the V Mukims.

In reality this list (even if we disregard its subordination of facts to round numbers) at most represents the conditions that existed during a short period. The whole twelve had not in the long run a voice in the affairs of the capital, while some of them had absolutely no share therein. On the other hand there were ulèëbalangs in the sultan's territory and the so-called wakeuëh-districts (as for instance Teuku Kali, the Panglima Meuseugit Raya, the Imeums of Luëng Bata and Chadé' etc.) who had much more weight in the scale than many of the members of the board of twelve. Speaking generally however, the guardianship exercised by the three sagis over the sultanate remains a fact, no matter who may at different periods have been accounted the most powerful representatives of each.

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1) Since the "defection" of Teuku Uma, who was married to Chut Diën, the daughter of Teuku Nanta, the Nantas have been declared deposed from the government of the VI Mukims, and the native authority in that place is exercised by the young Teuku Raja Itam, son of the late Teuku Nè' of Meura'sa.

2) See also Van Langen's *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur* p. 404.

3) The panglima of the XXVI Mukims at the time when the list was recorded was one *Teuku Chut Oh* (short for *Abdōra'ōh*, i. e. Abdu:ra'uf).

Installation of a new sultan.

At the solemn installation of a new sultan, his own proper ulèëbalangs played more or less the part of masters of ceremonies, while the kalis and ulamas gave as it were their blessing to the marriage of the raja with his country.

We shall now give the most characteristic features of the ceremony of installation, as related to us by eye-witnesses of the last sultan's coronation.

In the neighbourhood of the royal abode and of the *balè rōm*, in which the sultan received his guests, was a square space surrounded by a low wall. Inside this there was a platform, also square, composed as it seems of stones somewhat roughly piled together, to which access was given by a flight of steps. At the side of the platform, which was called *branda seumah* or *pra'na seumah*, was a small wooden gallery supported on posts. The opening in the low enclosing wall giving access to the enclosure in which the platform stood, was in the middle of its rearmost side, that is the side to which the sultan's back was turned when he took his seat on the *branda seumah*.

This platform seems only to have been used for coronations and was suitably decorated on these occasions; at ordinary times it was neglected, so that anyone passing through the Dalam or Kuta Raja would hardly notice it.

A debate lasting some weeks was first held by the three panglima sagi and other influential chiefs (in consultation, so far as they thought necessary, with the kalis and ulamas) to determine the most suitable candidate for the vacant throne. When their final decision had been sealed by the payment of the "wedding" presents to the three panglimas, a favourable day was fixed for the ceremony.

During the forenoon of this day those court dignitaries whose offices had not shared the universal downfall, were at their posts — especially the Panglima Meuseugit Raya, whose duty it was to keep order in the Dalam, and the Teuku Kali Malikōn Adé, who performed his functions within the space surrounding the *branda seumah*, with his blunderbuss hanging from his shoulder, and a white cocoanut spathe wound in his head cloth [1]).

The new sultan now took his seat on the platform, while the three head kalis of the sagis and some of the principal ulamas ranged them-

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1) See pp. 50—51.

selves behind him. A huge crowd watched the ceremony from a little distance.

The first to approach were the panglima of the XXVI Mukims and Teuku Nè', both of whom, accompanied by their attendants, advanced close to the wall within which the platform stood.

One of the kalis, Teungku Lam Paya [1]) of the XXV Mukims, thereupon recited a form of nomination introduced by the following words from the Qurān (IV, 62): "*Obey Allah and his Messenger and those among you who be clad with authority.*" This utterance was repeated in a loud tone by the Teuku Kali so that all the people might hear. After the conclusion of the form of nomination, the Teuku Kali called the panglima of the XXVI Mukims thrice in succession by his official title, to which the latter and his followers replied each time with a loud "dèëlat!" almost equivalent to "Yes, Your Majesty!"

The panglima and his attendants then drew aside to make room for his fellow-official of the XXV Mukims; with him, and after him with the panglima of the XXII, the above ceremony was repeated, while the presence of Teuku Nè' at all three installations gave evidence of his intimate relation with the royal house.

Order of precedence of the three sagis.

The official order of precedence of the three sagis on ceremonial occasions is always that here given, viz. XXVI, XXV, XXII. One might almost conjecture that this sequence was fixed according to the original number of mukims in each sagi, and that once so established it was always adhered to. Judging by their relative importance the order of precedence should be reversed.

We may further observe that the coronation of the sovereign was and remained a contract with the three panglimas, though the choice of a sultan was governed to a great extent by entirely different influences.

Significance of the sultan and the Dalam.

The Dalam (usually called Kraton by the Dutch) and all that it contained, including the sultan himself, were since the earliest times the objects of a somewhat extraordinary reverence in the minds of the Achehnese, though this never prevented them from making a football of the sultanate at their pleasure. This feeling of reverence was founded partly on the fact that the Dalam was the centre and apparently the origin of the glory of a past almost fabulous in comparison with later

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1) As to precedence in rank of this kali see p. 101 above.

times, and partly on the kindred fact that the Achehnese (though wrongly as we have seen) ascribe all the adats of the country to the earlier sultans. These princes did indeed to some degree regulate the existing adat and endeavoured in vain to abolish a portion of it; yet what they did has sufficed to stamp all unwritten laws and customs of the country as "*adat pòteu meureuhōm*" = "the adats of our late Lords."

Respect for the dynasty.

Thus did the respect in which the reigning house was held develop a sort of religious aspect, of which the following may serve as an illustration. On the occasion of the famous journey of Teuku Nè' of Meura'sa and his followers to the court at Keumala, all who accompanied him were implored by their friends and relations to bring back with them some water wherein the pretender to the sultanate had washed his feet. We may add that this young ne'er-do-well was for some time regarded by a portion of his subjects as *kramat*, i. e. one miraculously revealed as the chosen friend of God.

As however this feeling of awe has within the memory of man always been coupled with the conviction that the sole sovereign prince of the country exercised no perceptible influence on the conduct of affairs [1]), and was in fact but an expensive luxury like the documents sealed with the *chab sikureuëng*, all this reverence is, comparatively speaking, of very slight value from a practical point of view.

Conduct of the sultans and tuankus.

The rumours of the Dalam that reached the outer world were far from pleasant. The scions of royal blood (*tuankus*) fortunately for Acheh not very numerous, were (and still are) convinced that they stood superior to the *adat pòteu meureuhōm* and all other adats which place a restraint upon human passion and wickedness; they often led lives of the most savage immorality.

They used to take from their subjects all that pleased their fancy, and death was a light punishment for opposition to their boundless license. The daughters of the man of low degree were made the victims of their lust, and the results of such concubinage were artificially destroyed.

The people were powerless to resist the misconduct of the sultan and princes. The customary retribution for personal wrongs by the

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1) Raffles remarks somewhere that the sultan of Acheh was revered throughout his whole kingdom, but obeyed nowhere.

wreaking of vengeance was even less available against them than against the ulèëbalangs and other chiefs [1]).

In Kuala Batèë (Pidië) there was settled in recent times a branch of the royal family which was on bad terms with the Sultan. These tuankus had been repeatedly declared outlaws by the latter on account of piracies committed even on Achehnese prahus and to the detriment



TUANKU USÉN.

of the Sultan himself. Yet none dared to assail them, being well assured that there was much danger and little honour to be gained by the slaughter of scions of the royal house. This is the family of pirates to which belong the Tuankus Usén and Abdōmajét (Ḥusain

1) See p. 119 above.

and Abdulmajīd) who have now submitted to the Dutch Government.

There is no political significance in the fact that the people thus suffered many an injury to pass unnoticed, preferring to avoid the tuankus as much as possible. This exceedingly burdensome feudal system is simply a relic of past history.

The servants of the rajas were also a terrible scourge to the people.



TUANKU MUHAMAT, SON OF TUANKU ABDŌMAJÉT.

They were generally men of ill repute — such for instance as had fled to the Dalam to escape a righteous blood-vengeance which threatened their lives. The smallest shadow of an injury was eagerly seized on and represented by them as high treason, and they sometimes succeeded in inducing the raja or the members of his family to take

their view. When their caprices could no longer be patiently submitted to, it not unfrequently happened that they were secretly put out of the way by the people whom they had outraged.

It is thus not surprising that the traditional reverence of the people for the rajas and their race expressed itself in a somewhat peculiar manner, finding vent in words and empty forms rather than in deeds.



TUANKU IBRAHIM, SON OF TUANKU ABDŌMAJÉT.

Examined closely, the power of the later sultans appears to have been actually confined to the limits of the Dalam, though the superficial observer might draw another conclusion from the persistent survival of a different mode of address and of certain forms which really never had any substantial meaning. It was not only the powerful ulèëbalangs

of the sagis that made war on one another. The lesser ulèëbalangs, who each controlled 12 gampōngs (Teuku Kali and Panglima Meuseugit Raya) did the same, though their territories marched with the Dalam, and they might more than other chiefs have been supposed to be creatures of the sultanate. Even the sultan's own followers took part in these conflicts, espousing different sides.

Attitude of the Dalam at the outbreak of the war.

Had a sultan or a scion of the royal house, endowed with exceptional strength of will and clearness of judgment, placed himself at the head of the struggle *à outrance* which took place when the Dutch came to Acheh, and inspired the Achehnese people by precept and example, such a prince would without doubt have been for the invaders anything but a negligable quantity. Such an one could more easily than any other have succeeded in uniting much divided Acheh into a whole entirely hostile to the foreign foe. As it is, an ulama who preaches holy war is able to deprive an Achehnese ulèëbalang of the allegiance of a considerable portion of his subjects; how much more could have been accomplished by a raja who was the ulamas' equal in sacred authority, and over and above this was clothed with the legendary traditions of the past greatness of Acheh!

Such a supposition, however, is not warranted by the actual state of things. Political foresight is, in these days at least, foreign to the nature of all Achehnese. A raja of Acheh in particular, who plunged into the fray with persevering self-sacrifice in the interests of the people or their religion would be a phenomenon that the Achehnese themselves would be unable to explain except as a revelation of the boundless miraculous power of God.

To this we may add that nowhere could worse material be found for organizing a stout resistance to foreign invasion than in the lowland districts of Acheh in the immediate neighbourhood of the Dalam. There the people were "banda" or worldly-wise, and not dusōn, "ignorant and countrified" like the highlanders. They would indeed have preferred the continuance of the old regime without foreign interference, for they were inclined by their own past history haughtily to rebel against all ideas of foreign supremacy. Yet they were disposed to moderate views through abundant contact with non-Mohammedan as well as Mohammedan strangers, and were far removed from the frank belief in the invincibility of Moslim weapons in general and of those of the Achehnese in particular, which inspired the semi-savage highlanders.

The bands of warriors devoted even unto death found but few recruits in the districts near the coast.

The people of this latter region would have preferred to construct out of the inevitable march of events conditions as endurable and advantageous as possible, rather than squander life and property with but little prospect of success.

Two causes, however, united to prevent the majority of them from bringing this to pass. First, the great internal division that prevailed among them and made it easily possible for a man of peaceful counsels to be decried as a traitor by his enemies; and secondly the certainty that the people of the highlands would never consent to the bargain, and slow though they were to render active support outside their own boundaries, might treat as infidels all who seemed to take the infidels' part. The lowlanders were accounted cowards by their highland brethren by reason of their leaning towards peace.

Thus among the few in the Dalam who at first advised friendly negociations with the Gōmpeuni [1]), there were some who wished to see this policy carried out in such a way as to keep the highlanders in ignorance of the real nature of the treaty which they hoped to conclude, and mislead them as to the import of the hoisting of a foreign flag.

As might have been expected amid the universal hatred and contempt for the infidel, which had not yet been reduced within bounds by sharp lessons, these isolated voices of worldly wisdom were speedily hushed. There was, besides, no single individual or body competent or authorized to adopt resolutions as to the fate of Acheh or even of the capital itself, since there was no guarantee that such resolutions would be binding on others.

The sultanate at once exhibited itself in all its nullity. The resistance offered was not that of an army collected and led forth by the prince or his military commanders, but was the work of unorganized bands, which combined their plans only so far as circumstances imperatively required.

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1) Gōmpeuni, the Achehnese pronunciation of "Compagnie," is used throughout the whole country of Acheh to signify the Dutch Government. Many of the people believe it to be the official title of the representative of that government at Batavia (Peutawi). Others use the word in the general sense of "government", and speak of *gōmpeuni Blanda*, *gōmpeuni Inggrêh* (Dutch and English governments). The military meaning of the word is also known to the Achehnese, who even use *gōmpeuni* in the collective sense of "soldiers." The ordinary word for the latter is *sidadu*. (See also Translator's note on p. 13 above).

Before the Dutch gained possession of the Dalam, the sultan had disappeared from the scene. During the subsequent course of the conflict, it was always separate and independent bodies of troops, led either by adat-chiefs or by some newly-arisen commanders of energetic personality, that turned their arms against the invaders through their own impulse or to advance their own interests. Thus the most powerful compulsion from without could produce no union in Acheh, utterly broken up as she was. The sole individual who succeeded during the first portion of the war in organizing the forces to a comparatively high degree was an ambitious and skilful foreigner, Sayyid Abdurrahman Zahir by name.

When Sultan Mahmut Shah died shortly after the loss of the Dalam, it was not thought necessary even in so perilous a crisis to select from among the candidates for the succession to the throne a *man* before all things. They contented themselves with a child, Tuanku Muhamat Dawōt; and though his guardian Tuanku Asém (Hashim) was a man of royal blood most bitterly hostile to the Dutch Government, even he preferred to watch the contest with interest from a distance rather than himself to take a serious share in it, much less to enter the lists as a leader.

The Sultanate after the taking of the Dalam.

When once the fugitive "court" had found a safe place of refuge in Pidië territory, far removed from the theatre of the conflict, the condition of the sultanate became very much the same as it had been before the war, the scene alone being changed.

The young sultan, gradually emerging from childhood, soon showed that he aspired to something very different from sharing the weal or woe of his country as leader of the contest against the Gōmpeuni. True to the traditions of his house, he sought and still seeks diversion in lawful and unlawful love, drink, fiddling, fights of animals, gambling and the pursuit of elephant and deer. His letters to the Achehnese chiefs still always commence with the solemn admonition continually to remember "Allah, his Messenger, the departed sovereigns and ourselves;" and this last reminder takes tangible form in the latter portion of these letters in a request to forward a certain sum of money or some costly merchandise.

The ulëëbalangs and chiefs of the dependencies held only just so much intercourse with the "court" as their own inclination dictated. The edicts whereby some among them are confirmed as holders of

certain ranks and dignities are just as solemn and pious in form as before, but of equally little consequence in practice, as they simply imprint the *chab sikureuëng* on what has been already won by inheritance or by the *chab limòng* [1]).

Teungku Tirò.

The famous Teungku Tirò, who died in January 1891, was not, as has been so often represented, *entrusted* by the sultan with the regulation of religious affairs in Great Acheh. This ulama had worked up (by means which we shall describe later on) to the position of commander-in-chief in the war against the Gōmpeuni, and wished to arm himself to some extent against the jealousy of the adat-chiefs by an official authorization of the sultan, whereby he was placed on a level with the ulèëbalangs, or as he preferred to interpret it, over their heads.

The "court" gave him, cautiously enough, a deed of appointment which in appearance made no inroad on the rights of the adat-chiefs, as it limited the province of the ulama to religious matters. At the same time all the parties concerned were well aware that in the view of the ulamas every thing came under the head of religion, especially antagonism to unrighteous adats, the waging of war against unbelievers, the administration of justice etc. Even after this formal appointment Teungku Tirò submitted to no legal dictation from Keumala, nay even refused on more than one occasion to satisfy the sultan's demands for money contributions.

Teuku Uma (Umar).

Teuku Uma (Umar) the celebrated chief of the West Coast who rose to greatness during the war, obtained supremacy over the whole of the West Coast by tact, good luck and knowledge of men. In this purely worldly ascendancy he was confirmed in just the same way as Teungku Tirò in his so-called religious authority. In this case again there was a cautious mental reservation. Nothing could be refused to the man who from time to time propitiated the court by generous gifts, so in his letters-patent a large portion of the West Coast was made over to him. But when some of the hereditary chiefs complained of this edict, it was pointed out to them that Teuku Uma was

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1) See p. 132 above. [The pretender to the sultanate was compelled some years ago owing to a quarrel with the local chiefs to break up his "court" at Keumala and to settle first in one place and then in another. For the last three years (1896—99) i. e. since we have begun to deal seriously with the government of Great Acheh and the subjugation of its dependencies, the pretender has been obliged to lead a wandering life. He seeks safety by constantly shifting his abode and finds his asylum as a rule in the North-coast districts.]

described in the document as *amī ōbha* (*amīr ul-bahr*) i. e. chief of the sea, and entrusted with the collection of the sultan's coast dues, but that this absolutely excluded the highest authority on land.

He also both in word and deed yielded to the Sultan only as much as he chose, and looked on his sealed letters of appointment as a mere ornament that might at times give an official flavour to his pretensions.

Still less did other chiefs concern themselves about Keumala. Indeed the ulèëbalangs in the sultan's immediate neighbourhood used sometimes to wage war against him, compelling him to have recourse to the help of others, since he himself has no troops, but only a handful of personal followers at his disposal. Keumala, the seat of the sultanate, had to be subdued by force in the first instance by the royal family [1]).

The royal family.

Apart from this, the members of the royal family, though comparatively few in number, are far from living in harmony with one another, in spite of the critical position of the country. Although the ties of blood relationship are strengthened by marriage alliances (for example the Sultan has wedded a daughter of Tuanku Abdōmajét), the family of Kuala Batèë is on bad terms with the court. One might be disposed to attribute this fact to the submission of that family to the Gōmpeuni, but when we perceive that Tuanku Asém (Hashim) and his former ward are on terms of mutual distrust, we are forced to the conclusion that even if there were no Gōmpeuni in the question, unpleasant relations would still have arisen with this other branch of the reigning house.

Tuanku Asém, [died January 1897 at Padang Tiji in the Mukims VII] according to all who know him is an exception to the majority of the men of royal blood in Acheh. He speaks Malay and a little Arabic, understands something of English, and can discuss the religious books or kitabs as well as the traditions of his country. This last must however be taken *cum grano salis*, as Achehnese ears can be charmed with the purest nonsense on such topics. He is capable of fixing his attention on a single subject for a considerable time, is a strict observer of his chief religious duties, plays chess, and exhibits in all his utterances

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1) One of these small internal wars in which the Sultan was engaged some time since, originated in a quarrel about a *sadati*, one of the dancing boys who appear at some of the ratébs (recitations) in female garb and excite the passions of the Achehnese paederasts.

a deep hatred for the Gōmpeuni, based on events antecedent to the Achehnese war. Like all estimates of individual worth, that which we can form respecting Tuanku Asém is relative only. The Achehnese, accustomed as he is to hear no sensible language from the lips of *tuankus* and to see them devote their attention to fighting cocks and rams, women, weapons and so forth, is inclined to give a wide significance to any intelligent utterance of a member of the royal family, and to exaggerate the mental insight of the speaker.

Those who knew Keumala, however, were well aware that Tuanku Asém did not confine himself to quarrelling with his royal ward over the latter's licentious life and neglect of his religious duties. He also exhibited much jealousy of the sultan in regard to the receipt of presents; he bargained in the pettiest spirit in his name and in conjunction with him as to the market value of royal deeds of appointment, for which the aspirants to such honours were obliged to pay cash; while his political genius, apart from its expression in highsounding learned phrases, revealed itself especially in the desire to turn every thing into hard cash for the benefit of the "court."

Under the influence of Tuanku Asém correspondence was kept up on the part of the court with such men as Teungku Tirò and Teuku Uma in regard to money matters and circumstances closely affecting the friends or *protégés* of the Sultan, but beyond this Keumala exercised but little influence on the actions of these two individuals, who in their turn rarely held consultations with one another.

Attitude of Teungku Tirò and Teuku Uma with regard to the visits to Keumala.

Some years ago, when visits to Keumala by chiefs who had submitted to the Dutch Government were arranged in order to restore them to friendly relations with "the court", Teungku Tirò was at first disposed to place obstacles in the way of this plan, though both the parties concerned desired it. The sultan and his people were in favour of it for the sake of the prospective profits, and the chiefs because their moral attitude would thus be somewhat restored in the eyes of those of their fellows who had not yet tendered their submission to the Gōmpeuni. Nor did Teungku Tirò acquiesce until the cunning Teuku Uma had frankly pointed out to him that it would be better to permit the renewal of such intercourse, in order that the court might draw revenues from the other side of the "linie," and thus make less frequent demand on them for financial support. Had it not been so, these visits would have come to nothing. Here we have a

fresh proof of the insignificance of the court, both in relation to the affairs of the interior and to the Dutch Government. There was never a *party* at Keumala, but merely a court clique, which continued the traditions of the feeble Dalam that subsisted in the capital in former days.

[Since the above was written, circumstances have in many respects modified the part played by the pretender to the sultanate. See Preface.]

## § 9. Rivals of the Traditional Authorities; Political Adventurers and Representatives of Religion.

In the last portion of our description of the political system of Acheh we have frequently mentioned the names of two men, Teungku Tirò and Teuku Uma, who may serve as types of their respective classes. They find no place in the ranks of officers of state such as the *panglima sagòë*, *ulèëbalang*, *kali*, *imeum*, *keuchi'* and *teungku meunasah*, yet they are most weighty factors in the political life of the country, and are not to be overlooked in any description thereof, especially where we are examining the development of political conditions during the past few years. This period is one of disorder, and disorder and unrest form the *milieu* in which people of both the classes referred to live and flourish best, though their influence makes itself felt in Acheh in times of comparative repose also. They may be called the rivals of the hereditary chiefs.

Political adventurers.

The first kind require but brief mention, as they fight the ulèëbalangs, so to speak, with their own weapons. They are ambitious men, and aim more or less openly at the ulèëbalangship, the zenith of worldly greatness in the eyes of the Achehnese. They are to be found among the title-bearers without territory [1]), who use their position to gain themselves followers and to outshine the ulèëbalang in whose district they reside, so as to compel him either to make them great concessions or to vacate the field in their favour. We have already seen examples of this kind of rivalry in the case of Teuku Nanta Seutia and Teuku Kali.

No less dangerous are those adventurers who can only bring to bear a more or less illustrious descent, or as its equivalent a reputation

1) See pp. 92, 126—127 above.

won upon the field of battle, and who are thus able to gain adherents in various ulèëbalangships.

Conditions for the success of these adventurers.

To ensure success they chiefly require such tact as will unite men to their cause; they must possess the gift of command, but at the same time reward their followers handsomely and treat them in such a way that they will prefer them to the ulèëbalangs, who are as a rule of a niggardly disposition.

Inaction is for them the prelude to a fall. Nothing but a constant succession of fresh enterprises can enable them to augment their influence and keep their rakans supplied with the necessary emoluments. War is thus for them a condition of existence; until they have attained their highest aim, they are the enemies of order and repose. Not until they have actually become ulèëbalangs do they remit their labours and content themselves with mere ordinary plunder. After they have advanced to a certain degree of distinction they do not disdain political marriage alliances, where such are likely to give them a firmer footing in some important district.

All these and similar methods have been successfully employed by Teuku Uma in the course of the past few years. Beloved by his followers for his generous and kindly demeanour, he worked himself up from a mere panglima in the war against the Dutch to be the dreaded lord of almost the whole West Coast. Throughout the whole of the sphere of his influence, his appearance is the signal for the heriditary chief to retire into the background, well knowing that if he failed to do so it would soon be all over with him. To crown all he induced the sultan for a handsome consideration to impress his nine-fold seal upon his power by means of a deed appointing him "Sea-guardian of the West Coast."

Teuku Uma's success proves indeed how dangerous such rivalries may be for the hereditary chiefs, weakened as they generally are through their passion for spoil and money, their narrowness of mind and want of energy. Much however depends on the personal character of these chiefs. They have equal opportunities for winning the affections of their rakans and more means at their disposal for increasing their influence than an ambitious leader of troops. Against an energetic chief such as the imeum of Teunòm even Teuku Uma could make but little head. [An account of the subsequent adventures of Teuku Uma, since 1892, will be found in the Preface.]

At the same time these adventurers had the unmistakable advantage of introducing a new departure from the old and superseded order of things, and the conditions which arose from the coming of the Dutch to Acheh were exceptionally favourable to their objects. While the hereditary ulèëbalangs are engrossed by care for their own territories, they seize the opportunity to rally around them all the restless spirits in each district. They weigh their chances carefully before deciding to try their luck against the foreign invader. They lack but one thing, which is the special property of the second class of rivals of the adat chiefs; they cannot inspire their followers with holy zeal and self-sacrificing devotion.

Representatives of religion.

This second class requires much more extended notice; it consists of the various representatives of religion or of such as borrow a certain prestige therefrom.

So far we have learnt of the indissoluble union and indispensable coöperation of *hukōm* or religious law with *adat*, the custom of the country, as being the very basis of life in Acheh. At the same time we have constantly remarked how the adat assumes the part of the mistress and the hukōm that of her obedient slave. The hukōm however revenges herself for her subordination whenever she sees the chance; her representatives are always on the look-out for an opportunity to escape from this servile position. They do not require, like the political adventurers, to *seek* for adherents; these are voluntarily furnished by the anthropolatry which is as strong a feature in the religion of the Achehnese as in that of most other Mohammedan countries.

Respect of persons in the creed of Islam.

In the earlier days of its existence Islam gave little weight to persons. The Believers had to do with Allah only, and although there were amongst mankind appointed instruments of God, who once for all conveyed and interpreted his commands to humanity, these had no real part in the salvation of man.

The Prophet and his descendants.

This was soon modified, and the change grew more pronounced as time went on and Islam spread beyond Arabia amongst peoples of different requirements and modes of thought. The reverence paid to *the Prophet* grew so great, that in the beginning of the present century the Wahhabites (following in the footsteps of many learned dissenters of earlier times) branded it as idolatry — but this sect was declared heretical and persecuted. The same veneration was in a measure

extended to the descendants of the Prophet, the *sayyids* and *sharifs* [1]).

The Shi'ite conception of their persons as sacred [2]), inviolable and entitled to the reverence of all Believers, gradually became part of the orthodox teaching. Even had it not done so, the doctrine would have become popular in the Archipelago, for Islam as first introduced here from Hindustan has always shown Shi'ite tendencies.

Mysticism has also flourished extensively in Islam. In such esteem is it held that the founders of mystic societies (*ṭarīqah*), their successors and even the simplest teachers of mystic formulas or practices are within their own circle obeyed by their pupils and reverenced and feared by others as a sort of vice-regents of God.

Founders of mystic orders.

It was from these societies especially that there arose the *walis*, the "friends of Allah". That they are chosen of God above their fellow men appears from manifest tokens of a miraculous nature (*kramat*). Their prayers can heal the sick, their blessing brings happiness for time and eternity and their curse misery. These influences are believed to issue from their graves after their death; hence vows are made at and presents brought to their holy tombs.

In the popular belief their mediation with Allah, who is of course too exalted to occupy himself with the small wants of his creatures, is almost indispensable, and the request for their good offices differs little from a prayer.

In the beginning of this century, the Wahhabites protested also against this universally prevalent idolatry, but without success. Every town, nay almost every village has its patron saint, and also the tombs of other holy men, whose blessing is invoked for certain definite purposes.

Under the influence of that mysticism which continually grew in popularity, and the constantly increasing veneration paid to prophets, sayyids and sharifs, teachers and saints, the position of the pandits or *ulamas* has also altered somewhat from what it originally was. As kee-

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1) As explained by me elsewhere, the application of these titles is subject to local differences, but as a general rule the descendants of Mohammad's grandson Ḥasan are called sharifs and those of Ḥusain sayyids. Thus in the Indian Archipelago there are sayyids only, though the name of sharif is here and there applied to the descendants of sayyids born in the country.

2) As to the development of this veneration for sayyids and sharifs see my "Mekka" vol. I p. 32 et seq. and pp. 71 et seq.

pers and spreaders of the knowledge of the holy law, they have a claim to universal reverence. Contempt for their word passes almost as unbelief. There are among them some whose prayers of mediation are invoked during their life time and whose tombs are honoured as holy places after their death. Mysticism has so completely pervaded more recent Mohammedanism that most of the learned in the law are also the representatives of this deeper, more intimate and secret aspect of religious life.

Veneration for sacred personages in Acheh.

As regards Acheh in particular, there is nothing special to be said as to the reverence paid to Mohammed. Here as in all other Mohammedan countries, it rises to the highest pitch permitted by the creed of Islam, which in the beginning zealously set its face against the deification of human beings.

The sayyids occupy as high a position in Acheh as in any other country of the Archipelago. This may be partly due to their not experiencing here the counterpoise of a European government, which elsewhere keeps a strict watch on such influential persons: the fact remains that they command a deeply-rooted respect and fear.

Their number is not very great in Acheh, and comprises some who, enticed perhaps by the great advantages of sayyidship, parade a false genealogy, a trick which would meet with no success in most other parts of the Archipelago.

Native-born descendants of sayyids quickly assume the character inherited from their mothers. They lose their knowledge of the Arabic tongue, and though they continue in spite of occasional opposition to belong to the dreaded and respected religious nobility, they cannot in the long run compete with their kinsmen who come over from Arabia.

Their title in earlier times was Teungku [1]) Sayét (= Sayyid). The celebrated Sayyid Abdurrahman Zahir introduced the custom of substituting for these two words the title *Habib* (literally "beloved") used in Arabia as an honorific designation of Sayyids. In conversation the word *habib* is at present used in Acheh to express acquiescence in or obedience to the word of the Sayyid, just as *dèëlat* [2]) is used to the sultan. Sometimes the expression *pangulèë* (a variation borrowed from

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1) See pp. 70 seqq. above.

2) In like manner Teuku, Teungku, Tuan and other such titles are used simply to denote concurrence in the speaker's last remark.

the Pidië dialect) is employed in this sense. It is the equivalent of the Malay pĕnghulu [1]) = chief or lord, a title otherwise confined in Acheh to the prophet and his disciples etc.

Teungku Anjōng.

The tomb at present most highly honoured in Acheh is that of *Teungku Anjōng* in Gampōng Jawa. It is the last resting-place of a certain Sayyid Abu Bakar bin Ḥusain Bil-Faqih, and has completely outshone the more ancient tomb of *Teungku di Kuala* alias Abdora'ōh (Abdurra'uf of Singkel) which enjoyed the highest reputation in former times.

Among the living in like manner we find a Habib kramat of the famous family of ᶜAidarus [2]), a half-crazy young man, the son of Teungku di Bukét. The father who also enjoyed a reputation for sanctity, was in conjunction with the lately deceased raja of Idi (vulg. Edi) the first pioneer of that district. A sister of this sanctified madman is in her turn so holy that her husband after co-habiting with her once, became very ill and has not since ventured to renew his marital rights.

Some members of another family of Sayyids from Mecca are settled in Pidië and used to make occasional journeys to Keumala, where the young sultan treated them with the highest honour.

Not by any means all of the sayyids of Acheh are theologians or pandits. Most of them devote themselves to trade or in later generations to agriculture, but they enjoy none the less the customary reverence based on religious feeling, even where their life is far from testifying to a devotional spirit on their part. Such is often the case not only with sayyids who have found their way over from Arabia in the guise of random adventurers, but also with those born in Acheh, who quickly make their own of Achehnese manners and vices. With them too these vices are usually more than ordinarily pronounced, as they are excessively spoilt from their earliest youth.

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1) *Pĕnghulu* has a wide range in Malay, just as "imeum" in Achehnese. The *Pĕnghulu Masjid* is quite a humble individual, a sort of sacristan of the mosque. The headmen of large villages are also called *pĕnghulus*; but in some states the same title is given to an official whose position somewhat resembles that of the ulèëbalang in Acheh. Such for example was Sayyid Ali the Penghulu of Jelebu in the Malay Peninsula, who revolted against the hereditary Yam Tuan and became the ruler of that small independent state before it came under British protection. (*Translator*).

2) A member of the same family lies buried at Luar Batang in Batavia. His tomb is widely venerated.



DÉAH CONTAINING THE TOMB OF TEUNGKU ANJÖNG.

The Mohammedan law is averse to allowing women to wed with men of a rank lower than their own, and marriages of the daughters of sayyids with those who are not sayyids are everywhere of extremely rare occurrence. In Acheh hardly anyone not a sayyid would venture on such a union, as it is thought certain that the vengeance of God would overtake him even in this life.

The daughters of sayyids must thus always wait until fortune sends a sayyid to their gampōng; they are then presented for his acceptance with much rivalry, nay even pressed upon him. And such daughters are not few, for the sayyids are fond of travelling and always ready to contract marriages even during a short residence in a gampōng, so that they beget a numerous progeny.

In accordance with the adat the sayyids' daughters are, like other women, prohibited as a rule from leaving their own gampōngs, so that there are to be found among them virgins of a comparatively advanced age, otherwise an unknown phenomenon in Acheh.

From the Achehnese, who is a niggard to all other strangers, the sayyid meets a ready welcome, and he need take little pains, even though he holds no office and has no employment, to secure his own subsistence. This is supplied him by the woman he marries or the host whom he makes glad with the blessing of his presence.

In practice it may be said that the Achehnese fears the sayyid more than the Creator. This is due to his believing that Allah reserves his punishments for the hereafter and is illimitably merciful in the enforcement of his law against the faithful, whereas the curse of the sayyids takes effect here below without any hope of mercy. No Achehnese will readily so much as lift a finger against a sayyid; one who would dare to take a sayyid's life would not hesitate to cut his own father's throat.

The sayyid gives orders in his neighbour's house as if it were his own, and no one resents it. Under the protection of an energetic sayyid even a European might travel in safety throughout Acheh.

Names of various sayyids appear in the list of the sultans of Acheh, and in several places members of the families of sayyids have succeeded in raising themselves to the position of a kind of ulèëbalangs. None however has employed the great respect of the Achehnese for his descent with more political tact and more success than *Sayyid Abdurrahman Zahir*, usually known as *Habib Abdurrahman*.

Habib Abdurrahman.

In the beginning of his residence in Acheh he claimed special atten-

tion as a strict teacher of Mohammedan law. His knowledge of the kitabs is considerable, though he would not pass for a doctor of law in Arabia, but it amply sufficed in Acheh, when coupled with a devout life, to make him the head of the religious party. The greatest pandits at the capital soon acknowledged him their master. He took the lead of his disciples in the services of prayer, and often moved his whole congregation to tears. When he talked with his intimate friends their usual topic was the moral and religious depravity of the Achehnese. He soon acquired the title of "The Habib" *par excellence*.

It was not long before the Habib was able to rely fully on the support of all the ulamas and those who wished to gain a reputation for piety, and of a considerable portion of the credulous masses. From every side there poured in thousands of men and women eager were it only to kiss the Habib's hand. On such occasions each one brought as a gift a measure (*gampét*) of husked rice at the least, and sometimes money presents of considerable amount.

He thus won all the influence that an ambitious Achehnese ulama might attain, but rose superior to all such ulamas by virtue of the knowledge of the world, keen insight and political talent which distinguished him from the native Achehnese, and also from the fact of his being a sayyid.

So hopelessly divided are the people of Acheh that the greatest of ulamas would always find jealous rivals and thus have parties hostile to him; but the Habib as a foreigner stood outside parties, and as a sayyid was exalted above all the native Achehnese.

The important chiefs and satellites of the sultan with whom he came in contact supplied him with but few real friends and adherents, for these representatives of *adat*, unless they be unusually devout, see in an upholder of the hukōm a formidable rival. Looking at the circumstances, we at once see that this conservative party is right in this view. Whoever advances the pretension of "upholding religion" (*peukòng agama*) is their natural enemy, and the most serious part of the matter is that they actually lack the weapons wherewith to contend against such foes.

A reformation of the institutions of the country conducted in a religious spirit would rob the ulèëbalangs of everything. Even if the work were carried out with the utmost moderation in conformity with the national character of the Achehnese, still the whole administration

of justice now in the hands of these chiefs, and which forms the main source of their revenues, would pass entirely away from their control. The recreations wherein they now delight would be prohibited, and their dignity of office would be transferred to the representatives of the new order of things. It is thus not to be wondered at that the chiefs view the advancement of the "upholders of religion" with inward vexation and alarm.

With alarm, because they have no means of offering a fair and open resistance to these rivals of theirs. For the Achehnese are all convinced, and freely admit, that their customs and institutions are full of *maᶜsiët* (wickedness), and that some reform of their way of life is highly necessary. They also believe that it is not so much by committing *maᶜsiët* as by defending it that a man abjures the true faith and becomes an infidel. How then could an ulèëbalang, even if he wishes to do so for self-preservation's sake, enter the lists as a hostile champion against an expounder of the law, whose professed aim it is to enhance the respect paid to religion? His own people, on whom he can at the best of times place but a conditional reliance, would some of them hold aloof, while others would go over to the enemy.

To rivals such as Teuku Uma, an ulèëbalang, if he be not too weak, can say "keep out of my territory, you have no right to intrude here". The pandit has no territory, or rather his sphere is universal, and he that would hinder his work would be deemed the enemy of God.

The wisest course for the ulèëbalang is therefore either to keep these troublesome rivals at a distance by strategem, or to unite them to his own cause. This latter course succeeds best with the ordinary Achehnese ulamas, who when unburdened by worldly cares generally give pretty free latitude to the adat, and confine themselves to verbal criticism of what they find amiss.

The mass of the people believe in the absolute truth of the ulamas' teaching, yet transgress it continually from their youth up. The ulamas are wont to conceal their aversion to such sins so long as forbidden acts and objects are not obtruded on their notice. The Achehnese even judge these transgressions more severely in themselves than in an ulama who oversteps the bounds of the law. "He", they say, "can always quote some learned text (*kawōy*) to justify himself, but for us it is different." Honour is paid to the ulamas by the observance of certain respectful forms and by pious gifts.

Where, however, an ulama goes beyond these everyday limits and travels about the country to enforce reform according to the spirit of the law, the respect he inspires increases to the highest degree, unless his life be in gross contrast with his preaching, and his proceedings manifestly dictated by ambition only. Many Achehnese sinners sympathize in the fullest sense with such a revival, while the rest dare not do otherwise than pretend to assent to it. At times indeed a section of the people will range themselves in opposition to such an ulama; not however under an ulèëbalang, but under another ulama who differs from the first in his interpretation of certain doctrinal points.

The Habib then, as we have already remarked, combined with his knowledge of the world and his sacred descent all those characteristics which in the long run render the energetic ulama in Acheh the irresistable rival of the chiefs.

Policy of "the Habib."

Under his leadership a crusade was quickly inaugurated against ram and cock fighting, gambling, opium smoking, paederasty and other illicit intercourse, while the people were strongly urged to the fulfilment of their principal religious duties, as for example the five daily seumayangs or services of prayer.

In the preliminaries to the carrying out of his programme the Habib at once showed himself a competent politician. The opium-smokers were not tracked down to their most secret dens, but only the more public opium-houses were suppressed, and opium smoking *in company* as practised with various formal observances, especially on the West Coast, was rigourously punished.

One or two marriage alliances with the daughters of powerful chiefs (including the widow of a sultan) strengthened the Habib's position from a wordly point of view, and soon the upholders of the *hukōm* recognized with joy, and the supporters of the *adat* with embarrassment, that all others in Acheh were but as dwarfs beside the great ulama.

The balè meuhakamah.

The Sultan found himself constrained, after discussion with the most important chiefs, to establish a new kind of court of justice (*balè meuhakamah*) in which the Habib should decide all questions relating to religion. Here they were confronted by the peculiar difficulty that presents itself in every attempt to establish a *modus vivendi* between the adat and the religious law. For this law comprehends *everything*, and no good Mohammedan can or may suggest the advisability of replacing any portion of it by a new system.

In the law of Islam a small place is allotted to the adat, i. e. the different manners and customs of different places, but it does not admit of any special representatives of adat or systems of rules to carry it out. Where recourse is had to laws which are to a great extent based on adat or are called into being by human choice or agreement, this can, as we have seen, be only excused on the ground that the men and the conditions of the present time are too evil to be governed by the holy law.

When this is once recognized, the questions to be brought before the qādhī are strictly defined, and the rest are submitted to secular judges, subject to the proviso that in all cases there shall be an appeal allowed to the sacred law; or else each question is first submitted to the executive, which in certain cases (as for instance rights connected with marriage and inheritance) refers them to the qādhī. Thus the position of affairs though by no means theoretically correct, is practically workable. It is only in rare cases of mutinous behaviour, oppressive injustice or the introduction of objectionable novelties, that the complainants resort to the qādhī crying, "the law of Allah!" In such cases the ecclesiastical judge, dreading this rude intrusion on his usually peaceful life, as often as not absconds in alarm till the storm blows over.

Where a Mohammedan government is compelled to establish a court of justice to deal with all matters connected with the sacred law, there arises of necessity a conflict as to the limits of the functions of such a tribunal. Here again the party of the adat must as a rule yield to that of the hukōm in theory, and can only save itself by having recourse to circuitous methods, or by seeking a reason for abolishing the court thus incautiously instituted.

Such was the case with the *balè meuhakamah* which the Habib succeeded in forcing from the adat potentates; he drew almost all questions within the purview of this court, and thus robbed the constituted authorities, whom he had made powerless elsewhere by his reforms, of all control in this department also.

Opposition to "the Habib".

The following is an example of the strategems which his enemies employed against him. Certain highlanders were instigated to bring before him suits which, if dealt with according to the letter of the sacred law, could never have been brought to a pacific conclusion. The Habib was disposed on such occasions to resort to compromise and to set the spirit of the religious law above the letter. How would it

be then when he, the strict reformer, was requested to decide the question "according to the Book of Allah and the sunat of the Prophet?"

The Habib saw through the plot and found means to frustrate it. Seizing one or two of the pretended suitors by their heads, he said "If ye are so anxious for the sunat of the Prophet, go ye first to your homes and apply it to your own faces, dogs that ye be". He referred to their faces being clean shaven in accordance with the Achehnese custom, but in conflict with the sunat. He who in Acheh lets his beard or beard and mustache grow (as many *leubès* and *teungkus* do) is said to have adopted "the sunat of the Prophet".

The Habib often resorted to such rough methods with the Achehnese, even with their principal chiefs. If they put in an appearance much later than the time appointed, therein following the custom of the country, or sat or spoke in what an Arab would consider an improper manner, he would smite, kick and even spit upon them by way of correction. What enabled him to act in this high-handed way was the fact that his followers formed a united and active whole, eager for the advancement of his programme, while the opposition presented to the view a disordered and disunited mass, held together by no other motive than their anxiety to maintain the existing order of things.

The Habib also compelled the Achehnese to do what they were powerless to undertake on their own initiative, viz. to carry out useful objects by general coöperation. Not only did he get a new chief mosque (*meuseugit raya*) erected by public subscription and coöperative labour, but bridges and roads were also put in hand in the same manner.

Wherever internal dissensions broke out among the Achehnese the Habib was quickly on the spot with his trusty followers to compel them to keep the peace.

Further proofs of his political insight are to be seen in his repeated attempts to enter on Acheh's behalf into relations with European powers, even with the Gōmpeuni or Dutch Government. Circumstances made him for a time the leader of the "holy war" against the Dutch, but whenever the opportunity occurred he always showed that he would have greatly preferred some such settlement as would have resulted in peace. In this object he was hindered by mistrust on the side of the Dutch, and on the part of the Achehnese by their child-

like confidence in their own invincibility. Placed thus between two fires, he finally longed for repose, which he found in accepting a pension and migrating to Arabia.

The Achehnese now generally regard him as an ambitious traitor and even suspect him of having served as a spy of the Gōmpeuni from the very beginning. Among the proofs which they refer to in support of this theory are included just the very facts which show his superiority to the Achehnese in civilization and political insight. Why, they ask, did he continually urge us to refrain from deceit and treachery in the war with the Infidels? Why, when we had surrounded the Gōmpeuni's fort at Kruëng Raba with a much superior force under his leadership, did he promise a free retreat to the commandant and his men if they surrendered, and forbid us, if the offer were accepted, to raise a hand against the unbelievers? Evidently, they now reply, because even at that time he had a secret understanding with the Gōmpeuni. They cannot comprehend that the Habib's closer insight caused him to give great weight to the impression which his actions would make upon the enemy, a matter to which the Achehnese have always been utterly indifferent.

We have already seen how cleverly the Habib took advantage of that favourite method of discussion, the *mupakat*, in his intercourse with the Achehnese.

Considering the circumstances, we must admit the success attained by Sayyid Abdurrahman Zahir in the centralization of power under his own control to have been nothing short of prodigious. We have not overstated the personal characteristics of the Habib; yet he has been himself the first to acknowledge that with all his penetration and skill he would never have gained his end, had not his position as a sayyid furnished him with an impregnable basis of action [1]).

The fact, too, that after all that had occurred, after he had been branded by so many with the name of traitor and spy, he should still (as he did in 1884) have asked the government as a favour to permit him to return to Acheh and there play his part anew under their supervision and in accordance with their wishes, proves indeed that this man of much experience deemed nothing impossible for a sayyid in Acheh.

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1) [This ambitious sayyid died at Jeddah in 1896.]

Next to the sayyids we mentioned the mystics as having borrowed a certain degree of authority from religion. Mystic orders.

In Acheh, as well as in other parts of the Archipelago, much reverence is paid to the memory of the founders of mystic orders. We have seen how the help of these holy men and especially of Abdul-Qādir Jīlānī is invoked in the prelude of all the sultans' edicts. This sacred name also appears in the curious proceedings which in Acheh are included under the terms *liké* and *ratéb* (the equivalents of the Arabic ḍikr and rātib), in the sadati-pantōns etc., and also at the performances called Rapa'i [1]). At these last Aḥmad Rifā'ī, that master of mysticism from whom they derive their name, is of course always invoked.

The spiritual successors of these founders, who at present teach mystic practices and formulas, also enjoy much respect, but are not very numerous. The *tarīqahs* so popular in other parts of Sumatra do not flourish in Acheh, though sundry Achehnese hajis have enrolled themselves as members of a tarīqah in Mecca. We can thus here overlook three mystic associations which form so weighty a factor in the religion of other parts of the Archipelago.

*Walis*, saints of sundry descriptions, known in Acheh as *wali* or more usually *èëlia* [2]), are exceedingly numerous in that country. We shall meet with them again in reviewing more closely the religious life of the Achehnese. In matters political these departed saints only play a part in so far as they are invoked by the living.

The *ulamas*, the representatives of learning in the law are of much greater weight in political life than either departed saints or living mystics. We have already touched on their position in our account of "the Habib," who was himself numbered among their guild and owed to that fact a considerable portion of his prestige. The ulamas.

We shall deal in a later chapter with the influence which is in ordinary times exercised by the ulamas over the spiritual life of the Achehnese people, as well as with their lore and the method of their

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1) These are religious performances, wherein the performers wound themselves with knives, sear their bodies with red-hot chains etc. while the bystanders chant religious formulas. The wounds are supposed to be immediately healed by the mystic influence of the holy personage whose litanies are being recited.

2) This word is properly the plural of *wali* in the Arabic, *aulia*, with an Achehnese pronunciation; but it is also used as a singular both in Achehnese and kindred languages, in the same way as *ulama*, also a plural in Arabic.

teaching. We may here rest content with observing that Mr. Der Kinderen (pp. 17—18 of his oft-quoted brochure) terribly exaggerates the decline of Mohammedan learning in Acheh. Those who wrote books on theology and law under the wealthy sultans in Banda Achèh, were strangers whose influence outside Acheh was at least as noticeable as within it. But there are in Acheh at the present time no less than formerly ulamas of native birth who compose works of learning and edification, sometimes in Malay and sometimes in Achehnese.

At the time of the coming of the Dutch to Acheh there were numerous schools throughout the country; and it is a notorious fact that on more than one occasion the students from these schools threw themselves, practically unarmed, upon the bayonets of the Dutch troops.

These were youths inflamed to fanaticism by the teaching they had imbibed in regard to the holy war and the boundless recompense hereafter awaiting the martyr to his creed, without his being called on to render further account of his actions in this world. In estimating their contempt for death, however, we must reflect upon the fact that at that time the most fearful rumours were current in Acheh as to the tortures which would be the lot of anyone who fell alive into the hands of the kafirs.

Strengthening of the ulamas position through the invasion of a non-Mohammedan power.

We have already ascertained the grounds of the ulamas' influence and the facility with which they attain their power. It is however of interest, especially in view of the present state of affairs, to consider the reasons for the great improvement in their position arising from the invasion of Acheh by a non-Mohammedan power, and the consequent steady increase of their influence in the conduct of affairs in that country in later years.

The law of Islam and the holy war.

The circumstances attending the origin and early development of Islam have rendered it *par excellence* a militant religion, whose aim was no less than to convert all who held other beliefs or else reduce them to subjection. The teaching of the law, as it moulded itself by degrees, comprises a two fold obligation to activity in the holy war:

1°. The joint and several obligation of the community at large to spread among all others by force of arms, at the bidding of their Chief, the religion or at any rate the sovereignty of the Moslims.

For the fulfilment of this duty the chief of the Mohammedan community should provide by raising a standing army and enrolling volunteers; he must also decide as to the manner in which this programme is to be carried

out. Where difficulties arise, this obligation may be reduced to that of defending Moslim interests against the common enemy.

The breaking up of political power in Islam into many separate kingdoms had this result, that in later times no single chief could be pointed to as the universally acknowledged Head of the community. Thus the feeling of responsibility among Mohammedans in general for the fulfilment of this joint and several obligation has grown much more feeble. On the other hand private crusades against infidels undertaken by petty potentates or even leaders of marauding bands find much favour at the present day — if only they be successful — in the eyes of all pious Moslims; whereas such enterprises would formerly have been condemned as an injustifiable usurpation of the rights of the Ruler of the Believers.

Forcible conversion of Dayaks, Bataks and similar races by Mohammedan chiefs is universally approved of and accounted a fulfilment of the joint and several obligation of the Jihād or holy war, as in such cases it would be vain to await the command or authorization of the Lord of all Believers.

2°. The personal obligation resting on all fighting men, nay in some cases even on the non-combatant inhabitants of a Mohammedan country to defend their land to the utmost against the *invasion* of a non-Mohammedan enemy.

The feeling of Mohammedans as such against all who hold other beliefs, a feeling which finds expression and confirmation in laws of this description, may thus indeed be termed hostile. We encounter it continually in all Moslim countries, but in many of them it has greatly moderated or even entirely disappeared among the governing classes.

Mitigation or extinction of such a hatred towards the infidel is usually based on extensive intercourse with those of other creeds during a long period of time, or else on long habitude to a powerful but not insupportable government by kafirs. What usually occurs is that the majority of statesmen and those who gain a living by trade and industry, gradually forget and practically set aside all the teaching of their religion with regard to infidels; while the scholars and theologians busy themselves with seeking out and collecting texts which transfer to the next world the sharp contrast between Moslim and kafir, and limit, in regard to sublunary matters, the abruptness of this contrast to what is called religion in the narrowest sense of the word.

Among peoples recently converted to Islam, on the contrary, this feeling is usually the first characteristic of Mohammedanism which sinks in to their very marrow, retaining its influence all the longer in proportion to the slowness of their growth in civilization and knowledge of the world.

The requirements of Islam for the conversion of unbelievers are very small, and the new converts to that creed adopt such of its doctrines as soothe their vanity and such of its rules of conduct as are in harmony with their own ancient customs. To these peoples, in whom the savage is as a rule not yet extinct, nothing can be more attractive than the idea that they as Mohammedans are the lords of the world and that all infidels stand far below them, while the privilege or obligation of depriving certain of the latter of life or property merely gives a new turn to their favourite pursuits of fighting and pillage.

The Achehnese view as to infidels.

Now among the Achehnese none of the moderating influences just mentioned have ever prevailed to any important extent. They were never before subjected to a foreign supremacy, and being slow to emigrate to other lands and so extend their horizon, they were able to cherish a belief in their own supremacy.

Even Mohammedan strangers such as the Arabs are often vexed by the frank conceit of the Achehnese, who will allow no discussion as to the excellence of their adats and of all their country contains, and the worthlessness of all that belongs to other countries and peoples. From this we may easily conclude how little disposed they are to learn anything from *infidels*.

Nor were the political relations which Acheh has occasionally formed with foreigners as the result of her trade and for its advancement, of such a nature as to awake any consciousness of inferiority in the Achehnese people. These relations were very transient; not one of the rajas considered himself bound by the concessions of his predecessors, while to their subjects it has always seemed impossible that infidels could possess any *rights* in Acheh.

A temporary attitude of friendship towards foreigners was confined to the port-kings and those in their immediate neighbourhood. In edicts of the sultans we find strict prohibitions of the harbouring of kafirs by the Achehnese, the only exception to which was in favour of the Hindus, who are regarded as little better than slaves.

When we consider that it is a common saying in Acheh, in spite

of the theoretically recognized inviolability of the life and goods of *Mohammedan* strangers, "I am no Kling who can be slain unavenged", we can imagine how little regard is paid to the life and property of *unbelievers* who derive no protection either from religion or adat.

The history of the Achehnese has withheld from them the indispensable practical lesson, that Mohammedans may not in fact assail the lives and property of those of other creeds with impunity. Thus appearances favoured a belief in the truth of the teaching of the old adat, which was here in accord with religion; and we cannot wonder that the Achehnese expounders of the law, who had little sympathy with any intercourse between Mohammedans and people of other nations, should have refused absolutely to admit the use or necessity of that remedy of moderation which elsewhere mitigated the strictness of the doctrines regarding infidels.

Here too, just as at Mekka, the special few who through travels in distant countries had formed new opinions regarding the proportion existing between the power of Islam and that of the unbelieving world, kept the results of their experience a secret, as the betrayal of such a spirit would have been laid to their account as heresy or concealed infidelity. Where the people in Great-Acheh or the litoral states refrained for a time from plunder and cheating they did so from a short-sighted conception of personal interest, and never grasped the fact that their truest interests demanded the complete abandonment of such malpractices. We only meet sporadic germs of such a notion among the inhabitants of the coasts.

Infidels who let it be seen that they considered themselves on a level with the Achehnese were objects of universal abhorrence; the rest were regarded as fair game for all manner of deception and cheating, since neither religion nor moral or political insight laid any restraint on such conduct where the infidel was concerned.

This state of things still remains almost unchanged. The fact that such is the case is not mainly attributable to the augmentation of hatred against infidels which was the necessary result of the invasion of a kafir power. Indeed this very invasion gave rise here and there to a belief in the desirability of forming alliances with other infidel powers. When all efforts to this end proved unsuccessful, those other infidels who would have no relations with the Achehnese save those of commerce, rose in the estimation of that people, while their hatred

was concentrated more than ever against the Dutch, who had for years past been the kafirs most detested in Acheh.

Causes of the continuance of this attitude.

The cause of the continuance, with but slight change, of these conditions is rather to be sought for in the fact that the Achehnese throughout their twenty years contest with the Dutch have not yet grasped the uselessness of their resistance to the kafirs. For we must always recollect that reason, education and other similar influences gain no hold upon the self-esteem of Mohammedans until they find themselves opposed to irresistable force. Such is the tendency of their doctrine and their practice entirely accords therewith.

The Achehnese constantly express their conviction that they were wrong in ever vacillating for a moment (as they did in the time of General van der Heijden), that Allah is manifestly on their side, and that the Dutch, infidels worn out by defeat after defeat and beset by sickness and other such troubles, must give in at last in spite of their apparently superior strength. Further, they believe that the estimate of infidels that prevailed in Acheh in ancient times is more reliable than the view taken by the people of Meura'sa, Gampōng Jawa and the like, according to which the wisest course would be to submit to the first kafir power that came by.

Some were indeed disposed to submission from the very first, and among them the people of Meura'sa are generally regarded as having taken the foremost place. Yet even these have maintained *au fond* their old doctrine in regard to infidels, owing to the ephemeral nature of the impression they have received during the last 20 years of the power of the Gōmpeuni. They add however that they find it too troublesome to put this doctrine in practice owing to the exposed position of their territory. Such a feeling could never have maintained its ground, if the Dutch Government had steadily extended its influence in Acheh and the people of Meura'sa had continued as in the beginning to render the greatest services and enjoy the greateet advantages.

Contempt for all infidels.

The common parlance of the people serves to illustrate the attitude of the Achehnese towards the Gōmpeuni. In talking to one another they only occasionally employ the name *Ulanda* (Hollander) the commoner appellation being *kaphé* (Ach. pronunciation of *kafir*), which they use without the least ill-will. Furthermore, the Achehnese has two personal pronouns, both of which express the third person for all

genders and numbers, *jih* (*ji-*), which is employed without distinction, and *gòbnjan* (*geu-*), which betokens a certain respect for the person spoken of. Yet this honour which is paid as a matter of course to a simple *keuchi'* is regarded as too high for Dutchmen, even for the Governor of Acheh; nay, for the Gōmpeuni itself, which is regarded as the supreme ruler. The title of *Tuan beusa* or great Tuan (Malay *bĕsar*) which the Achehnese apply to the Governor of Acheh carries with it no respect. It is for them a foreign word [1]) which they occasionally use to describe high officials of the Gōmpeuni, and which sounds to their ears very much as the "Great Mogul" does to ours.

Even the people of Meura'sa and Gampōng Jawa, who have wholly compromised themselves by complete submission, call all Dutch authorities *jih* and speak without the slighest intention to give offence of the regulations of the kaphé, thus in their common talk denying to the ruling authority even a comparative degree of lawful right.

I have myself actually experienced a case where in presence of a European official who did not know the language, Achehnese who had submitted unconditionally to Dutch rule spoke of him continually as *jih*, and the only person in the company who made use of the more polite form *geu* was an Arab long settled in Acheh.

This state of things is largely due to the fact that the people of Meura'sa etc. do not regard our policy and laws as the outcome of common sense but as equally burdensome to friend and foe, so that even though they might in general admit the possibility of a lawful infidel authority (to which in time the title *geu* might be applied), the Dutch Government could never become such in their eyes. In this connection however it must not be forgotten that the narrow limitations of the Dutch position in Acheh gave the actively hostile party the control over the the common talk, over the views generally expressed as to the situation as well as the situation itself. Even had a favourable opinion existed in Meura'sa and other places which tendered their submission to the Dutch, it would have been speedily silenced by this hostile influence.

From the very commencement, the peacefully inclined exposed themselves to the hatred of their fellow-countrymen by their attitude during the first and second expeditions. After the excursions of General van der Heijden the feeling towards them began to amend, but later

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1) "Great" in Achehnese is *raya* or *rayeu'*.

on and especially at the present time [1891—92] it has become unfavourable in the highest degree.

The same is true of such of the chiefs beyond the *linie* or pale as have entered into relations with the Gōmpeuni. As long as it is known or supposed that their conciliatory attitude merely serves as a cloak to cover deceit or a means to attain some fixed purpose, mistrust is silent. If a chief succeeds in this manner in obtaining a yearly pension, without rendering any real service to the 'kafirs', his action is esteemed most sensible. But as soon as ever he is suspected of being in earnest, he loses his good name among his country men, since it is held that in existing circumstances *nothing compels him* to conciliation.

I once heard a chief from beyond the *linie* who came occasionally within it, complain in the presence of a mixed company that others received yearly allowances while he got none. Hereupon some one expressed a doubt as to the value of the services he had rendered to the Gōmpeuni; to which he replied that he only wanted yearly pension as compensation for the *evil name* which his relations with the Dutch Government had procured him. "And of a truth" said he, "I cannot now as I formerly could, point to the superior power of the Gōmpeuni as my justification!"

This is sufficient to show that the hatred or at least the contempt felt for all others than Mohammedans in Acheh still prevails in the fullest force; this hatred and the respect paid to the persons who are in one way or another the representatives of religion, are the two principal elements of Mohammedanism which are engrained in the very nature of the Achehnese.

The teaching of Islam in regard to the "holy war" thus finds a strong support in the character of this people and in the most popular ingredients of their creed. In more civilized Mohammedan states war has grown to be governed more and more according to the principles universally acknowledged by civilized nations, and the "holy war" is merely a watchword appealed to in certain circles to excite sympathy and devotion. In Acheh on the other hand real use is made of the fanatical doctrine of the *jihād*, which is readily exaggerated to the detriment of the kafirs, while those gentler tenets which the "believer" finds too difficult of attainment are simply set on one side.

Course of events extremely favourable to the ulamas.

The progress of the Achehnese war has proved extremely favourable to the ulamas and their class.

Chance willed that the conflict should begin at the identical conjuncture when the whole of Acheh was subjected to the influence of "the Habib", The adat-chiefs had at that moment once more received a severe lesson from the teungkus and their adherents. The absence of Habib Abdurrahman at the time of the first hostile movements of the Dutch against Acheh rendered the organisation of the Achehnese still more defective than it might otherwise have been. Yet not even he, had he been present, would have succeeded in maintaining the necessary harmony and (what was most important of all) the necessary discipline. It is questionable whether a capacity for generalship lurked among his numerous talents; but in reviewing his career we must always recollect that this man, elevated in so many respects above the common standard of the Achehnese, was never influenced by a belief in the power of Acheh for continued resistance.

The beginning. A national war.

Be this as it may, he was absent at the outbreak of hostilities. The contest between the Achehnese and the Gōmpeuni was from the very first a national war. This followed as a matter of course from the state of popular feeling which we have just described, coupled with their universal skill in the use of arms. But it was an *Achehnese* national war, that is to say one in which unity of conduct and fixity of plan were entirely wanting.

Many there were who sought the coveted death of martyrs to their creed, selling their lives as dearly as they could. Sometimes they fought in separate bands and sometimes they joined the standards of those adat-chiefs who took the most zealous part in the defence of the capital, such as the Imeum of Luëng Bata.

This Imeum [he died in the year 1901 during the military operations in Samalanga] was a rare phenomenon among the dealing with men. Like most of his fellows he sought to be foremost at fights of animals, gambling parties and sanguinary internal forays. At the same time he possessed those qualities whereby an Achehnese may rise to be an ulèëbalang though not entitled to such a position by his birth. Continually surrounded by boys, he complied with their demands for the repair of their kites and toys as generously as with those of his followers when they begged him to put the requisite fine edge or polish on their weapons. In battle and arduous toil he always encouraged the others by his own example, and at the sharing of profit or spoil he forgot no one. Dissolute though his life was when viewed from a religious

standpoint, he was unsurpassed in his hatred of the infidel, while not behind the majority of his countrymen in his reverence for saints and ulamas.

Mistake of hereditary chiefs.

The great defect in most of the hereditary chiefs consisted and still consists in this, that their religious and political convictions never impel them to action on behalf of *Acheh*; they wait as long as possible to see whether their own territory will be threatened. Even where some responded to the repeated calls for help by coming to the rescue with their followers, they were unable to hold the latter together and the auxiliary force soon melted away. For it is an evil custom with most of the Achehnese chiefs when they call out their subjects for a distant expedition, to make little or no proper provision for their maintenance on the journey or in the foreign territory which is their objective. The obvious result is that even the most frugal and kafir-hating Achehnese soon abandon a contest with superior forces under such circumstances.

Hereditary chiefs, newly created panglimas and devout volunteers organized their bands of fighting men as well as they knew how, but complaints were rife of the inconsiderable levies sent up by the people of Pidië and the highlanders with all their vaunted courage. Meanwhile in the Dalam old cannons were dug up out of the ground and loaded with an extraordinary collection of projectiles, which on various occasions proved more fatal to the Achehnese gunners than to the soldiers of the Gōmpeuni.

In the beginning the trust of the Achehnese in God's help seemed now and then to be justified. Where they met with reverses the representatives of religion were ever ready with their explanation. "He that will carry on a holy war with assurance of victory must begin," said they, "by turning from all his iniquities." Small wonder that Allah did not always cause the arms of Acheh to be victorious since he had so much *ma'siët* (trangression) to visit on the people. When the Habib returned from his travels and assumed the leadership of the resistance to the Dutch, the ulamas pointed with satisfaction to every additional success achieved. Here was one who carried on the war according to the rules of the sacred books, while the adat chiefs knew nought of them and spent their spare time in forbidden pleasures.

Finally there came severe lessons; in particular, the marches of the Dutch troops through the highlands established the conviction that

further resistance was impossible. The "sons of the upper reaches of the river" bragged no more but took to flight; the most determined opponents of the invaders retired to distant hiding-places. The Habib was only too glad to bargain for a handsome yearly allowance in consideration of his submission. After a short time neither the fanatical ulamas nor the ambitious guerilla leaders could any longer check the flow of population to the lowland districts and the capital itself. Prices had risen, and there was much to be earned from the kafirs by those who laid down their arms.

We must always recollect that hatred of the infidel is never, any more than any other passion or inclination, the sole ruling motive of a nation.

With peoples like the Achehnese, various causes have combined to make this hatred a habit, which however may be controlled by superior force and unlearnt through continued intercourse; and in this intercourse freedom of trade and some much-needed reforms in the administration of justice are important factors.

The prince of all breadwinning.

Every Achehnese knows and approves the proverb "Agriculture is the prince of all (methods of) breadwinning" [1]). A nation holding this opinion and having besides no political unity would, if taken in the mass, be certainly disinclined to maintain a fruitless resistance which would kill their staple industry. Yet it may by a combination of circumstances be partly incited and partly driven to take part in such opposition.

Guerilla leaders.

As the territory invested by the Dutch presently became reduced to narrower limits, the party of irreconcilables, which was now in a minority, was inspired with fresh life. Those who for the time being acted as organizers of resistance were for the most part the energetic adventurers of whom we recognize a type in Teuku Uma. The latter, as well as the members of the family of the Imeum of Luëng Bata and others saw in the prevailing confusion a chance of essaying their fortune.

We must not take a onesided view of the motives of these guerilla leaders. Without doubt a disordered state of affairs is favourable to the attainment of their purpose, even though it may not arise from the invasion of an infidel power. It gives them a chance to gain

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1) *Pangulèè hareukat meugòè.*

adherents, and, if all goes well, to attain a degree of power such as compels the respect of the inactive hereditary chiefs. Nor is the religious element lacking even in their case, for we must always recollect that no single Achehnese has any doubt of the meritorious character of the struggle with the Gōmpeuni, a belief shared even by those who are least inclined to risk their lives for the cause.

The raw material from which these chiefs recruited their bands was of a very varied description. Vagrants without visible means of subsistence, who in ordinary circumstances supply their needs in the way of rice and opium through theft or (especially in the highlands and sparsely populated districts of the West Coast) through murder and rapine, could choose nothing better than to turn from their evil ways and pursue their old trade under an honourable name, with the certain expectation of plunder or an incomparable recompense after death. Among the religious students some are always to be found who are inspired by their teachers with a desire to become shahīds or martyrs to the faith. The younger men in the gampōngs are also subject to the incentives of hot blood passion for the glory of battle. Where the war is against an infidel enemy even their parents cannot withhold them from what all believe to be a pious task.

These bands, however, are too much wanting in organization to remain long on foot unless constant encounters give them the chance of getting plunder. Where this fails they are strong enough to compel the people of the gampōngs in their neighbourhood to provide for their maintenance; but this soon creates disgust, all the more because these troops are not as a rule distinguished by a godly life, except as champions against the infidel.

Rise of the ulamas.

Here it is that the ulamas have their golden opportunity for making their influence felt. While allowing all credit to the guerilla leaders for their endeavours to cause loss to the infidels, the ulamas can — nay are bound by the text of their sacred books to point out that *such* leaders can lay no effective claim to general coöperation. The war ordained of Allah must be waged in conformity with His decree.

The finances of the holy war and the manner of their administration.

Allah himself has indicated in his holy law the sources from which the cost of the holy war should be defrayed. Part of the provision must be made from the revenues which the Moslim state derives from unbelievers, and a portion of the religious tax *zakāt* (Ach. *jakeuët*) must be specially set aside for this purpose. Strenuous appeals must

also be made for increased voluntary contributions, emphasis being laid on the great reward that hereafter awaits those who have sacrificed life or property for the holy cause. But the troops must refrain from levying contributions on the villages in whose neighbourhood they are encamped, for on such acts no blessing can rest.

The manner of distribution of the spoils is also strictly defined in the law; disregard of these regulations will render the offenders liable both to defeat at the hands of their enemies and also to the visitations of God's wrath.

Finally there can be no success where small bodies of troops act without central organization. There must be leaders to supervise the whole and keep a watch over the faith and all who hold thereby in the beleaguered land.

The Raja of Acheh is almost a negligable factor so far as the position of his country is concerned. The ulèëbalangs, the true chiefs of the country, indolently shut themselves up, each within his own landmarks, and are incapable of united action. The leaders of the bands of volunteers fall short of the conditions which must be fulfilled by commanders in the holy war. Thus, say the ulamas, it is on us that the duty rests of regulating the conduct of the *jihād*.

The "concentration" policy the beginning of the period of the ulamas' influence.

Such and the like was the train of reasoning on which was based the development of the power of *Teungku Tirò* and his coöperators or rivals. Their influence grew little by little, but if asked to name a starting-point we should say that the period of the ulamas began with the so-called policy of concentration of the Dutch. Hitherto they had remained somewhat in the back-ground; hence forward they became the real leaders of the war.

It was then that their voices were raised more audibly than before in reproach of the ulèëbalangs for their inaction and of the people of the gampōngs for setting the earthly reward above the heavenly, for being backward in the work of reform and for lending but little assistance to the fighters. "Your former pretext" said they, "of the difficulty of contending against a superior force has now proved itself a mockery."

Each energetic ulama travelled to and fro in the sphere where he possessed or hoped to acquire influence, proclaiming with renewed vehemence the principles of the holy war. The better to prepare for the great work, ruinous mosques were to be repaired, religious worship held in

high esteem, and the transgressions of the people checked. The godless pleasures of the Achehnese must come to an end.

They did not indeed require military service of every villager, but all had to hold themselves ready to lend assistance in case of need to the bands of volunteers posted in various places. They had also to be constantly prepared to assist in the construction of the kutas or forts occupied by these bands, to acquaint them with any danger that might threaten, to provide for their needs, and take before the teungku under whose jurisdiction they were, all complaints as to their behaviour.

These ulamas are in some respects more interesting to us than the sayyids. The former have not it is true that impregnable character which the latter borrow from their birth, and their prestige depends more largely on the respect which they personally inspire; they are also, as being Achehnese, more easily involved in party quarrels. But sayyids or other foreigners who are able and willing to play a political part in Acheh are only chance phenomena and not necessary components of Achehnese society, of which the ulamas form an indispensable element. The notable example of "the Habib", too, has proved that strangers are prone to abandon the cause when the fire grows too hot for them.

Teungku Tirò was *par excellence* a leader from the time of the "concentration" till the day of his death.

Tirò, a gampōng in Pidië, owes its reputation partly to the teaching in sacred subjects of which it is the seat, and partly to the number of distinguished ulamas whom it has produced. The latter, if not drawn elsewhere by marriages with women of other gampōngs, returned to their native place in their declining years, so that many of them lie buried there. To the sanctity of their tombs and the constant presence of influential ulamas the place owes the peculiar privileged position generally designated by the word *bibeuëh* [1]).

Here the neighbouring chiefs have made over to the ulamas the maintenance of law and order, so that the adat has in this place had much less significance than elsewhere. These same chiefs have made no claim on the services of the people, they have respected Tirò as a place of refuge for such as had become involved in internal feuds, and

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1) See above p. 122.

refrained from hostilities in the neighbourhood of its meunasah. Even members of hostile parties could meet one another there without fear of a disturbance.

The most prominent ulama of the time in Tirò, to distinguish him from the other teungkus in the place, was usually called Teungku Chi' (the Old) and was elsewhere known simply as Teungku di Tirò or Teungku Tirò. As a rule blood relations or collaterals succeeded each other in this position.

When Teungku Tirò Muhamat Amin (the then Teungku Chi' di Tirò) died in December 1885, he was succeeded by his collateral relative Chèh Saman (Shaikh Sammān) who had long been his righthand man. As the son of the deceased, although a good scholar, was still too young to take his father's place, the designation of *the* Teungku Tirò passed to Teungku Saman.

Favoured by the progress of the war, this man gained for himself a unique position. We have already seen how the *chab sikureuëng* of the Sultan could do no more than set the stamp of officialdom on the power he had already won. The authority given him over religious questions in Great Acheh was just as vague as the definition of the judicial power of the Habib at the establishment of the *balè meuhakamah* [1]), and gave equally free play to the natural course of affairs. Teungku Tirò did not concern himself about the insignificant Sultan, nor, except in so far as was absolutely necessary, about the ulèëbalangs. As the representative of religious law he could assume full powers, and none dared to show him open hostility [2]).

In his letters to the Dutch Government Teungku Tirò always tried to show the superiority of the power of the ulamas. In one of his pamphlets he expresses his astonishment that the Gōmpeuni were from the very commencement so eager to obtain concessions from the Sultan. It should, he says, have been remembered that the Sultan could do nothing without consulting Teuku Kali, Teuku Nè' of Meura'sa, the Panglima Meuseugit Raya and the Imeum of Luëng Bata; that these four were in their turn dependent upon the decision of the three

1) See p. 161 above.

2) In the few cases of apparent enmity against him on the part of some of the chiefs, their hostility besides being of a somewhat harmless description was in reality always directed against some panglima (military leader) of the ulama on account of some excessive interference with their traditional privileges.

panglimas of the sagis; that the latter had no power without the acquiescence of the seven kawōms (the traditional expression [1]) for the Achehnese people); and *that the people themselves could only act in accordance with the determination of the ulamas, who derive their knowledge from Allah and his Apostle.*

The war-chest.

Teungku Tirò knew as well as anyone that money is the life and soul, even of the holy war. He pushed on with the utmost zeal the collections of the *ha' sabi* (*ḥaqq sabīl*) i. e. the portion of the tax callad *zakāt* set apart for the holy war. He urged all the chiefs at least to give him money contributions towards the good cause, even if they would take no personal part in the conflict. Whoever appeared backward in this duty became exposed to the enmity of the Teungku's followers. When the adat chiefs protested, his answer was that he was desirous of giving full weight to their adat qualifications; but these he never defined, and always submitted any questions that arose to the test of the religious law. He denied that he wished to deprive them of a handsbreadth of their territory, but as the representative of religion he required of their subjects a strict obedience to the law of Allah.

At that particular juncture these subjects cherished especial respect and fear for the ulamas, feelings which were not as at ordinary times counterbalanced by other circumstances. It was thus that the Teungku succeeded without difficulty in obtaining the control of a never-empty coffer for the purposes of the war. No ulèëbalang would have ever so much as conceived the idea of establishing such a treasure-chest, replenished by contributions from the whole of Great Acheh and a great part of the dependencies in the North, East and West Coasts.

Given money, men are not lacking in Acheh. The Teungku's troops, it is true, were formed in part of those very vagrant elements which had formerly supplied Teuku Asan, Teuku Uma etc. with their fighting men, but each recruit was first duly "converted" by the Teungku, strictly drilled and subjected to a better discipline than suited these so-called panglimas. Thus he raised a sort of standing army, and took care at the same time always to have a well-armed reserve of gampōng men.

At the same time he maintained his influence over the people by making constant journeys and holding at his halting-places great *kanduris*

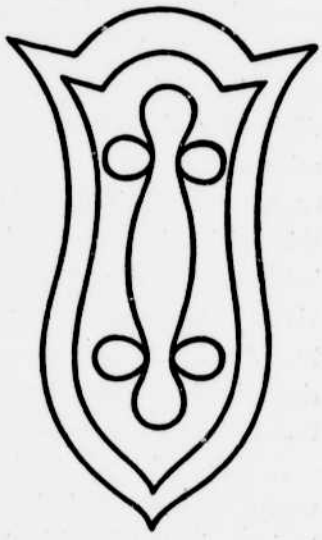
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1) See above p. 52.

or religious feasts, at which there was no lack of exhortations. Even during his life time he was revered by many as a saint, and in order to satisfy the demand for "*ajeumat*" (= charms) he was obliged in the end to have a stamp made bearing a mystic delineation of the Prophet's sandal; this he impressed on slips of paper for those who demanded a blessing.

Envy of the Teungku's power.

We must however be on our guard against exaggerated ideas of the unanimity of the Achehnese under "The Teungku". It was not alone the adat-chiefs who witnessed the supremacy of this ulama with ill-concealed annoyance; among the members of his own guild also there were not wanting envious detractors. During his lifetime the opposition of the latter was much restricted, indeed hardly noticeable by the uninitiated; now that he has been some years dead (he died in 1891) we can easily gather how jealousy may at times have thwarted his purposes. The principal rivals of Teungku Tirò were the active Habib Samalanga [died in December 1901] and Teungku Kutakarang.



THE SEAL-AMULET OF THE LATE TEUNGKU TIRÒ.

Habib Samalanga.

The Habib of Samalanga, who originally had his residence in the district of that name, was a sayyid born in Acheh and thus of less consideration than those who came direct from Arabia. His learning must have been below the average and would never have excited remark had it not been for his religious nobility. He came to Great Acheh in order to take part in the direction of the jihād, especially in the XXVI Mukims. Just like Teungku Tirò in his sphere of action, he here gathered in the *ha' sabi* and other contributions to meet the expenses of the war.

In order to appear in the eyes of his followers as at least the equal and if possible the superior of "the Teungku", he had to distinguish himself from the latter in some particular way. This he did; his specialty was *tapa* [1]) or seclusion from the world. He would remain isol-

1) *Tapa* in the sense of absolute hermitical seclusion is admired and respected, but very seldom practised by the Malays of the peninsula. When ascending Gunong Jĕrai in Kĕdah I heard of a holy hermit there who had spoken to no human being for five years; but he was said to be a stranger. Tapa for short periods is however popular. (*Translator*).

ated (*kaleuët*) for from seven to forty successive days in a cave at the source of the Kruëng (river) Daröy, a place which was from ancient times chosen for such devotions [1]).

His followers had also occasionally to submit to a similar course of *tapa*; it was in fact one of the ordinary punishments imposed by him for various offences.

Opinions of the teungkus in respect to the Achehnese within the *linie*.

Habib Samalanga also differed from Teungku Tirò in his opinions respecting those Achehnese who either lived within the *linie* or went thither to trade.

During the greater portion of the period of his activity "the Teungku" declared such persons to be little better than unbelievers, and did not raise a hand in protest when his troops robbed them of their property or even of their life. He refrained indeed from giving open orders in this spirit, since he would have had in that case to reckon with ulèë-balangs of distinction who were guilty of the same offence. Still his views were generally known, and when certain of the chiefs implored him to deter his troops from slaying their fellow-Mohammedans even though they lived or had intercourse within the *linie*, he used always to change the subject with some meaningless remark.

It was only when Teuku Uma had convinced him that it was in many respects desirable [2]) for the chiefs and notables within the *linie* to keep in touch with the court, that he at length changed his tactics. Causing these Keumala pilgrims to appear before him, he received them in a friendly manner, and said that under existing circumstances he would only urge them in a general way to an increase of religious zeal, and would place no obstacle in the way of their journeys to Keumala.

Habib Samalanga on the other hand consistently taught that all submission to or intercourse with the infidels was a sin, though not one which made the offender a complete outlaw. Whoever was brought before him convicted of this sin, was condemned to isolation in the cave, there to do penance for some days and prepare himself for conversion from his heresy.

After the death of Teungku Tirò, the friends of Habib Samalanga succeeded in obtaining for him from the court a nine-fold seal similar

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1) A Javanese whose tomb is now an object of veneration at Ulèë Lheuë is known by the name of Teungku Lam Guha, having done *tapa* for successive years in this cave of the Daröy.

2) See p. 150 above.

to that which had been in the possession of the deceased ulama. This *chab sikureuëng* could not not however raise this sayyid to the elevation which Teungku Tirò had attained without any such symbol of authority.

Another rival of Teungku Tirò was Teungku Kutakarang, an active and clever but peculiar man. Teungku Kutakarang.

Many years ago, before the coming of the Dutch to Acheh, his eagerness to pose as the teacher of doctrines different from those of the majority of Achehnese ulamas, made him in many circles the object of hatred or ridicule. He was always trying to entice away the disciples of others, and his own decisions on points of law were of so strange a character that he was once banished from the capital in the sultan's name.

The war gave him the opportunity, especially after the "concentration" of trying his fortune afresh. At first he worked side by side with or even under the leadership of Teungku Tirò, to whom he found himself constrained now and then to pay homage in public. In the circle of his intimates, however, he spoke contemptuously of the great man as Leubè [1]) Saman, criticising his rules and decisions, and certainly felt but little sorrow at the death of that honoured and dreaded ulama.

Probably more from love of contradiction than from conviction, he taught that relations with those within the *linie* were not sinful, nay should even be encouraged. Such intercourse, he urged, is a source of profit to many, and moreover it gives an opportunity of inciting both Achehnese and foreign Mohammedans within the *linie* to disaffection; enterprizing persons can under colour of peaceful purposes strike their blow within the enemy's lines, plunder and slay and then retreat in safety.

Those ulamas departed from these and the like opinions whenever it served their purpose; at the least they pretended not to notice when others failed to adhere to them. It was as a rule only unimportant points of difference in their view to which their mutual disfavour gave a stronger significance.

Thus Teungku Tirò taught that the prohibition of Moslim law against the wearing of gold or silk (a rule universally transgressed in Acheh) applied also to combatants in the holy war, and that the latter must especially refrain from that offence, as the conversion from sin which

1) See p. 71 above.

was the guarantee of their success would otherwise be incomplete. Teungku Kutakarang on the other hand decreed that no such rules had any application to the warriors of Allah, and carried his opposition so far as to insist on their wearing gold and silk so that the Dutch, finding these costly objects on the bodies of the slain, might be dismayed by the wealth of Acheh which defied all reverses.

Another peculiar tenet of Teungku Kutakarang was that under existing circumstances the Friday service (which is universally performed in Arabic) should in Acheh be preferably celebrated in the Achehnese tongue.

Again, in opposition to Teungku Tirò, who laid great stress on good works (building of mosques, public worship etc.), Teungku Kutakarang classed all these as mere "louse-questions", for which the "elephant" that lay in the path should not be neglected. He described as misspent all the money that Teungku Tirò̀t lavished on kanduris and on the repair of chapels; it should have been utilized to erect forts (*kuta*) all along the *linie*, and to fit out a fleet to harass the enemy by sea as well as land.

He also teaches great forbearance for the faults of the combatants in the holy war. He tries to prove by examples from the sacred tradition and from history that much indulgence must be extended to them, as many sins are forgiven them in consideration of their noble work. Teungku Kutakarang thus caused the fighting men who lodged with him at times while reposing from their restless occupation to be treated as distinguished guests. Contrary to Achehenese custom they sat at table upon chairs, and water was set before them in glasses in place of brass drinking-vessels.

Finally he was at much pains to enhance the repute of the "pepper saint", Teungku Lam Keuneu'eun, whose tomb in the gampōng of the same name in the IX Mukims has always been revered as sacred. He delighted to call himself the servant of the tomb of this Teungku, by whose miraculous power the pepper-plant originated in Acheh. Teungku Kutakarang lives in the neighbourhood of that tomb and so of course becomes the recipient of the numerous gifts dedicated thereto.

The conduct of affairs after Teungku Tirò's death.

The complete establishment of Teungku Kutakarang's power properly dates from the death of Teungku Tirò. The latter had no successor in the true sense of the word; his son, the wellknown guerilla leader Mat or Ma' Amin, by no means followed in his father's footsteps.

In view of existing circumstances his father had deemed it wiser to train him up as a soldier than as a pandit, for which latter career he possessed little capacity or inclination. He mastered however as much religious learning as every person of ordinary piety requires to know, and was always distinguished by the title teungku as being the son of the great ulama. As a matter of fact, however, he was a guerilla chief and nothing else, and borrowed from the great authority which his father's name everywhere inspired an influence which raised him to the position of chief panglima. Teungku Mat Amin.

In this capacity he and his bands proved a great burden to the people, and his life was in other respects also far from harmonizing with the teaching of his father. The story goes that during the last years of the latter's life Mat Amin lived openly with another man's wife, and that Teungku Tirò, to give him a severe lesson, forbade him access to his presence. This appears to have so enraged the young man, that he brooded over some device to rid him of this tiresome father. When Teungku Tirò, while still in the full vigour of life, suddenly fell ill, he is said to have expressed the conviction that poison had been administered to him by some agent of his son.

Notwithstanding this he had Mat Amin summoned to his bedside when dying, and solemnly warned him to go to the devout ulamas for advice, and to forsake his evil ways. He seemed however to realize how little chance there was of his son's ever proving his true successor in any respect.

The latter was not wont to hearken to advice. In his dress he assumed the character of an ulèëbalang, and while his father, in receiving distinguished guests, always rose to meet them, the young man would remain sitting until they came up to him. Even the Achehnese consider Mat Amin proud, ignorant and headstrong, and when after his father's death he gave the rein more than ever to his evil passions, the great body of the adherents of Teungku Tirò at once melted away [1]).

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1) [Mat Amin was killed in action in 1896, when the Dutch troops captured the fortress of Aneu' Galông. Two other sons of Teungku Tirò, Teungku Bèb (died 1900) and Teungku Mahidin or Ma' Et, together with their kinsman Teungku Chòt Pliëng (died 1901) much respected for his piety and learning continued to do their utmost to maintain the collections of the *sabil* contributions in the dependencies on the North Coast. Great Acheh no longer furnishes a field for the labour of these men and their fellows.]

"Exhortation to the inactive".

Teungku Kutakarang then roused himself to greater activity. He circulated, under the Arabic title *Taḏkirat-ar-rākidīn* (exhortation to the inactive) an enlarged and amended edition of a number of politico-religious pamphlets which were already known within a narrower circle. Therein he proclaims in the common Achehnese metre the principles we have sketched above, and seeks to rouse the people to better organization and increased energy. In this work, of which I have succeeded in obtaining three copies, the Dutch are represented as outcasts of humanity whose aim is the destruction of the countries over which they hold sway; while at the same time attention is drawn to their powerlessness in respect to Acheh.

The Achehnese, he proceeds, are well able to expel the Dutch; even the very babes are best appeased by being offered a sword as a toy. The country is rich enough in munitions of war and wants nothing but good generalship.

The Sultan he hardly mentions. He only employs the similitude of the marriage of the Sultans with the State of Acheh [1]) to give point to the remark that a bridegroom who will not lift a finger to save his bride from the stranger is unworthy of her.

The ulèëbalangs, he continues, hold no consultation with the ulamas as they ought to do; they think only of their own particular interests and by reason of the "louse questions" (so runs the Teungku's favourite metaphor) which cause disruption between them, they see not the "elephant" which threatens the whole nation.

The people of the gampōngs are also to blame, for many of them imitate the inactivity of the ulèëbalangs and withdraw from all share in that most solemn of obligations, the jihād, on the pretext that this duty rests not on the individual but on the community in general. Some entrust their money contributions to the wrong hands (here he alludes to his rivals), others let themselves be won over by the money of the infidels to keep the ground clear round their line of forts.

He prophesies woe to the Achehnese within the *linie* who have submitted to the Gōmpeuni, so soon as the infidel shall have been driven out. All now depends on the *chab limòng* [2]), on the force of the sword.

Even the ulamas come in for a share of the blame for the slow

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1) See p. 132 above.
2) See p. 132 above.

progress of affairs. Some of them sit on their prayer-carpets or lose their senses over ascetic exercises — alluding to the Teungku's rival Habib Samalanga, who is not however mentioned by name. Others devote themselves to the repair of mosques far away from the scene of the war, and hold great *kanduris* or religious feasts, squandering the money subscribed for the war on purposes for which it was never intended. Here he refers to Teungku Tirò. They forget the main issue and are partly to blame for the reverses which come upon the country. The collection of the sabil monies should be made by concerted arrangement, and a central treasury established (of course with Teungku Kutakarang as its administrator) in the neighbourhood of the theatre of war. Provision should also be made for attacking by sea the enemy whom they could already meet on equal terms on land.

This short précis of the contents of the pamphlets of Teungku Kutakarang taken in connection with our previous remarks shows that even among the ulamas there prevailed a spirit of discord. Repose-loving ulamas.

Some there are also among them who in spite of the indignant remonstrances of their more ambitious colleagues, hold themselves aloof from all this useless bickering and behave as though no jihād existed. Such for instance is Teungku Tanòh Mirah, the learned kali of the IV Mukims of the VII of the XXVI. And at the time when the Dutch still occupied a great portion of Acheh, the example of Chèh Marahaban [1]), the earlier kali raja and ulama of Teuku Kali showed clearly enough that some of them would have been quite willing to change sides if they could only have found conclusive arguments strong enough to counterbalance the contumely attending such a step.

Still, in spite of all their dissensions and lack of good guidance, it is certain that the ulamas have become more and more the masters of the situation. They have succeeded without difficulty in diverting the allegiance of the subjects of the ulèëbalangs, and have acquired more influence in their territories than they themselves possess. They constitute the party of action, the chiefs that of inaction. They stand forth in the name of Allah, the chiefs in the name of an adat which, so far as it relates to government and the administration of justice, is very far from finding favour in the eyes of the people. Disobedience to them leads to misery in this world and the next, while the ulèëbalang

1) See p. 101 above.

has only power to make life unpleasant to the refractory within the limits of his own district [1]).

Next to the ulamas, chiefs such as Teuku Uma play the most important part, but they do not form the soul of the movement of resistance. They have other objects in view than the holy war, objects which they would if necessary gladly avail themselves of our help to attain. Adat-chiefs have, it is true, occasionally risen superior to their inactivity, but this was due to the fact that the ulamas had for years taken the lead and they thus feared to find themselves deprived of all authority.

What the Dutch have had opposed to them in Acheh is not a Keumala party (such has never existed) nor disconnected bands of marauders, but a national party, so far as that is possible in Acheh, held together and organized by the ulama.

These ambitious men have the greatest interest in the continuance of hostilities. Indeed their material power is based on the *sabil*-contributions which the religious law empowers them to levy. These collections would abruptly cease if there were no infidels to fight against, and their enemy could do these ulamas no greater injury than by a complete evacuation of Acheh. The adat-chiefs would then bestir themselves to recover their former position, which would be an easy task under the altered circumstances. The ulamas would have to fall back upon their studies and their teaching, and only a few of exceptional talent and energy would succeed in attaining a measure of authority as moral reformers.

Peace-loving elements of the population.

A large portion of the populace would rejoice at being set free from their yoke, for as we have repeatedly observed, their authority is based as much on dread as on reverence.

There are many who desire to pursue in peace their normal occupations, and especially agriculture, the "prince of all bread-winning", without being harassed by sabil-contributions or compelled to serve among the reserve of fighting men. There are many too who perceive the ambitious motives underlying the activity of the ulamas, even

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1) [After the submission of Teuku Uma to the Dutch Government, Teungku Kutakarang withdrew to a great extent from public life and died in November 1895. He never came into contact with the Government, but in the last years of his life his friends succeeded in making the Dutch civil officers believe that this fanatic ulama had been transformed into an ardent advocate of acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Gōmpeuni.]

though they believe in the truth of their preaching. Behind the ulamas there stands it is true a national party, but by no means the whole nation.

In this sense we can justly speak of the Dutch as having friends and enemies among the Achehnese. The friends are the great mass of those whose interests are largely identical with those of the invading power, while the enemies are unappeasable fanatics spurred on by the ulamas, whose power can alone be maintained by the continuance of disorder.

It would of course be folly to expect to find real friends among a people who in their traditions know the Dutch only as enemies, and who find in the present state of affairs no satisfactory reason for casting in their lot with them. It is certain however that a great and substantial portion of the people of Acheh would rejoice at the complete destruction of the party of the ulamas, which now holds in its hands the reins of power. And in such an event, these ulamas would in accordance with the teaching of their own sacred books be obliged to meet their fate with resignation, hard though it might be.

The latest Achehnese epic.

Indirectly this state of things is rather well illustrated by a heroic poem now very popular in Acheh, celebrating the chief events of the war against the Dutch. We shall describe it at length in our chapter on literature.

The poet is a full-blooded Achehnese. He sang of the war with the Gōmpeuni to enliven the evenings and nights of the inhabitants of the gampōngs by chanting his epic for a fair recompense. It is of course not free from abuse of the Dutch; mockery and insult of every kind are heaped upon them, while the heroic deeds of the Achehnese are extolled beyond measure.

What is most striking is the fairly objective tone pervading the poem, which is fashioned according to the more ancient models. The animation at the capital after the expeditions of the Dutch troops through the XXII Mukims and the influx of Achehnese eager for a share of the profits are described almost as sympathetically as the deeds of the heroes and martyrs of Acheh. There is decided humour in the description of a great kanduri (religious feast) given by Teungku Tirò, where the assembled guests were chased away by the bullets of the Dutch soldiers at the very moment when the preparations for the repast were completed. The fanatical elements in the poem may be fairly attributed to the force of custom. Those who take pleasure in

listening to the recital of such poems are not intractable, but are subject to the control of a party more powerful than all the conservative elements of their society taken together.

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## Appendix to chapter I.

*Translation of the letters patent with the ninefold seal granted by the Pretender to the Sultanate to the Panglima Meuseugit Raya.*
(See pp. 129 seqq. above).

At the top of the document stands in the middle the latest *chab sikureuëng*, an engraving of which has been given above.

It consists as we have seen (p. 129 seqq.) of one large circle surrounded by eight smaller ones. The large circle contains the following inscription:

"May Allah give good guidance unto His Majesty Sultan ᶜAlau'ddīn (pronounced in Ach. *Alaédin*) Muhamad Daud Shah Juhan (pronounced in Ach. *Muhamat Dawōt Shah Juhan*) the Blessed, the shadow of Allah in the world 1296" (i. e. 1879, the year of his election us Sultan).

In the smaller circles surrounding this appear the names of the following Sultans.

*Sultan Sayyidi al-Mukammal* (pron. in Ach. Sidi Meukamay) i. e. Alaédin al Qahhar (Kha) who reigned from 1530 to 1552 or 1557 or thereabouts [1]).

*Sultan Meukuta Alam* i. e. Iskandar Muda 1607—36.

*Sultan Tajul-alam* i. e. Sapiatōdīn, the first sultana, 1639 or 1641—1675.

*Sultan Ahmat Shah*, the first prince of the present dynasty 1723 or 1726—1735.

*Sultan Juhan Shah* 1735—60.

*Sultan Malmut Shah* 1781—1795.

*Sultan Jauhar Alam Shah* 1802—24.

*Sultan Manṣur* (*Mansō*) *Shah* 1838—70.

The first four of these names recur on most of the nine-fold seals

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1) For our present purpose chronological details of the reigns of the Achehnese kings are of minor importance. We shall merely observe that the list of these dates is very variously given in the different native authorities. Thus some have it that Sidi Meukamay reigned from 1540 to 1570 A. D.

of the Sultans. They are those of the rulers to whom the former prosperity of Acheh and her adat-institutions are generally ascribed.

The others vary according to the taste of each of the sultans, who decide for themselves the contents of their seals [1]).

To the right of the nine-fold chab is to be seen the small oblong private seal of the sultan. This is regarded as more or less establishing the legality of the large seal, and bears the words *as-Sultan Muhamat Dawōt Shah*.

In the left hand top corner of the document is written *al-mustaḥiqq* (pron. in Ach. *al-mòseutaha'*) the "rightful possessor" by which expression Tuanku Muhamat Dawōt makes known his claims to the throne of Acheh.

Less weighty documents which are not considered worthy of the ninefold seal exhibit in its place a single seal of the sultan, an engraving of which has also been given. Round its border run the words "Allah" and "His word is the truth and to him belongeth dominion". In the centre appears "This is His Majesty Sultan Alaédin Muhamat Dawōt Shah Juhan, the Blessed, Allah's shadow in the world".

This seal is also ratified by the addition of the small oblong one. It is used for example in the letters of recommendation given by the Sultan to his messengers, to foreign traders etc.

The letters patent given to the Panglima Meusigit Raya are composed in a mixture of Malay and bad Arabic, of which the following is a translation:

"In the year of the Hijrah of the Prophet (may Allah bless him and grant him peace!) one thousand three hundred and seven, on the 4th day of the month Rabi' al-Awwal, being Monday [2]), with the help of Allah the omniscient King, and with the blessing of the Prophet, the Lord of Men, and of his four companions, which be Abu Bahr, Omar, Uthmān and Ali (may they be pleasing unto Allah!) and with the blessing of the glorious Pole of the world and the brilliant frame work of the skies, the immutable knower, the true Beloved [3]) the lord Shaik Abdul-Qādir Jīlānī [4]), and with the blessing of all the devout Walis

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1) Compare also J. A. Kruijt's *Atjeh en de Atjehers* p. 58.

2) 28th October 1889.

3) Here and in other similar Achehnese documents حقدي stands in place of حقذي.

4) As regards the reverence paid to this teacher, who founded the order of Qādiriyyah, see p. 165.

of God from the Eastern to the Western portions of the Earth, and with the blessing of the miraculous power of all the sultans and with the blessing of the mediation [1]) of his late Majesty Meukuta Alam Iskandar (Eseukanda) Muda, and with the blessing of the mediation of Her late Majesty Tajul-alam Sapiatōdin, and with the blessing of the mediation of His late Majesty Alaédin Ahmat Shah, and with the blessing of the mediation of His late Majesty Sultan Alaédin Mahmut Shah, and with the blessing of the mediation of His late Majesty Alaédin Muhamat Shah [2]), and with the blessing of the mediation of His late Majesty Sultan Alaédin Jauhar al-Alam Shah, and with the blessing of His late Majesty Alaédin Mansō Shah, on all of whom God have Mercy, Amen!

If it be the will of Allah the Exalted, with the blessing of the miraculous power of him who (now) possesses greatness, dominion, justice and excellence, along with the highest and most distinguished rank, him who is favoured by the Lord whose name is 'your Highest Lord' [3]); to wit, our lord and master His Majesty Sultan Alaédin Muhamat Dawōt Shah, son of the late Sultan Alaédin Mansō Shah Juhan, the Blessed, Allah's shadow in the world; while His Highness sat upon the throne in Kuta Keumala, His exalted Majesty, the Prince of the world spoke unto the Keureukōn Katibōy Muluk (or Mulut [4]), bidding him draw up a document with the thunder-seal [5]), to be vouchsafed unto Our ulèëbalang, who is called the Panglima of the Meuseugit Raya of Banda Acheh, the Seat of Peace.

We make known hereby unto all ulèëbalangs, unto the wakis, tandils [6]), imeums, katibs, bileuës and all subjects:

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1) The Arabic *afwāh*, properly = "mouths", is used in Achehnese to signify the mediation or beneficent help of some illustrious personages, to which good fortune is often politely attributed in conversation.

2) It is noticeable that the blessing is invoked of the identical sultans whose names appear in the *chab sikureuëng*. The only additional one is this Muhamat (1824—38). As a rule, only three or four of the names contained in the seals are repeated in documents such as these.

3) Qurān 79 verse 24.

4) As to this imaginary private secretary see above pp. 124—5.

5) *Chap halilintar*, as the nine fold seal is officially called in Malay.

6) The office of *tandil*, like so many others, has disappeared from Acheh and its very meaning is now lost; yet it still subsists as an hereditary title of certain chiefs in the highland districts of the West Coast. (This word, the Tamil "*taṇḍal*" is in common use throughout the Malay Peninsula and Straits Settlements in the sense of the headman of a gang of coolies or of the crew of a boat. The original meaning according to Winslow is a collector of moneys, a "bill-collector", but it was also used for the captain of a cargo-boat, in which sense no doubt it first found its way to the Eastern Archipelago. (*Translator*).

With regard to this our Panglima, whose ancestors of old, even to his father, have been even down to our own times panglimas of the Meuseugit Raya, we hereby appoint him to be Panglima Meuseugit Raya, to fulfil all the duties that appertain to that office, and to follow in all his dealings the word of Allah (be He praised and glorified!) by commanding the good and forbidding the evil to all chiefs who are subject to his official orders. So is it the bounden duty of all these chiefs to hear and follow his command and prohibitions, in so far as they be in accordance with the law of our prophet Mohammad (may Allah bless him and grant him peace!), the law of the adat and the sacred institutions, even as these held good in the days of the earlier sultans; on the way of righteousness, so that no injustice may befall the servants of Allah.

Let orders be given henceforth duly to perform the Friday service and the five daily prayers, to build meuseugits, déahs and meunasahs, also to contribute zakāt and pitrah on all things that be subject thereto, and where any is able, to accomplish the journey to Mekka to undertake the haj.

Moreover we make it known by this writing, that we have made him our deputy for all matters of *pasah* (divorce by judicial decree), marriage and the payment of pitrah for orphans, in respect of all our subjects who are within his jurisdiction. Thus let all who are in straits because they have no marriage-walis or who are desirous of obtaining separation resort to him that he may enquire into their case.

Should the Panglima Meuseugit Raya himself be insufficiently acquainted with the laws respecting marriage, pasah and the pitrah for orphans, he may appoint some upright ulama as his deputy, so as to ensure that all be done in accordance with the law of Mohammad.

But should this Panglima Meuseugit Raya fail to act conformably with the word of Allah, the law of Mohammad and Our institutions, then shall he forfeit his high office [1]).

Here endeth well our word. Amen!"

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1) The whole content of this document, and especially this last clause, form an absurd contrast to the actual state of affairs in Acheh, and show the composition of the earlier models on which these letters patent are based to have been the work of ulamas. (See pp. 7—8 above).

# CHAPTER II.

ACHEHNESE CALENDARS, FESTIVALS AND SEASONS. AGRICULTURE, NAVIGATION AND FISHERY. LAWS RELATING TO LAND AND WATER.

## § 1. The Achehno-Mohammedan Divisions of Time.

Arabic and Achehnese names of months.

The calendar of religious festivals is the same among the Achehnese as with the Malays and other Mohammedans; they adopt the lunar year of 354 days as a basis. They employ this same year with its lunar months as a measurement of time for all the ordinary purposes of life. Some of the names, however, which they give to the months differ from the Arabic and are borrowed rather from customary observances belonging peculiarly to those months. Many of them are also called by the Arabic names pronounced in the Achehnese fashion; these are universally understood by the well-educated. We shall begin by giving a concise list of these names with explanatory notes.

| ARABIC NAMES OF MONTHS. | ACHEHNESE NAMES OF MONTHS. |
|---|---|
| 1. *Muḥarram.* | *Asan-Usén* (called after the commemoration of Ḥasan and Ḥusain on the 10th day of this month). |
| 2. *Safar.* | *Sapha.* |
| 3. *Rabī'al-awwal.* | *Mò'lōt* (from Maulud, the feast of the birth of Mohammad. Less commonly called *Rabi'ōy Away.* |
| 4. *Rabī'al-ākhir.* | *Adòë mò'lōt* (i. e. the younger brother of Mò'lōt, since the birth of the Prophet is commemorated in this month also. Less commonly called *Rabi'ōy Akhé*). |

| ARABIC NAMES OF MONTHS. | ACHEHNESE NAMES OF MONTHS. |
|---|---|
| 5. *Jumāda 'l-awwal.* | *Mò'lot Seuneulheuëh* (i. e. final Mò'-lōt, for this month also is specially dedicated to the commemoration of Mohammad's birth. Women, who adhere conservatively to all that is old-fashioned in Acheh, also call this month *Madika phōn* i. e. "the first free one"; I cannot trace the origin of this name. Less commonly called *Jamadō-away*). |
| 6. *Jumāda'l-ākhir.* | *Kanduri bòh kayèë* (i. e. "kanduri or religious offering of fruits". Old-fashioned women speak of it as *Madika Seuneulheuëh* i. e. "the last free one". Less commonly called *Jamadō Akhê*). |
| 7. *Rajab.* | *Kanduri Apam* (i. e. "kanduri of apam-cakes"; also *Rajab* or *Ra'jab*). |
| 8. *Shaʿbān.* | *Kanduri Bu* (i. e. "kanduri of rice"; also *Cha'ban* or *Sa'ban*). |
| 9. *Ramadhān.* | *Puasa* (fast) or *Ramalan* or *Ramulan.* |
| 10. *Shawwāl.* | *Uròë Raya* (feasting month) or *Chaway.* |
| 11. *Du'l-qaʿdah.* | *Meu'apét* ("pinched, shut in" cf. apit or hapit in Mal. Jav. and Sund.) or *Dōy Ka'idah.* |
| 12. *Du'l-ḥidjah.* | *Haji* or *Dōy Hijah.* |

Days of the week.

The days of the week bear the Arabic names, which in Achehnese are pronounced as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Aleuhat* | Sunday |
| *Seunanyan* | Monday |
| *Seulasa* | Tuesday |
| *Rabu* | Wednesday |
| *Hamèh* | Thursday |
| *Jeumeu'ah* | Friday. |
| *Sabtu* | Saturday. |

The beginning of the month.

According to the Shafi'ite school of Mohammedan law, the dates of the religious festivals should not be established by calculation, but the commencement of each month must be fixed by observation of the new moon. If for example the month preceding the fasting month should according to the reckoning number 29 days, still the following day must not be regarded as the beginning of the fast, unless it is proved by witnesses in the manner prescribed by the law, that the new

moon has been actually seen on the evening following the 29th day. If this observation of the moon (*ru'ya*) is not established by proof, the month must in spite of astronomy be regarded as a full one of thirty days.

Although all the Mohammedans of the Archipelago are Shafi'ites, the doctrine of the *ru'ya* is far from being universally observed. In many districts calculation (*hisāb*) is adhered to, though according to the teaching of that school it should only be employed for the indifferent affairs of daily life. It is only lately [1]) under the influence of Mecca and Hadramaut that the *ru'ya* has been more universally accepted.

In Acheh the "calculation" was the method followed from the earliest times. The ulamas overcame the difficulty of a conflicting doctrine in the books of the law by the consideration that in these parts the atmosphere is only occasionally clear enough to allow of the new moon being seen on the first day of her appearance.

In the edicts of the sultans we meet with a regulation [2]) directing that the commencement of the fasting month in each year should be fixed by a council of the learned held on the last Friday of the preceding month. The date was then made known to the people by the firing of guns on the previous day. This was quite inadmissible according to the *ru'ya* doctrine.

There are in Acheh a few ulamas who are acquainted with some of the principles of Arabic astronony (that of the middle ages), which they use as the basis of their calculations. But as a rule reference is only made to certain tables given in Malay books, without any regard to the way in which these tables were arrived at, or the necessity for correction of the errors in reckoning to which they give rise after some lapse of time.

Method of computing the calendar.

A brief description of the nature of these tables will here suffice [3]).

1) Long since in Yogya and Batavia according to Dr. A. B. Cohen Stuart, in the Government Almanac for 1868, p. 15; *Tijdschrift v. h. Batav. Genootschap* vol. XX p. 198. (The *ru'ya* is universally adopted among the Malays of the Straits Settlements. *Translator*).

2) See Van Langen's *Atjehsch Staatsbestuur*, p. 456 seq.

3) As to the eight-year cycle of the Javanese see Dr. A. B. Cohen Stuart's remarks in the Government Almanac for 1868 pp. 12 et seq. It has this in common with the Achehnese calendar that its year alip if divided by 8 leaves a remainder of 3. The year letters on the other hand, are different; the Achehnese correspond with those which are to be found in some Arabic handbooks, which Newbold cursorily refers to as in use among the Malays (British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, II p. 336), and which Dr. Cohen

The years are first divided into groups of eight, and each of these eight years has its proper Arabic letter (*harah thōn*); the numerical value of this letter is the cypher of that year. As the order of sequence of the 8 year-letters is invariable, we need only know the letter of the preceeding, to arrive at that of the current year; and even without this the letter may be calculated from the year of the Hijrah.

The twelve months have each their letter in like manner, and the numerical value of that letter is the cypher of its month. If we add the cypher of a given year to that of a certain month, the sum of the two gives us the clue to the day of the week which is the first day of that month in the year in question.

To apply this clue, we start with the day of the week with which the cycle or series of years begins. Now as this day recedes one place in every 120 years according to a necessary adjustment in the system, there are seven different ways of counting, called after the days of the week which respectively begin the cycles, Ahadiyyah, Ithnainiyyah, Ihalathiyyah, Arbaʿiyyah, Khamsiyyah, Jumʿiyyah, Sabtiyyah. The cycles beginning with Wednesday or Thursday are now usually employed in different parts of the Archipelago.

In Acheh the Arbaʿiyyah (Wednesday) method is that most in use. The cycle of 8 years is as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Aléh | (ا) | numerical value | 1. |
| 2. Hé | (ه) | „ „ | 5. |
| 3. Jim. | (ج) | „ „ | 3. |
| 4. Zoë | (ز) | „ „ | 7. |
| 5. Day away | (د) | „ „ | 4. |
| 6. Ba | (ب) | „ „ | 2. |
| 7. Wèë | (و) | „ „ | 5. |
| 8. Day akhé | (د) | „ „ | 4. |

The calculation for finding the letter of a Hijrah year consists in dividing the number representing the year by 8 and counting off the year-letters in the above order, beginning with Wèë, to the number of the remainder. Thus the year 1309 divided by 8 leaves 5; counting

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Stuart met with in a Sumatran almanac (*Tijdschrift v. h. Batav. Genootschap* XX p. 209). But none of the Calendars given in the last mentioned article *entirely* agrees with the Malay-Achehnese calendars. Such an agreement may be presumed to be probable in the case of that mentioned by Newbold, for the Achehnese derive their Malay lore principally from the Straits. Newbold, however, gives no particular whence this might be decided.

from Wèë 5 places onwards, we reach Jim; Jim is thus the letter of that year. To fix the year-letters on the memory they are formed into a single word with the help of vowels, thus ahjizdabuda (أَهْجِزْدَبُودَ).

The sequence of the month-letters is as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. ز | = 7. | 7. ب | = 2. |
| 2. ب | = 2. | 8. د | = 4. |
| 3. ج | = 3. | 9. ه | = 5. |
| 4. ه | = 5. | 10. ز | = 7. |
| 5. و | = 6. | 11. ا | = 1. |
| 6. ا | = 1. | 12. ج | = 3. |

To find the first day of the fasting month in the year 1309 we add the cypher of the year (3) to that of the fasting month, i. e. the 9th of the year, which cypher is 5. This gives 8, and we now count off 8 weekdays beginning from Wednesday, which gives us Wednesday as the first day of the fasting month.

The month-cyphers are also formed into a word to assist the memory, thus *zabjih wa'abdih za'ajén* (زَبْجِهْ وَأَبْدِهْ زَأَجِ).

In the cycle of eight years, as may be easily calculated, the 2nd, 5th and 7th years have an additional intercalary day (355 in all). The odd months have thirty and the even twenty-nine days, but in the intercalary years the 12th month has also 30 days. In each year there is an excess of one 120th of a day, but I have not been able to discover whether the Achehnese would correct this at the end of every 120 years by skipping a day.

Téh-books. Malay handbooks are also used for these calculations. These contain tables with all the requisite data, and an explanatory text to facilitate their use. Amateurs of science are in the habit of collecting one or more such treatises in a single volume along with sundry other data for fixing lucky days, months and hours, the good fortune that may be expected to attend a proposed marriage, and the like. To these are sometimes added theological treatises, and the whole forms what in Java is called a *primbon* or *paririmbon*, and at Batavia is known as a *tip* (طب) or *japar sidé'* (from Ja'far Çādiq, the reputed author of many astrological tables). The name in Achèh is *téh*, a corruption of the same Arabic word which is pronounced as *tip* by the Batavians. Its original meaning is "medical art".

Division of the day of 24 hours. Before proceeding to review the twelve months of the Mohammedan

year in order to sketch in detail the principal feasts and general customs of a religious nature observed by the Achehnese, let us notice some peculiarities of their division of the day of 24 hours.

In ancient legends and in proverbs we occasionally meet with allusions to a division of the day and night into hours or periods, which is generally understood, but has now lost all practical significance. The day and night (separated from one another by sunset and sunrise) were divided into four equal parts, each of about 3 hours duration. Such a division is called in Arabic *zām*, and the Mohammedans of the Archipelago have adopted it, name and all (*jam* [1]), *jeuëm*) from the Arabs. Later on the name was applied in Malayan and Javanese countries to the hour of 60 minutes. This modification did not take place in Acheh where the word maintained its original meaning.

The notation now most in vogue for the different parts of the day and nights corresponds essentially with that which we find, for example, in Java. Some of the names are borrowed from the religious subdivision of time into a number of waqtus (Ach. *watèë* or *wa'tèë*), the periods allotted to the obligatory prayers. Others are based on daily occupations, meals, etc. The principal divisions, commencing from the morning, are as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ban beukah mata uròë* ("with the breaking forth of the sun") . . . . . | about | 6 | A. M. |
| *Sigalah uròë* [2]) ("the sun a pole high" referring to the poles used in propelling craft) . . . | „ | 7 to 7.30 | „ |
| *Watèë* or *wa'tèë bu* ("rice-time", i.e. "meal-time") | „ | 9 | „ |
| *Plòih meuneu'uë* ("the loosening of the ploughing gear" i. e. the time at which the plougher, who has broken his fast early in the morning, goes with his buffaloes to seek repose . . | „ | 10 | „ |
| *Peunab chòt* [3]) ("the approaching of the zenith" i. e. by the sun) . . . . . | „ | 11 | „ |
| *Chòt* („zenith") . . . . . | „ | 12 | NOON |
| *Reubah chòt* ("falling from the zenith") or *leuhō* (Ach. pronunciation of the Arabic *ẓuhr* = midday) . . . . . | „ | 12.30 | P. M. |

1) *Jam* is used by the Malays not only to denote the hour of 60 minutes, but also as the common expression for a watch or clock. (*Translator*).

2) *Uròë* means not only "day" but also "sun".

3) In this and the two following expressions *uròë* = "the sun" is understood. *Chòt uròë* is also said.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Peuteungahan leuhō* ("the middle of the period devoted to the obligatory noonday prayers") | about | 1.30—2 | P. M. |
| *Akhé leuhō* (the last part of the above period) | „ | 3 | „ |
| *Asa* ("the beginning of the time of the *ᶜasr* or afternoon prayers"). . . . . | „ | 3.30 | „ |
| *Peuteungahan asa* (the middle of the above period) | „ | 4.30—5 | „ |
| *Akhé asa* (the last part of that period) . . . | „ | 5.30 | „ |
| *Mugréb* [1]) ("sunset") . . . . . | „ | 6 | „ |
| *ᶜicha* ("evening" — especially referring to the time of the commencement of the evening prayer. Arab. *ᶜishā*) . . . . . | „ | 7.30 | „ |
| *Teungòh malam* ("midnight"). . . . . | „ | 12 | „ |
| *Sulōïh yang akhé* ("the last third of the night"; Arab. *thulth*). . . . . | „ | 1.30—4.30 | A. M. |
| *Kukuë' manò' siseun* ("the single crowing of the cock") . . . . . | „ | 3 | „ |
| *Kukuë' manò' ramè* (the continuous crowing of the cocks") . . . . . | „ | 4—4.30 | „ |
| *Muréh* ("the streaks of dawn" on the horizon) or *subòh* (from Arab. *subḥ* = morning) or *paja* (from Arab. *fajr* = early dawn) . . . . . | close on | 5 | „ [2]). |

1) Sunset is with the Achehnese, as with all other Mohammedans, the commencement of the day of 24 hours, so that the night belongs to the day that follows it, and not as with us to that which precedes it.

2) The Malays use *maghrib*, *ᶜisha*, *subḥ*, *lohor* (*ẓuhr*) very much as they are used by the Achehnese. Their common phrases for the divisions of time however, though resembling those in the text in so far as they are partly drawn from natural phenomena are not by any means all identical with them. The following list is taken from the appendix to Maxwell's manual of the Malay language p. 139, and forms an interesting comparison with that given above.

1. *Belum terbang lalat* "before the flies are astir", just before daybreak.
2. *Pechah panas*, "when the heat commences", sun-up.
3. *Kĕring ambun* "when the dew dries" about 8 A. M.
4. *Tengah naik* "when the sun is half way up" 9 A. M.
5. *Tulih tenggala* "when the plough is idle" (this resembles *plòïh meuneu' uĕ*).
6. *Tengah hari tĕpat* "midday exactly", noon.
7. *Rambang* "Right in the middle" (i. e. the sun in the sky), noon.
8. *Buntar membayang*, "when the shadows are round (i. e. when your shadow is round your feet; noon).
9. *Beralis hari* "when the day changes", afternoon.
10. *Lepas ba'ada*, and *lepas ba'ada salah*", after (Friday's) prayers (in the mosque), about 1.30 P. M.
11. *Turun kerbau berendam*, "when the buffaloes go down to water", about 3 P. M.
12. *Jindera budak*, "when the children have gone to sleep, about 10 P. M. (*Translator*).

Other measures and limits of time.

The popular measures of time are also similar to those employed by the Malays, Javanese etc.

*Sikléb mata*, a moment (a blink of the eyes).

*Chèh ranub sigapu*, the time required for chewing a quid of sirih, about 5 minutes.

*Masa' bu sikay breuëh* the time required for cooking a *kay* (cocoanut shell-full) of rice, about half an hour.

*Masa' bu sigantang* [1]) *breuëh*, the time required for cooking a gantang of rice, about an hour and a half.

*Masa' bu sinaléh breuëh*, the time required for cooking a naléh of rice, about 3 hours.

*Sikhan uròë*, half a day, about 6 hours.

*Si' uròë seupōt*, lit. = "a sun dark", a whole day [2]).

To distinguish "to-day" (*uròë nyòë*) from the days which precede and follow it, the following expressions are in use [3]).

*Beuklam*, the previous evening, which according to the Achehnese conception is the evening of the present day; it thus answers to our "yesterday evening".

*Baròë*, yesterday (daytime only).

*Baròë sa*, the day before yesterday, lit. "yesterday one".

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1) A *gantang* is now no longer used as a measure of capacity in Acheh; where a *gantang* is spoken of 2 *arè* is meant.

The measures of capacity are as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Nië* or *ndië* . . . . . | = $\frac{1}{2}$ | *blakay* |
| *Blakay* (from *blah kay*, a division of a kay). . . . . | = $\frac{1}{2}$ | *kay* |
| *Kay* (orig. meaning cocoanut shell). . . . . | = $\frac{1}{2}$ | *chupa'* |
| *Chupa'* (containing unhusked rice to the weight of 24 Spanish dollars) | = $\frac{1}{2}$ | *arè* |
| *Arè* (called "a bamboo" in Malay) . . . . . | = $\frac{1}{16}$th | *naléh* |
| *Naléh* . . . . . | = $\frac{1}{10}$th | *kuncha* |
| *Guncha* . . . . . | = $\frac{1}{10}$th | *kuyan* |

The *ndië* is seldom mentioned except in conjunction with *si* = 1, as *sindië* (or *sundië*). Half a *ndië* is sometimes spoken of as *put*.

(The common Malay measures used in the Straits Settlements are the *chupak*, 4 of which = 1 *gantang* (about 1$\frac{1}{3}$ gallons); 16 *gantang* = 1 *naléh*; 10 *naléhs* = 1 *kuncha*; 5 *kunchas* = 1 *koyan*. *Translator*).

2) There are equivalent expressions in Malay; *sa' buntar* (lit. a little round thing), *sa' kejap* (a blink of the eyes) and *sa'at* (Arabic) are also used to denote a momentary period of time, and the expression *sĕmpat makan roko' sa-batang*, the time required for smoking a cigarette, is also in common use. (*Translator*).

3) In Malay *sa' malam* = yesterday; *kelmarin* ("the preceding day") is used sometimes for yesterday and sometimes for the day before; and *kelmarin dahulu* = the day before that again, 3 days since. *Esok* or *besok* = to-morrow, *lusa* the day after to morrow, and *tûlat* 3 days hence. (*Translator*).

*Baròë sa jéh*, the day before that again (lit. "yesterday one more on that side").

*Singòh*, to-morrow.

*Lusa*, the day after to-morrow.

*Lusa raya*, the day after that again.

To denote the day of the month, in answer to the question "how many days moon?" (*padum uròë buleuën*) they say "one, two etc. days moon", *si uròë, dua uròë* etc. *buleuën*. For the first and thirtieth days of the month the reverse order is employed, as (*buleuën si' uròë, buleuën lhèë plôh*). The first of next month is denoted by the expression (when) the moon (is) visible (*buleuën leumah*) and the subsequent days of that month by "two, three etc. days visible moon (*dua, lhèë* etc. *uròë buleuën leumah*). Last month is called "a moon before", or a moon which is past" e. g. the fourth of last month, *peuët uròë buleuën dilèë* or *buleuën nyang ka abéh* [1]).

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## § 2. Achehno-Mohammedan Feasts and appointed Times and Seasons.

We now enter upon our review of the Achehno-Mohammedan year and its appointed times and seasons.

Achura. 1. *Asan-Usén* (= Muharram). In the books of Mohammedan law it is set down as *sunat* (that is, a meritorious though not obligatory work) to fast on the 10th day of this month. None but very devout persons observe this custom, so that this day, which is named *Ashura* (in Acheh *Achura* and in Java *Sura*) passes almost unnoticed as far as concerns its celebration.

In Shi'ite countries it is quite the reverse. There the first ten days of this month are devoted to all manner of ceremonies, processions, discourses and theatrical representations, purporting to commemorate the conflict between Mohammad's grandson Ḥusain and the Umayyads. These festivities culminate in the Ashura, on which day he perished

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1) The Malays have just the same expressions, except that they make no difference for the first and thirtieth days. "Next month" in Malay is bulan *timbul*, "last month" *bulan dhulu* or *bulan yang sudah*. We find a close resemblance to the Achehnese in the expression for the fourth of last month which in Malay is *ampat hari bulan dhulu* or *bulan yang habis* (or *sudah*). (*Translator*).

on the plains of Kerbela, yet even on this a number of ceremonies follow, extending over the next three days and consecrated to the memory of his burial etc.

The dances and bonfires, the *ḏikrs* [1]) with their mourning for the martyrs' fate, a grief which though artificially excited expresses itself in wild frenzies where the mourners gash their own bodies with knives; the theatrical representations, sometimes confounded with reality by the crowds of spectators, so that the actor who takes the part of the murderer of Ḥusain becomes exposed to actual violence; the mad processions, particularly common in Hindustan, and which remind one more of a fair or carnival than of a funeral pageant; all this specially belongs to Persia and the Shi'ite portions of British India, and need not occupy our attention here.

It is however worthy of remark that even Mohammedan peoples who follow the orthodox ritual, but whose life and thought have been subjected to Shi'ite influences celebrate feasts of the above description. They recognize no impropriety in so doing, though their teachers refrain from all participation in these ceremonies, which are to a considerable extent of pagan origin.

A very noteworthy and full description of such festivals is to be found in the *Qanoon-e-islam* of Jaffur Shurreef (pronounced *Jafar Sharif*) translated into English by G. A. Herklots, (2nd ed. Madras 1863 pp. 98—149). It has especial interest for us, because the work of this writer relates to a non Shi'ite people, the inhabitants of the coastlands of the Southern part of British India, whence the creed of Islam would appear to have made its first advances towards the Eastern Archipelago.

The Mohammedans of the Deccan, whose manners are portrayed in this work, are Shafi'ites just like those of the Malay Archipelago, but their national ideas and customs have arisen to a great extent under strong Shi'ite influences. As is clear from a comparison of Jaffur Shurreef's book with what we actually find in Netherlands-India, these adventitious additions to their creed were adopted by the Malay and Javanese converts with just as much readiness as the fundamental truths of the Shafi'ite law or of the teaching universally accepted as orthodox.

To attain the certainty that we might desire on these points a more

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1) A sort of religious recitations.

detailed comparative enquiry would be requisite. But it is clear beyond all doubt that the Deccan form of Mohammedanism exercised an influence on that of the Indonesians superior in force to that of any other agency. This may at once be gathered from the character of the popular religious literature, even were there no other proof. Whence come the stories which are such favourites in the Eastern Archipelago of the Titanic wars and numerous love adventures of Amir Hamzah (the uncle of Mohammad), the romantic adventures of Mohammad (ibnu'l) Hanafiyyah (the son of Ali), of the hero Sam'un, Raja Badar and many more, all in conflict both with the history and the legendary tradition of the Arabs? It is more particularly in British India that works of this sort are to be met with, nor is it possible that they should have been disseminated to such an extent in any country closer to Arabia.

The absurd tales related of Ḥusain and his companions, the martyrs of Kerbela, are also of the same character as those current in India. There too (and consequently in the Archipelago as well), Ḥasan, innocent as he was of all martyrdom, has been enrolled in this band of saints, and the Ashura-festival bears the names of both brothers.

In different parts of Netherlands-India and especially on the West Coast of Sumatra (Padang, Bencoolen [1]) etc.) the Ḥasan-Ḥusain festival is celebrated on a smaller scale, but in much the same manner as we find it described in the *Qanoon-e-islam*. It has been thought that it was introduced along the sea-board by the *sipahis* (sepoys) who immigrated thither during the English domination. It is indeed quite possible that these natives of Hindustan may have had an influence on the manner of its observance. It is however propable, to say the least, that even previously to this a Ḥasan-Ḥusain feast enjoyed much popularity both in Sumatra and elsewhere. Indeed how else can we account for the fact that it is celebrated to this day in Trumon in the manner customary in the Deccan, that in Acheh the month is called Asan-Usén, and that the day Ashura, of which orthodox Islam takes but but little notice, has in Java given its name Sura to the month Muḥarram.

In order to arrive at a more definite conclusion we should require

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1) As to this see "*Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*" (Ed. I. D. E. Schmeltz) Leiden 1888, Part I, pp. 191—196.

more complete data with regard to the spread of the observance and of the legendary traditions attached to it.

A later wave of orthodoxy, however, proceeding especially from Mecca, has purified the Islam of the East Indies of sundry heresies, and among them of the Ḥasan-Ḥusain feasts. The noisy celebration of these festivals, which may now be witnessed year by year at Kuta Raja, are for the most part got up by the Padang people who have settled there. Some Klings and Hindus [1]) take part in them, but the Achehnese merely act as spectators. Wherever in Acheh or its dependencies many Klings or other Indian Mohammedons had settled, *tabut* [2]) processions always took place; but the participation of the native people in these is undoubtedly a phenomenon of the later growth.

A further custom, which is really no more than an insignificant adjunct of the Ḥasan-Ḥusain festivals, but which exists elsewhere as an independent usage, is the cooking of special viands on the Ashura day.

In Hindustan the chosen dish seems to be that known as *khichri* [3]); in Cairo it is called *ḥubub* i. e. "seeds" or "grains" [4]). In Java the *bubur sura* as it is called, also consists of various grains or seeds such as jagong or maize, peas etc., mixed with pieces of cocoanut and placed on top of the rice. A similar custom is that of dedicating particular dishes on various occasions to particular prophets or saints to the spirits of the departed in general.

In Acheh this dish of porridge is called *kanji* [5]) *Achura* and consists of rice, cocoanut milk, sugar and pieces of cocoanut, mixed with various fruits cut into small pieces such as papayas (*bòh peutè*), peas (*reuteuë*), pomegranates (*bòh glima*), plantains, sugarcane and various edible roots.

The *kanji Ashura* is not cooked in every separate house; one or two large pots full suffice for a whole gampōng. Those who undertake the cooking receive voluntary subscriptions from their fellow-villagers.

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1) According to the *Qanoon-e-islam*, pp. 122, 142, Hindus in British India also take a considerable part in the Ḥasan-Ḥusain feasts, pay vows to the holy relics paraded round on these occasions, etc.

2) The symbolical coffin of the martyrs of Kerbela, which is carried about in the Muharram processions along with other symbolical objects such as figures of hands, banners etc.

3) *Qanoon-e-Islam*, p. 144; also see *the Faith of Islam* by E. Sell, London 1880, p. 242.

4) Lane, *Manners and customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 5th edn. II, p. 149.

5) *Kanji* is exactly the same as the Javanese *bubur*, and means pottage or porridge.

The mess is brought to the meunasah or sometimes to the junction of the gampōng-path with the main road. All who wish fall to and gormandize, generally to such an extent as to cause indigestion. The blessing of the bubur by a prayer, though common in Java, is not customary in Acheh. In neither country is the feast strictly limited to the 10th of the month, but often extends some days beyond.

Unlucky days.

A further survival of the old commemoration of Ḥasan and Ḥusain is to be found in the fact that the first ten days of the month which bears their name are regarded as unlucky. On them no work of importance is begun, no marriage with a virgin [1]) consummated (for that would mean speedy separation or the death of one of the pair), no child circumcised, no rice sown or planted out.

The name "fire-month" (*buleuën apuy*) given to the Achura-month to account for these adat-rules is peculiarly Achehnese. It may be that there lurks here a further allusion to the dances of the Ḥasan-Ḥusain feasters round fires, as practised to this day in Trumon and in the Deccan.

Rabu Abéh.

2. Sapha (= *Ṣafar*) is also a month to be avoided for undertakings of weight.

The reason for this has been stated to be that in this month the fatal sickness of Mohammad, to which he succumbed in the third month of the year, first began to show itself. However that may be, the belief is universal in the Mohammedan world that Safar is pregnant with evil, and that one may feel very thankful when he reaches the last Wednesday of this month without mishap. This day nowhere passes wholly without notice.

In Acheh it is called *Rabu Abéh* [2]), "the final Wednesday." Many take a bath on this day, the dwellers on the coast in the sea, others in the river or at the well. It is considered desirable to use for this bath water consecrated by contact with certain verses of the Qurān. To this end a teungku in the gampōng gives to all who ask slips of paper on which he has written the seven verses of the Qurān in which Allah addresses certain men with the word *salām* ("blessing" or "peace") [3]).

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1) Rules of pantang (taboo) connected with marriage have hardly any force in regard to divorced women or widows.

2) Malay *Rabu pĕnghabisan*, Jav. *Rĕbo wĕkasan*.

3) Chap. 36 : 58; 37 : 77, 109, 120, 130; 39 : 73 and 97 : 5.

These papers are thrown into sea, river or well, and the water is thereby believed to be given salutary powers.

Others drink water from a platter on which these verses are inscribed, the writing being partially dissolved in the water [1]).

With this bathing [2]) are connected other regulations in regard to the toilet such as shaving, cutting of nails etc. but the Achehnese do not pay much attention to these.

Those who live near the sea-shore are especially fond of the *Rabu Abéh* picnics. Each brings his contribution (*ripè*) for the feast, which exhibits not the smallest trace of its religious origin. These social gatherings are called *meuramiën*. In Java also these picnics generally take place in seaside localities. The common people know no more than that this "Final Wednesday" is appointed for bathing, drinking charmed water and holding social gatherings and do not concern themselves at to the traditional origin of the custom. Such is also the case in Arabia [3]).

Some pious persons perform on the afternoon of the Rabu Abéh a special voluntary *seumayang* consisting of two or more divisions, on the ground of a tradition characterized as "weak" by the expounders of the law.

3. *Mò'lōt* (*Rabi*$^{c}$ *al-awwal*) is in every Mohammedan country, but especially in the Eastern Archipelago, a month of feasts. According to the now generally accepted tradition the 12th of this month was the date both of the birth and of the death of the Prophet, and on this day many other important occurrences took place during the 63 years which separate these two events. Feast of the birth of Mohammad.

We know with what brilliancy the birthday of the Apostle of God is celebrated in the Javanese courts, and how universal is its public observance even in the smallest of Javanese villages. Although this festival is not one of the two officially ordained by the law — since, as may be supposed, it did not begin to be observed until long after

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1) In Java it is customary to keep a supply of consecrated water (*banyu jimat*) ready in the mosques on Rĕbo Wĕkasan for the crowds of people who demand it.

2) The bath taken on this occasion is a ritual one (*ghusl*), and is preceded by the utterance of the *niyyat* or intention to perform a task prescribed by the law of Allah.

[Among the Malays of Penang and Province Wellesley the *Mandi Safar* or "bathing of Safar" is one of the most popular of festivals. The method of its observance is almost identical with that of the Achehnese as here described. (*Translator*)].

3) And in Malaya. (*Translator*).

Mohammad's death — it is in fact accepted as obligatory, especially in the Indian Archipelago, and entirely overshadows the so-called "great feast" of the 10th of the 12th month.

Observance obligatory in Acheh.

The Achehnese regard the observance of the Mò'lōt as specially binding on the people of their country. To account for this they refer to a historical legend connected with a certain cannon, which before the coming of the Dutch to Acheh formed part of the defences of the Dalam.

It is well known how common has been the custom amongst native peoples of giving proper names to certain cannons, which they regarded more or less as personified and even worshipped as sacred after a time. We may instance *Si Penjagur* at Batavia, and its consorts *Si Amok* in Banten and *Sĕtomi* at Surakarta, with many more.

Similarly in Acheh there were many such guns with proper names, among them that mentioned above, which bore the title *Lada Sichupa'* = "a chupa' of pepper" [1]). The origin of this name, according to the popular tradition, was as follows:

Achehnese embassy to Turkey.

In the course of the sixteenth century, when Acheh began to grow powerful, one of the Sultans — we know not which — thought that the time had come to bring his kingdom to the notice of the lord of all believers, the Raja Rōm, i. e. the Sultan of Turkey. He caused one of his biggest ships to be laden with pepper, the principal product of the country, as an offering expressive of homage to the supreme lord. Some say that he made the journey himself; according to others he sent an embassy of wealthy chiefs.

At Stambul (*Eseutamboy*) no one had ever heard of the existence of Acheh. So when the ambassadors arrived there, though they found it easy enough to get a lodging in return for their money, all their efforts to induce the officials to ask an audience for them of the Sultan proved of no avail. Thus they remained there a year or two, and as their means soon became exhausted, they had gradually to sell their pepper to supply themselves with the necessaries of life.

In the end, as chance would have it, the Sultan while returning one Friday from the mosque to his palace, espied our Achehnese among the crowd of respectful spectators. They attracted his attention by their peculiar dress, and he enquired whence they came and what had brought them to Constantinople.

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1) With regard to this measure see p. 201 above.

The desired explanation was given, and the Sultan, after venting his wrath on the officials whose foolish pride had so long denied this embassy admittance to his presence, requested the strangers to come that same day to his palace.

The Achehnese were indeed delighted at having attained their object, but at the same time they were ashamed at having no clothing left suitable for such a visit, and also because, out of the whole cargo of pepper which they had brought with them, only a single *chupa'* remained.

When admitted to the Sultan's presence, they told him about the kingdom of Acheh. They informed him that they had wished to present him with a cargo of pepper by way of first tribute, but were compelled to turn it into money for their needs, so that they could now only offer him a single chupa' as a sample of that product. The Sultan accepted the gift most graciously, and requested them to tell him all about affairs in Acheh, the distance of that kingdom from Stambul, the difficulties of the journey and so forth.

Finally he ordered a great cannon to be given them as a return present, and to this was given the name of Lada Sichupa'. In compliance with their request he also gave them a number of skilled artisans from his kingdom to instruct their fellow-countrymen in various arts hitherto unknown to them. Lada Sichupa'.

It is said that a number of these instructors who came from Syria, settled in a gampōng close to the Dalam, and in remembrance of their native land gave the village the name of *Bitay* (Ach. pronunciation of *Bētal*, an abbreviation of *Bētal-makḍis* = Jerusalem). In Bitay may still be seen the grave of a saint, Teungku di Bitay, who according to the tradition belonged to this colony of strangers. Teungku di Bitay.

The Sultan of Turkey also considered it unbefitting to bind his new vassal to the regular despatch of embassies or tribute, since the great length of the journey presented too many difficulties. "Let the faithful observance," said he, "of a religious custom in your country take the place of the yearly payments which elsewhere constitute the mark of submission to a suzerain. The observance of the feast of Mohammad's birth is among the most meritorious of works of devotion. So let there be no village in Acheh where the inhabitants do not publicly hold a Mò'lōt feast; that shall be your tribute to the lord of the Faithful."

Such is the explanation given of the fact that this festival has been

always so strictly observed in Acheh. In former times the headman of a gampōng who did not make provision in due time for the holding of this annual feast was fined by the ulèëbalang for neglect of duty.

Although the 12th of this month is accepted as the birthday of the prophet and thus as the feast-day *par excellence*, the commemoration of the birth of Mohammad is not confined to this date. Throughout the whole Moslem world *maulids* (or as they are generally called in the Archipelago *mauluds*) are held on various occasions. These are declamations by learned men in verse or rhyming prose dealing with events in the life of the Prophet, and concluding with a prayer and a feast for those assembled.

Acheh is no exception to the rule; funeral feasts for example are often here enlivened by a *Mò'lōt*. But *the Mò'lōt*, which the Achehnese regard as obligatory, must be held in all gampōngs either in the month Mò'lōt (on or after the 12th day) or in one of the two following months. It is from this that the latter derive their names "Younger Brother of Mò'lōt" and "Final Mò'lōt."

The place where the Mò'lōt is celebrated is the *meunasah*. The day is fixed year by year by the headman so as not to clash with the pursuits of the villagers. Care is taken at the same time to fix the dates so that no two gampōngs of the same name shall celebrate the Mò'lōt on the same day or after too short an interval, because all the people of the same mukim are invited to each feast.

Those who live in other gampōngs in the same mukim are the guests of the whole gampōng and receive a formal invitation through a messenger of the keuchi'.

Such official invitations (*muròh*) to kanduris or religious festivals are always given in the form of an offering, as it is called, of *ranub baté* (*ranub* or *sirih* in its *baté* [1]), a copper or silver bowl lined with an ornamental piece of cloth). The *baté* contains, besides the sirih, only a little betelnut, but none of the other requisites for betel-chewing. Where the invitation to one of these kanduris is addressed to persons of high consideration such as *tuankus* (royal princes) the symbolical gift is presented in a more costly sort of sirih-bowl (*karaïh*) in place of the *baté*.

The official invitation to the *kanduri Mò'lōt* is addressed only to

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1) See p. 42 above. This custom also prevails among the Malays. They call it *menyirih*.

the members of the governing body of the gampōng, the keuchi', teungku and elders, but all the inhabitants are regarded as being included therein.

"Respectful greetings and good wishes from Teuku Keuchi' of gampōng X and the Teungku! They desire (or request) that You will come and partake of their kanduri on such and such a day." So speaks the messenger. They receive from him the sirih and pinang, hand back the empty baté, and answer simply: "it is well."

The viands are provided by all the heads of families. Each of them, if his means allow, brings on the appointed day an *idang* to the meunasah. The components of such an *idang* will be found detailed in our description of marriage ceremonies. The *idang lintō* (bridegroom's idang), the *idang peujamèë* (placed before guests at certain visits prescribed by adat [1]) and the *idang Mò'lōt* are almost precisely identical. At times the competition between the people of the same gampōng to outshine one another in the costliness of their idangs reaches such a pitch, that the village headmen are obliged to fix a certain limit which must not be exceeded.

As meat, which the Atchehnese seldom eat on ordinary occasions, is indispensable for the idang Mò'lōt, the kanduri is preceded by the slaughter of animals. Such general slaughterings take place on no other occasions except the last days of the eighth and ninth months and on a small scale at the "great" feast of the sacrifices on the 10th day of the twelfth month.

Care is also taken that the sirih and its appurtenances be not wanting after the feast. Piles of sirih-leaves are heaped up high on dalōngs or trays, and between them are placed the betel-nut, gambir, tobacco etc., the whole forming what is called the *ranub dòng* or "standing sirih." The sirih is presented in the same form in offering a betrothal gift.

The cost of a single idang amounts to as much as four dollars, so that the less well-to-do families club together, three, four or five at a time to provide a single idang.

Besides those invited by the gampōng in general, each individual has his private guests, viz. all those of his relatives who live elsewhere and feel disposed to partake in the kanduri. These come without invitation, as according to the adat they are at liberty to regard the kanduri Mò'lōt of a member of their family as their own.

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1) See p. 31 above and Chap. III § 1.

Where there are many such guests to entertain, the expenses of the feast are vastly augmented for their host, since the adat directs that he should furnish for them a complete separate idang in addition to his contribution to the general feast.

Recitation of the history of Mohammad's birth.

The guests, who are of course all men, assemble in the meunasah usually in the forenoon, and always in the daytime. The Teungku and the leubès appear a little earlier than the others, as they have to recite the *Mo'lōt*. This recitation is called *meuliké* (from *ḍikr*) in Acheh. Similarly the Javanese speak of the *dikir maulut*.

Some of the *maulids* most in use have been handsomely lithographed at Cairo by Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭōchī Aḥmad and published in a single volume along with a number of other formulas used for religious purposes. This collection enjoys the greatest popularity both at Mekka and throughout the whole Indian Archipelago. Two of these *maulids* are in rhyming prose alternating with songs of praise in verse. One of these was composed by a certain Bukhārī, [1]) the other by Ja'far-al-Barzanjī. One is entirely in verse; this is also the work of the last-named writer.

All three are also in use in Acheh, that of Bukhārī especially at the official kanduris. It bears the title of *Maulid sharafi 'l-anām* (Birth of the Glory of Mankind) and is called *Sarapulanam* in Java, and *Charapha anam* in Acheh.

The prose pieces are recited by one person, but others of those assembled may take a turn to relieve the reader. It is the same with the versified portions, the chanting of which in a particular fashion is very popular. About the middle of the Charapha anam comes a hymn of praise of moderate length which all the experts present raise in chorus.

These experts, in an Achehnese meunasah, are the Teungku and all the leubès. While singing they rise from their places, and in their midst is placed a vessel containing incense, the savoury smoke from which blends with the chant in honour of the Apostle of God.

After this hymn of praise the kanduri Mò'lōt closes with a long prayer which is to be found at the end of the Charapha anam.

Mò'lōt charms.

Meantime the people of the gampōng have also appeared upon the scene, and where there is no room left in the meunasah, have taken up their position in a neighbouring balè or in the surrounding houses.

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1) According to the publication of aṭ-Ṭōchī; others assign a different name to the author.

Whilst the leubès stand and chant their hymn, the others crowd around and hand them pieces of black thread in which they tie knots while continuing to chant. These knotted threads are placed round the necks of the children in the firm conviction that they constitute infallible charms. [1])

In Java it is customary to make the maulut-recitations the occasion for initiating certain homely industries such as knitting the first meshes of a fishing-net, commencing the hem of a garment etc., in order that the Prophet's blessing may rest upon their task. This is not done in Acheh; here the fishermen set up their nets (*jeuë*, *nyaréng* or *pukat*) on a Friday, sitting at the entrance of the mosque while the devout pass in to take part in the weekly service.

After the prayer, the people of the gampōng and their guests commence their onslaught on the good cheer that awaits them. The Javanese custom of carrying home the remnants of the feast (under the name of *bĕrkat* = "blessing") after a religious festival is not the fashion in Acheh [2]); each one takes away what is left of the idang which forms his own contribution to the feast.

Wealthy persons sometimes give separate Mò'lōt feasts in their own homes, but choose another day than that fixed for the kanduri of their gampōng — generally the 12th of the month, which is seldom chosen for the public celebration. All attend the latter, not excepting the ulèëbalangs themselves.

A specially great *kanduri Mò'lōt* is held on the actual Mò'lōt day at the tomb of Teungku Anjōng in Gampōng Jawa. On this occasion one or more buffaloes are slaughtered, and besides those who assemble in the déah to partake of the feast, sundry ulamas have a share therein, pieces of meat being sent them by the guardian of the tomb.

The superstitious belief that no work of importance should be initiated before the 12th day of Mò'lōt is commonly met with in Java, but never in Acheh. The whole of this month, as well as its "younger

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1) A very common custom in Java is as follows: when the reciter of the prayer at the close of the *maulut* comes to the words "and grant unto us for the sake of the honour in which Thou holdest him (Mohammad), *acceptance* (of our good works) glory and renown" at the word *acceptance* those present snatch some rice from the dishes which stand prepared hard by, and this rice is afterwards employed as a remedy in sicknesses of children etc. The knotting of threads as described above also takes place in Java.

2) In Pidië the guests take to their homes the remnants of the *Kanduri Mò'lot*, which are called by them *ayapan*.

brother" are here regarded as specially favourable for marriage and circumcision feasts etc. As regards the succeeding months:

4. *Adòë Mò'lōt* (*Rabī'al-akhir*) and

5. *Mò'lōt seuneulheuëh* (*Jumāda 'l-awwal*), little remains to be noted beyond what we have said above. The latter, the fifth month of the year is also considered suitable for feasts etc., but enjoys no special preference.

Before taking leave of the Mò'lōt months, we must add a few words respecting what is in Acheh comprehended under the word *kanduri*.

We should not be far wrong in asserting that this word (another of those imported into the Archipelago from India [1]) has the same meaning as what the Javanese and Sundanese indicate by the expressions *sĕdĕkah, sidĕkah, slamĕtan* or *hajat*, and often too by the words *kĕnduri* or *kĕndurèn*. It is a feast given with a religious purpose, or in conformity with a command of religious law. The occasions which give rise to it are of various kinds.

With one of these we have just made acquaintance, viz. a religious festival or day of commemoration. There are besides a number of domestic events which are celebrated by such feasts. The Mohammedan law ordains with special emphasis their being held on the occasion of a wedding, but also recommends them for circumcisions and sundry other events which give rise to rejoicing.

The same law requires that the religious character of such feasts should not be lost sight of. The poor must be invited, and preferably the devout poor. There is no difficulty in finding such; the leubès or the corresponding class in other countries are distinguished by piety at least in outward seeming, and are at the same time usually poor or pass as being so. No prohibited amusements or sports must be held, no forbidden display made, where a *walimah* (as these feasts are called in the books of the law) is in progress.

These forbidden things are indeed forbidden at all times, but if such trangression is committed at a *walimah* (= *kanduri, sidĕkah* etc.) the feast itself loses its sacred character. The law directs in all cases and in some even imperiously commands attendance in response to an invitation to a walimah, but is equally express in prohibiting it where

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1) See *Qanoon-e-islam* pp. 164, 184—5.

the feast is robbed of its religious character by music for instance, or the presence of women in the company of males, or the employment for decorative purposes of representations of living beings or the like.

But as the adat of the worldly in all Mohammedan countries regards these forbidden things as indispensable to every feast, various methods are resorted to for effecting a compromise. Only such leubès and ulamas are invited as are content to wink at worldly display, so long as they can satisfy their scruples by abstaining from taking a direct part in it. Sometimes both aspects of the feast are maintained, but at different times, so that the ulama may with an easy conscience sanctify the walimah by his recitation of prayer, though he well knows that the festival will presently be disgraced by proceedings inspired of the Evil One.

A death also furnishes occasion for a *kanduri*. The holding of such a feast on the actual day of the death, though common in practice, is not altogether in conformity with the law, though it sanctions feasts being held at certain customary intervals (e. g. on the 3d, 7th or 40th day) after the decease. These are always preceded by a recitation from the Qurān or ḍikr. Such kanduris are viewed in the same light as those given on the anniversary of a saint. The reward ordained by Allah for the Qurān recitation, the ḍikr and the giving of the religious feast, is tendered to the deceased relative or to the saint, as the case may be. If the former, it is done to promote the soul's repose of the deceased by increasing his heavenly recompense, while the gift to the saint is made to gain his goodwill and intercession with Allah. In the *popular* superstition, which is based on the earlier worship of the dead, such kanduris are considered actual offerings of food to the deceased themselves. It is believed that they enjoy the immaterial essence of all that is set before them.

Though the sanctification by means of Qurān recitations, ḍikrs or prayer is always regarded as an embellishment of the *kanduri*, and one or other of the three is considered indispensable at many of these feasts, kanduris are also given which have nothing of this kind to distinguish them. There may be either simply an oral "address" to the saint or departed spirit whom it is sought to propitiate, or to the spirits of the dead in general, or else the religious object of the feast may be kept in view in thought only without any outward form.

Such kanduris or sidèkahs of the simplest kind are believed to pro-

mote good or ward off evil fortune. Suppose some relative is on a journey, some new business being set on foot or a child being sent for the first time to school. The safe return of the traveller, success in the undertaking, quickness of learning on the child's part are all sought to be promoted by a religious feast the devotional character of which is only shown by a prayer for prosperity (*du'a salamat*), when one of those present happens to know such a prayer. In the same manner dreaded evil is charmed away, as for instance during an epidemic, or after an alarming dream or threat. These are the sort of feasts which in some districts of Java have the special name of *slamĕtans* (good-luck feasts). But as we have already said, *sidĕkah*, *slamĕtan* and *kanduri* are generally confused in the colloquial, and in Acheh they are all included under the single expression *kanduri* or *kanuri*.

The name *sidĕkah*, under which these feasts are most generally known in Java, is a corruption of the Arabic *sadaqah*, i. e. pious or devout offerings. Such a feast is indeed a pious offering in a double sense, for the feast is given to guests distinguished to some extent by their leading a religious life, and the recompense of the good work thus done falls to the share of the deceased. *Sĕdĕkah* is also used in its proper sense of a present with pious intent, when for instance a gift in money or kind is offered to a *leubè*, *ulama*, *sayyid* or other devout person [1]).

The word *kanduri* supplies both meanings in the Achehnese vernacular.

The kanduri of fruits.

6. *Kanduri bòh kayèë* (*Jumāda 'l-ākhir*) owes its name to a custom common amongst the Achehnese. On some one day of this month they purchase fruits of every kind to be found in the market. These they bring as a *kanduri* or pious offering to the mosque or meunasah, where they are enjoyed by those of the faithful who are present in these places of worship, under the supervision of the attendants of the mosque or the Teungku.

The original purpose of this custom seems now to have been forgotten by the Achehnese themselves. At present these offerings are regarded as a *kanduri keu ureuĕng chi'* i. e. a kanduri for the advantage of the giver's ancestors, but which also serves to promote his own prosperity.

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1) In Malay *sĕdĕkah* is only used in the sense of "alms", "*kanduri*" being, as in Acheh, the sole word for a feast of the nature described above. (*Translator.*)

The 9th, 10th and 11th days of this month are consecrated to a saint whose tomb is to be found at Nagore on the Coromandel coast. He has also many worshippers in Acheh, seemingly through the influence of those inhabitants of Southern India who introduced here the creed of Islam. Tuan Meurasab.

What I have observed elsewhere [1]) with regard to feasts of saints at Mekka, is equally true of these "saints days" in Acheh — nay throughout the whole Moslem world. "The people have no clear idea as to what the "day" of a saint really is. They say, it is true, that it is the *ḥaul* or anniversary of the death of the holy man. But some saints have more than one *ḥaul* per annum, the exact day of the death of most is unknown, and from the way in which many of the saint's feasts are celebrated, it is a sure conclusion that some of the ancient pagan feasts of the people, after throwing off certain of their more characteristic heathen features disguised themselves under the names of saints to avoid the extermination which threatened them."

The saint to whom we have just referred is called in his own country Kadir Wali Sahib [2]). The Achehnese name for him is *Meurahsab* or *Meurasab* [3]).

The 10th day of the sixth month is accepted as the anniversary of his death, and the kanduri held thereon is called *kanduri tō' thōn Tuan Meurasab*, i. e. "the religious feast for the expiration of the year of Tuan Meurasab."

Strange stories are told of Tuan Meurasab [4]). He grew up in the wilderness in complete innocence, and it so happened that he saw the breasts of a woman for the first time just when he was himself suffering from a pimple on his hand. As this tiny swelling caused him so much pain, he thought that this poor woman must suffer terrible agony from such gigantic tumours on her chest. He prayed for the removal of these protuberances, and his prayer was at once answered. The woman

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1) *Mekka*. Vol. II pp. 52—53.

2) For further information regarding this saint and the manner of his worship in the Deccan, see the work already quoted, *Qanoon-e-islam* pp. 160—163.

3) I. e. *Meurah Sahib*. Meurah is an ancient title, occurring in the records of the kingdom of Pasè. It appears to be of foreign origin, and almost to correspond with *Mir* = *Amir* in Indian names. There are still families in Acheh which bear the title, and these are regarded as descendants of ancient chiefs. The elephant is called *Pò Meurah* in stories. *Sab* is an abbreviation of the Indian title *Sāhib*.

4) *Qanoon-e-islam* pp. 162—163.

was naturally much distressed, and went and informed her relations how she had seen the beauty of her person suddenly vanish on the utterance of a few words by a penitent hermit. At the entreaties of her family Meurasab offered up a second prayer, which resulted in the restoration of the lost charms.

A further example of his miraculous power supplies an explanation of the fact that the Achehnese were readily persuaded by the foreigners who visited their country to revere this pious recluse as the protector of navigation.

The captain of a ship, whose vessel was on the point of foundering owing to a leak, vowed that he would make a handsome offering in the name of Meurasab if the leak were stopped through his intercession. Our saint was at that moment sitting under the razor of a barber, and held, as is customary with Orientals, a small mirror in his hand to direct the operator in his work. Feeling that his aid was invoked, he flung away his mirror. By Allah's help it made its way through air and water till it found its destination beneath the ship and stopped the leak, so that both vessel and cargo came safe to land.

The vows, however, that are made to this saint in Acheh, are by no means confined to ships and sailors.

His intervention is also invoked on behalf of sick children. The vow in such cases consists in the promise of a gold or silver hand, or "the height of the child in gold" (*santeut dòng*) in the event of recovery. Such hands or pieces of gold thread (woven as thin as possible) are given to Kling traders journeying to Madras, who undertake their transmission to Nagore [1]).

Other vows are fulfilled at the place of abode of those who make them. Even the payment of what has been promised to the great saints of Acheh as recompense for their intercession does not always involve a visit to their graves. Suppose for instance that the master of a vessel, while in danger at sea, has vowed a goat to Tuen Meurasab for his safe return, he kills the goat in his own gampōng, makes a *kanduri* with it and requests the teungku to recite over it the *fātiḥah* (the first chapter of the Qurān) for the benefit of the saint.

The "anniversary" of the saint is occasionally celebrated in Kuta Raja

1) Penang Mohammedans have a superstition that articles of value vowed to this saint if thrown into the sea at Penang will be washed up in a few months time close to the shrine at Nagore. (*Translator.*)

and Trumòn by a great kanduri on the 10th day of this month, but the givers of this feast are always the Klings who reside there, and the Achehnese who partake of it do so only as guests. Tuan Meurasab has thus really no place in the Achehnese calendar of festivals.

7. *Kanduri Apam* (*Rajab*) holds its place in the official calendar of feasts, chiefly because Mohammad's celebrated "journey to heaven" is supposed to have taken place on the night of (or rather the night before) the 27th of this month. For the commemoration of this night the people assemble either in the mosque or in their own houses, and a history of the *miᶜrāj* as it is called (Ach. *mè'reuët*) is recited. This recitation consists in a description of the ascension in rhyming prose and verse, similar to those of the birth and life of the Prophet. The ascension to heaven.

This pious custom is observed in Acheh, but not to any greater extent than in other parts of the Indian Archipelago. In a word, its observance is confined to those who profess special devotion to religion, such as the *leubès, maléms* etc. It is not a national festival in any sense of the words.

On the 18th of this month one of the three principal annual kanduris is held in the *déah* (prayer-house) at the tomb of the great saint Teungku Anjōng. This is done in honour of his consort, whose tomb stands close to his. She is commonly known as *Aja* [1]) *Eseutiri* i. e. "my lady the consort." She appears to have died on the 18th of Rajab 1235 (May 1820). She was a daughter of a Sayyid of the famous clan of *ᶜAidid* and her real name was Fatimah bint Abdarrhamān ᶜAidid. The wife of Teungku Anjōng.

The *kanduri Aja Eseutiri* resembles exactly the two others that are celebrated at that sacred tomb on the 12th of Mò'lōt and the 14th of Puasa.

The custom from which this month derives its Achehnese name is pretty generally observed, though less markedly so in recent times. On some one day of the month of Rajab the well-known round flat cakes known as apam, made of ordinary rice-flour and cocoanut milk, are baked in every house. A number of these are brought as *kanduri* to the mosque or meunasah, just in the same way as the *kanji Ashura*.

As many as a hundred of these little cakes are piled upon a dish, and to this is added a basin of sauce which is called *seurawa* and consists of cocoanut milk, sugar and beaten-up eggs. It is not surprising that the faithful frequenters of the mosque suffer from apam-

1) *Aja* is really an abbreviated form of *Raja* = prince or princess.

indigestion during this month, or that in spite of the large share that falls into the hands of the youthful hordes that lurk in the vicinity, many apam-cakes have in the end to be thrown away.

The story goes that once on a time a certain Achehnese, possessed by curiosity as to what befalls man in the tomb, and especially as to the investigations of the angels of the grave, Munkar and Nakir, and the punishments they are supposed to inflict, feigned death and was buried alive. He was soon subjected by the two angels to an enquiry as to his faith and works, and as he was found wanting in many respects, they began to smite him with their iron clubs. None of the blows, however, reached him. Something that he could not clearly distinguish in the darkness of the tomb, but which seemed to resemble the moon in its circular form, interposed itself as a shield and warded off the blows.

He contrived to work his way out of his narrow prison and hastened to his relatives, who received him with amazement. After relating his adventures he came to know to what he had to attribute his merciful deliverance from flagellation by the ghostly clubs. At the very moment when the moon-shaped shield was giving him its shelter, the members of his family were in the act of preparing for a kanduri the apam cakes, which are in fact round like the moon.

Thus it became a certainty that apam-cakes exercise a specially favourable influence on the fortunes of the dead. Such is said to be the origin of the Achehnese custom of baking apam cakes and distributing them as kanduri in the 7th month of the year in the interest of their ancestors and deceased relatives.

Other apam kanduris.

Besides this great general feast two other customs of the Achehnese find their explanation in this legend, viz. 1° a domestic kanduri apam held on the seventh day after the death of any person and 2° a similar feast on the occurrence of an earthquake, which is supposed to have a peculiarly discomposing effect on the material remains of the deceased.

We may let the details of this explanation of the kanduri apam pass for what they are worth. At the same time it is quite conceivable that the custom had its origin in the worship of the dead; and a certain connection between the shape of the cakes which form the offering and some now forgotten notions connected with the moon is at least not impossible.

8° *Kanduri Bu* (*Shaᶜbān*). Throughout the whole of the Indian Archipelago this month is dedicated to the commemoration of the dead. This does not imply grief for their loss, but rather care for their souls' repose, which is not inconsistent with merrymaking. This solicitude for the welfare of the departed exhibits itself by the giving of religious feasts. According to the official or learned conception this is done in order to bestow on the deceased the recompense earned by this good work; according to the popular notion it is to let them enjoy the actual savour of the good things of the feast. All souls month.

Feasts for the benefit of any given deceased person are, as we whall presently see, only held during a short period after his death. In Acheh this period is even shorter than elsewhere, consisting of only 100 days. In Java there are further commemorations on the first two anniversaries and the 1000th day. Under the influence of Mekka it has even become the custom to celebrate the anniversaries of the departed so long as pious children or grandchildren survive to cherish their memory.

In the end, however long the interval, the deceased is personally forgotten, but is included in the ranks of "ancestors" or "spirits of the departed", occasionally commemorated at odd times according to the fancy of individuals, but as a rule during a single month in the year set apart for the purpose. The choice of the eighth month of the year for this commemoration, which in Arabia generally takes place in the seventh month, seems a further corroboration of the introduction of Islam into Acheh from the Deccan [1]).

The name of the month Shaᶜbān in many native languages is borrowed from this pious custom. In Javanese it is called *Ruwah* or month of all spirits, and in Achehnese Rice-kanduri, since on some one day of this month every household holds in honour of the departed a religious feast, in which rice forms the principal dish.

Rice is, indeed, the chief comestible in many other kanduris and in purely secular feasts, but in Acheh the name of "religious rice feast" is specially given to the kanduris in honour of the dead, whether in the 8th or in other months. Whenever any chance occurrence inclines them to show their ancestors that they are not forgotten, the people cook rice and its accessories and invite the teungku to consecrate such Rice-kanduris.

1) *Qanoon-e-islam* p. 166: "On the 13th of the month (Shaban), either during the day or in the evening, they prepare in the name of deceased ancestors and relatives *polaoo* and curries etc."

an occasional kanduri with his prayers. This is called simply "having recitations made over rice" (*yuë beuët bu*), and the prayer most in use on such occasions is called *du'a beuët bu* = "prayer to be offered over rice". This is called in Java the *prayer of tombs*, since it begins with the words "Oh Allah, let mercy descend on the dwellers in the tombs" [1]). An artistic reciter varies this, when the feast is celebrated with unusual *éclat*, by a more elaborate and longer prayer, whilst the most ignorant recite in its place the fatihah or first chapter of the Qurān, which every child knows by heart.

Thus each family has its "recitation over the rice" during the month *kanduri bu* on whatever day best suits its convenience. This is done for the benefit of the dead (the *ureuëng chi'* or ancestors as they are called) and also for that of the living, whose prosperity is according to the popular belief directly dependent on the respect they pay to the dead. It is said for example that anyone who had his worldly wealth increased by the inheritance of a dead man's property, would quickly lose this profit if he neglected to celebrate the *kanduri bu* with the requisite pomp and circumstance in the same year.

The adat requires that the *teungku meunasah* be invited to this feast. He can either recite the prayer himself or empower another to do so.

The Javanese custom of clearing the graves of ancestors and rehabilitating their exterior during the month of Shaᶜbān is unknown in Acheh, where the resting places of the dead are neglected to such a degree that it is difficult to find them in the third generation. In Acheh too, the feasts of all souls are always held at home, while in Java people assemble for this purpose at the burial-places.

The malam beureu'at.

The special sanctity of the "night of the middle of Shaᶜbān", called *malam beureu'at* in Acheh (in the Deccan *Shab-i-barat*) is believed in by all Mohammedans. It is supposed that on that particular night Allah determines the fate of mortals during the forthcoming year. The most popular idea is that there is a celestial tree of symbolic import, on which every human being has a leaf to represent him. This tree is shaken during the night preceding the 15th of Shaᶜbān, causing the leaves of all those who are to die during the coming year to fall.

In Arabia many watch through a part or the whole of this night, and offer up a prayer, invoking Allah's mercy, and beseeching him to

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1) اللهم انزل رحمة على اهل القبور الخ.

blot out from his eternal book the calamities and adversity destined for the suppliant. Such a prayer is in Acheh only offered up by the special representatives of religion. Most of the adult males celebrate this night by a small and simple kanduri (*kanduri beureu'at*) in the meunasah of their gampōng. Some hold during the evening a special prayer, the *seumayang teuseubèh* (Arab. *çalat at-tasābīḥ*) or "service of praise". All assemble for this service, and one of those present is chosen to act as imām. This prayer resembles in essentials all other *çalats*, but is distinguished by the constant repetition of a certain tasbīḥ-formula known in Arabic as *tasbīḥ* [1]) in praise of the Creator, in each of the four parts into which it is divided.

Others perform, in place of this *seumayang*, what is called the *seumayang hajat*, prescribed as the introduction to special supplications addressed to the Deity. A seumayang hajat consists of two parts (*rakᶜah*). During the *malam beureu'at* three such prayers (thus comprising six *rakᶜahs*) are sometimes offered up. Each of these has its particular motive, the first being for prolongation of life, the second for the necessary means of supporting life, and the third for a blissful end.

This kind of *seumayang* is however celebrated by the women with much greater zeal than by the men. They either perform the service of praise under a female imam or the "seumayang hajat" each one for herself.

The end of this 8th month, and in particular the three last days, are marked by an extraordinary activity owing to the preparations for the Puasa or Fasting Month. We have seen above that it was of old the custom in Acheh to fix the beginning of the fasting month (in other words the day of the new moon following immediately on Shaᶜban) by *calculation*. The efforts of Habib Abdurrahman and other zealots to introduce the ru'ya or actual observation of the new moon as the only lawful method met with little sympathy. In Pidië there has prevailed for many years a difference of opinion as to the determination of the commencement of the Puasa, resulting in quarrels between the various gampōngs and actual discrepancies in their calendars.

The three sagis followed the usage of the capital, where the first day of Ramadhan was made known so long beforehand, that everyone

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1) *Tasbīḥ* in its shortest form is the ejaculation of the words "Subḥāna 'llâh (سبحان الله) "praise be to God" the constant repetition of which is deemed to atone for sin. (*Translator.*)

could tell in advance what the last three days of Shaʿbān would be, whether 27—29, or 28—30.

The chief object of the preparations during these three days is to ensure an abundant provision for breaking the fast every evening at sunset and enjoying a final meal before earliest dawn. It is also sought to provide against being obliged to make purchases of any kind during the fasting month. The fasters are as a matter of fact too exhausted to give the ordinary amount of attention to trade in the daytime [1]), so that the markets are nearly empty during these thirty days of mortification.

The two meals per diem between nightfall and daybreak which form each man's allowance in the month of Puasa, are made as nourishing as possible, as otherwise he would not have strength to fulfil the religious obligation of abstinence. At the same time the most palatable food, such as is not in daily use at other times, is chosen in order to guard against a gradual loss of appetite and consequent indisposition. Thus the stockfish which forms the staple animal food daily consumed by the Achehnese, is during the fasting month replaced by meat, which is at other seasons rarely used in most households and regarded as a luxury [2]).

The slaughter and the three-days fair.

Hence comes the ancient custom of buying a stock of meat in every gampōng during the three days preceding the commencement of the fasting month. On the last day before the fast, the people feast abundantly on the meat, and pickle the remnants with salt, vinegar etc. to form a provision calculated to last about 15 days. To satisfy this universal demand for meat, the highlanders come down with their cattle for sale to the chief town. In former times [3]) there was a regular fair in Banda Acheh during those three days, as a store had to be laid in not alone of meat, but of all other household necessaries as well, sufficient to last for a month. Both men and women in Acheh

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1) The same may be said of the Malays of the Peninsula. Those who have fixed employment work most unwillingly during this month, while those who are beholden to no master do not work at all. In more populous places, especially in the large towns, the rule is somewhat relaxed; but the more pious observers of the fast will not swallow even their own saliva between earliest dawn and sunset in the month of Ramadhan. (*Translator.*)

2) See p. 32 above.

3) Before the war with the Dutch. When this war began, the highlanders were driven back to their mountain fastnesses, the Sultan fled to Keumala, and Banda Acheh became the capital of the territory seized by the Dutch and the base of their operations. (*Translator.*)

have a passion for such busy scenes, so that not only the buyers and sellers, but a great part of the population of the three sagis, all in fact who could afford the journey, used to come to the capital to join in the fair.

As early as the middle of Shaʿbān, the keuchi's and teungkus make their estimates for the forthcoming purchase of meat. Each inhabitant of the gampōng is asked how many dollars he intends to spend on meat, and thus they compute how many head of cattle it may be necessary to purchase. Two or three head is the general allowance per gampōng. The people of the XXII, and some of those of the XXVI Mukims are in the habit of slaughtering many cows on such occasions. Elsewhere, as in the XXV Mukims and the territory not included in the three sagis, they slaughter male buffaloes by preference, since it is believed that the use of too much cow's flesh results in a certain sickness called *siawan* (Malay *sĕriawan*), the symptoms of which are cutaneous eruptions, decay of the teeth and loss of hair.

One of the common folk of the gampōng is entrusted by the keuchi' with the collection of the money. He is known as the *ureuëng tumunggèë*; after the purchases have been concluded he receives two dollars as recompense for his trouble. Before the war, however, the payment of the vendors used to be put off until just before the close of the fasting month, when the highlanders came down with their buffaloes for the second time. A new slaughter then took place to provide meat for the feast which marks the end of the fast, but not on as large a scale as the first.

The beasts are slaughtered by the teungku of the meunasah. Most Mohammedans, even though they neglect or are backward in the performance of their own religious duties, are very particular as to who it is that slaughters the animal of whose flesh they are to partake. He must be one well versed in the rules prescribed by the law in respect of the slaying of animals for food; and he must also be strict in the performance of his daily prayers and other rites enjoined by the Mohammedan religion. Thus it is that throughout a great portion of Java the *modin*, *kahum* or *lĕbe* (the "village priest," as Europeans call him) is the only butcher. As a reward for his trouble he receives the *kĕrĕdan* or neck of every animal he kills [1]).

1) In the Malay Peninsula the butcher is usually the imam of the mosque or a lebei; as recompense he is entitled to the hide of the slaughtered animal. (*Translator*).

This is nearly identical with the portion given as recompense to the teungku in Acheh, who is allowed to appropriate three fingers breadth behind the ears. This is called the *seumeuléhan* = "reward for slaughter."

The hide becomes the property of the meunasah. It is converted into a leathern prayer carpet or else sold, the proceeds being spent in the purchase of kettles or such other utensils as are required for the preparation of kanduris.

Until the later years preceding the establishment of the Dutch in Acheh, this three-days' fair was one of the most bustling of festivals. We can conjecture from this what it must have been when the port-kings of Acheh as such were at the zenith of their glory. The direct participation of the Dalam (the Sultan's Court) in this annual market was in these latter days limited to certain traditional customs which merely kept alive a feeble reminiscence of the past. These paltry survivals of the old ceremonial are however the only portion of it of which we have any accurate knowledge.

The Sranta. On the first day of the fair, just before noon, the *Sranta* took place. This was a proclamation with beat of gong, in the name of the Sultan, that the annual market had begun.

Five or six young men of the Sultan's suite (which as we have seen was not recruited from the best class of the people) appeared in the market, where buyers and sellers had already assembled in unusually large numbers. Business was however in full swing in the market before its official inauguration, for every one knew that the fast was close at hand, and even the exact date of the first day of the Puasa became generally known long before its official announcement.

The emissaries of the Sultan now proceeded to beat loudly and repeatedly on a great gong in the midst of the bustling crowd, and in the intervals between the strokes one of their number, who acted as herald, cried aloud the following words "Twenty-six, twenty-five, twenty-two [1])! Such is the command of our lord (the Sultan): on this day (the cattle is) brought down (from the highlands); to morrow let the beasts fight; the next day let them be slaughtered."

The adat permitted these royal messengers to take without payment

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1) The people of the three sagis of Great-Acheh, the XXVI, the XXV and the XXII Mukims are here addressed, the same traditional order of precedence being observed which we have already (p. 140 above) noted in connection with the coronation of a new king.

on this day all that they wished of the victuals, sirih, tobacco etc. displayed on the stalls. Owing, however, to the large attendance at the fair and the unusually large number of sellers, these last did not individually suffer much from the depredations of this little band of marauders.

The names given to the three non-official feast days correspond exactly with the herald's proclamation. Collectively they are known as *uròë ma'meugang*, which appears to mean "days of the inauguration of the fast" [1]).

The first day, that is the 27th or 28th of the month, is called *uròë peutrōn* = "the day of the bringing down," the next *uròë pupò'* = "the day of the fighting," and the last *uròë seumeusië* = "the slaughter day." This is also specially known as *uròë ma'meugang*.

We must not attach too exact a significance to these names. Live stock were brought down to the town before as well as on the *uròë peutrōn* and also if necessary on the following day. The *uròë pupò'* was not devoted to beastfights as the word might lead us to suppose. Popular as this amusement is among the Achehnese, no one had time for it on this busiest of all market days. The name was given half in jest, because this was the day of the fair on which most cattle were sold and thus underwent examination with a view to their purchase. This examination is named after the trial of strength of their beasts which excites such universal interest among Achehnese onlookers.

The great crowding and bustle of the *uròë pupò'* always gave rise to street fights, generally originating in accidental affronts such as occur in all densely crowded gatherings. It is said that the highlanders, ever eager for fighting and pillage, used to seize the opportunity to appropriate their neighbours' goods during the conflict which they had purposely provoked with that very object.

The "day of slaughter," alone of the three, corresponds exactly with its name. On this day the teungku slaughters the beasts, the authorities of the gampōng divide the meat among the purchasers, the women cook it; in short, the whole community is in a state of incessant bustle.

In spite of the coming privations the approach of the fasting month

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1) In Malay the days immediately preceding the fast are called *mĕmĕgang* or *hari mĕmĕgang* while the Javanese name them *mĕgĕng*. The Achehnese attach no special meaning to the expression and regards it as being of foreign origin.

is joyfully welcomed. Those who have begun to join in the fast while still young can endure the daily abstinence without much effort, if not required to do any heavy work during this month, and if allowed to accomodate their occupations to the change of living which the fast involves. The nights of the Puasa in an Achehnese gampōng are full of noisy merriment, especially among the young men in their own particular sphere, the *meunasah*. With this in view, these combined clubs and chapels are put into some sort of order at the end of Shaʿbān. They are cleaned up — which they require only too much — the big lamp is brought out and hung up etc.

The Fast. 9. *Puasa* (*Ramadhān*). The month, like the day, begins at sunset. We have seen [1]) how in old times the commencement of the day was announced in the capital of Acheh by the firing of a gun from the Dalam, and how the right of firing this shot (*nòbah*) was regarded as one of the high prerogatives of the sultan. Such was also the case with the sunset that began the fasting month; but seven shots were fired to call attention to this important epoch. On the subsequent days of the fast the customary single shot was thought sufficient, and served as a signal for the universal *bukah* (the breaking of the fast).

The Mohammedan law does not brook the most trifling breach of the prescribed abstinence. The smallest particles of solid or liquid food or the smoke of tobacco or opium entering the body between the earliest dawn and sunset make the fast day null and void and render it necessary to repeat it later on. As regards the breaking of the fast, each one may follow his own inclination, but it is considered *sunnat* or commendable to take some food immediately after sunset, and equally so to have another meal before the break of day. This latter is called *sawō* (a corruption of the Arabic *saḥur*) by the Achehnese.

That none may miss the time for preparing and eating the sawō-meal, the great drum (*tambu*) in the chapels is beaten at intervals from 1 to 3 A. M. In the days of the sultanate an additional warning was conveyed by means of a cannon-shot (called *sambang* [2]) fired about 4 A. M. to warn the people that "a white thread might now be told from a black," as the text of the Qurān has it, i. e. that the time of the *sawō* had come to an end.

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1) P. 128 above.

2) The Achehnese now apply this name to the morning and evening guns fired by the Dutch garrison.

The fast is faithfully observed by many and publicly transgressed by none. Every one is aware that heavy opiumsmokers cannot abstain. Others who find the abstinence too severe, surreptitiously consume cakes, fruits, sugarcane etc., but would be ashamed to have cooked food prepared for them. They also partake unblushingly of the breakfast at sunset and of the sawō-meal. They dare not chew sirih in the daytime, since that leaves traces which cannot be all at once obliterated.

In Acheh, as in Java [1]), there are many bad observers of the fast, who to ease their consciences fast on the first and last, and sometimes also on the middle day of the month.

The liberal view that prevails in parts of Java, that the smoking of tobacco does not affect the fast, finds no serious supporters in Acheh. Many Achehnese, however, make endurance easier by occasionally rubbing their teeth (and perhaps their tongue too by accident!) with tobacco. In defence of this practical they point to the fact that the religious law strongly recommends the cleansing of the teeth by rubbing them with the end of a stick of some soft sort of wood [2]). It differs then but little, they say, whether tobacco or some other plant be employed for this purpose.

The meunasah in the fasting month.

The second meal is generally taken at home, but during the fasting month almost all the people of the gampōng are wont to assemble at the meunasah to await the sunset. At the appointed time they partake of a meal prepared from general contributions under the supervision of the teungku, and share in the *seumayang mugréb* or at least remain as spectators during its performance. Even notorious opiumsmokers contribute their share and do not fail in attendance, though they do not even make a pretence of sharing in the meal through fear of being laughed at. They choose a place in the balè near the meunasah, or at least refrain from entering the latter.

The customary dish for this preliminary breakfast is a porridge (*kanji*) made from rice and various leaves pounded fine. It is cooked by some poor old man of the gampōng, who gets from the teungku a share of the pitrah for his pains. The assembled villagers have each

1) In Java this method of keeping the fast is jestingly called *tutup kĕndang* = "the closing of the drum," the allusion being to the empty space enclosed between the two skin coverings at either end of a drum.

2) This method of cleaning the teeth is called *sugòè* (Mal. *sugi*). So the Achehnese say in the month of Puasa "*sugòè bakōng hana peuè*" = "rubbing (the teeth) with tobacco does not signify."

a cocoanut-shell or a small basin to contain their share [1]). When the sunset prayer, during which those who take no part therein remain seated at the back [2]), is finished, all return home to satisfy their hunger.

After 7 P. M. the men, especially the younger ones, reassemble by ones and twos in the meunasah to celebrate the *ᶜicha* or evening prayers, and in particular to be present at the *trawèh* which succeeds them.

The trawèh.

The *trawèh* (Arab *tarāwīḥ*) are ordinary prayers of the kind classified as voluntary but recommended by the law. Most *seumayangs*, whatever their special appellations may be, differ from one another only in the number of their subdivisions (*rakᶜats*) and some trifling distinctions in the form of the ritual. Thus the *trawèh* are composed of 20 subdivisions, each pair of which is separated from the rest by a *taslimah*, which consists in sitting with the head turned first to the right and then to the left and invoking a blessing on all believers. This as a general rule takes place at the end of the whole seumayang. The trawèh may be held only in the fasting month, on every evening and night between the *ᶜicha* and the morning, i. e. from about 7.30 P. M. to 3 A. M. The usual time is immediately after the *ᶜicha* or about 8 P. M.

The practice of Mohammedans in regard to the division of religious works into *obligatory* and meritorious differs in many particulars from the teaching of the law. Many things which the law treats as imperative obligations, as very pillars of the creed of Islam, are neglected by the great majority, whilst other observances which may be passed by without any risk of incurring divine punishment, are esteemed indispensable by the mass of the people.

Thus throughout the whole Mohammedan world many persons take part with extreme zeal in the trawèh service, who unblushingly neglect daily religious duties which they are under a strict obligation to perform. This popular over-estimation of the trawèh is explained by its connection with the fasting month.

Popular conception of the fasting month as a month of expiation.

In like manner the fast itself has a higher place in the popular estimation than in the law. It is indeed one of the main pillars of the creed of Islam, but in actual practise it is improperly accepted as the

1) Some meunasahs have attached to them patches of rice-land, the gift of devout persons who have set them apart as *wakaf* to meet the expenses of such frugal repasts. These are called *umòng iè bu* = "Rice-fields for rice-water."

2) Such a thing would be inconceivable in Arabia; in that country he who neglects the çalāt (obligatory prayers) dares not attend a public service. Even in Java the feeling of shame for such an act is much stronger than in Acheh.

greatest pillar of all, since hundreds who never perform a single seumayang (a duty just as obligatory as the other) are faithful observers of the fast. It is as though this one month of abstinence were to excuse all the neglect and transgressions of the past eleven. Thus every observance that specially appertains to this month of expiation, whether it be obligatory or merely meritorious, is eagerly carried out in the fullest possible manner.

In Java also, people partake in the trawèh who never think of attending a Friday service, to say nothing of performing the daily seumayangs in mosque or *langgar* (chapel).

In Acheh, however, the trawèh service as celebrated in the meunasah savours much of a caricature. Of all the assembled company one or two at most, generally not even one takes an active part in the prayers; they allow them to be performed by the teungku alone, who properly speaking should only act as leader. Without the slightest token of respect, all the others sit smoking or chewing sirih. At the *Amin* with which the teungku closes the recitation of the Qurān appertaining to each subdivision (rakᶜah) of the seumayang, all those present join in with a yell. In like manner they take part with loud vociferation in the invocation of blessing on the Prophet which as an interlude separates the ten pairs of rakᶜahs of the trawèh from one another. They do not properly repeat the formulas whereby such invocations of blessing should be confirmed, but corrupt them by absurd imitations [1]).

Ulamas and other devout persons take no share in these follies and forbid their sons taking part in them. Indeed many of the teungkus find the excessive noise unendurable, and it has happened that one of their number threatened to cease his ministrations on account of it. So far from regarding his admonition the boldest of the young householders present replied that if he did so he would receive no pitrah from them on the feast-day at the end of the fasting month.

Thus we see how in Acheh some Mohammedan institutions have degenerated into unrecognizable forms.

Popular interpretation of the pitrah.

The *pitrah* is a tax payable at the end of the fasting month by all whose means allow of it, on behalf of themselves and all who are dependent on them for support. The payment is made in kind, that

1) For instance the teungku says: *Allāhumma ṣalli ᶜala sayyidinā Muḥammad* ("O God, bless our lord Mohammed") to which they scream the response *salala alèm wa'alòyhém*, instead of *ṣālla 'llāhu ᶜalaihi wasallam*.

is to say in grain of the sort which forms the staple foodstuff of the country. It is intended for the selfsame class of indigent folk who are supported by the zakāt, and its special object is to make it easier for them to participate in the feast which succeeds the fast. A person such as the Achehnese teungku ought properly only to act, in reference to the pitrah, as collector and distributor, receiving for his pains a suitable recompense payable from the pitrah itself.

The *trawèh* is a religious exercise, recommended to all during the nights of the fasting month. Each may perform it in solitude, but its celebration by the whole community under the leadership of an imam is more meritorious.

So says the law; but what is the actual practice in Acheh? There the trawèh is a religious exercise which the teungku has to perform for all, and the pitrah (which has not properly speaking the smallest connection with it), is a contribution for the benefit of the teungku, regarded as his recompense for the performance of the trawèh!

The meudarōih.

The trawèh farce is succeeded by the Qurān recitation. It is understood that the recital of the Qurān in conformity with the rules of the art (provided that the declaimer be in a certain state of ritual purity), is always a pious work which Allah will bless with a great reward. All good works, however, are much intensified in merit when performed during the month of Ramadhān. To repeat it once more, this is in the popular conception *par excellence* the month of religion. In this month the pious and the learned recite occasionally in the daytime a passage of the holy book, as much as they can find strength for; but the nightly recitation in the chapels is a universal custom. After the conclusion of the trawèh service in the meunasah, certain experts volunteer to recite passages from the Qurān, and make it their endeavour if possible to bring to a conclusion (*tamat*) once or oftener during the month, the thirty subdivisions of the Book.

This most wearisome task they take by turns. Those who sit by usually have before them a copy of the Qurān, so that they may prompt and correct as they listen (*sima'* as the Achehnese say, from the Arab. *simāᶜ* or more correctly *samāᶜ* = "hearkening"). Such public recitation, wherein one always chants while all the rest listen in silence, is called *meudarōih* [1]). In this also the teungku acts as conductor; the

1) Jav. *darus*, Mal. *tĕdarus*; recitation by a number of people in chorus is called *meuhatam* in Achehnese = Mal. *bĕrchatam*.

rest of the reciters are *maléms* and *leubès* who in many cases have taken no share in the trawèh at the meunasah, preferring to celebrate it elsewhere in a more becoming manner under the leadership of an ulama.

The people of the gampōng do not remain listening to the *meudarōih* till much past 10 P. M., but the recitation continues till about 1 A. M., when the *tambu* begins to sound as a warning that the time for the sawō-meal is at hand. They exhibit their interest in the proceedings, however, by bringing, each in turn, trays containing various sweetmeats, fruits etc., for the use of the reciters and their audience.

Peutamat darōih.

Where a party thus assembles together to recite the Qurān, it is customary to celebrate the conclusion of the Sacred Book in somewhat festive wise. For this occasion there are special prayers, *ḍikrs* and *rātibs*, and a special meal. Feasts of this sort are held in every meunasah on one of the nights of the fasting month subsequent to the 15th. In deciding on the night, however, it is not so much considered whether the thirty parts of the Qurān have been exactly completed, as whether the time will suit the people of the gampōng and their guests.

The people of the entire mukim are not invited to this *peutamat darōih* (as they are to the kanduri Mò'lōt), but only those of the gampōngs in the immediate neighbourhood.

Some days beforehand, the authorities of the gampōng begin collecting the money contributions. Goats are slaughtered and the rice with its accessories is of course provided. These viands serve not only to break the fast, but also to satisfy the appetite, so that on this evening the people do not go home for their supper.

On this occasion the trawèh is succeeded not by the usual meudarōih but by an excessively noisy *ratéb*. This (the *ratéb Saman*, so called from Sammān, the founder of a *ṭarīqah* or mystic order, who died at Medina, 1152 Hijrah), is especially popular among all native Mohammedans of the old stamp. The constant use of this ratéb has given rise in various places to the introduction of sundry variations and additions, which without exception serve to accentuate the appalling noisiness of this religious exercise.

Such is especially the case in Acheh. First of all certain formulas in praise of Allah are chanted in measured time by the assembled company. Then the time grows gradually faster and faster, the incess-

antly repeated formulas become shorter (e. g. *hu Allah! hu da'ém! hu!*) and the voices rise to a shrill scream. The yelling fanatics, sweating with the violence of their transport, rise up, sit down again, leap and dance and often fall down at last in sheer exhaustion — from the ecstasy arising from their contemplation of the divine, as they choose to deem it. This condition is called *dò'* [1]) by the Achehnese, and to this most clamorous form of the ratéb Saman they give the name of *ratéb mènsa* or *kuluhét.*

Any of those present who betrays a manifest reluctance to share in the general excitement is sure to be forced to join the crowd in a manner not too pleasant for himself. Indeed serious disturbances sometimes arise from the annoyance felt at such indifference. For this reason the authorities both of the gampōng which is performing the *peutamat daröih* and the others whose inhabitants have come there as guests make a point of attending on such occasions.

Punishments inflicted on those who neglect to attend at the meunasah.

In all matters of this sort the people of an Achehnese gampōng are very exacting. Anyone who does not sympathise in their favourite amusements is thought conceited, and his presumption is mercilessly punished. Woe to the man, especially the young man, who does not appear pretty regularly in the meunasah to attend the *trawèh* farce. After having practised patience for a couple of evenings, a deputation of gampōng people sets out on its punitive mission. The very least that they do is to force him from his dwelling by keeping up a diabolical din with the *tambu* or great drum of the meunasah beneath his house, until he "comes down" for very shame.

Frequently, however, such arrogance is humiliated in the same manner as that of a young bridegroom, who on his arrival in his wife's gampōng after the completion of the marriage ceremony, fails to perform with satisfactory zeal the sundry politenesses prescribed by the adat towards his new fellow-villagers. This punishment consists in smearing with human ordure the steps of his house, which he will in due course descend next morning at dawn, barefoot after the manner of all Achehnese.

Failure to participate is only tolerated in the case of leubès and ulamas and their relations from respect, and of chiefs and the members of their families from fear.

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1) From the Arab. *ḏauq* = "taste," which is also used among the mystics to denote the tasting of the higher spiritual enjoyments. In Achehnese it only means "trance."

The third of the annual kanduris held in the déah of Teungku Anjōng in Gampōng Jawa, takes place on the night of (i. e. before) the 14th of this month. The other two have been already mentioned under the months Mò'lōt and Kanduri Bu. This is more especially dedicated to the saint himself, who according to the Achehnese died on the 14th of Ramadhān 1196 (August 1782). It is thus called *kanduri Teungku Anjōng*. The kanduri of Teungku Anjōng.

A night of great importance according to Mohammedan teaching is the night of the *qadar* or "divine decree." This is the night on which, it is said, the eternal Qurān was sent down by Allah to the world below, to be finally revealed to Mohammed piece by piece through the agency of the Archangel Gabriel.

It is generally believed that on the day, or rather night which forms the anniversary of this great event, the whole creation feels its influence. On this special night, no less than on that of the middle of Shaʿbān, all manner of rich blessings are supposed to be dealt forth by Allah to those who keep vigil therein, wakeful and if possible engaged in pious devotions.

At the present time, however, no one can fix the date with certainty. The sole rule is the prevalent idea that the night of the qadar is one of the last five odd-numbered nights of the fasting month, i. e. the nights preceeding the 21th, 23d, 25th, 27th or 29th. A weighty reason is found herein for devoting *all* of them to devotional exercises!

These nights are in all Mohammedan countries spent by the devout in recitations from the Qurān and other such-like devotions. Here and there we find certain superstitious practices resorted to by the people for the purpose of drawing down upon their own heads the blessings of the qadar night. In Java feasts known as *malĕmans* are given on these nights by princes and other persons of distinction to a multitude of guests.

Among these five nights are two which in the general estimation dispute with each other the right to the name of qadar night with a greater show of probability than the other three, viz. the 21th and 27th. The 21th (*malĕm salikur*) enjoys this preference throughout a great portion of Java, a preference which displays itself principally in popular rejoicings. In Acheh it is on the night before the 27th that the greatest animation is displayed. Before every housedoor is set a lighted lamp with seven mouths, or "eyes" as the Achehnese call them. The young amuse themselves by letting off crackers (*beudĕ China* i. e. "little

Chinese guns" as they call them).[1] At sunset persons of substance bring complete idangs to the meunasah, so that on this occasion the celebrants of the feast may enjoy a hearty meal instead of the preliminary mess of pottage with which they usually break their fast.

The tradition has it, that during the qadar night[2] the very trees bow to the ground in awe in the direction of the *kiblat*, that is to say toward the Sacred Mosque at Mekka. This is firmly believed by the Achehnese, though with this restriction, that the phenomenon is rarely visible to the eyes of ordinary mortals. The young folk, however, make expeditions on the night of the 27th "to seek trees doing obeisance" (*taja' mita kayèë sujut*); but this popular expression must not be taken as seriously meant.

The jén in the fasting month.

The belief is also universal in Acheh that the jinn (arab. *jén*) are chained up during the fasting month, and thus, where hostile to man, powerless to harm him. Thus during the Puasa the fear of going about in the dark is reduced to a minimum.

There is no objection to marrying during the Puasa, but other seasons are of course preferred, since in this month the opportunities for feasting are so extremely limited.

We have seen that the markets are, for reasons easy to explain, practically closed during the first half of the fasting month. It must be added that during the first week, marketing is absolutely *pantang*, i. e. forbidden by the adat, the general opinion being that a breach of this rule entails misfortune. These *pantang* periods of seven days play a great part in Achehnese superstition. It is impossible to fish with luck during the seven days which follow the annual "sea-kanduri" of the pukat[3] fishermen. Anyone who wishes to undergo the treatment with the curative root of the peundang must follow a prescribed diet for $2 \times 7$ days; and similarly measured by the number 7 is the time allotted for the special diet of those who desire to practice the science of invulnerability.

Three days fair.

In the second half of Ramadhan the bustle of the market begins gradually to grow greater, and reaches its zenith in the last three days,

1) The paederasts take an especial delight in making their favourites contend with each other at their expense in this noisy pastime.

2) In Acheh it is spoken of simply as *malam dua plōh tujōh* (the 27th night).

3) Dragnet. These nets are almost exclusively used by Chinese fishermen in the Straits Settlements. The Malays angle with lines or catch fish in gigantic traps (*bĕlat* and *jermal*) formed of stakes. (*Translator*).

which form another regular fair. They bear the same names as the last three days of the previous month, viz. *uròë peutrōn*, *uròë pupò'* and *uròë seumeusië*; they are also known as the *uròë ma'meugang* [1]) *uròë raya*, since the word ma'meugang suggests the days which precede a feast. The slaughter of cattle at the end of the fast is almost as great as that before its commencement, while the trade in articles of dress and the like is much brisker. On the feast day which follows the fast all attire themselves in new garments, and the regard of a man for his wife and children is measured by the presents which he brings home to them from the fair. This is called "bringing home meat," although the gift usually consists of entirely different things. Meat, a luxury seldom used, was in ancient times an indispensable adjunct of festal rejoicings in the home.

Bringing home meat.

The poorer women and children, whose husbands and fathers are sojourning on the East or West Coast as pepper-planters, feel the full bitterness of their position on a feast-day. Their friends are careful to refrain from asking them the question addressed to other women at this feast-fair, "How much meat has your husband brought home?" i. e. "How much money has he presented you with?" To add to the grief and shame of the unlucky ones, they are greeted with compassionate looks, and the neighbours often give the children a piece of meat from the slaughter in which they cannot participate.

The feast-day which concludes the fast is fixed by calculation like its commencement, and is thus known long beforehand. A number of guns from the Dalam at sunset on the last day, used in the Sultans' time to convey the superfluous announcement that the first day of the feasting month had begun.

10. *Uròë raya* (*Shawwāl*). During the night before the commencement of the feast, the children once more let off numerous "little Chinese guns" (crackers). The women are busily employed with the preparation of food, especially *jeumphan* [2]) a kind of small cakes, which the adat

The feast at the end of the fasting month.

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1) See p. 227 above.

2) A *jeumphan* is made as follows. Some paste made of ground glutinous rice mixed with plantain pounded fine, is spread out on a plantain-leaf. Over this is sifted grated cocoanut and sugar; the paste is then rolled or folded into the shape of a cylinder or prism, and the leaf wrapped round it in the same shape. The parcel thus formed is closed at both ends and well cooked by steaming (*seu'òb*) or boiled (*reuböih*) in a little water. The *jeumphan*, which is also called *timphan*, most closely resembles what the Malays call *lĕpat* (Malay of Menangkabau *lapè'*).

strictly requires to be provided among the dainties laid before guests on the two Mohammedan feast-days.

It is regarded as 'pantang' for a husband to cohabit with his wife during the night of the feast. Transgression of this prohibition is supposed, should pregnancy supervene, to result in the birth of a child with too many fingers or toes or some other such deformity.

Guns used to be fired in the Dalam on the uròë raya from 4 A. M. till the afternoon. Early in the morning all the men go forth and take a "feast-bath" (*manòë uròë raya*). Besides this bath, the law strongly recommends a religious service to celebrate the feast (*seumayang uròë raya*). This is held in the chapels, great and small, or else without regard to place, in the morning after sunrise, and a sermon follows. In many countries this service, although not obligatory, is more strictly observed than other devotional exercises prescribed by the law. In Java, for example, most chiefs, even though they may never come near the mosque on a Friday, are strict in the observance of the feast-*çalat*.

Such is not the case in Acheh. Those who assemble to perform the *seumayang uròë raya* are composed of devotees met together by chance. Chiefs and even the teungkus of meunasahs take but little share in this service. In this case again it is the *women* who combine together in various places under a female teungku to celebrate these prayers.

Payment of the pitrah.

Before arraying themselves in festal attire, the men go to pay their *pitrah* to the teungku. All whose means allows of their paying this tax without fear of stinting their families, must contribute a certain quantity of the grain which forms the staple food of the place in which they reside. They are required to pay so much per head on account of each of those for whose support they are responsible, including their wives and slaves and in some cases their children and parents as well. The staple in Acheh is of course rice, and the Arabic legal measure has been fixed in Achehnese dry measure at 2 arès [1]) so heaped up so to rise in a cone at the top [2]). Hardly a single duty prescribed by the law is so faithfully observed throughout the whole Mohammedan world as this. Even those who are really hard pressed by its fulfilment, are loath to neglect this contribution. Persons of distinction in Acheh

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1) As to this measure see also p. 201 above.

2) This is called *dua arè meu'un* or *meu'ulèë* or *chuchō*.

as well as in Java make it even on behalf of their attendants (*rakan*), though the law by no means obliges them to do so.

This almost exaggerated observance of the rules as to the pitrah is attributable to the popular estimation of the fasting month as a period of expiation. It is supposed that small involuntary omissions in respect of the law of the fast are made good by the fulfilment of the pitrah. Thus the contributions are paid with the utmost readiness, in the hope that thereby the annual account with Allah may be duly balanced.

As we have already seen, the teungku, who according to the law should only act as a salaried collector or distributor of the pitrah, as a matter of fact appropriates the proceeds himself. Thus the great mass of the people are left to imagine that the pitrah is in its entirety an obligatory payment for the teungku's benefit. Such is also the case in Java with the desa-priests and desa-chiefs as they are called by the Dutch.

It is understood that the law is not content with the simple collection of the pitrah. It insists that every one who contributes should personally or by agent give evidence of his intent to conform to what the law prescribes. The Achehnese, who does not himself know by heart any suitable formula for the expression of this intent, gets the teungku to whom he brings the rice to dictate one in his place. It usually runs somewhat as follows: "This my pitrah for two (or three etc.) persons, which the Lord has required of me for this year, I now give (or make over) to thee, Oh Teungku! [1]).

Some add, "at they determination oh Teungku!" in which there lurks the suggestion that the distribution of the pitrah according to the law is confidently entrusted to him; but most teungkus refuse to receive the pitrah on such conditions. They believe that the sin of unlawful distribution (or rather appropriation of almost the whole of the pitrah to their own use) would be visited on them, the teungkus, if the giver expressed any such condition, whereas they hold themselves free of all responsibility if the pitrah is given to them unconditionally.

Many make the contribution in money instead of rice; this they do both for the teungku's sake, as he would otherwise be at a loss how to dispose of so much rice, and also to facilitate the transport of the pitrah itself. The Shafi'ite law requires, it is true, that the pitrah should

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1) *Nyòë pitrah lōntuan dua* (or *lhèë* etc.) *dròë ureuëng nyang Tuhan puwajéb dalam thōn nyòë lōn bri (jō') keu Teungku.*

be paid in kind; but there is nothing to prevent the teungku from selling to each of his visitors as much rice as they require to pay the pitrah for themselves and their people. This rice the teungku then receives back again from the donor of the tax, and thus a few arès which he keeps in store suffice for the collection of the whole pitrah.

In Java also this evasion of the law is pretty general. It enables the poor to contribute without difficulty, and at the same time gives the recipients the chance of collecting more than they otherwise could, for those who have only a few cents to offer, can purchase with these the necessary quantity of rice from the "desa-priest", even though it be worth more than they pay for it, since the seller knows that he will at once receive it back again.

Congratulations.

No sooner is the pitrah paid, than all put on their new clothes, fill their bungkōïh with an extra large supply of sirih and its accessories, and start off to pay the necessary visits of felicitation. The husband receives at home by way of congratulation the *seumbah* of his wife and children, which he acknowledges with a gesture, but without words. The mothers sometimes, in answer to the *seumbah* of their young children, take their heads in their hands and say "may you be happy (*bá meutuah*)!" Men who meet one another on the road take each other by the hand (*mumat jaröë*) in the well-known native fashion, sometimes adding the words "forgiveness for my sins" (*meu'ah dëësa lōn*), to which the reply is "the same on my side" (*di lōn pi meunan chit*).

The visits prescribed by the adat are few in number. The man must at the very least go and pay the compliments of the season with due respect to his parents and parents-in-law, while the visits of the women are as a rule limited to these two.

Visits even to the chief of their own gampōng are not customary unless he happens to be a person of means. The heads of the mukim (*imeums*) are waited on by all their subordinate keuchi's and teungkus, and many of the common people as well. The latter make obeisance from a respectful distance, just as in an ordinary visit. Sirih is first served to the visitors, followed by jeumphan and other sweetmeats. The drinking of coffee on such occasions is quite a modern custom but is gradually becoming more in vogue.

The ulèëbalangs are visited by few below the rank of teungkus. The latter with the keuchi's and imeums put in an appearance if they reside in the immediate neighbourhood of their chief, but neglect to

pay such a visit is not regarded as a serious breach of etiquette.

The prolix ceremonial with which such feasts used to be celebrated at the court in the brief period of prosperity of the port-kingship, and to which ancient documents (the *sarakatas*) bear witness, has been long since entirely forgotten. Within living memory the rajas of Acheh have but very rarely taken part in public worship and all that pertains to it.

On the second or third day of the month (never on the first) the ulèëbalangs in the neighbourhood of the Dalam together with some ulamas of distinction used to wait on the sultan during the course of the forenoon, on which occasion they were presented with some articles of dress. These visits were distinguished from other social gatherings of the Achehnese by the absence of all oratorical display. The Teuku Kali Malikōn Adé, who as master of court ceremonies was on terms of greater intimacy with the royal family than the rest, used to come and present his felicitations on the actual feast day, when he as well as the members of the Sultan's family and his household servants, received a share of the royal slaughter.

These visits and friendly meetings last about five days. During these feast-days the men indulge to an excessive degree in gambling, strictly forbidden though it is by the law of Islam. The village authorities, who on other occasions oppose such practices, or at least prevent their taking place within the walls of the meunasah, are wont at these times to shut their eyes to such transgressions. Amusements during the feast.

On the *urdë raya*, the first of the month, many go to visit their family burial-place (*bhōm*). This is another pious custom which is held in greater honour by the women than by the men. They decorate with flowers (*jeumpa*, *seumanga* and the *bungòng peukan* or "market-flowers" as they are called) the head of the tomb which they wish specially to honour, and burn some incense there. The more devout also offer up a prayer at the sacred spot, or else recite the *fātiḥah*, the Mohammedan Lord's Prayer.

The six days fast after the feast day, the observance of which is recommended in the books of the law, is kept by scarcely any one in Acheh. In Java, where the observers of such a fast are also few and far between, a small feast is often held on the 8th, properly speaking in celebration of the end of this period of abstinence. This feast, breaking a fast where no fast exists, is unknown in Acheh.

The "shut-in" month.

11. *Meu'apét* (*Dul-qa'dah*). In various other native languages as well as Achehnese, this month is known by names which signify "pinched" or "shut in". The name is now generally believed [1]) to have originated in the fact that this month comes in between the two in which the official feasts of Islam are celebrated [2]).

On account of this "shutting in", the 11th month is considered unsuitable for the undertaking of any work of importance, such as a marriage or circumcision etc.

The "Great Feast."

12. *Haji* (*Dul-ḥidjah*). On the 10th day of this month the great sacrificial feast in connection with the Hajj is celebrated in the valley of Muna (the ancient Mina), which lies to the east of Mekka. The books of the law recommend, though they do not imperatively prescribe, the holding of public prayers in other places some time after sunrise on this day. These prayers are followed by the sermon proper to the festival, and it is also considered highly meritorious to sacrifice animals. The two preceding days are also regarded as specially eligible for voluntary fasts. Those who are performing the hajj, however, do not usually fast, as this cannot be required of them in view of the fatigues of their journey.

It is a very popular view in Java, that the feast-day of this month derives its significance from this identical fast [3]). And yet there are but few in Java, who submit to what is there called the *antarwiyah* and *ngarpah*, the fast on the days of tarwiyah and 'arafah, i. e. the 8th and 9th of this month.

Three days fair.

This two-days fast is only known in Acheh among devotees, and little practised even by them, — the less so, as the feast is preceded by a three-days fair of the same kind as we met with in the months Kanduri Bu and Puasa. The 7th is *uròë peutrõn*, the 8th *uròë pupò'*, the 9th *uròë seumeusië*, and the three taken together *uròë ma'meugang*. In

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1) Dr. Brandes has elucidated the original meaning of this name, which has no connection with the Mohammedan calendar, in a very interesting article in the *Tijdschrift van het Bat. Genootschap*, vol. XLI.

2) In Java the month has many more names than appear in the dictionary. Besides *Apit* (Sund. *Hapit*) = "pinched" and *Sĕla* = "interval" we find also *Longkang* = "interval" [curiously enough this word means a narrow drain or ditch in the Malay of Singapore. (*Translator*)], *Lĕgĕna* = naked (without any feast), *Silih Sawal* (just as *Rabi' al-ākhir* is called *Silih Mulud*) and *Rowah Haji* (as it were the Rowah month of the month Haji, on the analogy of the Rowah proper which precedes the other feasting month, Sawal).

3) Hence this day is often called *Ba'da Bĕsar* meaning (the day) after the fast of the month Bĕsar.

this latter case there was in the Sultan's time no *sranta* or proclamation by heralds.

In point of animation, however, this annual fair falls far behind the other two. On this occasion the object of the slaughter is not, as before the Puasa, to supply a store of cooked meat for a couple of weeks; and the buying of new clothes, which is universal at the end of the fasting month, is not customary in the month Haji.

The feast day itself is also a repetition on a much smaller scale of the *uròë raya Puasa*. Very few indeed give a thought to religious exercises. As a general rule the men take their festival-bath in the morning at the meunasah, exchange handshakes with the friends whom they meet on the road, and pay some festal visits, at which the *jeumphans* are in due course served to them after the sirih. Some also visit their family burial-places.

Sacrifices.

Sacrifices are often offered at this feast by persons of means. The law teaches that a single head of small cattle (goats or sheep) may serve as a sacrifice for one person, while seven persons may, if they so prefer, join in offering a single head of large cattle (oxen or camels). In Acheh the genus *bos* is generally selected for the *kurubeuën* (from the Arab *qurbān* = sacrifice). As a rule oxen and not buffaloes are chosen in spite of the pretty general preference for the flesh of the latter. This is connected with the very widespread belief in the Eastern Archipelago, that an animal offered as a sacrifice will hereafter serve the sacrificer as a steed upon the "plain of the resurrection" (*padang machha*). A goat is too small for this purpose, and a buffalo, accustomed as it is to wallow in mud and shallow water might inconvenience his rider by walking with him into a river or ditch.

Whoever wishes to make sacrifice, usually hands over the animal destined for that purpose to an ulama, that nothing may be lacking to the proper ceremonial, and that he who makes the offering may thus be assured of attaining his purpose. The animal is killed under the ulama's supervision, and the flesh distributed among the people of the gampōng.

Kurubeuën-feasts at Bitay.

Before the coming of the Dutch to Acheh, great (though in many respects profane) *kurubeuën* feasts used to be held in the gampōng of Bitay. People assembled there in crowds from the 10th to the 13th of the month Haji, and even for a couple of days longer. They came from the capital and the whole of the surrounding district, — nay, all the sagis lent their contributions to this noisy gathering.

We have already made acquaintance with this gampōng of Bitay [1]) (which belongs to the VI Mukims of the XXV), in telling the somewhat legendary story of the relations opened by a Sultan of Acheh in the 16th century with the Sultan of Turkey, and of the artisans lent by the latter to his Achehnese vassal to instruct his people. The tomb of Tuan di Bitay, who taught the Achehnese among other things the art of casting cannon, and the mosque which stands beside the grave are revered as sacred up to the present day. It is difficult to conjecture why this tomb in particular is esteemed the proper place for offering sacrifices in the month of Haji. We only know that Bitay came to be regarded as the place for these sacrifices, and that the feasts celebrated there assumed an entirely worldly character and became an offence to all devout persons. Gambling, cockfighting and sadati-games were the chief pastimes indulged in by the people who crowded thither, and the fights inseparable from such pastimes were not wanting. Thus the word *kurubeuën* acquired and still retains in the Achehnese vernacular the meaning of a heathenish tumult!

Sacrificial cattle were also slaughtered here in large numbers. The custom in Bitay required that all beasts brought for sacrifice should be slaughtered by a descendant of the local saint, who acted as the keeper of the tomb. At the sacrifice of each animal a number of articles were presented to the slaughterer on a tray (*dalōng*), viz. — two raw eggs, husked and unhusked rice mixed together, the various things which are usually employed for the cooling (*peusijuë'*) of a newly built house, or one in which a wedding has just taken place [2]), a flask of perfumed oil, a little *seureuma* (the well-known black powder for the edges of the eyelids), some *baja* (blacking for the teeth), a small mirror, a comb, a razor, a sunshade and a piece of white cotton cloth four ells (*haïh*) in length. All these things, including the toilet requisites, were applied by the slaughterer to their proper purposes. The "cooling" of all hot, destructive influences he performed in the usual way. After shaving a little hair off the animal with the razor, he held the mirror before its eyes for a moment and then covered it with the 4 ells of white cotton cloth as with a shroud. When all this had been done, the animal was killed; the remnants of the feast and the unused

1) See p. 209 above.
2) See p. 43—44, 78, 103, etc. above.

portion of the things on the tray formed part of the emoluments of the descendant of the sainted founder of cannon.

In Java almost precisely the same objects as those we have just described as contained in the tray, are added to a sacrifice by those who adhere to old fashions. The teaching of Islam contains nothing of the kind; there must without doubt be some pre-Mohammedan ideas at the bottom of these curious preparations for a sacrifice. At present the practisers of this method have but little to adduce in explanation of it except the conception of the animal as the future steed of him who offers the sacrifice; but it is self-evident that though some of the articles mentioned might have a meaning in this connection, it would require strange reasoning to prove the same of others among them.

With the exception of this busy scene at Bitay, however, the qurbān feast, though called "the great Feast" in the book of the law, is in Acheh and elsewhere the least significant of all. It cannot be compared in importance to the feast at the end of the fast which is officially regarded as its inferior.

Piasans.

In the month Haji in particular (though not exclusively) certain gampōngs club together to give a *piasan* (from *pĕrhiasan* = ornament), a purely secular feast with a selection of popular pastimes differing according to circumstances. On such occasions a favourite amusement is the letting off of fireworks, and especially the construction of what is called "a firework fort" (*kuta bungòng apuy*). This is formed of the stem of a cocoanut tree to which are attached, at different elevations, square horizontal wooden frames. These frames grow smaller as they approach the top and are fitted with slow burning fireworks.

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## § 3. The Civil or Season Calendar.

The lunar year and Agriculture.

The Achehnese are an agricultural people; "Agriculture is the king of all breadwinning", as their proverb has it [1]). Rice-growing, sugar cultivation, pepperplanting in the colonies of the East and West, as well as the growing of useful fruit-trees such as the cocoanut and

1) See p. 175 above.

arecapalm, — such are the occupations of the great mass of the population.

It must be understood that such a peasantry can make no use of their calendar of 12 lunar revolutions for the purposes of their calling, which is most intimately connected with the changes of the seasons. Each of the months of the lunar calendar of course gradually traverses all seasons at the rate of about 11 days per annum.

Notwithstanding this (and we find the same in Java), the ordinary Achehnese if asked when rice is sown, will at first reply that it must be done in, let us say, the months of *Haji* and *Asan-Usén*. He simply reflects that such was about the time in the last two years, and forgets for the moment that it was formerly otherwise. In the long run, however, he would notice his mistake, and so he makes his calculations and plans for agricultural work without any help from the Mohammedan calendar.

In most Moslim countries, indeed, there is, in addition to what we may call the ecclesiastical year, which follows the phases of the moon, a civil year which in some way or other keeps pace with the sun.

Turkish and Arabic solar years.

The Turks employ the Julian solar year, while the Arabs direct their attention to the 28 stations of the moon, constellations which the moon traverses in about a solar year. The Turkish system can of course only be successfully carried out in a country where there is a more or less regulated government and an official double calendar. Such a thing could not be thought of in Arabia, where on the other hand a calendar written in the clear heavens and exhibiting fresh phenomena every thirteen days, is in the highest degree practical.

Clear nocturnal skies are however indispensable for an astronomical knowledge on the part of the people, so comparatively widespread as to have made the Arabic moon-stations familiar to every one concerned. In the East Indian Archipelago observation of what takes place in the firmament is usually much impeded by cloudy skies and for a great part of the year quite impossible. All that has been found written in Indonesia on the subjects of astronomy and astrology is largely borrowed from foreign sources. The true popular astronomy in this part of the world sets to work with one or two great constellations, and the knowledge of the movements of these is confined to a few individuals, who enlighten their fellow-villagers as far as is necessary.

Orion in Java and his Belt in Acheh.

Orion is well-known to the Javanese peasants, who in different

localities give to this constellation the various names of "plough" (*wĕluku* or *wĕlajar*), "roebuck" (*kidang*), "village schoolmaster" (*guru desa*) and *kukusan*, the familiar conical basket in which rice is cooked by steaming. For the Achehnese, this constellation which they call "the Three Stars" (*bintang lhèë*) [1]), has a subsidiary meaning. They say that when the first of the three stars in the girdle of Orion shows brightest, the padi must be sown in the commencement of the time of the year recognized as seedtime. If the central one is the most brilliant, it should be sown in the middle of this period; if the most easterly, at the end. They also believe that a line joining the three stars exactly indicates the *kiblat*, or direction of Mekka, to which attention has to be paid in the performance of prayers. This latter idea also prevails in Java.

Venus.

Venus is also tolerably familiar to the Achehnese, though the uneducated people regard her morning and evening appearances as two distinct stars. The learned men of the gampōng know better; they call her in both cases the "group of nine stars," asserting that if one looks at Venus through a silk handkerchief (the equivalent of a telescope among Achehnese astronomers), one may clearly behold nine stars. The common folk call the morning star *bintang Timu* (Eastern Star) and the evening star the star of the deer (*rusa*), or of the thieves (*panchuri*), since her uprising is the signal for both of these to go forth and seek their living.

The *takat simalam* [2]) or "sign of the night" is not, any more than the star of the deer and thieves, employed by the Achehnese in their computation of the seasons.

The same is true of the Southern Cross, which is called "the Skate" (*bintang paròë*) and of some few other constellations which are distinguished by separate names in Achehnese.

The Scorpion and the Pleiades.

The great regulator of the seasons in Acheh is, however, the Scorpion (*bintang kala*); the Pleiades, which the Achehnese call "the group of seven stars" (*bintang tujōh*) or "many men" (*ureuëng le*), play a supplementary part.

We may here mention, though it does not tend much to the eluci-

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1) In Java also special regard is paid to these three stars, and it is they alone that are understood to be comprised in the names *kidang* and *guru desa*.

2) I have been unable to discover what star they refer to by this name, as I have never had an opportunity of having it pointed out to me by an educated Achehnese.

dation of our subject, the following curious piece of nomenclature. Two stars in the tail of the Scorpion, standing close to and opposite each other, which when seen with the naked eye give the impression of alternately extinguishing each other's brilliancy, are called by the Achehnese, infatuated as they are with a passion for fights between animals, by the characteristic name of *puyōh meulōt*, the Fighting Quails. The star which forms the tip of the Scorpion's tail is called *bòh glém* or the *glém* fruit [1]), because of the conformation (called by the Achehnese *boh glém* from its appearance) found on the tail of a real scorpion.

The keunòngs.

The Achehnese seasons, then, are regulated by the *conjunctions of Kala (Scorpion) with the moon.*

These conjunctions they call *keunòng* (Mal. *kĕna*) i.e. "hit", "come into contact with". They have found a certain guiding principle in the number of days that always separates the new moon from the succeeding *keunòng* or in other words (since the Mohammedan months begin with the new moon),in the sequence of the dates on which these keunòngs take place.

Let us begin by giving certain data with regard to these keunòngs and the intervals that separate them from the night of the new moon, borrowed not from Achehnese sources, but from particulars kindly supplied by Dr. S. Figee at Batavia [2]). Dr. Figee's calculations are based on the supposition that Antares, the brightest star of the Scorpion, is that specially selected for observation, so that the coincidence of that star with the moon would be regarded as *keunòng*. As a matter of fact the Achehnese do not confine themselves to a single star, but speak of keunòng whenever the moon appears anywhere within the Scorpion. Indeed they sometimes employ the expression, when it contributes to the uniformity of their series of numbers, even though the Moon and Scorpion may have already diverged to some little distance from one another. But all such differences are, as we shall see, of trifling importance, and do not affect the computation of the seasons by more than a day or two on one side or the other.

Computation of the keunòngs.

Between every two successive *keunòngs* [3]) there is an interval of

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1) The glém-plant is the *Coix lacryma* called *jali watu* in Javanese. The seeds are strung together to form necklaces.

2) I am greatly indebted to both Dr. J. P. van der Stok and Dr. S. Figee for the help they have frequently been so good as to give me in elucidating my data as regards the Achehnese astronomical system.

3) We must be understood here as using the word to mean the point of time when the right ascension of Antares, a star in the scorpion, is the same as that of the moon.

$27^1/_3$ days, so that on an average 13.363 keunòngs occur in the course of the solar year, or in other words, most solar years contain 13, some 14 keunòngs. The interval separating the keunòng from the preceding new moon is greatest in the first month of our solar year. In the course of the following months this interval decreases constantly by two or three days at a time, since the actual lunar month (from one new moon to the next) is always 2 to 3 days (29.5302—27.3333) longer than the period which elapses between two keunòngs. In November the difference is smallest; in other words the keunòng almost coincides with the new moon, while the following keunòng just precedes it, so that the difference is then a minus quantity.

The keunòngs and their lunar dates in 1892 and 1893.

We append a table showing the dates of the keunòngs occurring in the years 1892 and 1893, with the interval between each of these keunòngs and the new moon that preceded it.

| Dates of the keunòngs. | | Interval between the keunòngs and the preceding new moon [1]). |
|---|---|---|
| **1892.** | | |
| January | 25 | 25 days |
| February | 21 | 23 „ |
| March | 20 | 21 „ |
| April | 16 | 18 „ |
| May | 13 | 16 „ |
| June | 9 | 14 „ |
| July | 7 | 12 „ |
| August | 3 | 10 „ |
| August | 30 | 8 „ |
| September | 27 | 6 „ |
| October | 24 | 3 „ |
| November | 20 | 1 „ |
| December | 17 | As the next new moon falls on the 19th December, the difference should here be denoted by — 2, or if this keunòng is compared with the same new moon as its predecessor, by 28. |

1) Fractions of under $^1/_2$ a day are neglected; those of over $^1/_2$ a day are counted as a whole day.

| Dates of the keunòngs. | | Interval between the keunòngs and the preceding new moon. |
|---|---|---|
| **1893.** | | |
| January | 14 | 26 days |
| February | 10 | 23 „ |
| March | 9 | 21 „ |
| April | 6 | 19 „ |
| May | 3 | 17 „ |
| May | 30 | 15 „ |
| June | 27 | 13 „ |
| July | 24 | 11 „ |
| August | 20 | 9 „ |
| September | 16 | 6 „ |
| October | 14 | 4 „ |
| November | 10 | 2 „ |
| December | 7 | As the new moon falls on the 8th December, the difference should here be denoted by — 1, or if this keunòng is compared with the same new moon as its predecessor, by 28. |

Both years have thus 13 keunòngs. Where the first keunòng falls on one of the first days in January, as in 1886 (1st Jan.) or 1891 (7th Jan.) there are 14 in one solar year.

It will be noticed that the column showing the intervals separating the new moons from the keunòngs which succeed them, exhibits a fairly uniform decrease. The greatest interval varies in different years from 24—27 and the smallest from 0 — 2. This minumum interval is succeeded by a minus quantity and then again by a maximum, after which the series descends as before.

If we date the keunòngs according to the months of our own calendar, this uniformity is of course not so obvious as if we use the Mohammedan notation of time. In order to convert our series of intervals into Mohammedan dates, we have only to bear in mind the two following circumstances. First, that the Mohammedan month begins with the *visible* new moon, thus one to two days later than the new moon of our almanac; secondly, that while the day of the new moon

is in the above list reckoned as = 0, the Mohammedan month has no day that can be designated by a cypher, the day of its new moon being indicated by the figure 1. If we recollect this we may without much chance of error employ the following rule. To find approximately the Mohammedan dates on which keunòngs fall, add 1 to the numbers given above as representing the intervals between the new moon and the keunòng.

These are the data used by the Achehnese in describing the keunòngs; they further indicate the date of each keunòng by appending it to the name of the Mohammedan month in which it occurs. Suppose we say, for instance, "It is now the month of Sapha", this merely means that it is the second month of the religious (lunar) year, and that for the present there are no feasts to be looked forward to except the Rabu Abéh. But if we add the words "keunòng 11", it is then pretty generally understood that in this year the moon and Scorpion coincide on or about the 11th of Sapha. Even he who does not grasp this, still comprehends that the time for sowing padi is at hand, just as at home both townsman and peasant knows that the dog-days bring hot weather, although they may be unable to determine the actual date of that period of the year.

At the same time the Achehnese allow themselves a certain latitude in computing the keunòngs, which facilitates their use. According to the list we have given, the Achehnese keunòngs in our year 1892 would in theory fall successively on the following dates in their (the Mohammedan) months:

26, 24, 22, 19, 17, 15, 13, 11, 9, 7, 4, 2.

For 1893 the sequence would be:

27, 24, 22, 20, 18, 16, 14, 12, 10, 7, 5, 3.

From each of these series the last terms (29 and 30 respectively) are omitted, since these keunòngs fall within the same lunar months as their predecessors and are at the same time entirely invisible, as the moon does not appear at the end of the month. Thus the Achehnese omit this 13th keunòng in their computation, going on the theory that there is but one keunòng in each month, but that once in the year two keunòngs are separated by an interval double as long as that which ordinary separates these conjunctions. This specially long interval is called *keunòng tanggilé*, an expression the origin of which is no longer known. Some connect it with *tanggiléng* = the armadillo, asserting that this animal can only be caught during the period in question.

It is evident that the appellations of the remaining 12 keunòngs taken from the exact dates on which they fall in the lunar calendar, will differ little from year to year, though they will not be wholly identical. Thus the keunòng which in 1892 would be described as 26, would properly be called 27 in 1893 and so on. As the keunòngs are not by any means always capable of actual observation on account of the clouded state of the sky, the need is felt of a more fixed and regular arrangement, and one which can be easily remembered. For example, where actual observation is impossible there must be some means of knowing that it is now keunòng 21, because it was keunòng 23 in the preceding month.

The Achehnese keunòng series.

The Achehnese therefore assume — with full knowledge of the inaccuracy they are committing — that the figure representing the lunar date of each keunòng is less by exactly two than that of its predecessor. They invariably begin their series of keunòngs with 23, so that all keunòngs, according to their mode of expression fall on uneven dates. Of this they sometimes give a peculiar explanation. They assume that Christian and other non-Mohammedan peoples also reckon by keunòngs, and that their keunòngs always fall on odd dates. Some choice must be made, and as neither of the two conduces to accuracy, the Achehnese have chosen the uneven, both because the sacred tradition recommends all true Moslims to distinguish themselves as far as possible in all matters from the unbelievers, and also because Allah is regarded as having a special preference for odd numbers [1]).

The inaccuracy of this keunòng series (23, 21, 19, 17, 15, 13, 11, 9, 7, 5, 3, 1) hardly at all impairs the true purpose of the reckoning by keunòngs, i. e. the knowledge of the seasons. It even often happens that the keunòng is actually observed on a date which is theoretically incorrect, owing to the fact that the whole constellation is made the basis of the observation, instead of Antares or some other special star within it. And when the moon does not enter the Scorpion at all on the accepted date, but passes some little distance from it, this is ascribed to the errors consequent on the adoption of a series which diminishes in too uniform a manner. They are thus content with the *average* agreement between what they actually observe in the heavens and their

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1) There is a sacred tradition of Islam "Allah is uneven (for he is One) and he loveth the uneven".

keunòng series [1]). These periods can be distinguished by the numerals of their lunar dates and each of them constantly falls in the same season of the year.

To every lunar year there are almost precisely 13 keunòngs. Thus by neglecting the invisible one, which would properly be called 28, 29 or 30, and which falls in the great interval between keunòngs 1 and 23, we get exactly one keunòng for each lunar month. This makes the calculation extremely easy, but it is obvious that as we advance we shall in time arrive at a month in which the keunòng we obtain by observation falls on a different date from that which the series would lead us to expect. It is in fact at the end not of a lunar, but a solar year, that the keunòngs revert to nearly the same interval of time separating them from the preceding new moon. By continually counting off the Achehnese keunòng series with the months of the lunar year, we neglect the difference between the average number of keunòngs contained in a solar year (13.363) and the number contained in a lunar year (13 exactly). Thus about once in three years, — as often in fact as the keunòng phenomenon exhibits itself 14 times in a solar year, we must count one keunòng more than usual so as not to come into conflict with the calendar of the solar year which we find written on the heavens in terms of keunòngs.

Adjustment of the error in the series.

This necessary correction is made by the Achehnese in a purely empirical manner, for they have, at present at least, no proper basis of calculation whatever, — indeed they do not even understand the real meaning of the keunòng-calculation [2]). They notice of course at certain times, that the keunòngs of their series move faster than the real ones. As the observed sequence also fails in other respects to correspond *exactly* with the principles on which their series is based, they can fix no stated time at which the divergence of the two becomes excessive and calls for correction; one observes it earlier, another later.

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1) One of my informants told me that the series based on actual observation of the heavens would be as follows: 28, 26, 23, 21, 18, 16, 13, 11, 8, 6, 3, 1. We have seen that the series does not remain constant for every year, and if one particular star be taken as the basis of the calculation, the series supplied by my informant will never be absolutely correct for any one given year.

2) The most expert of my informants, who clearly understood that the customary correction of the keunòng computation is actually based on a different year from the ordinary lunar year, entirely failed to grasp the fact thas this was really the solar year, and supposed it to be one composed of 360 days.

For instance, the fact that the period known as keunòng 13 does not properly terminate till the 15th of the month would not be held to justify a correction if there were an approximate conjunction of the moon and Scorpion on, say, the 14th. But if it were seen that the heavens themselves persistently belied the sequence of the keunòng dates by two days or even more, then two consecutive months would be counted as keunòng 9 or keunòng 7 as the case might be, and the sequence would thus be rectified. Thus the expression keunòng 23, as employed by the Achehnese, almost corresponds to our January, keunòng 21 to our February and so on. Each of these names suggests to them the recurrence of certain definite natural phenomena which are wont to exhibit themselves during the keunòng in question, of definite tasks of agriculture or navigation whose performance is limited to that time, and of certain feasts which are held therein.

The Achehnese keunòng calendar for the year 1893.

We shall now give as a specimen the list of keunòngs for our year 1893 (the Mohammedan 1310—11) according to Achehnese nomenclature, adding in each case the European and Mohammedan month in which the keunòng falls. It should be carefully borne in mind that the correspondence of the European months with the keunòngs as here given holds good in other years as well, but that the Mohammedan months move one place lower down about every 3 years, the variation being corrected by applying the same keunòng to two successive months.

We shall also add notes illustrative of the ideas of the Achehnese in regard to the various keunòngs. One or two of these require closer explanation which we shall give presently when dealing with the subjects of agriculture and fishery. The Achehnese lore on the subject of the keunòngs of course holds good for all years alike.

1893 (= 1310—11 of the Hijrah)

I. (*Keunòng dua plōh lhèë* (23d Jumāda 'l-akhir 1310) = 12th January.

Padi which has not yet fully ripened at this keunòng is in danger, for a dry E. S. E. wind (*angèn timu padang*) usually blows during the nights of keunòng 23, causing the husks to burst open and shaking out the grain.

Although this keunòng belongs to the *musém timu* (N. E. Monsoon), when it is dangerous to sail from the capital to the N. or E. coast, it contains a period of from 5 to 7 days during which the voyage can be undertaken without risk, a sort of interval in the N. E. Monsoon.

II. *Keunòng dua plōh sa* (21st Rajab 1310) = 8th February.

In this keunòng the padi-harvest generally takes place and the *kanduri blang* ("religious feast of the field") is held. This is also the time for the sowing or planting of intermediate crops (such as tobacco, vegetables etc.).

In this or the following keunòng begins the *musém luaïh blang* ("season of the freedom of the land" i. e. when it is allowed to lie fallow); it is thus the end of the *musém pichê* or *kòt blang* (the season when the land is "cooped" or closed).

III. *Keunòng sikureuëng blaïh* (19th Shaʿbān 1310) = 8th March.

The month in which this keunòng falls is much the same as the last from the season point of view.

IV. *Keunòng tujōh blaïh* (17th Ramadhān 1310) = 4th April.

Sugar cane planted in this month blossoms but yields no juice. During this and the two following months the fish known as *lulōh* occasionally descend from the upper reaches of the river to near the sea. These fish take one day to come down and two to return upstream, and at this time it is possible to catch them.

A *kanduri laʾōt* (sea-kanduri) takes place in this month at Ulèë lheuë (vulg. Olehleh; cf X below.). The beginning of the *Musém barat* or S. W. Monsoon also falls within this month, and so does the maximum altitude of the sun at noon (*seunang mata uròëʾ*; it actually occurs on the 5th April.

V. *Keunòng limòng blaïh* (15th Shawwāl 1310) = 2nd May.

Some begin ploughing in this month. Stormy weather prevails at sea.

VI. *Keunòng lhèë blaïh* (13th Dul-qaʿdah 1310) = 29th May [1]).

This is the month in which ploughing is universally commenced. It marks the termination of the *musém luaïh* blang (cf. II above) and the beginning of the *musèm pichê* or *kòt blang* which lasts about 8 months.

VII. *Keunòng siblaïh* (11th Dul-hidjah 1310) = 26th June.

In this month or in one of the two which succeed it, the padi is sown. As we have seen above (p. 247) there are some

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1) It is understood that the occurrence of two keunòngs in the month of May is peculiar to the year 1893; in 1892 this happened in August.

who make their choice of the first, second or third part of this seedtime dependent on the relative brightness of the three stars composing Orions belt (*bintang lhèë*).

Just as the N. E. wind slumbers for 5—7 days in keunòng 23, so does the S. W. wind in this; during these days it is safe to sail from the capital to the West Coast.

VIII. *Keunòng sikureuëng* (9th Muharram 1311) = 23d July.

During this and the following month a certain species of land-crabs, called biëng kōng, "stray" about, apparently unable to find their subterranean abodes; *biëng-kōng wò*, the people say.

IX. *Keunòng tujōh* (7th Safar 1311) = 20th August.

Sugar-cane planted in this month is supposed to give the same results as we have noted above in the case of keunòng 17. Dogs ramble at this period (*asèë meuseutèt*). The sun at noon reaches his greatest altitude for the second time (*seunang mata uròë*).

X. *Keunòng limòng* (5th Rabīᶜ al-awwal 1311) = 16th September.

In this keunòng the *musém timu* (N. E. Monsoon) commences, and the second division of the seine-fishers (v. sub IV above) celebrate their *kanduri laʾōt* or sea kanduri.

XI. *Keunòng lhèë* (3d Rabīᶜ al-akhir 1311) = 14th October.

In this keunòng begins the most favourable time for the voyage from the capital to the West Coast. This period lasts till about keunòng 17.

XII. *Keunòng sa* (1st Jumāda 'l-awwal) = 11th November.

This keunòng owes its sole recognition to the fact that it must necessarily follow on keunòng 3 in order to maintain the regular sequence. It is not observable, since sun and moon then both stand in the Scorpion. The heavy rains commence in this keunòng; a very popular comparison is that of any terrifying noise with the rain of the keunòng sa (*ban ujeuën keunòng sa*).

In December the conjunction of Scorpion and the moon takes place just before the new moon (7th Dec.; new moon, 8th Dec.). It is thus incapable of observation, and is besides separated by another keunòng (*keunòng sa*) from the preceding new moon. It is thus excluded from the Achehnese reckoning. It is either entirely disregarded, the period from the first of Jumāda 'l-awwal (or of some other month in other years) to the 23d of the following month being considered as having no keunòng; or else

it is called *keunòng tanggilé* (see p. 251 above). It forms part of the rainy season.

As a subsidiary object of astromical or meteorological observation the Achehnese employ the Pleiades, the "group of seven stars" which they say now consists of six only, since one of the seven fell from the sky in olden times.

There is a well-known Malay pantun which runs as follows:

"Seven stars, six only now remain.
"One has fallen into Manjapahit.
"Athirst is my body as though I had fever,
"Increased still more by (other) sickness" [1]).

These "Seven Stars" or "Many people" are well adapted occasionally to replace the Scorpion, as their place in the heavens is directly opposite that constellation and they are thus often visible when observation of Kala is rendered impossible through the scorpion being below the horizon, or difficult owing to a partially clouded sky.

When the Pleiades set at about the same time as the sun, this is according to the Achehnese a sign of bad weather at sea. This happens in keunòng 15, that is to say in May.

When this constellation rises very early in the morning (as is the case in the beginning of July, i. e. about keunòng 11 or 9), then the favourable time for the sowing of the padi has begun. The conclusion of seedtime on the other hand is denoted by the Pleiades having already at early dawn reached an altitude which is defined as follows: if one who, at about 5 A. M., points exactly in the direction of the Pleiades, has to raise his arm so high that the bracelets rattle on his wrist, then seedtime is over.

The Prophet of old forbade the heathen Arabs to say, "we have got rain from this or that constellation," as there lurks in this saying a depreciation of God's omnipotence. In like manner pious Achehnese are wont to admonish their fellow-countrymen against regarding the keunòngs as the cause of drought and rain. For all that they recognize that it is Allah's established custom to cause a definite state of the

1) *Bintang tujoh tinggal anam*
*Jatoh sabiji di Manjapahit.*
*Aus tuboh sarasa dĕmam*
*Lagi tambah dĕngan pĕnyakit.*

The last two lines, which contain the poet's meaning, form the complaint of a languishing lover.

weather to recur after a definite number of keunòngs, and they generally guide their conduct accordingly.

There is a very widespread belief that if it begins to rain in any month before the keunòng, such rain will not prove continuous, but will pass off in mere showers. Should it however rain heavily on the day after the keunòng (*ujeuën ateuëh keuneunòng* = "the rain above the conjunction") then it is said that it will continue the whole month through.

## § 4. Agriculture, Tenths and Sugarcane Planting.

The seasons in connection with agriculture.

We have now become acquainted with the Achehnese year as measured by seasons. This we shall now pass once more in review in order to examine its relations with Achehnese agriculture. With this in view, let us commence with keunòng 21, (February of our year) when the rice harvest generally ends and the *musém luaïh blang* begins.

The musém luaïh blang.

What is known in Acheh as *blang* is a network of adjoining rice-fields, all those for instance which belong to one gampōng; — the "open fields" as we might call them. Lands which used to form rice-fields, but which have gradually been rendered too brackish for cultivation by the invasion of salt water, are also called "blang."

On the other hand, sawahs [1]) situated in swampy land are called simply *paya* (= "the swamp") or *buëng* in the specially swampy district known as the VII Mukims Buëng [2]).

In the lowlands, where the whole country has been reclaimed by man, uncultivated fields or plains are seldom to be seen, but in the highlands there are many such. These are called *padang*, and belong like the *blang* to definite gampōngs, though the rights which those who live in their vicinity can exercise in them, are not confined to a single gampōng, but extend over the whole mukim.

Public right to the blang.

The rice-fields (*umòng*) of the inhabitants of a given gampōng are thus usually to be found in the *blang* of that gampōng. When the rice-harvest is over, however, the whole *blang* becomes for the time more or less the common property of the gampōng, and every one may let

1) *Sawah* is the Malay word for rice-fields used in the Southern parts of the Peninsula (Johor, Malacca etc.) and also in Java. In Penang, Province Wellesley, Kedah etc. the word is "*bĕndang*." (*Translator*).

2) *Buëng* also means the terracing of sawahs made on the slopes of hills.

his cattle loose to graze there. The owner of an umòng may indeed employ this land for intermediary crops and protect his plantations by running a fence round them. Should he neglect this last precaution, no attention will be paid to complaints on his part against persons whose cattle have destroyed his property.

On the other hand the rule is very strict in regard to the depredations of cattle from the moment the padi is sown until the harvest is complete. If an animal trespasses during that period on a ricefield, the owner of the latter has the right to get rid of it without giving any warning, not by slaughtering it in the ritual manner, which would make it fit for food, but by running it through with a spear or cutting off one of its hoofs or the like. This happens pretty frequently and thus everyone must look carefully after his cows and bullocks and buffaloes for the 8 months, more or less, during which "the land is closed", *musém piché* or *kòt blang*. This harsh rule protects the padifields, which would otherwise be exposed to constant danger through carelessness or malice.

Gardens and other tilled enclosures do not require such protection. If an animal is so wild as to cause actual damage to the fences, then the person aggrieved must first warn its owner. The latter can then easily take measures to prevent a repetition of the trespass; but should he fail to do so, he too must expect that some angry cultivator will one day render the offending animal harmless for good and all.

Superstitions in connection with the agricultural seasons.

The *musém luaïh blang*, the period of the year when the land stands open to men and cattle, is also the appointed time for the setting up of tomb-stones (*pula batèë*), for the burning of lime (*tōt gapu*) and in the highlands for the piercing of the ears of young girls (*tòb glunyuëng*). It is generally believed that the rice of a whole field would be spoilt if tombstones were erected on the graves of departed relatives, or lime burnt in its neighbourhood, during the period between seedtime and harvest. It is also thought that the holes in the ears would never attain the *width* desired by the Achehnese women, if made during the time when the ground is "*narrow*", or "*closed*".

The field-kanduri.

In the beginning of the *musém luaïh blang* every gampōng holds on a day fixed by its authorities, its *kanduri blang* or field-feast. This religious feast is intended to assure the continuance of the prosperity of the common land which has just yielded its harvest.

The viands for this feast, such as rice, meat etc, are brought together

by voluntary contributions (*ripè*) on the part of the inhabitants of the gampōng. The men generally assemble in the fields in the afternoon; a malém consecrates with a prayer the kanduri, which then proceeds without further preliminaries.

The pepper kanduri.

Besides rice cultivation, the "king of all breadwinning", pepper-planting is also honoured in Acheh by annual kanduris. The Achehnese account for the origin of pepper by a legend similar to that which is current among the Arabs in regard to coffee. Some goats' dung sown by a saint grew up into the first trees which bore the delicious product of Mokha; while the first pepper-plants grew from the seeds of kapok [1]) (*panjöë*) planted by an Achehnese saint. It is supposed to be for this reason that they are propagated by the planting of cuttings instead of sowing. In honour of this saint, called Teungku Lam Peuneu'eun from the gampōng in the IX Mukims where his tomb is, the *kanduri bungòng lada* is annually celebrated on the East and West Coasts when the pepper blossoms. This however is not made the occasion of a public gathering, the feast being held separately in the house of each pepper-planter. Both for this reason and also because the pepper-plants do not all blossom at the same time, the period of these kanduris lasts as long as three months. The constituents of the feast are glutinous rice and its accessories. In a single house as much as a naléh [2]) of this rice is prepared.

Intermediary crops.

To return to the musém luaïh blang. It is of course during this period that the growing of intermediary crops takes place. These consist chiefly of jagōng (maize), vegetables and sugarcane. This last, if grown on a large scale, is planted in gardens to make sugar and molasses (*meulisan*). During the four months while the "land is open" the cane has not time to reach its full growth. Thus canes planted in the rice-fields are cut, in whatever stage of growth they may be, just before the ploughing time, and consumed in their unmanufactured state.

Ploughing.

Keunòngs 15, 13 and 11, but especially the last two, are the time for the ploughing (*meu'uë*) of the rice-fields.

A rectangular rice-field surrounded on all sides by little banks (*ateuëng*) is called *umòng*; it consists of one or more (though rarely

1) Known to the Malays of the Peninsula as *kabu-kabu* or *kěkabu*. The pods of this tree contain a substance resembling cotton, which is much used in stuffing pillows etc. The seeds resemble pepper in size and colour. (*Translator*).

2) See p. 201 above.

more than two) *yō'*. A yō', which is also used to signify the yoke of a ploughing buffalo, is the surface measure generally used for rice-fields, but its precise area is not accurately defined. It is assumed that a yō' is really a piece of land requiring a naléh of seed, but if an umòng is smaller, so much as even to take only half a naléh, it is still called *umòng siyō'* = one yō' of rice-land. Measurements of 18 different yō's taken in the territory of the XXVI Mukims gave results varying from about 1800 to about 3500 square metres.

Dependence of the wet rice-fields on the rain.

The padi-lands in Acheh proper, where not in swampy ground, are almost all what is called in Java *sawah tadahan*, i. e. they are fed by rainwater which they catch and hold by means of the little banks which surround them [1]). Rivers and streams are very rarely used for ricecultivation in Acheh, though they generally are in Pidië.

Lucky days.

Ploughing is accompanied by no religious ceremony. All that is done is to select a favourable day for commencing the work; the 6th, 12th, 16th, 17th, 22nd and 26th of the month are considered the best. The 6th is especially lucky, unless it happens to fall on a Friday, which day it is pantang, or strictly forbidden by the adat, to devote to agricultural labour. On the West Coast Wednesday is pantang for pepper-planting as well as rice-cultivation.

The ploughing of an umòng usually takes about 10 days, since after the first turning up of the ground it is allowed to rest for some days to kill the weeds that have been uprooted. The Achehnese plough (*langay*) (see pag. 262) has an extremely long handle (*gò*) and a very short ploughshare (*mata*). The buffalo is harnessed to it by means of a yoke (*yō'*) which is connected with the plough on the left side by a pole of arèn-wood (*éh*), and on the right by a rope (*talòë linggang* or *dham*). The cries of objurgation and encouragement which the ploughman addresses to his buffalo are exceedingly loud and frequent, so that any one standing some little distance off might imagine them to proceed from a crowd.

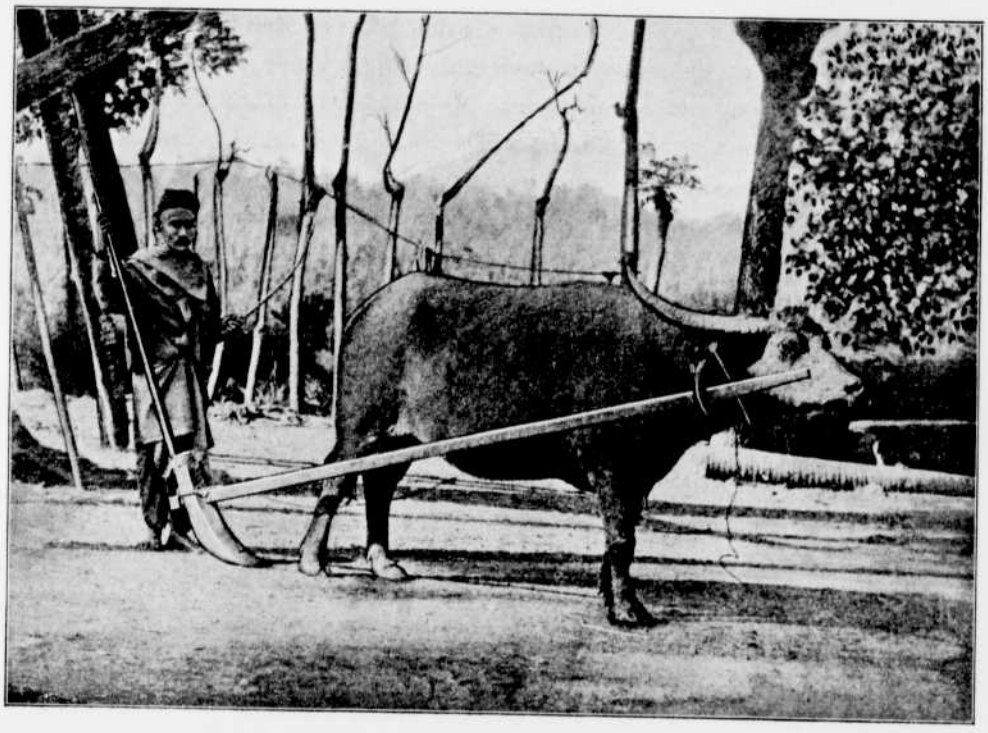
The tabu duë'.

The method of sowing the padi is not the same in all places. Throughout a large part of the country the method known as *tabu* or *tabu duë'* is followed. This practically amounts to sowing out the seed (*bijèh*) at once on the field, instead of in a nursery in the first instance.

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1) It is the same in the Malay peninsula, where the banks (batas) surround fields of a size which varies to suit the convenience of the owner. There is here however a hard and fast land measure 1 sq. orlong (= about 1¼ acre) = 400 sq. jumbas = 400 × 144 sq. feet. The orlong and jumba are also used as lineal measures. (*Translator*).

The following reasons are given for the more general popularity of this method. The crop being entirely dependent on the rain, there



PLOUGH (LANGAY) DRAWN BY A BUFFALO.

would be the danger of the seedlings in the nursery dying just as they were ready to be planted out, if the rain delayed too long. The continued absence of rain is less fatal to seedlings which do not require transplantation. It is further said that the padi in the *tabu* fields thrives as a rule much better than that which is first sown in the nursery even under favourable circumstances. In regard to this however we must not forget that where the Achehnese employ the nursery system, they plough the fields in a much more slovenly manner than they do in the case of the tabu lands.

Under the *tabu* system more seed is required than in the nursery process; the proportion is according to the Achehnese 16—20 : 12.

*Tabu* [1]) literally means to 'strew', "scatter abroad," and refers to the sowing of the crop, which takes place immediately after the ploughing.

1) Mal *tabor* "to scatter," "strew." (*Translator*).

The rules which govern its initiation are the same as in the case of the latter. The work is begun — as all matters of importance should be in accordance with the tradition — with a *béseumélah* (= Arab. *bismillah*, "In the name of Allah"). The first handful of seed is scattered in a westerly direction, the point toward which the faithful turn their faces at the time of prayer.

After the seed is strewn, the earth is raked over it with a large wooden rake (*chreuëh*). This implement has no handle in the centre. A piece of wood is fixed vertically to either end and the tips of these two pieces are united by a third placed horizontally. This last is called the handle (*gò*), and is held by the driver, the rake being drawn by a buffalo harnessed to it in the same way as to the plough.

Rice sown according to the *tabu* system is called *padé teunabu* (scattered padi or rather padi obtained through scattering) or *padé duë* ("sitting padi," i. e. such as does not require transplanting). About two or three months after sowing, the sprouting padi must be thinned out (*lhaïh, seumeulaïh*) where it is too thick, and supplemented where it is sown too thin. This task falls in or about keunòngs 5 and 3.

In this method of sowing the extirpation of weeds (*eumpòë*) is both tedious and trying. The ground is already dry at the time of the sowing and first sprouting of the seed, and so quickly becomes quite hard, rendering it impossible to get rid of the weeds without first turning up the soil in which they grow with a *tukōy* (a kind of small pachul or changkul).

The second method, which is adopted in a portion of the highlands, and occasionally in the lowlands, in the IV Mukims and with certain modifications in swampy districts such as the VII Mukims Buëng, consist of two parts. These are 1°. the preparation of a nursery bed (*lheuë*), [1]) in which the seed (*bijèh*) is strewn (*tabu*) to obtain seedlings or *padé seuneulōng*. The padi obtained in this way is called *padé peunula* or planted padi in opposition to the above-named *padé teunabu* or sown padi. The pula system.

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1) Malay *sĕmai*. The method here described is that always resorted to by the Malays in wet rice cultivation. They clear the weeds out with an implement called a *tajak*, which resembles a golfer's lofting iron with the iron part enormously exaggerated and the handle made shorter and stouter. The weeds are left on the ground to rot and form a kind of manure. The plants when taken from the *sĕmai* are dibbled with the hand into water-covered ground at intervals of about 6 inches. (*Translator*).

Where the ground is swampy this method is generally followed, since if the seed were scattered in the swamp it would never mature. It is also adopted for convenience sake by some of those whose rice-fields are entirely dependent on the rain. In so doing they run the risk of the rain delaying its coming longer than usual, so that the padi cannot be transplanted from the nursery to the field at the proper time and is thus lost altogether.

Accordingly they prepare their nurseries as late as possible. If all goes well, the subsequent task of weeding proves very easy; the weeds are simply pulled out with the hand (*uruëh*) from the soft ground. They are thus saved the tedious work of the *eumpòë*.

Others are compelled to adopt the seuneulōng system owing to their being prevented by the force of circumstances from sowing (*tabu*) a long time before the rainy season.

The sowing in the nursery is done in the same way as that in the field. The interval between this sowing and the planting out depends of course on the rate of growth of the seedlings and the presence of water on the umòng or rice-field. They endeavour if possible to plant out on the 44th day after the sowing. With this we may compare the "removal of the oven" (*bòïh dapu*) 44 days after child-birth and the setting up of the tombstone 44 days after death; indeed a special value is universally attached to that number.

Customs observed at planting out of the padi.

At the commencement of the planting out of the padi, due regard is paid to the superstitious usage of the *peusijuë'* or cooling, which forms among the Achehnese the accompaniment of a whole host of important acts and undertakings. For the cooling of the umòng they employ leafy fronds of the pineung (betel-nut palm) and the plants called *manè manòë* and *sisijuë'* [1]), which are tied together and soaked in flour and water (*teupōng tazweuë*), to besprinkle the centre of the rice-field. After this is done, the green besom is planted right in the middle of the umòng. Some omit the sprinkling of flour and water, and simply plant the bundle of boughs in the centre. Both methods alike are known as *puphōn padé*, the commencement or inauguration of the padi.

They then begin planting from the centre outwards, after having

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1) The *naleuëng sambō* and *bayam tuba*, employed in other ceremonies of "cooling," are not used for the rice-field. Further notes on cooling will be found in Chap. III § 1.

first of all uttered the indispensable *béseumélah* ("In the name of Allah"). As they plant they follow the direction of the wind. The newly planted padi is supposed in this way to acquire the requisite slant, which is regarded as a guarantee of its shooting up straight and strong later on.

The pula-season falls in keunòngs 5 and 3, or sometimes, when the rain is unusually late, in keunòng 1.

The inòng padé.

A custom the meaning of which has been wholly forgotten, but which is still pretty generally followed, is that of planting in a clump in the umòng a handful of the seedlings remaining over in the nursery after the planting out is completed. This is called *inòng padé*. The word *inòng* in modern Achehnese means "woman," "female," but sundry expressions in the folk lore indicate that it must have also had in ancient times the signification of "mother." In all large herds of buffaloes or oxen and flocks of goats or poultry, there is usually one, tamer than the rest, which acts as leader of the flock. This is called the *inòng* and is never sold or slaughtered, for that would bring ill-luck to the rest [1]). If a gold-washer finds in a stream a nugget somewhat resembling a living creature in shape, he keeps it as *inòng meuïh*, convinced that it will bring him luck in his subsequent quest for gold. So also with those who prepare the famous healing draught made from the root of the peundang; when a piece of root of similar form is found it is called by them *inòng peundang*. In like manner the *inòng padé* though it is of course unable to attain its proper growth owing to its being planted together in a clump, probably had the same significance for the growth of the padi, though it has now gradually faded from the popular mind. One is involuntarily reminded of the *indung pare* or "rice-mother" of the Sundanese, a truss of ripe padi taken at harvest time and fastened together in a peculiar way. It is placed in the padi-store underneath all the other trusses with sundry traditional ceremonies, and is not removed from its place till the lapse of time has made it undistinguishable from the rest [2]).

Rice in swampy ground.

On swampy ground the tabu-system cannot be applied, and a nursery must be made in a somewhat drier spot close by. When time presses, the system is modified as follows. The seed is wetted and spread out

1) Among fowls, one such as the above is called *inòng manò'*; the name *manò' inòng* being given to one that has begun to lay.

2) In ancient Achehnese poems a hero is sometimes called *inòng* in the sense of "chief" of a great tribe."

on mats or plantain leaves, which are also kept wet, and in this way it sprouts in two or three days. This sprouting seed is then spread out (*raleuë* or *lareuë*) on a comparatively dry piece of the swampy ground, which is called *lheuë lareuë* or spreading nursery. To promote quick growth, a little water is occasionally let into the nursery, and as soon as the plants are big enough they are planted out in the swamp.

Ladangs.

*Ladangs* (hill plantations) are opened in the forests of the highlands and especially of the East and West Coasts, in order to make the ground suitable for pepper-planting by a years rice-cultivation. Besides padi and pepper, sugarcane, champli (chilis), onions, etc. are planted in these ladangs. The padi-planting is here done by means of dibbling (*tajō, teumajō'*) [1]). The trees are first felled and burned, and all roots so big as to cause obstruction are cleared out in a rough and ready manner. Then, as soon as the ground has been somewhat softened by the first rains, deep dibble-holes are made, some seed is thrown into each of them, and the padi is thinned out later if it grows too thick.

Enemies of the rice.

A watch is kept all day long against various kinds of rice-birds (*tulō, mirië'*). Scarecrows rudely representing the human form (*ureuëng-ureuëng* or *penyakōt*) [2]) are hung up in the fields, or a cord is stretched and dry plantain leaves (*ōn krusōng*) hung on it and kept in motion by constant pulls.

Other enemies of the ripening rice are the field mouse (*tikōih*) and the foul-smelling insect called *geusòng* (= *walang sangit*). Charms written on paper (*ajeumat*) are used as a defence against both the above; the papers are inserted in a hollow bamboo (*bulōh*), which is fixed in the middle of the umòng. The prayers employed for these charms are called *tangkay tikōih* and *tangkay geusòng*.

Before the war, wild pig were rarely to be seen in the lowlands, owing to the absence of cover. In the highlands on the other hand, a

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1) The Malays plant hill-padi in the same way. The process of dibbling is called by them *tugal* (*Translator*).

2) The commonest form of scarecrow used by the Malays is composed of two sticks fastened crosswise, the longer or upright one being driven into the ground. On this cross some tattered clothes are hung and an old hat placed on top; the whole when seen at a distance rudely resembles a man with his arms extended. Another device is two hollow bambus or better still, two empty kerosine tins hung together on a post. A cord fastened to one of these and leading to the hut where the watcher sits, enables him to rattle them together, and the birds are scared away by the noise. (*Translator*).

strict watch had to be maintained against these destructive intruders.

The various kinds of caterpillars (*ulat padé*) which prey on padi do but little harm in the opinion of the Achehnese, provided that the rice is planted at the proper time. Against these there is no known remedy.

If the padi looks sickly, *abèë* or ashes of burnt cow-dung is spread once or twice over the umòng.

As we have seen, superstition plays its customary part in the rice-cultivation of the Achehnese; by no means, however, so important a part as in Java, where a description of the padi-planting constitutes a perfect treasury of folklore. Nyi Sri is not even known by name. We can at most point to the defunct custom of the *inòng padé* as a rudiment of the ideas on which the worship of the rice-goddess in Java is based. To this we must add a custom prevailing in the highlands; when the rice is on the point of ripening (*dara*, marriageable, or *rab bunténg*, all but pregnant), various kinds of sweet meats are laid on the little bunds or banks surrounding the rice-plots. Apart from these trifles, the system of rice-cultivation in Aceh as compared with that in Java may be called, if not rational, at least rationalistic.

The various tasks connected with the cultivation of rice are in the lowlands performed by men only; in Pidië, Daya and some parts of the highlands the planting out (*pula*) is left to the women, who work for a small daily wage (formerly 1 gupang = 12½ cts.). Persons of wealth and distinction, who possess many umòngs, invite crowds of people to assist them in the planting out, reaping and threshing of the padi, and give them a good meal for their pains. This is called *meu-seuraya*, and through such voluntary aid great tasks are easily completed in a single day. The labourers.

Simpler folk get in their harvest with the help only of their own households and a friend or two; the latter accept similar assistance in return. The padi when cut is collected in trusses (*gasay*) [1]), containing as much as can be held in the open hand, each truss being tied up with padi-straw (*ba' padé*). When the reaping is finished, the trusses are gathered on high ground close by, where there are some trees to give shade. Here they are formed into sheaves (*puy*) of a man's height, The harvest.

1) *Gasay* properly means what one hand (comp. Jav. *gangsal* = five) can hold. It has also meaning of "odd," "not even."

the trusses being spread out so as to form a circle, with their heads containing the grain meeting in the centre. During the days occupied in gathering the padi into sheaves. it has time to get a slight preliminary drying.

After this, mats are spread, on which is placed a certain quantity of padi to be threshed (*lhò*, properly = "to stamp"). The threshing is done with the feet; in order to tread with greater force, the thresher supports himself on two sticks as he walks slowly over the mat.

The grain, when sufficiently threshed, is piled in a heap and then cleansed by rubbing between the hands (*tinteuëng*, *teuminteuëng*), by which process the stalks, chaff and dirt are separated from the grain.

Those who help to tread the corn usually receive as their sole reward a little *tapè*, a fermented liquor prepared from rice.

The second cleansing of the unhusked rice is done with the help of the wind. When there is a good breeze, an *eumpang* (sack of plaited leaves) full of padi-grain is lifted on high and the grain strewn out so that the empty husks and particles of dirt are blown away. This operation is called *peukruy* or *peu'angèn*. It takes place in or close by the padi-field, unless there happens to be no wind for a long time after the threshing, in which case it is done in the gampōng, the padi being left for the time being uncleaned, and brought home in this state.

Payment and distribution of the jakeuët.

After the cleansing the harvested grain is measured (*sukat*), and those who faithfully observe their religious duties set apart one-tenth of the whole as *jakeuët* (Arab. *zakāt*). According to the law, which is pretty literally interpreted by the Shafi'ite school on this point, this tax should be distributed among 8 classes of persons. Let us now see what the practice is in Acheh in this respect.

1°. The *amils* of the books of the law, who are charged with the collection and distribution of the jakeuët, must receive no fixed share, but merely a fair recompense for their trouble. The *amils* are in Acheh represented by the teungkus of the meunasahs. The adat, however, confers on them no right to collect the jakeuët by force, so that measures of compulsion are resorted to only in districts where some ulama or other representative of religion has for the time being gained the upper hand, or where the chiefs retain a share of the jakeuët for themselves. As a rule the teungku waits for the share that is brought to his house, or has his portion fetched home from the rice-field if notice has been given him of the completion of the harvest.

A good teungku will, after getting a handsome allowance for himself, willingly bestow a portion on claimants of the other classes mentioned below, on their presenting themselves before him; but as to this there is no fixed rule and many teungkus retain the whole for their own use.

2°. The poor and 3°. the needy, or those in actual want, either come to the field themselves or visit the owners of the rice later on in the year and prefer their claims with becoming modesty. From the teungku they have little to hope for. In Acheh as in other Mohammedan countries, the devout poor only are regarded as having any real claim. Few such are to be found among vagrant beggars; while the teungkus and ulamas, who do as a rule observe their religious duties, can generally make themselves out to be "needy" in some sense or other. They are always ready to advance this qualification, as it brings them a share of rice and other things. Thus "poor" and "needy" in this sense is usually synonymous with ulama or teungku.

4°. Debtors who are unable to pay a debt incurred for a permissible or rather a meritorious purpose, seldom enjoy any share in the jakeuët in Acheh. The social conditions which might have given rise to such a separate class according to the spirit of the Mohammedan law, are too rare to be of any account [1]).

5°. Poor travellers (Ach. *meusapi* from the Arabic *musāfir*) occasionally get something from the jakeuët, either from the teungku in whose meunasah they find temporary lodging or from people of the gampōngs who still have some padi left over, from which the tenth has not yet been deducted. The numerous hajjis from Krinchi (Korinchi) who in earlier times wandered from place to place in Acheh, were notable recipients of this dole.

6°. Assistance to slaves in their endeavours to purchase their freedom has seldom been given from the jakeuët in Acheh. Such an object is difficult to fulfil where there is no organized collection and administration of the tax, and besides the Achehnese have never been in the habit of entering into contracts of manumission with their slaves.

7°. Converts to Islam (Ach. *mu'alah* from the Arabic *mu'allaf*) are never refused a share in the jakeuët if they present themselves as

1) In some parts of Sumatra the students in religious schools, who have had to leave their native places in order to pursue their studies, are called *gharim*, which properly means debtors in this special sense.

claimants; indeed they go about begging through the whole country after the harvest. Such begging tours used to be the chief means of subsistence of the deserters from the Dutch forces in Acheh [1]).

8°. The employment of part of the jakeuët for the "holy war" is called the "way of God" (*sabīl Allah*). Where it cannot be so employed it should, according to some authorities, be devoted to works of universal benefit to Mohammedans. This manner of employing it has (as we have seen when dealing with the political situation) [2]) played a prominent part during the last twenty years. For the past ten years (1882—92) in particular, this portion of the jakeuët has been the mainstay of the constantly increasing power of the ulama party.

According to the letter of the Shafi'ite law, the jakeuët, after deduction of a suitable recompense for the first-mentioned class (the collectors and distributors), should be distributed in equal shares among the remaining classes, with this proviso, that a class not represented in the country should be regarded as non-existent.

It is easy to conceive that such a method of distribution would present almost insurmountable difficulties no matter how well it were administered. We have only to think of the distinction between the classes of the "poor" and the "needy," which is no more than legal hair-splitting, or the "travellers" and "debtors," who are creatures of chance and very unevenly distributed.

Nowadays there is hardly any Mohammedan country in which this tax is systematically collected and equally distributed. The nations of Islam are subjected to all kinds of secular taxes which the religious law brands under the name of *maks* as impious institutions and which, in conflict with doctrine, have made the jakeuët appear as a voluntary free offering.

Thus a Mohammedan, when he unstintingly sets apart his tenths of corn and gives them to one or other of the classes of persons who are entitled to them under the religious law, is regarded as specially devout. As a rule it is the expounders of the law or so-called "priests" that profit most by such gifts. In the Archipelago there is one special

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1) In addition to this privilege, the mu'alahs enjoy in Acheh great immunity both of person and property, for to slay or plunder a convert is regarded as an act of surpassing wickedness. For this reason the sultans and chiefs used to employ converts to collect and bring in their taxes.

2) See above p. 176 et seq.

class of "priests" that enjoys most of the advantages of the zakat, owing to their original position as official administrators of the tax. From being its managers they have come to be practically its monopolizers.

It becomes thus quite easy to understand how the Achehnese ulamas succeeded in the course of the last few years in collecting as the share for the holy war (*prang sabi*) not merely the seventh part or as much more as was set free by the absence of the other classes, but the major part of the whole tax, and in founding with this war fund a priestly imperium in imperio.

Jakeuët of cattle, gold, silver and merchandize.

The jakeuët of other objects liable to taxation under the law has never been contributed with anything approaching to regularity, though much more in later times under the powerful incentive of the ulamas, than was formerly the case.

Very few among the Achehnese are content to keep a considerable sum of gold or silver unproductive for a whole year at a time, out of respect for the prohibition of usury in the Mohammedan law. There are various devices for evading the spirit of the prohibition while outwardly conforming to its letter; but there are besides no small number of people in Acheh, as well as in Arabia, who are ready to neglect the letter also.

Some are however constrained by circumstances to retain sums of gold or silver money in their chests for as long as a year at a time. These sums should properly be liable to a jakeuët of $2^1/_2\,^0/_0$. Persons of means always have considerable quantities of gold and silver ornaments in their possession, which are also subject to the jakeuët. Not all of these by any means pay even a fraction of the tax, while those whose conscience is less elastic content themselves with disbursing a yearly sum which is far from representing the amount due [1]).

Payment of the jakeuët on merchandize is just as rare as on gold and silver, while the tax on cattle is entirely disregarded in practice.

Further treatment of the harvested rice.

The stamping or threshing of the padi generally takes place in Acheh directly after the harvest. Thus we do not find here as in Java, padi-barns with piled-up sheaves, but little store houses under or close

1) Some chiefs who never pay jakeuët on their own stock of the precious metals, are wont to deduct under the pretext of payment of the tax, a certain sum from the gold and silver belonging to their subjects, and held by them for over a year as pledges or *ha' ganchéng* (see p. 116). This sum however they always place in their own pockets.

beside the dwelling-house [1]), in which the unhusked rice (padé) is kept [2]).

Husked rice (*breuëh* = Mal. *bras*) is kept inside the house in a sack (*eumpang*), but only enough for 3 or 4 days' use is so stored. When the rice is scooped out of the bag with the cocoanut-shell used as a measure (*kay*), a little is always left in the shell and poured back each time so that the *eumpang* may never be entirely empty. This is the only one of all the numerous superstitions connected with the store of rice [3]) observed by the people of Java, of which any trace can be found in Acheh.

When the supply of *breuëh* is exhausted, the fresh padi required is taken from the storehouse (*krōng* or *brandang*). It is first dried in the sun (*adèë*) and then thrown into the rice mortar (*leusōng*) [4]), a hollowed block of wood, in which stands the pestle (*alèë*), from which projects a horizontal lever (*jeungki*). The husks are pounded off by setting this lever in motion at its further end so as to make the pestle rise and fall in the mortar. The husked rice is then sifted by means of the winnowing basket (*jeu'èë*) [5]) the light husks falling out as it is toosed [6]).

For making flour a smaller *leusōng* is used, with a hand pestle (*alèë*), and the fine flour is sifted through a sieve (*aya'*).

In Pidië and some of the dependencies of Acheh, especially it would seem in districts where irrigation canals had been constructed at the behest of the rulers in ancient times, a rice tax (*wasè padé*) was formerly levied for the Sultan. This tax consisted of an amount of padi equal

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1) See ante p. 36.

2) The Malay custom is the same as the Achehnese in this respect. Their padi-stores are miniature houses raised on short posts, the walls being made of neatly woven bertam. Such storehouses are called *jelumpang*. (*Translator*).

3) Such as the rules prescribing fixed days for taking the rice out of the lumbung, and the persons by whom it may be taken out. Women who do this for instance must wear their lower garment only, and must not do so during menstruction. There are also certain definite formulas to be repeated during the act, etc. etc.

4) The Malays use a similar mortar and pestle (*lĕsong* and *alu*) with a see-saw lever (the *jeungki* mentioned above, Mal. *gandar*) worked with the foot, the fulcrum being nearer to the far end of the lever so as to give greater force to the blow. Over the far end of the lever is placed a frame-work consisting of two uprights and a cross piece. By this the worker steadies himself while he alternately steps on and off the lever, causing it to rise and fall. The Chinese in the Straits have universally adopted this method of cleaning rice. (*Translator*).

5) This is the winnowing-basket to which the Achehnese compare the shape of the three sagis of Acheh (see p. 2 above).

6) The winnowing is done by alternately shaking the basket up and down and to and fro.

to that used as seed in the area on which it was collected (*lam sinaléh bijèh sinaleh padé*).

Besides the pepper-planting, which is carried on more in the dependencies than in Acheh proper, there is also considerable sugar-cane cultivation. The form of refreshment most generally sought by those who frequent the market in Acheh is the juice which they suck from the sugar-cane, or drink after it has been extracted therefrom by means of a very primitive sort of press. The expression for "a douceur" in Acheh is "money to buy cane-juice" (*ngòn òlòë ië teubèë*). The giver of a feast to which many onlookers come in addition to the guests, occasionally distributes pieces of sugarcane among them, and the traveller uses it to refresh himself when on a journey. Sugar (*saka*) or the molasses (*meulisan*) made from inferior cane is an indispensable ingredient in all kinds of dainties and sweetmeats. Sugar-cane cultivation.

The cane (*teubèë*) is, as we have seen, planted on the umòngs as a second crop, only to be cut when half-grown and used without further preparation. The true cane cultivation takes place in separate gardens enclosed with fences.

From keunòng 23 (January) begins the preparation of the ground with the plough; the planting season commences at keunòng 19, but occasionally in other months also, just after the rice-harvest. But no planting is done in keunòngs 17—7, since the cane if planted then turns out *sròh*, i. e. yields blossom but no juice.

For planting purposes, the canes are divided into sections with two "limbs" (*atōt*) having thus three "articulations." They attain their full growth in about a year. They are then cut down, and sugar is manufactured from them in the very primitive Achehnese sugar mills, which are similar to those found in Bantën, the highlands of Padang and other places [1]).

The owners of sugarcane plantations do not all possess sugar-mills (*wéng*), but borrow them, or rather the parts of which they are composed, from one another. When not in use they are kept under the house with all the other lumber. Sugar mills

The borrower or owner takes these separate portions to his cane-plantation, and there puts the mill together in a hut (*jambō*) constructed expressly for the purpose.

1) The Malays of the Peninsula use a similar machine, which they call *kêlang pënyëpit*. (*Translator*).

The structure of the machine is as follows. On a massive wooden basis are placed (side by side) two upright circular shafts (*wéng*).



SUGAR-CANE MILL (WÉNG).

These are held in position by two horizontal bars (*blida*) fixed at a certain elevation. The extremities of these bars are supported on upright pillars (*tamèh blida*). Above the bars both shafts are provided with teeth which bite on one another so as to impart the rotatory motion of the one to the other. One of the shafts (the *wéng agam*) or "male" wéng is longer than the other (*wéng inòng*), the "female", so as to allow of the curved beam (*wòë-wòë*) being attached to the former. This beam, which bends downwards, is pulled round and round by a buffalo, and must of course hang clear of the other shaft as the latter would otherwise impede its movement.

At the point where the canes are introduced between the two shafts so as to squeeze out the juice, are two parallel strips of wood placed horizontally round the shafts. These are called the comb (*suri*), and serve to keep the canes, which are pushed in between them, straight

in their passage between the shafts. As the cane is squeezed between the revolving shafts the juice falls into a channel (*chara'*) in the base between the shafts, and passes thence into an earthenware pot (*pasu*).

From the juice thus obtained the sugar or molasses is made by boiling. Molasses is chiefly manufactured in the XXII Mukims, the VII Mukims Buëng and the IV Mukims, since in these places the cane is of inferior quality.

The cane-gardens are manured with cow-dung. The same preventive is adopted against disease in the cane as against disease in the padi viz. spreading burnt cow-dung (*abèë*) over the field.

Arèn sugar (*saka jö'*) is also made in Acheh and commands a higher price than cane-sugar; but the manufacture of sugar from the sap of the cocoa-nut tree seems to be unknown.

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## § 5. Navigation and Fisheries.

Before dealing with the occupation, acquisition and transfer of land, we shall first make a few remarks on the subject of navigation and fishery.

In our synopsis of the keunòngs we saw that the voyage from the capital to the West Coast may be made without danger in Achehnese vessels (*prahös* and *sampans*) from keunòng 5—17, and to the North and East Coast during the rest of the year, i. e. from keunòng 17—5; also that there occur intervals of from 5 to 7 days in the prevalence of the N. E. and S. W. monsoons. Steamers now run to the principal ports at all seasons, but in former times the Achehnese sailors and traders used to set a high value on the knowledge of the exact times when these intervals take place. They assert that there are certain signs by which they can be ascertained each year, but that there are only a few who possess the requisite knowledge.

The interval in keunòng 11 was considered as especially advantageous to those who could predict its coming beforehand. In the rantòs, the wild and inhospitable districts on the West Coast which separate the larger settlements from one another and are the field of the pepper-planters' labours, nothing could be obtained during the S. W. monsoon. Whoever succeeded in conveying thither a cargo of pots and pans (*kanèt-blangòng*) clothing, salt, sugar and molasses, was certain to return home with a handsome profit. The interval in the N. E. monsoon was

of less importance, since there is a better supply of all necessaries on the North and East Coasts.

Fishing goes on all the year round, and in the lowlands many support life by this employment.

Principal kinds of fish.

A distinction is drawn between *eungkōt darat* "land-fish," which live in the swamps and the padi-fields when covered with water, *eungkōt kruëng*, fish found in rivers and salt water creeks, and *eungkōt la'ōt* or sea-fish. Some kinds of fish belong to two of these classes, as they are sometimes to be found in the sea, and sometimes in the creeks and rivers.

In fresh-water rivers (*kruëng ië tabeuë*) there is but little fishing, owing to the rapidity of the stream; for the fisherman of Acheh proper *kruëng* generally means *kruëng ië masén* or salt water creek.

Varieties of fishing tackle.

The means by which their capture is effected differ with the seasons of the year and also with the haunts and habits of the different fish.

The "landfish" [1]) are caught with a rod (*kawé*) or fish-trap (*bubèé*) [2]). In the rice-fields these traps are placed in the openings in the bunds. They are fastened in a horizontal position to a vertical stake (*jeuneulòng*) fixed in the ground. Inside the trap are set at intervals a number of little subsidiary traps consisting of circular rows of thin strips of bamboo. These stand wide open near the mouth (*babah*) of the trap, but close in together at its closed end (*punggōng*). These obstacles open readily as the fish enter and then resume their former position by their own elasticity and bar their exit.

A simpler sort of fishing trap is the *geuneugòn* [3]), identical with that of which Newbold [4]) says: "Fish are often taken in shallows and marshes by means of *a conical basket open at the top and bottom*. The broad end is placed suddenly on the mud where they are supposed to lie; the hand introduced at the narrow upper part of the cone and the ensnared fish taken out."

Fishponds (*mòn eungkòt*) are also made in the rice-fields. Deep holes are dug out, and in these are placed bits of wood, twigs, leaves etc. to attract the fish thither. Then the entrance is blocked, the pond is baled out and the fish extracted.

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1) The following are some of the names of the "land-fish": *baché*, *seungkè*, *kruëb*, *seupat*, *sungiè'*, *aneu' seusiah*, *grò*.

2) This is the same as the commonest form of Malay fishing-trap, the *bubu*, and is used in the same way. (*Translator*).

3) The Malay *sĕrkap*.

4) British settlements in the Straits of Malacca II: 188.

In the salt-water creeks and rivers [1]) (especially the former) the casting net (*jeuë*) and the *nyaréng* are employed. The latter is a square net, with which a piece of water is barricaded as it were with a wall, so that the fish get entangled in its meshes as they try to pass through. Birds are caught in the same manner in the open country, and the net used to catch them bears the same name. To ensure a good catch with the nets, two men are sometimes posted one at each side of the stream to drive the fish from some distance off. The two hold between them a long rattan or pliant trailer which they move up and down in the water, and the fish, frightened at the noise, dart away towards the net. Driving of this sort is called *meu'urèt*.

Small seines (*pukat*) are also employed for catching fish in the creeks and rivers.

In shoal water both in the swamps and in the creeks and rivers, fish are sometimes caught with purse-nets, some of larger size called *nyab* and some smaller, *ali*, the latter being used especially to catch cray-fish, crabs and prawns. These *ali* are let down to the number of fifty at a time; they sink to the bottom by means of the lead with which they are weighted in the centre, but remain under the control of the fisherman by means of a rope, to which a float is attached.

The *neuheuns* [2]) and *lhòms* fulfil the same functions in the creeks and rivers as the fish-ponds in the rice-fields.

The *neuheun* is a kind of pond made by piercing the bund that runs alongside a creek or river by a pipe (*grōng-grōng*) and receiving the water that pours through this in a pit excavated for the purpose. This is then made an attractive abode for fish by placing in it bits of wood, leaves etc. The neuheun is protected from the raids of net-fishers by planting thorny bushes or bamboo stakes in them and also by keeping watch over them at night. The fish is caught with a casting-net.

The *lhòm* is formed by collecting a mass of heavy timber in a deep portion of the river when the water is low, and surrounding it with stakes driven into the river-bed in order to prevent it from being

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1) The following are some of the kruëng-fish: *blaneu'*, *mulōih*, *rapeuëng*, *kadra*, *grapèë*, *geureuda'*, *ikan tanda* (certain fish are known by the generic name of *ikan*), *mirah mata*, *tangkirōng*, *ikan timòn*, *kitang*, *chabéh*, *ikan kawét*, *gròt-gròt*. The *udeuëng* (prawn), as well as the small kinds among those just enumerated, are caught with the casting-net or fish-trap. With the latter are also caught the *deut*, *udeuëng keutèb*, *sridéng* and *uë bòh*.

2) This is an abbreviation *teuneuheun* from *theun* = to stop, to catch, and thus properly means that in which the process of stopping or catching is performed.

carried away by the stream. The fish naturally collect on the upper side of this dam. After a month or two the time comes for emptying the *lhòm* (*pòh lhòm*).

When the water is low the space occupied by the timber is enclosed with *jang*. One piece (*kra'*) of *jang* consists of a screen of split bamboos (*kra'*) from $22^1/_2$ feet to 45 feet in length, the bamboos being fastened together much in the same way as "chicks" or sun-screens used in this country. This wall of *jangs* fastened together so as to cover the required space, is fixed round stakes set in the river bed, so that the bamboo screen stands upright to a height of from 4′ 6″ to 9′. The dam of timber within the space thus enclosed is then removed, and the fish so hemmed in are caught with nets (*jeuë, nyab*).

*Jangs* are also used for catching fish in *aluës*, the branches or back-waters of creeks or rivers [1]), which are separated from the latter by comparatively dry spots when the water is low. While the water is still high, the *aluë* is marked off on both sides with rows of jangs, the junction of the aluë with the river being enclosed by a jang (*ntòng jang*) set between the extremities of these side walls and almost circular in shape, with one opening leading into the aluë. When the water subsides, the fish in the *aluë* are debarred from returning to the river (or creek) by the accustomed way; the only door that is open to them leads right into the circular jang, but on passing through this opening they are caged in and can find no means of exit. The fishermen then pull the fish out of this cage with the hand or with scoop-nets.

The places where this method of fishing is practised are usually marked by banks thrown up on either side.

The implements used for fishing in the sea bear the same names as those employed in the kruëngs, but of course differ somewhat from the latter in size and make.

Fishing from boats (*jalōs* or *prahōs*) lying at anchor is carried on by means of an ordinary sea-line [2]) (*kawé la'ōt*) without a float (*lampōng*) but furnished with a lead (*batèë kawé*).

The towing-line (*kawé huë* or *kawé tunda*) is towed behind vessels sailing swiftly before the wind. For this a bunch of white chicken's feathers [3]) is used as an artificial bait. These are fastened round the line

1) In the highlands *aluë* signifies a streamlet.

2) In contradistinction to the "land-line" (*kawé darat*) with its rod (*gò*) and float.

3) Great weight is attached to obtaining for this purpose the feathers of a "lucky cock"

above the hook (*mata kawé*) in such a way that they can move backwards and forwards. Some kinds of fish mistake this bunch of feathers for food, and when they bite they find themselves caught fast on the hook through the motion of the prahō, almost before they have discovered their mistake.

Another kind is the *kawé ranggōng* [1]), a line composed of two parts united by an implement (*ranggōng*) made of horn, and used for fishing when at anchor.

The sea fish-trap (*bubèë la'ōt*) is almost hemispherical in form, with a closed bottom and an opening in the side. Small fish can swim in and out through the interstices of the side. They seek refuge in the trap from the large fish which pursue them, but the latter follow them in through the opening. Thus the small ones escape, but the big ones remain behind, since the aperture, as in all such traps, gives them no chance of getting out once they have entered.

The casting-net (*jeuë*) [2]) is used for fishing for prawns (*udeuëng*) close to the shore and several species of fish, such as the *awō* from which dried fish or *karéng* is made, and the *buduëng*, *sumbòë* and *tangkirōng*. The *buduëng* and *sumbòë* are also caught with the *nyaréng* as well as the *ikan lham* and the *meunèng*. At sea of course the *nyaréng* cannot be employed, as in the creeks and rivers, as a wall wherewith to obstruct a portion of the waterway for the fish. These nets are simply thrown loosely into the water and hauled in and examined after a few moments to see if any of the denizens of the deep may have become entangled in the meshes.

In the pursuit of the various kinds of fishery which we have so far described there is no lack of peculiar customs, many of which are

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(*manò' meutuah*). The experts (connoisseurs in cockfighting) distinguish these by the shape of the scales on their feet.

For further information as to the *kawé huë* see *Notulen Bat. Genootschap* for 1st March 1892 Bijlage I, N°. 12.

1) See *Notulen Batav. Genootschap* for 1st March 1892 Bijlage I, N°. 12, and as regards Padang *De geschiedenis van prinses Balkis* by D. Gerth van Wijk, p. 70, N°. 46.

2) The Malays call their casting net *jala* (etymologically the equivalent of *jeuë*). It is a circular net with very fine meshes and is weighted all round the edges with small pieces of lead. The fisher folds the net neatly into a small compass, and then, holding it in one hand, throws it forward with great dexterity so that it spreads in the air and falls evenly on the water. The weighted edges sink slowly down leaving the middle in the form of a bag. This is gently drawn in and the prawns etc. removed from the net. It is a very pretty sight to see a skilful jala-fisher manipulate his net. (*Translator*).

purely superstitions. Superstition, however, plays a much more important part in the fishing with the *pukat* or seine-net.

Fishing with the pukat in the open sea (*mupayang*) is only carried on for a small part of the year. It requires the coöperation of two sampans, and it is only the *surè*-fish [1]) that is caught in this manner.

Various kinds of fish, great and small, are however caught inshore with the pukat. One end of the net is made fast on shore while the other is taken out to sea in a sampan and then brought ashore again, the object being to make a big haul of fish with the gigantic bags forming the centre of the net which are thus dragged through a considerable tract of water.

The men (*awa'*) who form the crew of a *sampan* [2]) are subject to the orders of a master (*pawang*), who is also usually the owner of the vessel and its belongings. Pukat-fishing presupposes great skill and especially sundry sorts of *èleumèë* (= *ilmu*) or knowledge of magic lore, principally consisting of formulas which must be recited at the proper time in order to resist malignant influences by sea and to attract the fish. Just as in hunting the secrets of the forest must be known to the *pawang rusa*, the indispensable "master" of every deer-drive, who is alone able to exorcise wood-spirits, to take bees' nests from the trees unharmed, etc., so must the *pawang pukat* know all the influences that prevail beneath the sea, and be armed against them so far as may be necessary.

Some of the rules which have to be observed are universally known, as for instance that which forbids fishing with the pukat on a Friday under any pretext. Other methods of catching fish may be practised with impunity on this day, but pukat-fishing is prohibited as strictly as ploughing [3]). Thus on Fridays the pawang and his crew may be seen lounging about in their best clothes.

There are besides a number of words which cannot be uttered without danger at sea. This holds good for other fishermen as well as the

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1) The following are besides those already mentioned, some of the chief kinds of sea-fish: — *kasè*, *rapeuëng*, *kadra*, *gereupõk*, *mirah mata*, *gabuë*, *rambeuë*, *bruë' mata*, some kinds of *yèë*, *teunga*, *grapèë*, *beureulang*, *brachuëng*, *bubara*, *tuïh*, *parèë*, *tandõ'*, *sisé'*, *ikan tanda*, *ambu-ambu*, *alu-alu*, *taleuëng*, *biléh*. Of the last-named sort (as of the *awõ*), *karéng* or dried fish is made.

2) A model of a *sampan pukat* with its belongings is to be found in the museum of the Batavian Society; see *Notulen Batav. Genootschap* for March 1st 1892. Bijlage I, Nos 1 & 2.

3) Vide sup. p. 261.

pukat-fishers, and in some degree for all seafaring men. Such unwritten pantangs have a very widespread range. In Java there are many such which are observed in the chase of wild animals. In the neighbourhood of the ancient Galuh there are places where the Mohammedan confession of faith must not be uttered while fishing, for fear of disturbing the spirits of the ancient heathen kingdom! Even in Hadramaut the chase is the subject of a certain amount of heathenish lore [1]), in which prohibitions of forms of speech play a great part, so that a huntsman or even the friend of one is regarded as a person of ill repute.

Among the fishermen on the North coast of Java whole lists of words can be collected which are prohibited at sea and have to be replaced by others. This is also the case to some extent among the seafaring folk of Acheh. For instance, those at sea must not call a mountain by its proper name, *gunòng*, lest waves as high as mountains should overwhelm their vessel; the euphemism employed is *tanòh manyang* = high ground. *Gajah*, the elephant, is called by his nickname *pò meurah* [2]). If the fisherman wishes to say that something is "ready," he must not use the ordinary word "*lheuëh*," because this has also the meaning of "free" or "loose," and its use might give the imprisoned fish a chance of escaping; accordingly the less dangerous synonym *leungka* is employed. If he wants to speak of a rope being cast off, he uses in place of *lheuëh* its synonym *leupaïh*; so too *lŏh* "to pass under something by stooping", and several other words have to be replaced by synonyms or paraphrases by those who are fishing or on a voyage.

To this sort of universal lore must be added the special pukat mysteries. The *awa's* obey the *pawang* not only because they are his hired servants, but also because he alone possesses this special knowledge.

The pawang and his crew are too busy with the management of their boat and nets to spare time to bring the fish to market them-

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1) Thus it is a prevalent superstition in that country that huntsman when starting for the chase, must not perform the morning prayers obligatory on all Mohammedans, for fear misfortune should befall them or they should at least be unlucky in their pursuit of game.

2) The Malays when at sea will tolerate no allusion to the elephant. They have other curious pantang rules, the meaning and origin of which is no longer known; for instance it is forbidden to cast charred wood into the sea, and the washings of any vessel used for cooking must first be poured into another vessel before they are thrown overboard. See also Clifford's *In Court and Kampong* pp. 147—48 and Skeat's *Malay Magic* p. 314—15. (*Translator*).

selves. Thus they are obliged to have recourse to middlemen, and these fish-buyers are called *mugè*. Fish-dealers on a small scale divide among them the catch of one sampan if it be a big one, for they are their own coolies, and thus cannot carry more than a single basket a-piece. Those who deal on a larger scale have lesser dealers under them, and give each of them for sale a portion of the catch of the one or two sampans with which they have a fixed agreement.

As soon as the catch has been landed, the pawang discusses the price of the fish with his contract buyer. The latter tells him that the market is at present greatly overcrowded, and that he therefore dares not promise more than such and such a price, which is as a matter of fact far below the expectations of the master of the fishing-boat. He can at any time determine his contract with the *mugè*, but this profits him nothing, for he wants to sell his fish at once while fresh and must employ his usual dealer or else enter into protracted negociations with a new one. The pawangs have learnt by experience that there is no advantage in such changes, as it simply means getting out of the frying-pan into the fire. Accordingly, most pawangs spend a considerable portion of their time on land in squabbling with their buyers, the more so as they know that the verbal agreement as to price, which they make immediately after landing, is by no means always final. The dealer should properly retain as his commission the difference between the price agreed on and what he succeeds in making by driving hard bargains in the market. When he returns from the market, however, he often declares that the sum agreed on is too high, and compels the pawang to content himself with much less; adding that he has not earned a single *pèng* for himself.

Just as the pawang deals with a head mugè or fish-dealer, so the latter contracts with sub-dealers, but he does not let himself be cheated so much by them since he is of the same trade.

Distribution of the catch.

The mugès are not the only doubtful friends who view with an interested eye the industry of the pawang and his crew and await their coming with impatience on shore. A number of onlookers from the gampōngs along the coast come down to meet them, and unless the catch has been too paltry, these have a right in accordance with the adat to a present of fish.

Nor is it merely respect for the adat that causes the pawangs to distribute these presents. They know that if they did not observe this

custom, many an evil eye would rest on their vessel and their pukat, with the result that much ill-luck would attend their next venture, for many of the onlookers would exhaust all their magic arts to cause the fish to be driven out to sea, the nets to be torn and the like.

Share of the chiefs.

So the pawang has secret hostility to dread from the general mass of the onlookers if he does not keep them in good humour; but from the *rakans* or followers of the territorial chiefs he must expect open enmity, should he fail to set apart for them a gift suitable to their rank.

Woe to the pawang who falls short in this respect! He must expect a punishment like that visited on the planter who has incurred the displeasure of his ulèëbalang and whose land is placed under a ban (*langgéh*) [1]) by the latter. His sampan and pukat are placed under the ban for a month or sometimes even for an unlimited period, and he thus finds himself deprived of his livelihood, and can only get the ban removed by appeasing the ulèëbalang with a money present, which may in fact be called a fine. Where his sin of omission is trifling, so as merely to cause the wife of the ulèëbalang to complain to her lord that his contribution of fish is so small as to disappoint her housekeeping expectations, he is punished indirectly. A couple of rakans go down to the market, and having ascertained which of the buyers has in his charge the fish of the defaulting pawang, take from him so much as they consider "fair." The buyer is then justified in paying to the pawang less than he had promised him.

How oppressive this tax may be to the pawang may be seen, for instance, at Ulèë Lheuë (Olehheh), where the pukat-fishermen have to deal with at least three chiefs, the ulèëbalang Teuku Nè, his banta [2]) Teuku Sandang and Raja Itam, a son of a deceased Teuku Nè. These three always enforce their demands for fish and punish defaulters with the ban. There are, besides, other smaller dignitaries whom the pawang cannot continually overlook without being punished in the end.

The pawangs have occasionally trade disputes with one another, which chiefly arise from their fishing in each others' neighbourhood. These are generally settled by the headman of the pawang guild, himself also a pawang, who bears the title of panglima and owes his office to the choice of his fellows of the guild with the approval of the territorial chief. The sphere of action of a panglima is called *lhō'* (= Malay

1) See p. 115 above.
2) See p. 92 above.

*tëlok*), which properly means "bay"; these "bays" are separated from one another by boundary marks.

At ordinary times the only meaning of this division is that the pawangs of a given lhō' use that portion of the foreshore for laying up and repairing their sampans, and as the basis for their fishing trips. The right to catch fish in the water facing that strip of coast is open to the pawangs of other lhō's just as much as to them, nor is it regarded as an offence for one of these others to land in their territory. The boundary however has its chief significance at the *kanduri la'ōt*, which each lhō' holds annually to invoke God's blessing on the labours of its pawangs

The kanduri la'ōt.

The time chosen for this kanduri (which is supposed to bring to the pukat-fishers the same good luck as the kanduri blang [1]) does to the planters) is that when the fishery enjoys a compulsory holiday owing to the rough weather i. e. the changes of the N. E. and S. W. monsoon. Thus the foreshore at Ulèe Lheuë is divided for the pukat fishermen into two lhō's, one of which gives its religious feast in keunòng 17 at the beginning of the S. W. Monsoon (about April), and the other in keunòng 5, at the beginning of the N. E. Monsoon (about September).

The pawangs of the lhō' bear the expenses of the feast, which is on a considerable scale, but they can claim a contribution of about four dollars from each of their contract buyers.

The day for the feast is fixed by the panglima, who invites to it all the pawangs and their crews, the ulèëbalang and the gampōng authorities (keuchi's, teungkus and ureuëng tuha) of his mukim.

That the feast is luxurious according to Achehnese ideas may be judged from the fact that a buffalo is always slaughtered for it. Before proceeding to attack the good cheer which is spread on the shore of the lhō' which gives the feast, the latter is consecrated by *likè* (Arab. *ḍikr*), the repetition of psalms of praise (*seulaweuët*) in honour of the Prophet, or *hatam*, i. e. the recitation in chorus of portions of the Qurān by the teungkus and leubès present.

During the seven days following the kanduri, it is high festival for the fish in that lhō'; for in this week neither the pawangs belonging to that "bay" nor their colleagues from neighbouring parts may fish in the waters fronting that division [2]).

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1) See p. 259 above.

2) For a similar pantang-prohibition see p. 236.

## § 6. Rights on Land and Water.

To supplement what precedes, we shall now make a few remarks on the origin, transfer and forfeiture of the possession of land and certain rights over waters containing fish.

Real primary jungle (*rimba*) suitable for clearing is scarcely to be met with anywhere in the lowlands,' though there is plenty of it in the highlands. Here jungle produce of every kind, timber, damar, gĕtah, rattan, wild fruits, honey etc., may be collected by all alike free and without any supervision; nor is it limited to the inhabitants of the surrounding country, since the rimba is attached to no particular gampŏng or mukim. The chase is also entirely free. The only tax is the usual impost levied by the ulèëbalang at the river mouth (kuala) which all must pass, on the products collected in the jungle and brought down for export. Where however a strip of virgin forest more closely adjoins a definite tract of inhabited country, the highland chiefs take toll of the jungle products gathered in their territory, the tax being levied previous to sale.

Rights over ladangs.

Special rights to all that the rimba contains arise only through clearing; a fact which plainly shows that the country is too extensive for its inhabitants. The opening of cleared plantations (*ladang*) gives rise to rights of occupation, the duration of which is measured by that of the existence of the ladangs, which varies greatly according to circumstances. On these roughly cleared lands rice and maize are planted for from one to three years; vegetables of various kinds, betel-nut, cocoanut trees or other fruit trees for a much longer period.

The sole restriction on clearing consists in this, that whoever wishes to open ladangs, gardens (*lampŏïh*), or wet rice-fields (*umòng*) in the immediate neighbourhood of land which already has an owner or occupier, must first obtain the permission of the chief of the territory to which this land belongs. Where a number of persons wish to join in undertaking a considerable clearing, they must obtain the permission of the chief in whose country they wish to settle, but this permission refers more to their immigration into his territory than to their occupation of the forest land.

The right to a given ladang is lost as soon as all traces of the clearing have disappeared, just as it originated when the ground was first marked out for clearing.

Rice-fields and gardens always belong to one particular gampōng, and thus it is to the gampōng authorities that recourse is had in the first instance to maintain the rights of the owners and to compel them to observe their obligations.

The padang.

Where, as in the Tunòng, the land has not been taken entirely into cultivation, there is annexed to each gampōng, in addition to the "*blang*" or area composed of umòngs or padi-fields, another area (*padang*) on which there is no cultivation. All the inhabitants of a mukim have a right to open umòngs on an unoccupied padang, situated within that mukim, which umòngs thenceforward become their property; but this privilege is seldom availed of. It is more usual to open gardens on the padang, but this gives a right to what is planted only and not to the ground itself. The only padang in the neighbourhood of the capital was a small tract near Panté Pira'. Elsewhere in the lowlands it is rarely to be met with.

Wakeuëh lands.

Ownership of the trees etc. planted, exclusive of ownership of the ground, is not confined to the padangs; it is also to be met with in the case of what are called wakeuëh lands, for instance those which extend to the depth of seven great fathoms (*deupa meunara*) on either side of the river, and which used to be at the disposal of the raja [1]).

Forfeiture of acquired rights over land.

All right to possession of land is lost by abandonment or complete neglect, such as causes all traces of clearing to disappear. This of course happens most often in the case of ladangs, but seldom in that of wet rice-fields, gardens or courtyards. With respect to the last three even the theory of forfeiture is not entirely accepted by the people. So long as it is remembered that the umòng of X or the lampōih of Y lay in a certain place, the common folk are generally inclined to recognize unconditionally the rights of X or Y or their successors in title whenever they choose to assert them.

It is especially the covetous ulèëbalangs who in their own interest declare such lands forfeit after they have been for a long time without a master. In like manner they greedily annex the heritages of strangers on the pretext of the difficulty involved in seeking out the heirs, or

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1) An ordinary *deupa* is the distance from tip to tip of the middle fingers when a man stands with the arms outstretched. The *deupa meunara* is measured from the middle finger of the right hand to the sole of the foot, the right arm being raised to its full stretch above the head.

pilfer the goods inherited by absent persons under the pretence of administering the estates.

As we have already seen, these chiefs also find in the *langgéh umòng* [1]), or banning of rice-fields, a welcome method of quietly acquiring possession of many a desirable piece of land.

Transfer of rights.

The rights exercised by their occupiers over ladangs, umòngs, lampōihs and courtyards (tanòh rumòh, sometimes also used as lampōih or gardens) are expressed by the term *milé* [2]) (*milk*) which is borrowed from the Arabic.

Succession.

Just like all other ownership, that of the various sorts of land we have mentioned passes at the owner's death to his heirs. We shall see in a later chapter what departures from the Mohammedan law are exhibited by the Achehnese law of inheritance. The fact that in distributing estates, the umòngs are, where possible, given to the sons and the houses to the daughters is not in itself in conflict with the Mohammedan law.

Wills (*wasiët*) are seldom made [3]). The Achehnese who feels his death approaching generally acquaints those present with his last wishes in regard to the distribution of his property among his heirs, the place where he desires to be buried and so forth. This is called *pumeusan* (from *peusan* [4]) and these last "behests" are generally observed out of piety, although they have no binding effect under Mohammedan law.

The right of the owner to devote one-third of his property to the advantage of objects or persons other than the heirs appointed by law, is universally recognized but seldom practised in Acheh.

The making of waqf.

Equally seldom exercised is the right of withdrawing lands or other property from common use and making them *wakeuëh* (Arab. *waqf*), the usufruct or income being devoted to some purpose permitted by the Mohammedan law.

The rice-fields whose revenues are devoted to the upkeep of the mosques belong to this class; they are called *umòng sara* or *meusara* (see p. 122) and their foundation is in part ascribed to the old sultans.

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1) See pp. 115 above.

2) *Milik* in Malay has the same sense. In the Straits settlements, where English land law prevails to a great extent, it is used in the sense of "occupancy", and no rule of English law is more readily understood by the Malays than that by which twelve years adverse possession (*milik*) confers an indefeasible title upon the occupier. (*Translator*).

3) This is also the case among the Malays. (*Translator*).

4) Malay *pĕsan*, which means to "direct" or "convey a behest" to another. (*Translator*).

Besides the above, the latter dedicated certain rice-fields as waqf to meet the expenses of the annual kanduris of Teungku Anjōng, and also, it would seem, for the maintenance of some of the smaller chapels.

Generally, however, the Achehnese limit themselves as regards the making of waqf to copies of the Qurān and other religious books (kitabs) for chapels and schools and earthenware utensils and the like for mosques and meunasahs, to be used in the kanduris held therein.

Sale.

Sale of ladangs is comparatively rare, owing to their remote situation, but it is otherwise in regard to wet rice-fields, gardens and courtyards. According to the adat, however, lands of these three descriptions may always be acquired by the owners of the adjoining lands for the price offered by anôther, a right not conferred by the Shafi'ite law.

For this reason the owner of such lands in Acheh is bound to notify his immediate neighbours of his intention to sell, nor may he complete the sale without their consent. Where two or more of the adjoining owners wish to exercise their right of acquisition, they must come to an arrangement with each other; this seems seldom to present any difficulty.

The sale is attended with some ceremony, the form of it being borrowed in part from the Mohammedan law, and in part from the adat. Some ten persons from the gampōngs of the purchaser and seller witness the formal offer and acceptance, and each receives for his trouble some tobacco-leaves (*bakōng*). The vendor first announces the sale, though it properly speaking still lacks its legal confirmation. "I have sold", he says, "my rice-field in district X to so-and-so for $ 100; let this be known to all present [1])." With this introduction he proceeds to make the offer (*peusambōt*): "I sell you the rice-field Y for the sum of $ 100.— [2])." The purchaser replies by the acceptance (*sambōt*) "I buy from you this rice-field for the sum of one hundred dollars [3])."

Sale of cattle.

The same formalities take place at the sale of cattle. The seller of the cow or buffalo holds the leading-rope, which passes through the animal's nostrils, close up to the latter, whilst the purchaser grasps it lower down. The formula of the peusambōt and sambōt is the same

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1) *Umòng diblang X ka lōn-publòë keu gòb nyòë yum sireutōih reunggét.*

2) *Lōn-publòë keu dròëneu umòng Y deungòn yum sireutōih reunggét.*

3) *Lōn-blòë ba' dròëneu umòng yum sireutōih reunggét.* In the lowlands the lowest price of an ordinary *yō'* (requiring one naléh of seed padi) was under native rule 100 dollars; but in the highlands treble the area might be bought for this price.

as those which we have just described, viz. "I sell you this buffalo for the price of 40 dollars." "I buy from you this buffalo for the price of 40 dollars." In repeating these words great care is taken to let the pronoun "you" precede the mention of the buffalo or cow, since the reverse sequence is regarded as highly improper. The same applies to the formula used in the purchase of land.

Consecration of a new plough-buffalo.

When a man purchases a buffalo for agricultural purposes, he performs a further ceremony of a superstitious sort at the bringing home of the animal. Leading him to the foot of the steps of his house, he calls to the inmates to fetch him down a *chinu* [1]) full of water and a handful (*reugam*) of husked and unhusked rice (*breuëh padé*). After crying *béseumélah* ("in the name of Allah!"), the owner first pours the water over the buffalo's head and then besprinkles the latter with the raw rice.

Although the sale of land cannot be said to be infrequent in Acheh, still public opinion stamps as a spendthrift the man who alienates the whole or a part of his inherited rice-field. This reprehensible action is known as *pupipa' umòng* = the breaking up of his rice-field. It amounts indeed to an attack on the "king of all breadwinning" (*pangulèë hareukat*).

Letting of lands.

Letting (*peusiwa*) of rice-fields used [2]) to be rare in the lowlands, but very common in the highlands and in Pulò Breuëh (Bras) where the cultivated ground is too extensive for the population. The rent is usually paid in husked rice (*breuëh*).

Gardens used also to be let in the lowlands, and in this case money was used. A high rent for a good sugar-cane garden with the necessary cuttings for planting was 20 dollars per annum.

The letting of houses is entirely at variance with the social institutions of the Achehnese, on which we shall enlarge further in our chapter on family life. Shops and stalls (*keudè*) are indeed let for hire, but these are only frequented by the traders on market-days, and at other times serve merely as storehouses for goods ready for sale.

Hiring out of cattle.

Buffaloes and cows are also let out for hire, the usual rate being about 3 gunchas of unhusked rice (*padé*) per annum.

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1) The *chinu* is a ladle made of a cocoanut shell. The use of this utensil to the exclusion of all others for the consecration of a buffalo may be explained by the fact that the chinu is the most old-fashioned utensil of its kind. It is also employed, as we shall see later on, at the "laying" of certain evil spirits supposed to cause sickness.

2) Under native rule, before the conquest by the Dutch. (*Translator*).

Contracts for hire are concluded without any formalities, since they are not far-reaching in their consequences.

The mawaïh-contract.

A form of contract in very common use is the *mawaïh*. By this one party binds himself to work the rice-field of another with his own buffalo, plough etc., in consideration of receiving one-half of the crop, or to support his cattle etc., on condition that one-half the young that they produce shall become his property. Such contracts are also very common in Java.

Mawaïh is thus synonymous with *meudua laba* i. e. equal division of profits. Should special circumstances give rise to an agreement for division on other terms, this is no longer called mawaïh, but expressed thus for example; *meugòë umòng X bagi lhèë* = "to work the field of X for one-third of the crop."

*Mawaïh*-contracts are more especially resorted to by the owners of umòngs situated at a great distance from one another, as for instance the ulèëbalangs, who cause the umòngs which they appropriate to be cultivated in this way unless they are powerful enough to get the work done by feudal service. There are some chiefs who year after year call out the people of one gampōng to plough for them, of another to do the planting, and of a third to gather in the harvest [1]).

He who hands over his field to be tilled under a *mawaïh* contract (*pumawaïh*) troubles himself no further about it till the crop is cut. Then he witnesses the measuring out of the padi either personally or by agent and removes the half that falls to his share.

Mortgages.

From the above-quoted adverse view of the Achehnese in regard to the sale of rice-fields it may readily be seen that they are better managers of property, and have more comprehension of the value of accumulating capital than the Javanese. Indeed parsimony may be said to be more a national characteristic of the former people than extravagance. This does not prevent many from temporarily converting their rice-fields into money under the pressure of adversity of various kinds,

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1) [During the existence of the "linie" (circ 1885—96) the state of things in the neighbourhood of this boundary was entirely abnormal. The owners of padi-lands along this line readily made over their fields to the cultivators on the condition that the latter should work them for three years entirely for their own profit; it was not till the 4th year that the owner received a fifth share. But since the "linie" has been done away with, and the whole of Great Acheh brought under the direct control of the Dutch government, the old relations between landlord and tenant have gradually revivived, though the letable value of the land is now less than in former times, in consequence of the long war.]

while the passion for gambling rife among the chiefs and other persons of rank dissipates the fruits of the most parsimonious management. Under such circumstances they have recourse to mortgages (*peugala*).

The humane but unpractical doctrine of Mohammedan law that the mortgagee may draw no profit whatever from the mortgage, but must rest content with the assurance of receiving back in full the sum he lends, is just as little observed in Acheh as in other Moslim countries. The *gala* or mortgage contracts [1]) are entirely controlled by the adat.

The objects most commonly pledged in Acheh are wet rice-fields, gardens, *keudès* (shops), boats, golden ornaments, weapons, fishing-nets and the like. Houses and cattle are rarely mortgaged.

The old adat requires a pledge to be given to the money-lender of double the value of the sum lent. Should the object pledged be lost through the fault of the mortgagee, the latter is obliged to pay to the mortgagor a sum equal to the amount of the loan.

Besides this very ample security for his capital, the money lender also enjoys the use of the thing pledged. Where it consists of weapons or personal ornaments he adorns therewith his own person or those of his wife and children. The unpleasantness of ruffling it in the finery of others, which must soon be restored to its owner, is not felt in the slightest degree by the Achehnese. He reflects that if he did not get these things in this way, he would have to buy them for himself, and the fact that he is able to do so is sufficiently evinced by his having lent money to others. So far from concealing the source from whence he derived such ornaments and weapons, he plumes himself on having command over the most costly possessions of others.

A shop taken in mortgage is often let to a third party. Money is lent on vessels only by seafaring men, who use the pledges themselves.

Umòngs and lampōïhs are either cultivated by the mortgagee entirely for his own benefit, or else given out by him in *mawaïh* contracts. They are always mortgaged when follow after the harvest, and given back by the mortgagee at the same season, i. e. in the case of rice-fields always in the musém luaïh blang [2]). Permission of the owners of the adjoining lands is not required, but as these mortgages are sometimes sustained for a very long time, the contract is concluded in the

1) To take on mortgage = *gala*; to make a habit or occupation of so doing = *geumala*. The object pledged = *gala* or *geunala*.

2) See p. 258 et seq.

same ceremonial manner as contracts for the sale of lands. It not unfrequently happens that a mortgaged piece of land remains so long in the hands of a single family that it comes to be regarded as its property, and the original transaction is in all good faith forgotten. This results in tedious lawsuits between the heirs of the original owners and those of the moneylenders.

Pledging of fruit-trees.

Fruit-trees etc., held without any right of ownership over the ground on which they stand, — as for example when they grow on a *padang* or common or on the wakeuëh strip on each side of the river — may also be the subject of a contract of mortgage. The man who takes such gardens in pledge has of course no right to remove the trees.

Rights over fishing-grounds.

We have seen that the rights of the owner of an umòng are limited during the *musém luaïh blang* by the fact that everyone is free to graze his cattle thereon. In addition to this privilege, everyone has a right to fish in any umòng in that "open" season, both with fish-traps and the fishing-rod. Even in the *musém pichê' blang*, during which the access of cattle to the rice-fields is so strictly forbidden, fishing with the rod on the umòng of others is allowed, but not the setting of fish-traps.

Fish-ponds (*mòn*) made by the owner on his own land are excepted from this permission, and it is likewise forbidden to catch fish with any other implement than rod and line in neuheuns or lhòms which others have constructed on the banks of creeks or rivers.

Mortgaging of such ponds or staked enclosures seems not to be customary, though they pass into the hands of others by sale and succession. It even occurs at times that a man sells his rice-field, yet retains his ownership of the fish-pond he has made there.

There remains one further point of interest with regard to the moneylending system of Acheh. The Achehnese contract of mortgage comprehends within itself a transgression of the rule of law prohibiting all usury (*riba*), a rule unconditionally insisted on in the teaching of Islam and much emphasized by every school. The popular conscience, however, finds this form of transgressing the commandment less repulsive than the direct covenant for interest on a sum of money lent. The receipt of goods in pledge does not excite even an outward show of aversion; pledging is in fact permitted, nor is this the only respect in which the adat of the country has somewhat modified the *hukōm* in practice. But where it is said of anyone that he "makes dollars yield interest" (*peulaba reunggét*, *pubungòng reunggét*, or *pajōh bungòng*

*reunggét*) then every hearer knows that the expression conveys a reproach, although such usury is by no means exceptional in Acheh. It is a slur on the character of the man of whom it is said, much as though he were accused of being an opium-smoker or a drunkard.

The ingenuity of mankind in the invention of means of evading the law finds full exemplification in the Achehnese practice of seeking innocent names for actions condemned by their religion.

The Achehnese dollars (piastres) taken by traders to Penang to buy goods [1]), yield them in that port a profitable premium varying between 1 and 5%; 4% is reckoned by them as the average premium or *basi* as they call it. The moneylender who advances capital to the trader for a trip such as this stipulates for half this *basi*, so that there remains for the trader the other half, plus whatever he may make by his venture. The basis adopted for such contracts is the rate of basi prevailing when the loan is made. This rate can always be easily ascertained from the traders or seafaring people who have last come over from Penang. Thus the moneylender is protected from loss, and the trader runs very little risk, as the rate seldom falls much in the time required for the voyage to Penang, and he no sooner reaches that port than he at once proceeds to change his money.

This method of raising money is called *meudua basi* = "dividing the premium into equal portions". The account is balanced every three months, so that, taking the premium at its average rate, the moneylender gets $4 \times 2 = 8\%$ per annum for his money. Sometimes when the basi is very low, the moneylender bargains for the whole, so that the trader has to consider whether he can make a profit with such dear money.

Such contracts are, on account of the usury (*riba*) which they imply, condemned by the Mohammedan law equally with the Achehnese system of mortgage, nay even just as much as undisguised borrowing with a covenanted rate of interest. Yet the former process is in the popular estimation quite different from "making dollars yield interest", and the pliant consciences of the Achehnese are thus appeased.

Worse still, the name of lending in consideration of a part or the whole of the basi is used simply as a euphemism for ordinary usury, without any money-changing or journeys to Penang. For instance the

1) These dollars find their way back to Acheh in exchange for pepper and betelnuts.

lender says to the borrower, "I lend you 100 dollars in consideration of 6 dollars premium (*basi*) after 3 months"; or still better to maintain the appearance of a sharing of the premium he says, "the basi will in three months amount to 12 dollars, half of which will be your share and the other half mine".

In loans with a covenant for interest the moneylender generally requires a pledge in addition. The object of the pledge or mortgage in such cases is not so much to draw a profit for this short period from the object pledged, as to have security for the repayment of the capital with interest. The moneylenders are thus content with a pledge equal in value to capital plus interest, and so do not require one of double the value of the sum lent, as in ordinary mortgages.

# CHAPTER III.

## DOMESTIC LIFE AND LAW.

### § 1. Proposal, Betrothal and Marriage.

Child-marriage.

Girls marry in Acheh at an earlier age than perhaps in any other Mohammedan country of the Eastern Archipelago.

We meet indeed in all such countries cases of what is called in Java *kawin gantung*, where children are united in wedlock in form only, but the actual consummation of their marriage (Jav. *nĕmo'aké*) is deferred to a maturer age. Examples of this occur in Acheh also; it is then said that the husband "is only married and does not yet frequent the house" [1]). In Acheh, however, girls of 8 to 10, nay even of 7 years of age are actually handed over to their husbands, even where the latter are grown up or elderly men. So universal is this custom, that parents whose daughter at the age of 8—10 years does not occasionally share her husband's bed are greatly concerned thereat, unless there are spe-special reasons for her not doing so.

Possible causes of late marriage of women.

Such a reason would be, for instance, that the girl is the daughter of a *sayyid* and thus may wed none other than a sayyid. As these Mohammedan nobility are not very numerously represented in Acheh, and as it is an exceptional occurrence for a girl to leave her parents' gampōng to follow her husband, her high birth may sometimes compel a girl to wait for years for a husband, or even to become an old maid, a class that is, apart from such cases, almost unknown in the Native world. Or else it may happen that the daughter of some chief of note is formally married to the son of another chief, but the great distance of their homes from one another, and perhaps also small local

1) *Kawên mantòng, hana wòè.*

wars may delay for years the "home-coming" of the husband. These, however, are manifestly exceptional cases.

The Achehnese declare that these early marriages are conducive to the preservation of feminine strength and beauty, though observation would lead us to form a contrary opinion [1]).

Superstitious practices for promoting the marriage of girls.

When a girl reaches what the Achehnese regard as the marriageable age without having yet had a single suitor for her hand, it is believed that there must be some supernatural agency at work. It is looked upon as certain that she must have in some part of her body something *malang* or unpropitious, which stands in the way of her success.

The numerical value of the initial letter of her name is assumed as the basis of a calculation for indicating the part of her body which is to blame. When this has been ascertained, the girl is placed on a heap of husked rice (*breuëh*) and the spot indicated is slightly pricked with a golden needle, so as to draw a little blood. This blood is gathered up by means of a wad of tree-cotton (*gapeuëh*) which is then placed in an egg, part of the contents of which have been removed to make room for it. A little of the girl's hair and some parings of her nails are enclosed in a young cocoanut leaf, and finally all these things are thrown into the running water of the nearest river or stream.

This is one of the most usual methods of doing away with the *malang* (*bòïh malang*). There are also other ways, such as for example the throwing away of an old garment of the unlucky one into a river or at a place where three or four ways meet (*simpang*). The old women are the most trusted advisers in such cases.

Relative social position of man and wife.

The Achehese adat is in entire agreement with the rule of Mohammedan law that a woman must not marry a man of social position inferior to her own.

The pride of the Achehnese also withholds them from marrying their daughters to foreigners, unless they are of Arab blood, or have been long settled in the country and have attained some position. To other strangers they only give women who have some slave blood in their veins.

An exception to this rule is made in favour of devout hajis from

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1) Cases in which young wives suffer serious physical injury are rare, since great circumspection is enjoined on the husband by the adat and public opinion. On the other hand, where Arabs or other strangers wed Achehnese virgins, such painful results often follow.

Java, and especially those from Krinchi, who in earlier times often made a long stay in Acheh or settled there permanently. But the better class of Achehnese have always objected and still object to giving their daughters in marriage to the Klings (*Kléng*), who are specially known as "strangers" (*ureuëng dagang*). Only such Klings as have amassed some wealth as traders or have the reputation of religious learning are allowed to wed the daughters of Achehnese of consideration.

The doctrine of Islam, that there exists no such thing as a *mésalliance* for a man, is also liberally applied; yet men set a high value on alliances which connect them with good families. Both for the honour of it, and also for political reasons, an ulèëbalang always tries to obtain the daughter of one of his equals in rank as a wife for his son. The tuanku prefers to choose his consort from among his own relatives or the families of the great ulèëbalangs. Most marriages of chiefs and of their nearest relatives are regulated by purely political considerations. At present they are not as a rule concluded without the consent of the Dutch Government. The best way of allaying a feud between two clans consists in bringing about a marriage between a man of the one and a girl of the other. Women who are far beneath their husbands in position generally take the second, third or fourth place in the ranks of his spouses.

Proposal of marriage.

A young man usually marries for the first time at the age of from 16 to 20 years. The proposal comes from his side; the custom prevalent in West Java, according to which the father of a young girl seeks out a suitable son-in-law, is regarded as incorrect by the Achehnese. "The well does not look for the bucket", they say [1]). After numerous confidential discussions between the parents of both parties the first official (though in form also confidential) step is taken through a go-between called *seulangké* [2]).

Although to outward seeming the *seulangké* simply renders hireling service, for which he is allowed by the adat a recompense of one dollar for every *bungkay* (25 dollars) of the dowry, the post is one

1) *Hantòm mòn mita tima.* This proverb cannot be taken as in itself proving the rarity of such a case, for in Java, where a proposal of marriage on the woman's side is not uncommon, it is still called *lumpang angulati alu* = "the mortar seeking the pestle"; and even the people of Minangkabau, among whom the rule is for the relations of the woman to seek her a husband, have a saying *anau mauchari jangjang* = "the arèn-tree seeking the ladder". But in Acheh this practice is really exceptional.

2) His visit to the girl's parents to make the proposal is called *meuseuleungeuy*.

much sought after even by persons of some consideration. It is a position of trust, and in former times the *seulangké* had to take the place of the bridegroom when the latter broke his promise. For this reason he must be the equal of the bridegroom (*lintō*) in rank and position. He should further have that knowledge of the world and polish which bestows on an Achehnese the title of *ureuëng tuha* (= "elder": see p. 75 above). He must be completely master of the proper forms of social intercourse, and particularly of intimate intercourse such as this, and must be in a word an accomplished person.

Appeal to lucky omens.

Before the *seulangké* begins his task, the requisite appeal to lucky omens must be made. Long before the formal proposal, a sort of calculation is made which is supposed to show whether a blessing can rest on the union; for example the numerical value of the initial letters of the names of both are added together and divided by a certain number, and the remainder left over after this division shows whether it is wise to commence the negociations or not [1]).

There are some however who prefer to place their trust in Allah and omit all calculations of this sort [2]).

The day for the visit of the *seulangké* is also carefully computed by counting off against the days of the month the four following words: *langkah* (a pace), *raseuki* (breadwinning), *peuteumuën* (meeting), and *mawòt* (death). Dates on which the words *raseuki* or *peuteumuën* (the latter for preference) fall are considered favourable [3]).

On all ceremonial occasions the Achehnese has recourse to eloquence, and time has gradually reduced to crystallized forms the "speeches" to which domestic and social life gives rise. Thus the seulangké says to the father of the girl whose hand is sought [4]): "Your servant has directed his steps towards you, because Teuku N. has requested him so to do. He begs you to be so good as to take his child (son) as your slave". The answer runs as follows: "That would not be fitting, seeing that we be but humble folk". The seulangké now presses his suit more closely,

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1) The books or tables used for these calculations are called *phay* (Arab. فأل); the act of working them out is *muphay*. The common name for a memorandum book containing notes on these and similar subjects (Jav. *primbon*) is *tèh* (Arab. طب); see p. 198 above.

2) This wilful neglect of calculations generally in vogue is called in Java *bëlo* or *gudèl bingung* and much practised by pious men (*santris*).

3) These time-tables or methods of computation are known as *surat kutika* or *katika*; those most in use are the Malay *kutika lima*, *kutika tujōh*, *bintang tujōh* or *bintang dua blaïh*.

and in the end the father replies: „We are willing to agree to all that you have said, but as you know the saying holds good of us, *reaching the goal yet not wholly attaining it, coming close up yet not actually touching it* (i. e. we are of a truth too lowly in rank, and our dealing in the matter will leave much to be desired); therefore your servant knows not how to reply" [1]).

Betrothal gifts.

After this, the symbolic language is dropped, and a preliminary arrangement made. The seulangké now returns to those who sent him, makes his report of the negociations and invites the parents of the youth to accompany him to see the *keuchi'* and *teungku* of the gampōng where the girl resides, in order to fix a day for the *mè tanda kòng narit*, i. e. the bringing of a token that the agreement has been ratified — a betrothal gift in fact.

Marriage an affair of the gampōng.

The parents of the young man have of course, before taking the first step, asked the permission of the *teungku* and *keuchi'* of their own gampōng for the proposed marriage, and the parents of the girl on their part do the same with their local authorities after the *seulangké* has paid them his first visit. Marriage is in fact by no means a mere family matter, but at least as much an affair of the whole gampōng.

Authority of the keuchi' in connection with marriage.

Thus the *keuchi'* has power to prevent a proposed marriage from taking place. The headman of the girl's gampōng will seldom refuse his consent. He has no reason to object to her marrying a man of the same gampōng and is even less likely to raise difficulties to her taking a husband from elsewhere. In the latter case the children of the marriage may be regarded as trees planted by a stranger, of which the owner of the garden has the exclusive enjoyment and profit. It is only where the keuchi' himself or one of his relations or chiefs has his eye on the girl, that he sets himself to baffle the parents when they suggest disposing otherwise of her hand, and so tries to compass his private ends.

The usual form of the dialogue of the parents of the girl with the keuchi' is as follows: "X (the *seulangké*) has just come, bringing a message from Teuku N. (the father of the young man) asking for our child for him (n.b., the father). What is now the Teuku's (= your) good pleasure?" He replies, "What part have I in the matter? be it as it seems good to you, whose child it concerns".

1) For a description of the betrothal ceremonies of the Malays of the Peninsula, see Skeat's *Malay Magic* pp. 364—368. (*Translator*).

On the other hand it often happens that a *keuchi'* opposes the marriage schemes of a young man, especially when the object of his affections resides in another gampōng.

The authority of the *keuchi'* in such matters is considerable, as he is practically regarded as being, in a general sense, the representative of the interests of the gampōng. No one disputes his fiat when he, as headman of a sparsely populated gampōng, forbids a youth to seek his spouse outside its limits, since the children of the marriage would thus be lost to his own gampōng. Here we see a further instance in which the *keuchi'*, in conformity with the popular saying, is actually the "father" of the gampōng, and keeps his "children" in the right path.

The best day for the *mè tanda kòng narit* is in its turn carefully ascertained by computation. The favourite day for this ceremony is that of the full moon, the 14th of the month.

To what an extent marriage is an affair of the gampōng may further be gathered from the fact that it is not a relative of the would-be bridegroom, but the *keuchi'*, the *teungku*, certain elders and the go-between who undertake the presentation of the gift of betrothal. The latter is, indeed, received in the house of the bride and in her name, but those who actually receive it are the authorities of her gampōng.

Besides the betrothal-gift they bring what is called the *ranub dòng* or "standing sirih". This consist of a *dalōng* or large round food-tray with a detachable wooden upright standing in its midst. Round the latter are placed long rows of sirih-leaves tastefully arranged in the hollow base. The rows are piled up all round from the lowest layer upwards, and on the top are laid betelnuts, and boiled eggs gaily coloured.

As soon as the suitor's envoys have entered the house where the girl lives, there ensues one of those stereotyped discussions, as prolix as they are droll, which always accompany important domestic occurrences in the domestic life of the Achehnese [1]).

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1) These prolix discourses on weighty occasions are also to be met with in other parts of Sumatra and in Java. A good example of those employed in Menangkabau may be found in the essay on the adats in use at the appointment of a pangulu andiko in the district of Kapau, lithographed at Padang in 1890 at the house of R. Edw. van Muien. But even in Java, where the adat has suffered so much from the great power of the chiefs and a foreign rule, there are floods of stereotyped oratory at every village wedding. These "speeches" sometimes furnish important historical and ethnographical material, for crystallized forms of this kind generally live longer than the adats on which they are founded.

The entrance (or "going upstairs" as the Achehnese call it) takes place at the invitation of an eloquent elder of the bride's gampōng. The *ranub dòng* is brought forward by way of preliminary, and sirih is offered to the guests. Thereupon an elder of the bridegroom's gampōng speaks as follows: "Teuku keuchi', Teungku and elders of this gampōng, our visit to you is on account of a little word which your servant desires to address to you. Our wish is to present N. (the suitor) to you as your slave. How then, do ye accept or not?" The answer, given by one of the elders of the girl's gampōng, runs as follows: "Your servant esteems your words as a command, but as far as this matter is concerned, I know naught of it, you had better apply to X" (indicating a fellow-elder).

The first speaker then turns to X, and repeats his question, but the other gives him the same evasive answer. This reference to others and pretence of ignorance sometimes goes on for a considerable time in the most serious way. When the farce is thought to have lasted long enough, the person last addressed replies: "There is no objection to the purpose conveyed by your words, which we esteem as a command; but whose child is this bridegroom N.? Who was his grandfather and who his great-grandfather"? As soon as the genealogy of the suitor has been set forth up to a certain point for the benefit of those present, the matter is considered settled. One of the elders of the suitor's gampōng now produces the *tanda* or token of good faith, a valuable gold ring or hair ornament (*bungòng preuë*) or the like, and hands it to the keuchi' with the words "Let this serve as a token". The *ranub dòng* or "standing sirih" is thereupon brought up and presented to the fellow-villagers of the maiden with the words: "Behold one or two sirih-leaves which we have brought to offer you". The meeting concludes with a feast.

From this time forth the pair are one another's betrothed. Should the engagement be broken off later through the man's fault the *tanda* remains in the possession of the bride; but where the blame is on her side it is returned. When, however, the father of the bride breaks his word without reasonable cause, he must also pay a fine, generally a pretty heavy one, to the ulèëbalang. Breaking of troth-plight.

In Acheh, just as in other parts of the Archipelago, no father allows his daughter to become betrothed so long as she has an elder sister still unbespoken, unless the latter happens to be blind or insane. Nay

even in such a case it is usually sought to provide the unfortunate one with a husband, though the ordinary requirements as to rank and position are not of course insisted on in such instances.

Mutual relation of parents-in-law and sons-in-law.

The peculiar relation between the son-in-law and the bride's parents in Acheh, a relation which must be regarded as a rudiment of earlier social conditions, commences from the time of the betrothal. Neither the engaged man himself nor his parents may at any time during the continuance of the betrothal cross the threshold of the girl's parents. Nothing short of a death in the family can create an exception to this rule.

All intercourse between the son-in-law and his parents-in-law is, even after marriage, regarded as improper and restricted to the unavoidable. This notion, which still prevails in some parts of Java, but seems to be gradually dying out in that island, subsists in full force in Acheh. Son-in-law and father-in-law shun one another's presence like the plague, and when chance brings them together, pass with averted faces. Should it be impossible to avoid communicating with each other, they do so through the friendly interposition of a third person, whom they each address in turn.

Such a situation might at first sight appear to be untenable, for the Achehnese daughter really never quits her parents' roof. According to their means, the latter either vacate a portion of their house in favour of each daughter that marries, or supply the lack of room by adding on to the main building or putting up new houses in the same enclosure. Yet when the son-in-law visits his wife or "comes home" as it is called [1]), he takes no notice of her family even though he remains for months or even years at a time within the same enclosure. To facilitate this discreet behaviour, which is strictly prescribed by the adat, after every absence whether long or short, he notifies his return by coughing loud and long, so as to give the inmates time to get out of the way and leave his part of the house free for himself and his wife and children. In a respectable family this coughing is the only audible interchange of thought between the parents of the woman and her husband.

Well-to-do parents often have a house built for a daughter who is approaching the marriageable age. Others furnish an outfit, which is

1) *Wòè*; see p. 295 above.

described on the principle of *pars pro toto* by the expression *chòb tika bantay* = "the sewing of mats and cushions".

The engagement lasts sometimes only a month, but sometimes longer, even as much as a year. The day for the marriage is fixed by the *seulangké* in consultation with the parents of the bride. *Mò'lōt* (Rabī' al-awwal), *Adòë Mò'lōt* (Rabi al-ākhir) and *Kanduri Bu* (Sha'bān) are regarded as lucky months, and the 6th, 14th and 22nd of the month as propitious days.

The all-important day is preceded by three evenings of feasting in the house of the bride (*dara barō*); these derive their name from the custom of staining the hands and feet of the bride with *gacha* (= *henna*, the Arab. *ḥinna*) [1]). The guests are nominally supposed to assist at the performance of this portion of the bride's toilet. The *gacha* evenings are called *phōn gacha*, *dua gacha* and *lhèë gacha* [2]), i.e. the first, second and third gacha.

In point of fact it is not the guest, but a woman professionally skilled in the art, who applies the dark-red stain so much admired to the hands and feet of the bride. At least one old woman of the family, the grandmother for instance, takes an active part in this performance, in order that a greater blessing may rest thereon. Many women are invited, and partake of the evening meal in the bride's house, which is decorated to suit the occasion. They spend a merry evening pleasantly varied by the recital of *hikayats* or stories, till about midnight, when they retire.

None of the bridegroom's people may partake in these festivities, even though the two families are related to one another. Nor are any feasts held in the bridgroom's house on these nights.

Well-to-do people convert one or more of these three nights into a festival for all the inhabitants of the gampōng by organizing a *piasan*. This word (Mal. *pĕrhiasan*) signifies a feast of a secular description characterized by various popular amusements, and generally enlivened by fireworks and illuminations. Among the most popular amusements on such occasions are what are known as *Rapa'i* [3]). Of these the most favourite performance is the hanging of red-hot chains on the bare

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1) The Malays have the same custom, which they call *bĕrhinei*. (*Translator*).

2) At Mecca also one of the festive gatherings to which a marriage gives occasion is called *ḥinna* after this very practice of staining the bride's hands and feet. See my *Mekka*. Vol. II p. 165.

3) See below Vol. II Chapter III, § 3.

body. The *ratéb sadati* and *pulèt* are also very popular. The people of the gampōng take care that the players are entertained at the expense of the family who give the feast, while they themselves enjoy both the good cheer and the show that accompanies it.

The andam-day.

The three nights of feasting are only distinguished from one another by the arbitrary changes in the form of the amusements. The day following the third *gacha*-night is called the *andam*-day (*uròë meu'andam*), since the bride's toilette, of which the andam (i. e. the shaving off of a portion of her hair) constitutes the part esteemed as of the highest importance, is completed thereon.

From two to four days beforehand the people of the gampōng issue invitations to guests both male and female to attend this ceremony. They assemble at this kanduri at uncertain times; the concourse lasts from early in the morning till about 3 P.M. They are received by the gampōng-folk; the women go to the *samòë likōt*, while the men take their place in the *sramòë reunyeun*. Food is placed before each of the guests immediately on his arrival.

Presents from the guests.

No guest comes with empty hands. They hand over their respective gifts, one a dollar, another a goat, and so on, to the elder who acts as master of the ceremonies (*peutimang jamèë or peutimang buët*). Where the bride is the daughter of an ulèëbalang, even buffaloes are presented. Where a married couple attends the feast, the man and his wife bring separate gifts [1]).

Those invited as guests are for the most part, besides intimate friends, the relations of the bride and more distant kindred of the bridegroom.

The adat contains a curious rule in regard to the return gifts to be made to those of the two last-mentioned classes. To such of them as belong to a generation younger than that of the bride [2]), a sum of money must be paid at their departure equal to double the value of the gifts which they have brought.

The andam must be performed before midday; no blessing rests on it unless it take place while the sun is still ascending (*uròë é*). Though

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1) This offering of gifts is called *teumeuntuë*. In Javanese it is known as *nyumbang*, in Sundanese as *nyambung*.

2) The bridegroom's relations, even though they be really senior to the bride in age, are regarded as junior to her when they are younger than the bridegroom. It is usual for husband and wife each to address the others relations in the same way as that other would do. Thus an elderly man may be heard calling a mere boy *abang* (elder brother), if the latter be the elder brother of the speaker's wife.

the work is actually done by an expert, all the women assembled in the *sramòë likōt* nominally take part in it, and the professional hair-dresser must nowise neglect to invite at least the most important guests to share in the *andam*, the invariable answer being, however [1]): "It matters not; I leave the task to you".

Before the commencement of the andam the necessary steps must be taken to avert evil influences, and means employed to ensure what is technically called "cooling".

As we know, in the native languages of the E. Archipelago all happiness, peace, rest and well-being are united under the concept of "coolness", while the words "hot" and "heat" typify all the powers of evil. Thus when a person has either just endured the attack of a "hot" influence, or has luckily contrived to escape it, the adat prescribes methods of "cooling" in order to confirm him in the well-being which he has recovered or escaped losing. The same methods are also adopted for charming away evil things and baneful influences, the removal of which is regarded as an imperative necessity. For instance, the completion of a house, and various domestic festivities, are made the occasion for a process of "cooling"; so also with a ship when newly built or after the holding of a kanduri on board; and before the padi is planted out the ground must be purified from "hot" or dangerous influences.

In Acheh this cooling [2]) is called *peusijuë'* (making cool). The most effective method of cooling consists in besprinkling the person or thing to be cooled with *teupōng taweuë* [3]), i. e. water mixed with a little rice-flour; also the strewing over the object of a little husked and unhusked rice mingled together (*breuëh padé*). "Cooling".

The besprinkling with *teupōng taweuë* is performed with the help of certain small plants [4]). Among the plants which always appear in this improvised holy-water sprinkler are included the *sisijuë'* (a name which in itself implies cooling) and the *manè'-manòë* [5]) to which

1) *Hana peuë, idin lōn ta'andam.*

2) *Peuchruëng* in the highlands.

3) This properly means unflavoured flour or dough, since no salt or flavouring component is mixed with it.

4) The use of this "neutralizing rice-flour" (*tĕpong tawar*) with a sprinkling-brush formed of leaves and twigs of certain plants is also universal among the Malays. See Skeat's *Malay Magic* pp. 77—80 etc. (*Translator*).

5) This cooling plant is known at Batavia as *chakar* (elsewhere *chochor* or *sosor*), *bebek* (the Sundanese *bun tiris*), and is used in Java as in Acheh for certain mysterious purposes

betel-nut stalks or *naleuëng sambō* [1]) are added on certain occasions.

Thus before the young padi is planted out, a besom composed of small plants of *manè'-manòë* and *sisijuë'* and a betel-nut stalk, is set up in the midst of the rice-field, after being first dipped in teupōng taweuë and used to sprinkle the centre of the field [2]). On the 44th day after a birth, marriage or death, the *bidan* (midwife) or an old "wise woman" comes and besprinkles the topmost portion of all the posts of the house with *manè'-manòë* or *sisijuë'*. A boy who has completed the recitation of the Qurān is "cooled" in the same way by his guru or teacher. So too, one who has just returned from a long journey, or been saved from shipwreck, or fallen into the water and narrowly escaped drowning, or a child which has fallen from the steps of the house, etc., is "cooled" by an old woman of the family.

In the case of human beings, the cooling with flour and water is followed by what is called *peusunténg* [3]), i. e. the smearing of a little *bu kunyét* (glutinous rice made yellow with turmeric) behind both ears. In some cases this last only is done, and a child that has fallen from the stairs is simply smeared behind the ears with a little clay from the ground on which it falls.

All these coolings, except when recognized experts are employed, should be performed by old women; otherwise the good result is very doubtful.

To return to the ceremony of shaving the bride's hair (*andam*) [4]). The requisites for the andam and the cooling that precedes it are placed ready on two trays (*talam*). On one is husked and on the other unhusked rice (*breuëh* and *padé*), on each stands a bowl of *teupōng taweuë* and a small besom composed of a *sisijuë'* plant, a *manè'-manòë* plant and some *naleuëng sambō*, a kind of grass the flowers of which look

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of "cooling". The plants so used are however really of different sorts, but the same name is given to all alike in different localities. All have this in common, that the shape of the leaves bears a rough resemblance to a duck's foot.

1) This is, according to Dr. P. van Romburgh, the *Eleusine India*. It is known in Java as *jampang* and used as cattle-fodder.

2) See p. 264 above.

3) The general meaning of the word, like that of its equivalent in Malay, is "smearing or inserting behind the ears", and is used to describe the custom so much in vogue among the youth of Acheh of wearing flowers stuck behind their ears. It is also used however in a technical sense to denote the smearing with yellow rice for purposes of cooling. [The Malay word *bĕrsunting* means according to Marsden the wearing of flowers or other ornaments on the head or behind the ears. (*Translator*).]

4) Cf. Skeat's *Malay Magic* p. 353 et seq.

as though they were plaited. On one of the trays is also placed a young cocoa-nut opened by cutting it through the centre in an indented line, the two halves being then neatly fitted into one another, a razor, a pair of scissors, a bowl of perfumed oil, a similar bowl with some dried sandal-wood (*kleumbá'*) and a little *seureuma* (called *kuḥl* by the Arabs; used by women to blacken their eyelashes and the edges of their eyelids), and two eggs.

An old woman first sprinkles the patient with *teupõng taweuë*, then scatters a little *breuëh-padé* over her body and smears her forehead with some cocoanut water from the cocoanut which is placed ready for the purpose. Before commencing her task, she repeats the formula prescribed by Islam for the inauguration of all matters of importance — *Bismillah!* "in the name of Allah!" The scattering of the *breuëh-padé* is performed seven times, each being solemnly counted [1]): *sa, dua, lhèë, peuët, limòng, nam, tujõõõõh!* This counting is also employed on other occasions, such as the use of charms, and in children's games.

The bride is thus prepared for the actual ceremony of the *andam*. Up to the time of marriage the hair is drawn back as tightly as possible. Now however, the shorter hairs are combed forward from ear to ear and shaven to the depth of about a fingersbreadth along this line. The married woman continues to wear her hair in this manner until she has some children; she thus "andams" for several years. But the *andam* properly so called is that from which the great feast before a marriage derives its name, and is performed by an expert. The latter receives as her recompense among other things the remnants of husked and unhusked rice and eggs left over after the "cooling".

So soon as the *andam* proper has been completed by the application of some of the above-mentioned cosmetics (perfumed oil, *kleumba'* and *seureuma*) the female guests assembled in the *sramòë likõt*, who up to this have been merely onlookers, proceed to assist in the work on hand; one after another they apply behind the ears of the bride the supplementary "cooling" of yellow glutinous rice which we have noticed above under the name of *peusunténg*. The bride acknowledges this token of friendly interest by an obeisance (*seumbah*), and at the same time receives the gifts presented to her by these guests.

Mothers whose daughters fall sick very often make a vow that they

1) Cf. the notes in the *Tijdschrift voor Binnenlandsch Bestuur* Vol 7 p. 221 as to the counting up to seven as an introduction to invocations of gods or spirits in Timor.

will have a *geundrang* or drum to play at the andam festival should they recover and live to be married.

In such cases the *geundrang* with its indispensable accompaniment of two flutes (*srunè*) is played in the back verandah during the actual operation of shaving, and afterwards the musicians complete their performance in the front part of the courtyard (*leuën*). They have a special tune called *lagèë meu'andam* for such occasions.

The toilet of the bride.

Let us now sketch briefly the toilette in which the bride is dressed after the *andam*. As upper garment she has a *bajèë* or jacket richly laced with gold thread, over the sleeves of which sundry kinds of bracelets are tightly fastened. These comprise the *puntu* and *ikay* on the upper arm, the *sangga* near the elbow, a bangle (*gleuëng*) on either arm, pushed up to near the elbow, round the middle of each fore-arm a *sawè'*, and a *puchō'* on each wrist. All the ten fingers are adorned with two or more rings each. Over the jacket is thrown a long cloth, the *ija simpla'*. It is folded in four and passed round the waist, and the two ends are brought up crosswise over the breast and allowed to hang down behind over the shoulders.

Around the neck there is first suspended a golden chain (*ganchéng*) to which are attached horizontally one below the other three half moons of gold each set with precious stones and finely wrought at the edges. Above this comes an *euntuë'* or collar, usually composed of golden knots of the same kind as those which are to be found attached to the corners of an Achehnese sirih-bag (*bòh chru*). In the ears are the great earrings (*subang*) which give such unbecoming width to the holes in the ears of the Achehnese women.

The silken trousers (*silueuë* or *lueuë*) are not as a rule even partially covered with a loin-cloth (*ija pinggang*). Such a garment is indeed indispensable for the adults of both sexes in Acheh and serves as a token that the wearer is a Mohammedan; but the bride is usually of immature age, and neither propriety nor religion demand so much of children.

On either foot the bride wears a *krunchōng* or anklet of silver or *suasa* (an alloy of gold and tin), which is hollow and has tinkling silver bells inside it.

On the forehead rests a *patam dhòë* (forehead-plate) which curves gracefully down to the cheeks; on the right and left sides of this are fixed golden bosses (*anténg*) from which little chains furnished with bells hang down to the level of the ears. One or two golden *bungòng*

*jeumpa* (champaka-blossoms) are stuck into the hair above the forehead, while on the back of the head are worn both the golden *bungòng preuë'* and the real flowers known as *bungòng peukan* or market-flowers, strung on threads. Over the left ear a golden *bungòng suntèng* [1]) may sometimes be seen projecting.

Round her waist the bride wears a girdle, with a broad square golden clasp (*peundéng*) set with precious stones in front, the belt itself consisting of a silver chain.

Dressed out in this heavy attire, loaded with costly ornaments, the bride now awaits the all-important evening with some of her next of kin to bear her company.

The proceedings in the house of the bridegroom are of a simpler description. The *malam gacha* or night of the *gacha* is not celebrated at all. On the *andam* day a feast is given, but only to such of the bridegroom's relations as have to travel some distance to share in the ceremony of the evening. Here too the relatives bring gifts (*teumeuntuë'*), the presentation of which is governed by the same adats as in the bride's case.

The bridegroom also arrays himself in rich attire for the wedding ceremony. He usually wears a white jacket (*bajèë*), striped silk trousers, and a loin-cloth of the sort known as *ija krōng Lam Gugōb* from the place of its fabrication, all richly laced with gold thread. On his head is placed a cap with a gold crown (*tampō' meuïh*) surrounded with a purple handkerchief (*tangkulō'*). In his waistband (*talòë ki'iëng*) on the left side is thrust a dagger, differing somewhat in appearance from the ordinary Achenese *reunchōng*; this is called *siwaïh*.

The handkerchief tied up so as to form a bag (*bungkōïh*), which contains all the requisites for betel-chewing, an indispensable adjunct in the eyes of every Achehnese, is borne behind the bridegroom by one of his comrades.

Where the parents of the bridegroom have taken the *geundrang* vow on his behalf (and this happens just as frequently in his case as in the bride's), certain ornaments which properly belong to women only are added to his costume, such as bracelets and anklets and flowers fastened in the folds of the handkerchief which is wound round his head. The drum and the two flutes do not begin to play until the evening.

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1) See the explanation of *peusunténg* on p. 306 above.

The wedding (*mampleuë*).

The music is continued during the procession to the house of the bride. This great procession is called *mampleuë* [1]) and commences at 9 P.M. or even later.

All that we have so far described appertains to the Achehnese adat, and the same is true of the *mampleuë* and the subsequent proceedings at the house of the bride. At the same time it is regarded as a matter of course that no meeting can take place between the bride and bridegroom until the requirements of the Mohammedan law are fulfilled, i. e. until the marriage contract has been executed in the prescribed form. This ceremonial is seldom deferred until the coming of the bridegroom to the bride's house; it generally takes places during the course of the wedding day, or even a day or two before, in the *meunasah* of the bride's gampōng, or in the house of some neighbouring *malém*.

On a later page we shall describe the peculiarities of the marriage contract and add some remarks with reference to the dowry, the financial results of marriage, etc. For the present let us simply assume that the requirements of the *hukōm* (religious law) have been satisfied, and that *adat* can thus take its free course.

The fellow-villagers and relatives of the bridegroom have now assembled in great numbers. After the young man has paid respect to his parents and brethren by a farewell obeisance, he is led down the steps of the house by some of the "elders". As soon as his feet touch the ground at the foot of the steps, one of the elders exclaims "*Allahumma çallī ʿala sayyidinā Muḥammad*", i. e. "O God! let thy blessing rest on (be gracious to) our Lord Mohammad." All the bystanders shout aloud in chorus *salawaléé*! These formulas are repeated three times [2]).

The bridegroom is now placed in the midst of his fellow-villagers. He is frequently attended by some of his nearest relatives, but seldom by the nearest of all, and never by his father, as this would conflict with the relations which subsist between parents-in-law. The procession is headed by the musicians, who have here again a special tune for

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1) This word is identical with the Malay *mĕmplai*, which is borrowed from the Tamil, but it is never used (like the original word) in the sense of "bride" or "bridegroom". It is used in Acheh to indicate the procession alone. The expression *ja' euntat mampleuë* is indeed employed in the sense of to escort the bridegroom on his way to the bride's house, but to the Achehnese these words convey the notion of joining the "bridegroom's procession".

2) *Salawalé* is the Achehnese pronunciation of the Arabic çallû ʿalaih = utter the çalat-prayer for him (the Prophet).

the occasion. This tune is changed when the party enters the gampōng road or rather the path which leads past the entrances of the enclosures within the gampōng.

Amid re-iterated cries of *salawaléé*! they at length arrive at the enclosure of the bride's parents, where the people of the latters' gampōng stand drawn up in rows ready to receive the guests. The new comers form up in line opposite to their hosts but the bridegroom is kept entirely in the background and as it were concealed from view.

Colloquy between the hosts and the guests.

There now begins another curious colloquy. An elder of the bride's gampōng asks: "Are ye all come, oh Teukus (i. e. gentlemen)", and those addressed reply in chorus, "We are here to serve your will". The questioner resumes, "Have ye all directed your steps hither, oh Teukus?" which question receives the same reply as the last, and finally the chorus of guests give a like answer to the question "Have ye all walked hither, oh Teukus?"

The three questions are then repeated in turn by all the principal personages of the bride's gampōng. When this child's-play has lasted long enough in the opinion of the master of the ceremonies, it is thought time to offer sirih and its accessories to the guests, who all this time remain outside the house. This civility is introduced by an elder of the bride's party in the following words:

"Your servant desires to speak a few words, for which he invokes the permission of you all, oh Teukus. Be it known unto you then, illustrious Teukus, that my brothers here desire, if Allah the Exalted so will, to go into your midst (i. e. in order to present the sirih); should they in so doing crowd or incommode you through predestined fate (God forbid that they should do so on purpose), then, oh Teukus, we humbly crave your forgiveness".

An elder among the guests replies as follows in behalf of all: "Good, be it according to the words of the Teuku (the last speaker) to us all. What says the Teuku? He says that his people wish to come amongst us. As regards crowding or pushing that is pre-ordained by God, if it be not done with the feet, we shall gladly submit to it [2]). It matters not; we agree with great pleasure (lit. "on our head") that the Teukus come among us".

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1) This Arabic formula "*in shā'llah*" is very frequently used by the Achehnese in connections which would sound incorrect to Arab ears.

2) This sentence is expressed in the Achehnese rhythm (*sanja'*).

The ranks now break up for a moment. The people of the bride's gampōng go through the polite form of offering the guests sirih and betel-nut, and in the meantime they greet one another in more familiar fashion and speak the language of ordinary mortals. When this interval has lasted long enough the files close up again. The colloquy that now begins consists practually in a series of pressing invitations to come in ("come up", the Achehnese says, since his house stands on posts), and polite excuses on the part of the guests, who declare themselves content with their place in the front part of the enclosure. All this politeness is for the most part expressed in the form of *pantōns*. The Achehnese pantōns have this in common with the Malay, that the first two lines are not in any way connected in point of sense with the second pair, but serve chiefly to supply rhyming words. For an Achehnese who has some knowledge of the pantōns most commonly used, the repetition of the first strophe at once suggests the meaning of that which succeeds it. The verses of the Achehnese pantōns are also generally in *sanja'*, that is to say, each consists of four parts of which the two middle ones rhyme with each other, while the last word of each verse rhymes with the last word of the next [1]).

Let us now see how the reciters help to shorten the evening of the wedding; we shall call the elder of the bride's party A and the elder of the bridegroom's gampōng B.

A. Well then o Teuku! I have something more to tell thee, even as the elders are wont to say:

A dove flies afar.
A young quail twists in its flight.
*I offer you sirih, Teuku, pray accept it,*
*Now may I proceed to disclose to you what is in my heart.*

B. A pĕrkutut's cage in a garden of flowers,
A casting-net in a bamboo case.
*It is no harm that you should disclose it,*
*I am willing to hear that which is in your heart.*

A. A mountain-bird with red feet,

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1) E. g.
*Basa Meulayu | pisang teupèh | — basa Achèh | pisang teuchucha |*
*Bè' lé teuku | meutulèh-lagèh | — salèh-salèh | malam ka jula. |*
Here *teupèh* rhymes with *Achèh* and *lagèh* with *salèh*; also *teuchucha* with *jula*.

Bramòë-leaves form his food.
*Come nearer, Teukus, up to the stairs of the house,*
*Wash your feet and step into the front verandah.*
B. A langsat-tree on a grave,
They cut it down and fashion it into supports for a fly-wheel.
*Teuku, wait for a moment,*
*Allow me to consult with my comrades.*
A. In the inner room is a bag for glutinous rice,
In the central passage an earthenware jar for sugar.
*Rest, o Teuku, be it but for a moment;*
*Should it be longer, it will give me pleasure* (lit. "on my head").
B. A *braleuën*-tree in the midst of the front enclosure,
It casts its shadow even on to the seat above the stairs.
*We come here but once in a long time, only one single time* [1]).
*Let us be received in the front courtyard, that sufficeth.*
A. A scare to frighten squirrels in the garden of Lubō',
Men tap the arèn-palm and take the sap.
*You have come hither from* (name of the guests' gampōng)
*It is now but a small distance from where you are to the sitting-mat.*
B. On the Padang [2]) grows keutumbét (a plant used as a vegetable),
Sirahét-fruits tied up in the corner of the garment.
*Once in a long time, barely one single time,*
*So far* (as to where we now stand) *is enough, this sufficeth.*
A. In the field of Tama' is petroleum,
In Panté Teungòh ("Middle Bank") is perfumed oil.
*Stand no longer on the ground, Teuku,*
*Ascend into the house and sit upon the sitting mat.*
B. Let us go the sea-shore to catch the cuttle-fish,
Let us bring it home and salt it.
*For this evening let us even remain on the ground,*
*Later on we can take our places on the sitting-mat.*
A. A maja-tree in the midst of the garden,
Thereon may we hang the sirih-bags of the guests who arrive.
*You have just come from yonder, from afar,*
*Step forward now to the sitting-mat.*

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1) We who are not familiar acquaintances have no claim to be received within the house.
2) Close to the Meuseugit Raya.

B. A keutapang-tree in the midst of the country.
Jati-trees in the forest.
*Yonder gentleman* (the bridegroom's father) *hath charged us to come hither;*
*But as far as here* (where we stand) *sufficeth.*
A. The buah-nona-tree in the midst of the moon.
If a branch falls therefrom it forebodes an earthquake,
*Stand no longer in the front courtyard, Teukus,*
*Perhaps rain will come and your clothes be wet.*
B. Glumpang-trees with abundant shadow on the border of the field,
Pomegranate-trees at the side of the gampōng-path.
*Let us then return to the entrance of your gampōng-path,*
*That we may put up our umbrellas, and then our clothes shall not get wet.*
A. What is that pōng-pōng [1]) sound in the gampōng?
They are busy pounding the flour for a (wedding) feast.
*Withdraw not, Teukus, to the entrance of the gampōng,*
*For there a cocoanut hollowed* (by squirrels) *may fall upon your heads.*
B. A wag-tail on an apōng-tree,
A beo's nest in a jati-tree.
*We bear respectful greetings from our fellow-villagers,*
*Now that we have come hither by the gampōng-path* [2]), *let us return home again.*
A. A brujòë's nest [3]) in a panjòë-tree [4]),
A wood-peckers nest in a virginal cocoa-palm.
*You shall not return, Teukus,*
*Until you first come and sit on the mat.*
B. Under the house is an earthenware lamp,
Within the house is a lamp of brass.
*We have come over the earth,*
*How can we ascend into the house, we should soil the mat!*
A. Fresh and salt water mingle in the sea,
This water overspreads the swamps.
*Even though it bè soiled that matters not* (to the owner),

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1) The sound of the rice-pounder in the *leusōng* or mortar.
2) I. e., now that we have conducted the bridegroom to your gampōng, our task is completed.
3) The bird called *mĕrbah* in Malay.
4) A sort of wild cotton-tree.

*He will replace it with a new one after the wedding feast.*

B. In Lam Barō sugarcane is planted,

In the III Mukims keutila (katela) is sown by dibbling.

*With due respect, Teuku,*

*Here it befits us to remain, this sufficeth.*

And so forth. The concluding pantōns are as follows:

A. An asan-tree grows in the market.

Under the asan-tree is a space for the panta-game [1])

*From early morning it has come to be late in the night,*

*The rice is prepared for you on the platters.*

B. In the midst of the fore-courtyard they are drying the padi,

They are cleaving wood under the *seulasa* (the sitting-place at the top of the steps leading up to the house).

*Well then Teuku, ascend yourself first,*

*To set in order what is still lacking.*

A. A baju is sewn with a fine needle,

Clothes are woven in the III Mukims.

*For two or three days past all has been ready,*

*The people who are giving the wedding-feast have provided everything.*

B. Go to the shore, go and angle for fish;

A prahu at sea with two masts.

*You, Teuku, go first, and we shall follow,*

*Such is the custom at wedding feasts.*

A. Dark-coloured glutinous rice is made into *eumpiëng* [2])

The bamboo is cut down to make a ladder to the platform beneath the roof.

*Your servant then goes first up the stair,*

*All of you, Teukus, will give him leave to do so!*

After the guests have entered, and before they have all taken their seats, the orator of the bride's gampōng says:

The young bulōh-bamboo stands and thrives,

Let us cut off ten pieces (for bobbins) to wind silk upon.

*Now, Teukus, wipe away the perspiration,*

*And take your rest on the sitting-mats.*

The bridegroom however does not accompany the others into the

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1) A sort of Achehnese game at marbles.

2) Roasted glutinous rice, which is eaten with a sort of lump sugar or jujubes (*gula tarë*).

house; while the guests who have escorted him thither are enjoying their sirih in the front verandah, he stands as it were concealed with a few who remain to hold him company. A fresh dialogue between the orators representing the two gampōngs introduces his entrance.

The demand for the bridegroom.

A. Well then, where are ye all, Teukus?

B. and his companions in chorus: Here are your servants!

A. Now then, by the will of Allah the Exalted, you, Teukus, have partaken of the sirih which your servant has set before you; I will now let you know what lies upon my heart.

B. Well then, Teuku! now as regards the sirih that you have laid before us, your servants have enjoyed it by Allah's will. You wish now to tell us of that which lies upon your heart. Do so then, Teuku! We hearken with joy (lit. "on our head").

A. Well then, Teuku, we have yet another word to say. We shall now implore you all, Teukus, using the words of the weavers of tales [1]):

A pa' ikō [2]) with red shoulders,

A wagtail flies, making the world shake.

*Respectful greetings from grandmother peunganjō* [3])

*She lays on us the task of demanding the bridegroom at your hands, oh Teukus!*

B. What saidst thou, Teuku?

A pa' ikō etc. (as above).

Now we too have a word to say, that you, Teuku, may impart to the elders.

You said: "A pa' ikō with red shoulders".

But it has flown away to Blang Pangòë [4]).

*Teuku convey our greetings to grandmother peunganjō,*

*Say, Teuku, that there is no bridegroom among us.*

A. Well, Teukus, I have already told grandmother peunganjō of this, and what was her reply?

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1) *Ureuëng meuruhé. Haba ruhé* properly means a story handed down by word of mouth and composed wholly or in part in rhyme, which is usually of a laughter-moving character and singles out some special person or thing for ridicule. It is however used to designate other compositions also, which cannot be referred to the headings of *hikayats*, *pantōns* and *nalams*.

2) A yellow bird often kept in cages.

3) The name given to the old women who act as the attendants of the bride throughout all the wedding ceremonies.

4) A gampōng in the XXVI Mukims.

Molasses in a cup,
A rambutan-fruit with a red skin.
*Say not that he is not here, he whom you have come to bring.*
*What way is this to jest?*
B. Well, Teukus, what say my comrades here?
*Pi* is planted, and stakes are placed to prop it,
*Kundur* is planted, and let creep along the ground.
*The reason why we said "no" to grandmother peunganjō,*
*Is that we know not the appearance of the bridegroom.*

As we are all stupid and confused, be so good as to describe his appearance.

A. Well then, Teuku, I have enquired of grandmother *peunganjō*, and she says that the bridegroom's appearance is described in the ten following headings:

In the first place, says she, his hands are dark,
For they have been stained with ḥinna for three days past.
Secondly his clothing is laced with gold thread,
Which follows the pattern of the cloudy firmament.
Thirdly, he is shaven [1]) (*andam*) upon the forehead, which was done before the sun attained the zenith [2]).
Fourthly, she describes him as clad in a white baju,
With golden buttons as it were heaped together over the breast.
Fifthly he wears a battle-sword [3]) with octagonal handle,
On which the smith has worked for thirty days.
Sixthly he wears a handkerchief on which is embroidered gold thread in the shape of a twisted cord,
While flowers hang from it and an *ulèë cheumara* (an old-fashioned gold ornament) is fixed therein.
Seventhly, a cap with a golden crown,
Round which are eight smaller crowns, set with precious stones.
Eighthly, I may mention the sirih-bag,
From whose four corners hang the golden acorns.
Ninthly, when ye came, ye cried aloud with one voice, *salawalé* [4]).
The tenth token is; four clans, eight families, sixteen relatives, thirty-

1) See p. 304 above.
2) See p. 304 above.
3) A pattern of *sikin* now as rare in Acheh as it is eagerly sought after.
4) See p. 310 above.

two individuals in all counting friends and acquaintances, have consulted together (to make him a bridegroom).

He it is, whose hand the Teungku held in the presence of two witnesses. Make him over to all of us now, O Teuku! As the saying goes:

Thatch made of sugarcane-leaves at three mas the thousand [1]).

*The agreement has already been entered into, let it be carried out to night.*

B. Well then, Teuku, according to your request we give him over to you, if Allah so will [2]): keep his feet from straying, follow his inclinations in what is right, help him in his difficulties and check him if he transgresses [3]).

A. God willing, we do so with joy (lit. "on our head").

The bridegroom is now sought out, and led up the stairs of the house by his companions. He stops half-way, however, to be besprinkled with husked and unhusked rice (*breuëh-padé*) [4]) by an elder of the bride's gampōng, who sits at the top of the steps. The elder, while he throws the contents of the small bowl or *baté* by handfuls in the face of the bridegroom (who protects himself with a fan) pronounces the following blessing:

Blessing invoked on the bridegroom.

"O Allah, bless our Lord Mohammad and the family of our Lord Mohammad.

Far be the curse, far be the calamity, let there be good fortune, let there be peace, may you have prosperity, may you have happiness, may children and grandchildren be given you, in numbers as the mibò-bushes in swampy land, may you beget three children in the year and marry two of them every year, may your children succeed each other at long intervals" (ironically said, as appears from what follows), "while the elder sister is still only able to lie on her back, may the younger be born; may you have children in trusses like padi in swampy land; may you have children like a plant that ever shoots up afresh, may it be even as a bamboo with many joints".

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1) One mas (*maïh*) = ¦ dollar.

2) See note on p. 311 above.

3) These four injunctions are always given to one into whose charge another is committed. Even in the letters of appointment of the sultans with the nine-fold seal (*chab sikureuëng*) the same precepts are enjoined on the subjects in respect of a newly appointed (or rather confirmed) chief, or of a servant (*kadam*) of the Sultan, or other officials.

4) This cermony is called *seupeuë' breuëh-padé*.

In Java the bridegroom, before entering the house of the bride, must perform various symbolical acts, such as trampling an egg to pieces, stepping with the bride over a buffalo-yoke (*pasangan*) etc.; the bride also washes the feet of her future spouse. We must leave to conjecture how much of this may have been customary in Acheh in earlier times; at present the only observance of this sort is the placing at the entrance of the inner room (*jurèë*) where the bride awaits the bridegroom, a dish filled with water, in which are placed an egg and some leaves of the "cooling" plant known as *sisijuë*' [1]); in this the bridegroom is expected to dip his feet for a moment as he enters the room. The entrance of the bridegroom.

The bride sits in the *jurèë* on a *tilam* (a heavy thick mattress) covered with a cloth and bespread with costly sitting-mats. Two piles of cushions (*bantay meusadeuë*) stand on the mat against the wall. The young man's place is prepared at the bride's right side. She is attended by some *peunganjōs*, old women from both gampōngs who are interested in the marriage. Of these mistresses of the ceremonies one acts as directress, and also attends the bridegroom for the first few days when walking through the house and courtyard of his parents-in-law, to familiarize him with the place and to serve him.

The bridegroom is conducted to the door of the *jurèë* by an elder, and there handed over to the care of the *peunganjōs*. In some districts it is customary for one of these women to pretend to hold the door of the room shut from within. The other who leads the young man in, now advises him to surrender to the woman who guards the door his *reunchōng* [2]), the dagger which forms an indispensable adjunct of the equipment of the Achehnese man.

In order to cover the bride's shame, one of the peunganjōs constantly holds a fan before her face so as to prevent the bridegroom from looking at her. He takes his seat by her side, and now begin what are for both of them the most disagreeable moments of their wedding. Guests and fellow-villagers are now permitted to stare at them without restraint through the door and the interstices of the walls.

Certain female members of the bridegroom's family (sometimes even

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1) Cf. p. 305 above.

2) He is supposed to surrender it as a "token," or as a recompense to the door-keeper for opening the door. This giving up of the *reunchōng* is also a farce; the weapon being introduced for the purpose by the *peunganjō* herself. The bridegroom has, as is customary with all guests on entering a strange house, laid aside his weapon on arrival.

his mother) attended by a number of women from their gampōng, are now admitted, but not till after the bridegroom has entered the *jurèë*. They are, however, received in the back verandah (*sramòë likōt*), the proper abode of the women.

There they receive a formal greeting, but without pantōns, so that the reception is over in a moment [1]), especially as they are offered no sirih. They then go straightway into the *jurèë*, where their presence somewhat strengthens the bridegroom's courage.

The bride now gives the first token of wifely obedience in the form of a long obeisance (*seumbah*) at the knees of her spouse, a token of homage which he accepts with a gracious gesture (*sambōt*). At this point the adat prescribes his presenting her with a sum of money (say 10 dollars), which one of the peunganjōs receives and puts in its proper place.

The wedding feast.

Meantime food is placed before the guests, and on such occasions the *idangs* must be very complete. The adat lays down fixed rules for the arrangement of these idangs, especially in connection with wedding feasts. The same rules hold good for the idangs of the Feast of the Birthday of Mohammad, and for what are called „guest-meals", i. e. feasts offered to specially honoured guests [2]). These, however, are not in any sense of religious character, nor are they, like kanduris, marked by the recitation of selections from the Qurān or litanies with final prayer.

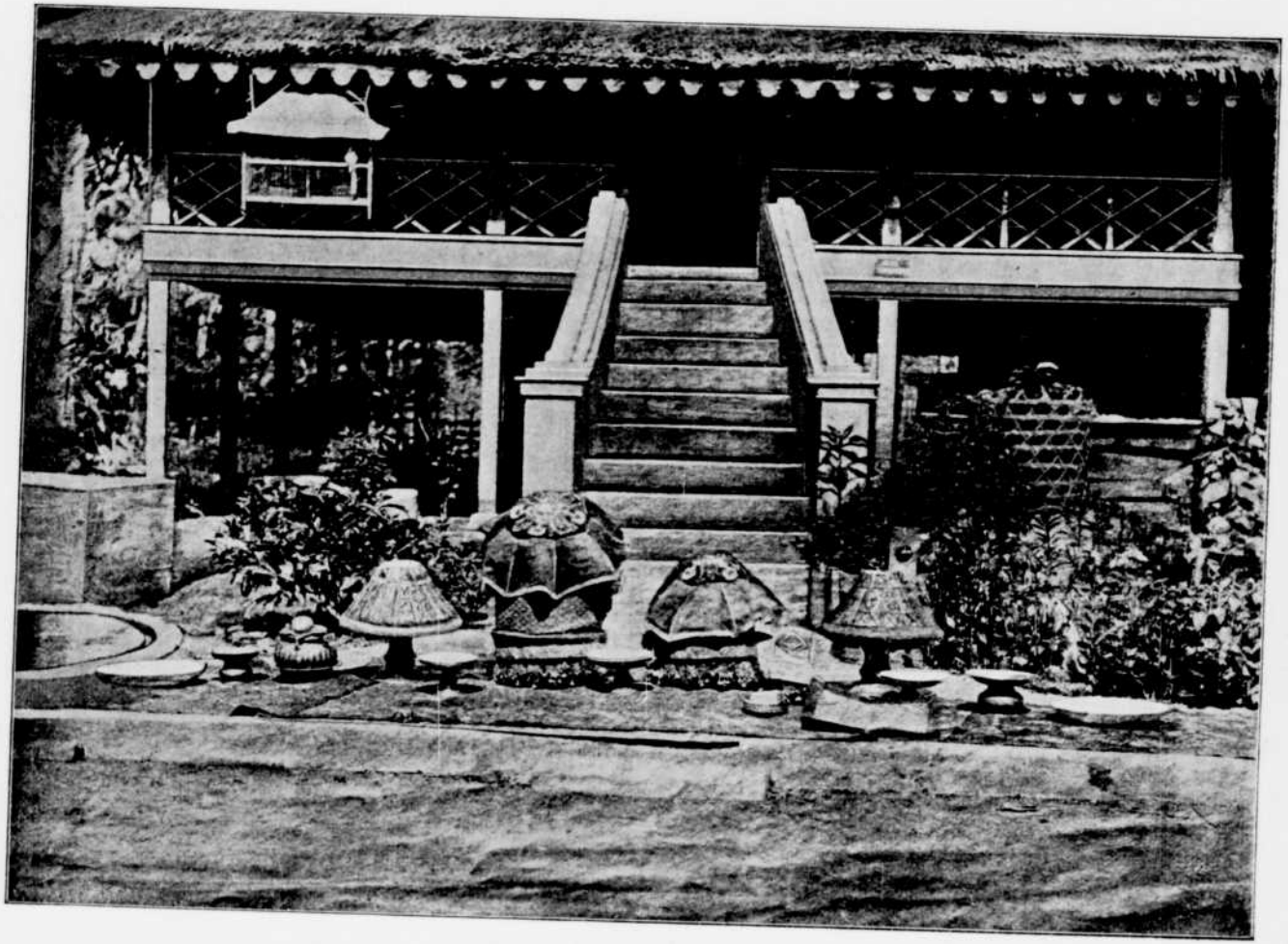
On ordinary occasions an idang consists of two dalōngs or presentation trays, of which one contains the rice, and the other 4 or 5 bowls of meat or fish together with *gulè* (called sayur in Java) and *sambay* (Mal. *sambal*). Such an idang is intended for 4 or 5 persons.

The feast-idangs just mentioned are formed in a more complex manner. In the one dalōng there are first placed a number of bowls with meat and vegetables in their gravy (*gulè*). This lower layer is covered with pisang-leaves, on which are set a large number of small dishes (*chipé chut*) of fish, meat, eggs etc., and *sambay*. These layers are piled up to as many as nine deep, each being separated from the next by

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1) *Na neu keunòë tuan dumna?* = "are ye all there, ladies?"; and the reply is: *na kamòë ulōn-tuan* = "we are here at your service".

2) Such formal entertainment is called *peujamèë*, and takes place on certain special occasions, as for instance on one of the rare visits paid to one another by those who are connections by marriage.



IDANGS FOR A FEAST.

plantain-leaves. Round the whole is placed a cylindrical piece of tin or other metal called *glōng*, which serves to prevent the dishes from falling when the dalōng is moved about. The whole stands beneath a handsomely worked cover in the shape of a great truncated cone, the summit of which is sunk inwards so as to resemble a crater [1]). Over this again is spread a costly cloth covering known as *seuhab*. The second dalōng contains simply rice, but is also provided with the protecting cylinder named glōng, the cover (*sangè*) and the cloth (*seuhab*).

To complete a feast at which idangs are used, after the rice and its accessories which we have just described, two more dalōngs are brought forward, one filled with glutinous rice [2]) and a sweet, savoury sort of plantain sauce [3]), and the other with sundry sweetmeats [4]).

If there are no persons of importance among the guests, two complete idangs will suffice, one being set in the front or stair verandah for the women. Should the food run short, more rice etc. is simply added. But distinguished guests often have a separate idang a-piece or between two of them, while the numerous attendants (*rakans*) who invariably accompany them, are given everyday fare.

At a wedding-feast, as on all ordinary occasions, the male guests are served first: the women must wait till their lords have finished [5]).

The bridal pair have also food served them, and are even requested to eat out of the same dish [6]), but their share of the feast is of course merely nominal. After partaking of this pretended meal, the young pair are smeared behind the ears with yellow glutinous rice [7]), the bride by the *bisans* (the relatives of her husband), the bridegroom by the *peunganjōs* [8]) of the bride. On this occasion the bride receives from each of the *bisans* a gift in money, about one or two dollars.

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1) These covers are called *sangè*. The handsomest are manufactured in Daya; they are formed of pandan-leaves and are adorned on the outside with coloured threads and on the inside with goldleaf. The common hemispherical covers made elsewhere are called *sangè gampōng* to distinguish them from these beautiful *sangè Daya*.

2) *Bu leukat*: see p. 31 above.

3) *Pisang peungat*, the Javanese *kola'*.

4) These are called *peunajōh*, a word really meaning "food", but which in the colloquial is almost synonymous with the Javanese *jajan pasar*.

5) All, both men and women, who join in escorting the bridegroom are for this evening called *bisan*. This name is at other times only used to express the connection between the two pairs of parents whose children have married one another.

6) This is called *meurab bu* = "to eat rice close together".

7) See p. 306 above.

8) See p. 316 above.

This night is seldom enlivened by celebrations; piasans (a word which signifies much the same as is expressed by *fantasia* in the jargon of the Levant) take place frequently on the three preceding evenings, but not on the wedding-night itself. There is more than enough to do, however, for the time wears on to morning before the completion of all the ceremonies etc., which we have described.

Achehnese weddings of course exhibit some small local differences. We have assumed, too, that the bride and bridegroom belong to two different gampōngs, which is often though by no means always the case. Where they are of the same gampōng, their fellow-villagers divide themselves as it were into two parties, one headed by the teungku and the other by the keuchi', and all the formalities are gone through as though two gampōngs were interested in the event. Speaking generally, however, the above description holds good for the whole of Great Acheh.

At the conclusion of the feast, the bridegroom, escorted by his fellow-villagers, returns once more to his parents' house.

First days of married life.

The next day nothing of note occurs, but towards night, about 8 P. M., the bridegroom again *goes to hïs wife's house* (*wòë*), attired as on the previous evening, but now escorted by a small number of *peunganjōs*, half of whom are men and half women.

A bedstead is now set up in the jurèë or inner chamber, furnished with a mosquito-net and a vast pile of cushions [1]) with costly embroidery. In the centre of the room is a thick square sitting-mattress (*tilam duë'*), for one person, intended for the bridegroom's use, and at a short distance from it a sitting-mat for the bride, who thus sits on this occasion on a lower level than her spouse.

Some of the peunganjōs who accompanied the bridegroom, reinforced by one or two of their fellow officials from the party of the bride, now prepare to conduct the young man to the *jurèë*. The bride is at this time in the back verandah; she is supposed to wash the feet of the bridegroom on his entering the jurèë, but as a matter of fact she is relieved of this task by one of the old women, and her share in this ceremony is confined to a timid glance from a distance.

As soon as the bridegroom has taken his place on the *tilam*, the

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1) *Bantay susōn* = piled up cushions somewhat resembling our bolsters in shape. The two ends are covered with shining metal plates or tampō's. As many as fifteen of these are to be found in a well-furnished Achehnese bed. The sleeper of course only uses one of these pillows, while the rest are for show only.

bride is led in, still in full dress. Once more she makes a deep obeisance before her husband, after which he gives her a small money present — say a dollar.

A repast in the form of an *idang* is thereupon brought into the *jurèë* but as a rule remains almost untouched. As soon as it has been removed the bride retires to the back among the women, while the bridegroom joins the male guests and the fellow-villagers of the bride in the front verandah.

Meantime they both change their heavy clothing for the simpler garments in which the Achehnese are wont to sleep, for the social concourse in the verandahs soon ceases, and the leading *peunganjō* comes to summon the bridegroom. She leads him into the jurèë and up to the curtained bed. Here another *peunganjō* (of the bride's party) hastens to unroll the sleeping-mat, which has up till now purposely been left rolled up on the mattress (*tilam éh*), to give the aged dame the chance of earning her dollar "for the unrolling of the mat" [1]). The bride is now constrained, not without a considerable amount of scolding and persuasion on the part of her mother and the *peunganjōs*, to enter the room and join her husband. One or two *peunganjōs* keep watch in the *jurèë*, in order now and then by a friendly word to encourage the pair to greater mutual confidence. They try especially to induce the bride and bridegroom to lie with their faces turned towards one another, though in Acheh they do not go as far as in Java, where the desired position is sometimes effected by the assistance of old women, friends of the newly-married couple [2]).

The 3d, 5th, 7th, 10th, 40th, 44th, 50th, 100th and 1000th days after birth, marriage or death are regarded throughout the Eastern Archipelago as epochs of importance, and are always marked by some ceremonial observance.

In Acheh the first three are those most strictly observed after a wedding. On the third, fifth and seventh days after marriage, the family of the bride offers the bridegroom and his *peunganjōs* a formal feast [3]) such as that described above.

The whole of the first seven days are however more or less festal

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1) *Upah leuëng tika.*

2) They sometimes thus admonish the bride: "Turn not your back to your husband, for that is a sin", *bè' tapeulikōt lakòë, dëësa.*

3) *Peujamèë*; see p. 320 above.

in character. Bride and bridegroom are daily dressed out in their wedding toilette. Early in the morning the bridegroom must repair to the meunasah of the bride's gampōng, where, as we have seen, all the young men of the village are congregated. He is escorted by a number of his male *peunganjōs*, who bear behind him an unusually large and well furnished sirih-bag. He must now greet each of these young men seperately, and hand him the great sirih-bag (*bungkōih*). He must also walk through the gampōng from time to time, and wherever he sees a number of men sitting together, must hasten up to them and proffer sirih.

Should he fail in these civilities towards his new fellow-villagers, the young folk punish him by smearing the steps of the bride's house with ordure [1]) by night, the intention being that the bridegroom should step on the unclean thing when first leaving the house in the morning. As a rule, however, he is forewarned in time and escapes this disagreeable material consequence of his shortcomings; it is considered a sufficient revenge to make him ashamed.

About 9 A. M. this peregrination is completed and he returns again to the house of his parents-in-law, to enjoy his morning meal with the bride and the *peunganjōs* in the *jurèë*. The rest of the day, however, he spends in his own gampōng.

During these first seven nights the young married pair always sleep under the surveillance of a *peunganjō*. Should the extreme youth of the bride render living as husband and wife difficult in the earliest days, and even where this would cause no hindrance, the Achehnese are averse to such great intimacy in the beginning, and call it "adopting the institutions of the Arabs" [2]). In other Mohammedan countries also, as in Java for example, we find this same dislike of the full use of marital rites early in wedlock.

All that the husband bestows on his wife before she is thrown on him for her support is called *biaya*, and the custom requires that he should give her no *biaya* until the seventh evening after marriage. This first *biaya* may be in kind [3]); it then consists of such things as fish,

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1) *Keunòng è'* = "he has obtained filth" is the technical expression for this punishment. It is also applied in other cases, as for instance where a young man neglects constantly to attend the noisy trawèh-recitations in the meunasah during the fasting month. See p. 234 above.

2) *Peutō' hukōm arab.*

3) This is called *biaya masa'* (lit. "ripe" or "cooked").

plantains and other fruits, sirih, pinang, tobacco and gambir. It is however more usual for the husband to give money [1]), and the amount varies from six to eight dollars multiplied by the number of *bungkays* of gold in his wedding-gift. At the same time he gives her a complete suit of clothing known as *seunalén* (from *salén* = "to change" said of garments).

This last gift is reciprocated by the bride on the seventh day (i. e. the day that succeeds the seventh night) by a gift of equal value in money or clothing to the bridegroom; this is also called *seunalén*. Where it consists of clothes, the adat prescribes that the bridegroom should at once don them and go back thus arrayed to his parents' house.

The "cooling".

Not until after the morning meal on this seventh day is the wedding-feast (*keureuja*) regarded as concluded. It follows, therefore, that at this point the bridal pair require a "cooling" [2]). For this purpose they both sit down at the entrance of the jurèë with their legs stretched out straight in front of them. Boughs of the cooling plants already enumerated [3]) are dipped in flour and water (*teupōng tawcuë*), and their feet are besprinkled therewith. The bridegroom alone is smeared behind the ears with yellow glutinous rice; this is done by a *peunganjō* of the bride.

Meantime the mother, aunts and sisters of the bride assemble in the passage (*rambat*) of the house to take leave of the bridegroom on his departure for home. He anticipates their greeting by a deep obeisance, in return for which they give him money presents of an amount equal to those which he has presented to the bride during the first seven evenings as a recompense for her *seumbah* [4]).

All these tedious ceremonies of the first seven days are sometimes simplified by being performed one after another on the first or third day [5]).

The eighth day.

The wedding is now at an end, and after these seven busy days there succeeds a compulsory day of rest for the bridegroom. On the eighth day it is understood that he must not visit the bride (*wòë*);

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1) *Biaya meuntah* (lit. "unripe" or "raw").

2) See p. 305 above.

3) See pp. 305—6 above. Thus both undergo the *peusijuë'*, the bridegroom alone the *peusunténg*.

4) See p. 324 above. These gifts of the young husband are called *seuneumbah*.

5) The saying is, *uròë lhèë geupeutujōh* = "they have made the third day into the seventh". The converse of this may be observed in Java, where the *slamĕtans* prescribed by the adat for the 3d, 5th and 7th months of pregnancy, often resolve themselves into a single feast held in the 7th month.

whoso transgresses this rule of adat is sure, according to popular superstition, to be devoured by crocodiles (*buya kab*).

On the ninth day the husband as a rule comes to his new home, but unaccompanied by the companions who on the previous occasion carried the great sirih-bag behind him. On this occasion, too, there is no ceremonial *idang* prepared for his reception.

Biaya.

After the 10th or 12th night the bridegroom retires for a time to his parents' house, to give his parents-in-law needful repose and an opportunity to gossip over the events of the wedding feast. An "elder" is sent to him, generally at the new moon, on behalf of the parents of his spouse, to press him to return to his wife. The young man yields to the invitation, and now brings with him the first real *biaya* for his wife; this is understood to mean a monthly present of money brought by the husband to the wife, so long as she continues (in conformity with certain rules which we shall presently notice) to be maintained by her parents. This monthly allowance amounts on the average to about four dollars.

This visit of the husband usually lasts about eight days, and is separated from the next by an interval of about fourteen days. He continues going backwards and forwards in this way for about six months; not till then does he become a habitual inmate of his wife's house [1]), if his original home is in a gampōng close at hand. Where the paternal homes of the young couple lie at a great distance from one another, it will depend entirely on circumstances whether the man continues to be a mere occasional visitor to his wife's house or entirely exchanges the abode of his parents for that of his wife.

Gift of the man to his wife.

After they have commenced to live as man and wife, the husband gives to the woman who has sacrificed her maiden state to him three gifts, fashioned of gold or silver according to the circumstances of the giver. These comprise a waist-belt (*talòë ki'iëng*), which consist of a golden chain closing in front with a clasp made of gold or *suasa* (a compound of gold and tin), a wrist-chain (*talòë jaròë*) worn like a bracelet, and a finger-ring (*eunchiën*). At a distribution of effects in consequence of divorce or the death of one of the pair, these objects remain the property of the woman, whilst all other personal ornaments,

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1) Thus the wife is very properly called *prumòh* = *pò rumòh*, the "mistress of the house".

with the exception of raiment in he most limited sense of the word, are always regarded as the husband's property and dealt with accordingly.

As the reader will have remarked, it is the *adat* which has so far almost exclusively controlled an Achehnese marriage as we have described it; we have laid more stress on the customary element than upon the rules of law. Most of these customs are, it is true, looked on as indispensable by the Achehnese where the bride is a virgin, even though the bridegroom has been already several times married and is of a considerable age. At the same time exceptions may be made by agreement of both parties, nor will anyone dispute the legality of the marriage on the ground of neglect to perform some of the ceremonies above described.

Summary of adats having legal consequences.

Let us now summarize the Achehnese marriage customs which are of importance from a legal point of view. The principal are:

1°. The power of the keuchi' (headman of the gampōng) to prevent a marriage on grounds connected with the interests of the gampōng;

2°. The betrothal-gift (*tanda kòng narit*) and its legal consequences.

3°. The adat-law under which the woman can never be required by her husband to leave her home with him, nay is even prohibited from doing so. The only exception to this rule is where both her family and the authorities of her native place consent to her departure. This usually happens only (at the instance of course of the husband) where the woman's family is very inferior in rank or social position to that of the man, so that the customary gifts etc. on his part are not fully reciprocated on hers. In such cases the marriage is said "to be without adat" (*hana adat*).

4°. The gift after consummation of the marriage and the rules which govern it.

Anyone who is not entirely a stranger to Mohammedan law will not need to be reminded that these four matters are, to use a much-abused term, among the "departures" [1]) from the law of Islam which characterize the native race.

By-and-bye, when we proceed to examine the chief results of marriage as affecting the children born thereof, and the property of the married couple, we shall find that here also the social life of the Achehnese

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1) The word in the original Dutch is "afwijkingen" (*Translator*).

is controlled by "ancient popular customs in conflict with Islam ..... in this sense, that they suggest a customary law existing in the consciousness of the people" [1]).

Before passing to this subject, however, we must gain some knowledge of the marriage contract as it exists in Acheh. Our assuming this important negociation as already complete has not in any way affected our description of the wedding ceremonial; the less so, as the contract is generally concluded at a different time and place from that of the actual meeting of the bride and bridegroom.

## § 2. The Marriage Contract.

Nature of the marriage contract under Mohammedan law.

It is impossible to describe the marriage contract in Acheh with the desired accuracy without first giving some details as to the rules of Mohammedan law on this subject, and the "departures" from this law, which prevail throughout a great portion of the E. Indian Archipelago.

These rules of law have, it is true, been dealt with by Mr. L. W. C. Van den Berg in his "Principles of Mohammedan Law" [2]), but very imperfectly, some of his principal facts being erroneous, and the necessary notes on the actual practice in the E. Indies entirely wanting. In his recent essay on the "departures" from these laws in actual practice in Java and Madura, the same writer has made it clear [3]) that

1) *Ordinance of the 14th March 1881 with respect to the administration of justice among the native population of Great Acheh, with an explanatory memorandum by Mr. T. H. Der Kinderen*, Batavia 1881, p. 17.

2) "*Beginselen van het Mohammedaansche recht*".

3) In the *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, at the Hague, for the year 1892, p. 454 et seq. This essay is, according to the writer (p. 455), based on various writings "supplemented by the notes made by him in person". He would have been wiser to have omitted this last unintentional evidence of his ignorance. It is now abundantly clear that these notes really contain hardly a trace of what is peculiarly characteristic of the practice in Java and Madura. To quote a single instance; in Batavia marriages are never concluded by the pangulus as such, recourse being had to a contrivance called *taḥkīm* in the books of the law, but all mention of which is lacking both in this essay and in Van den Berg's "*Beginselen*". The information given by the writer of this essay *now for the first time* in regard to the very characteristic institution of the *ta'liq* (p. 485; the very name of this institution does not appear in the third edition of the "*Beginselen*") comprises nothing more than what we find in the printed books on this subject, and is thus very incomplete and often absolutely incorrect. The part played by a pangulu at a marriage in Java and Madura (p. 458 et seq.) is ignored by

he has not during his long residence in these regions given even a passing notice to many of the most characteristic of these phenomena.

We thus preface our remarks on the actual Achehnese marriage contract, not by a complete description of the Mohammedan contract, but by so much thereof as is absolutely necessary to show what portions of the Achehnese contract are peculiar to that country, and to rectify by the light of authoritative Mohammedan works the errors disseminated by Van den Berg.

The marriage contract is, according to the Shafi'ite law-books, an agreement in which the man and his wife appear as the parties, the latter being represented by her *wali*. The subject of the contract is sexual intercourse and all that is connected with it; in return for this advantage, which is assured to the man by the contract, he binds himself to pay a dowry, which may be either then and there fixed by the contract, or else settled later on according to the wife's position and the local custom. He also undertakes to supply his wife with suitable food, clothing, lodging and attendance, or if he should wed other wives, not to devote more of his time to them than to her, except with her consent, etc.

At the making of the contract there must be present two witnesses who fulfil the required standards of capacity, religion and morality. The "acceptance" of the bridegroom must follow directly on the "offer" of the wali, and a settled form of words must be employed for both „offer" and „acceptance". Neglect of any of these rules renders the contract null and void.

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Van den Berg. In short, this essay shows that Van den Berg has never studied on the spot the subjects he treats of, and that the printed works containing comments thereon by sundry lay writers were never even opened by him until after his return to Europe.

The woman is *not* the subject of the contract into which her guardian enters on her behalf, as Van den Berg states in his *Afwijkingen*; certain Shafi'ite teachers allege that the subject is the woman, others the man and wife, but they always add, that it is not their *persons*, but the enjoyment of connubial bliss that is intended to be signified. That the woman is a *party* to the contract appears most clearly from the fact that she herself may prefer before the judge, independently and without the intermediary of a wali, any claims arising from the marriage, such as the claim to maintenance, to suitable lodging or even to divorce. The duty of the wali is to maintain the honour of the family, and to take care that the woman does not contract an undesirable marriage (دفع العار عن النسب, as the law-books have it), and thus the contract is concluded through his intermediary. After completing this task he has nothing more to say to the marriage and to the woman who contracts it, till such time as she desires to marry again.

No conditions of any sort must appear in the contract. Should this rule be transgressed, the whole would be invalid, if the conditions contained anything at variance with the essence of Mohammedan marriage, but the contract would hold good, the conditions [1]) alone being invalid, if the latter did not conflict with essence of the wedded state.

Some *walis*, viz. those in the ascending line, have the right to give a girl in marriage without her consent, if she be a maiden. The law recommends, however, that her consent be asked, and the compulsory right ceases on her declaring that she has lost her virginity, it matters not how.

The right of compulsion is only given to these walis because it is thought that they are better able to promote her actual interests, and because her maiden shyness has yet to be overcome.

Where the girl is no longer a maiden her consent is essential; indeed the mature unmaried woman has the right to demand to be married, provided that a suitor presents himself whom the law would allow of her marrying.

We thus see how foreign to the dictum of the law is the idea that the woman is the subject of the contract. Males under age can also be married by their walis with their own consent, when the latter see it to be for their good.

The following are proper walis of a woman according to the Shafi'ite law-books. The Wali.

1°. The nearest male relative in the ascending line (the father, or if he be deceased the father's father, etc.).

2°. Brothers, first those who are the children of the same parents as the women, then step-brothers on the father's side.

3°. Male descendants in the male line of those included under 2° above, it being understood that a nearer degree excludes a more distant one, and that in each degree a descendant of a full brother of the woman takes precedence of those of her step-brother on the father's side.

4°. The brothers of the father, subject to the same rule as 2°.

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1) In the books of Mohammedan law certain "conditions" are cited as permissible, but these are in fact closer definitions of the subject of the contract, as for instance that the bride should be a virgin. In such cases separation (*faskh*) is allowable if the contrary prove to be true. What we might call conditions in the real sense of the word are not admissible under the law of Islam; the Law is supposed to regulate all the results of marriage for all alike, and if one of the parties wishes to surrender any of his or her rights, he or she can do so in practice, but cannot forego them in the contract.

5°. The male descendants in male line of those included in 4°., following the same rule as 3°.

This list of collateral relatives on the father's side may be continued by the reader at his pleasure from the rules just given. Only where the bride has no agnates who fulfil the requirements of the law [1]), another class presents itself, which we need only cursorily mention since it now no longer exists owing to the abolition of slavery, viz.

6°. The male patron (liberator) of the woman, and in case of his decease his agnates in the order in which they inherit.

In each special case the wali indicated by the law is he who stands closest to the woman in accordance with the above classification. A more nearly related class is replaced by one more distant only where the former does not exist or where its members are morally and physically incapable of discharging the functions of *wali*. Thus for example the grandfather takes the place of the father when the latter is dead or insane, and the stepbrother on the father's side of the full brother when the latter is incorrigibly godless or unbelieving. Where, however, a wali of the next class is absent [2]) or is unwilling to be a party to an unexceptionable marriage desired by a woman of mature age, the succeeding class does not take its place, but that which we shall here call the 7th viz.:

7°. The Civil Authority [3]). By this we must understand in the first place the head of the Mohammedan Community or those who govern Moslim countries as his representatives. As a rule, however, the duty of acting as wali for women who have none, or whose proper guardians are absent or unwilling to act, devolves upon the qādhīs or their deputies, sometimes on separate officials specially appointed to deal with marriage contracts (متولى عقود الانكحة) [4]).

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1) The *wali* must be of the Moslim faith, of full age, of sound understanding and (at least at the moment of making the contract) of an upright life (*ʿadl*), as opposed to the unsanctified state branded by the Law with the name of *fāsiq*.

2) The minimum distance of the wali's dwelling-place from that of the woman which renders reference to the judge necessary is about 84 miles مسافة القصر.

3) According to the preçept handed down by the Prophet من لا ولى له فالسلطان وليه = "To her that hath no wali the civil authority is wali".

4) The power to give in marriage women who have no wali at their disposal, is in Java called *kuwasa kakim*; this name is never applied to the authority of those who conclude other marriages, as Van den Berg would have us suppose (p. 459). In Java a distinction is drawn between the *wali nasab* or *wali bapa* (*wali* by blood-relationship) and the *wali hakim* or *kakim*. The part played by the panghulu or naib in the celebration of a marriage

8°. When a man and a woman having no wali at her disposal desire to wed one another, they may by mutual consent select as wali another than the official charged with this duty, provided that other entirely fulfils the requirements that the Law makes of the qādhī. Taḥkīm.

The function of a wali thus selected is designated by the same name as that of an arbitrator in a dispute: *ḥakam*. The authorization to undertake the duty (given by the man or woman) is known as *taḥkīm*.

Where there is no lawful authority according to Mohammedan ideas, or no official lawfully charged with the wali-ship of women who are without a wali, the taḥkīm is the only way of uniting a couple desirous of marriage. But in the case of this make-shift wali the requirement of suitability for the office of qādhī is no longer insisted on, and anyone may be appointed ḥakam who shows himself moderately fitted to perform the duties in the prescribed manner.

In Batavia all such contracts of marriage are concluded in this way, since it is assumed that there cannot be in that town any legally appointed official to take the wali's place. The incapacity of pangulus in this respect is not based on their appointment by a government of infidels (in fact the Mohammedan books of the law recognize the legality of the appointment of a qādhī by a *de facto* kafir authority) but from the nullity of their appointment by written decree; since Islam acknowledges the appointment of officials as valid only when verbal.

In other parts of Java this is less strictly insisted on, and the pangulu of a division is recognised as endued with the *kuwasa kakim*.

Thus a wali may be either an agnate of the bride, or the representative of the civil authority, or one appointed to discharge the duties of *taḥkim* by the man and woman themselves. The second party to the contract is the bridegroom, or if he be a minor, his guardian.

Every wali, however, and every bridegroom and guardian may empower another to conclude the contract is his stead, as *wakīl*. This only occasionally happens in the case of the bridegroom; the wali on the other hand *is almost invariably represented by a wakīl*, even though he be actually present at the making of the contract. The reason of this is not far to seek. The wali usually appoints another to act for him.

To conclude a valid contract of marriage, those concerned must have

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with *wali nasab* is not regarded in any part of the Archipelago as a special, not to speak of its being an indispensable, ministration; it is generally understood that he simply takes over as an expert substitute the task of the wali.

a thorough knowledge of the rules which control such contracts. Otherwise, should questions arise later on, there would be some danger of being unable to prove the existence of the marriage, or of the contract which preceded it being found to be invalid.

This difficulty is least in the case of the bridegroom; he has only to express in a few words his "acceptance" of the "offer" made by the wali, and these words may be and generally are, dictated to him at the moment when he has to utter them. Yet it happens not unfrequently — as the writer knows by actual experience — that this ceremony has to be repeated all over again as often as three or four times, owing to the bridegroom's not following the words quickly enough or from his repeating them inaccurately.

If the wali, however, were left to take his chance, a contract would seldom be correctly made. He is strongly recommended, though not imperatively commanded by the Law, to begin the ceremony with a short discourse on marriage, preferably in Arabic. After this he must express his intentions at some length, adhering strictly to the established legal forms of expression. One would not be beyond the mark in asserting that in Arabia as well as other Mohammedan countries, hardly one wali in a thousand could be found, who would be able to discharge this duty without extraneous help.

Mohammedan official marriage makers.

We find, then, in all Mohammedan countries, certain persons who lend their help on such occasions and supply the deficiencies in the (necessarily scanty) legal knowledge of the general public. As the validity of the contract they enter into can only be disputed before the qādhī, it follows as a matter of course that these registrars, if we may so call them, stand under the supervision of the qādhī; in some countries he actually appoints, in others only recognizes them. The names they bear vary with the locality; in Mekka they are called *mumlik* [1]), in Medina "licentiates for the making of marriages" [2]), in Egypt *fiqīh*, in Java *naib* or district pangulus [3]) or their subordinates (*kĕtip* etc.) and in Acheh *teungku meunasah*.

These officials discharge their duties in one of two ways. They

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1) In regard to these *mumliks* and the "absolute" identity of their functions with those of the district pangulus in Java, see my Mekka, Vol. II p. 160 et seq.

2) مأذون القاضى فى عقد الانكحة. After undergoing an examination they receive a license from the qādhī.

3) It is these and not the pangulus of the larger "divisions" who conclude ordinary

either dictate to the wali and the bridegroom what they have to say or else have themselves empowered by the wali and enter into the marriage contract as his wakil. This last method, which is adopted throughout the whole of the E. Indian Archipelago, is also the one most generally resorted to in other Mohammedan countries, as for example in Arabia. This is indeed what we should naturally expect, for under the first-named system there is much greater risk of the whole affair being upset by the inadvertence of one or other of the parties. Under the more usual method, on the other hand, the authorization of the official deputy by the wali (a proper formula for which the latter dictates, to make it easy for the former) [1]) is given before the marriage contract is concluded, so that this official wakil has to devote his attention to the bridegroom only. On the latter he impresses beforehand his comparatively simple duties. "So soon" (thus runs his lesson), "so soon as ever I have given utterance to the offer I shall pull your thumb" (which the official holds fast during the ceremony for this purpose) and then you must immediately repeat the words which I dictate".

Such is also the practice in Java; the formulas used on such occasions vary locally in sundry particulars, but are everywhere the same in essentials. Mr. van den Berg, who clearly made his first acquaintance with these matters quite recently [2]) from Winter's brochure and the dictionaries of de Wilde and Coolsma, draws therefrom the entirely

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marriages in Java, even in the chiefs towns of the divisions which are of course at the same time the capitals of their own districts ("distrik kota"). Very often the official mariage-maker is a minor mosque-officer, for suitable persons are found among the personnel of the mosques, and the naib has often other work to do. It is only the marriages of women who have no wali which are always concluded by the pangulu or some one appointed by him, who exercises the *kuwasa kakim*; but occasionally where the bride is of very good family, an ordinary marriage is concluded by the pangulu in person.

1) In making this authorization, however, the wali is not restricted to any particular formula; he may make it by simply replying in the affirmative to a question of the registrar.

2) This is quite manifest from the third edition of his *Beginselen* which came out in 1883. He there states (p. 145) that the bridegroom and the wali may empower another to represent them, but fails to note that this is almost invariably done in the wali's case. Again on p. 149 we find a further error: "*In Netherlands-India and probably* (sic) *in other Mohammedan countries as well, this takes place in presence of a "priest", who receives for his pains some small recompense, and who recites a passage from the Koran or a prayer*". In his latest essay Van den Berg revokes this absurdity, it is but he substitutes a new one in its place when he says: "*he (the "priest" in Java) does not invoke a blessing on the marriage, but he joins the couple in marriage, just as the Registrar does with us*". This is not so; in Java as in other Mohammedan countries the official as wakil or agent offers the woman to the bridegroom, in the name of the wali who has empowered him.

unwarrantable conclusion that the presence of the so-called "priests" or other officials at Mohammedan marriages has in other countries "an absolutely (sic) different significance from what it has in Java and Madura" [1]). This results from his having failed to grasp the meaning of the wali's authorization. The persons who have entrusted to them the task or special commission to conclude marriage contracts in their division or district have naturally no liking for competition, being human enough to feel a strong inclination to monopolize the profits arising from the making of marriage contracts. This finds support in the wish of the authorities to protect the law governing domestic life from becoming a prey to confusion. If everyone who, rightly or wrongly, had the reputation of being a suitable person to manage the preliminaries of marriages, was allowed to act in such matters, there would be much more confusion in the Mohammedan lawsuits arising from the relations between married people than is now actually the case. Thus we find every precaution taken to avoid such a state of things [2]).

In Java the district pangulus have an easy task in this respect. First of all they have hardly any to compete with them in the inland districts, and in the next place the official makers of marriages have the support of the chiefs, who would regard it as an act of usurpation on the parts of a *kyahi* or doctor of Mohammedan law to conclude a marriage contract. At places on the coast and especially at Batavia the conclusion of contracts by "amateurs" in this line is of very common occurrence, and no one thinks of questioning their legality [3]). If we ask why this so seldom takes place inland we receive the unanimous reply that no one dares to assume the responsibility for fear of being

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1) See p. 459 of his essay above quoted on the "*Afwijkingen*". Even the uninitiated can see that the function of this agent of the wali is entirely distinct from the exercise of the *kuwasa kakim*, which Van den Berg has identified therewith.

2) See my *Mekka*, Vol. II p. 161.

3) Here again Van den Berg has gone quite astray. "*Unless*", he says "*he (the "priest" or official marriage-maker) declares the marriage to have been concluded, the parties are not man and wife, even though the formalities by which their willingness to wed is declared are complete in every other respect*". Such marriages have in fact been often declared valid by the Mohammedan courts in Java, in which those who are interested in a seperation are allowed to sit. [Recent legislation in Java has now (by ordinances passed in in 1895 and 1898) confirmed and protected that adat by which marriage contracts are concluded by permanent district pangulus. Those who aid in the making of a Mohammedan marriage without proper authority, are punished, but the marriage itself is not declared unlawful, as this would conflict with the religious laws and customs of the natives].

suspected of an attempt to rob the pangulus of their privileges. There would however be no lawful means of frustrating such "amateurs", unless the Government declared the district pangulus to be exclusively empowered to act as attornies of the walis.

In all Mohammedan lands, however, in the inland parts of Java just as much as in Arabia, we find *exceptions* to the rule of invoking the services of apppointed or licensed makers of marriages. For instance where a recognized expounder of the law gives in marriage a woman whose wali he himself is, or where he is empowered by a friend of his own to act as wali, no one thinks of raising any objection. Nor again would any Mohammedan Court ever protest against the validity of a marriage on the ground that no "minister of religion" was present thereat.

The witnesses.

What is true of the office of wali applies also to that of witness. A marriage is not valid unless it has been concluded in the presence of two witnesses who in the opinion of the judges on whose verdict the disputed validity depends, satisfy the requisite standards as to suitability and morality. There can thus be no better means of guarding against danger in this respect, than by selecting witnesses who have been for good and all declared to be suitable by the judge or his representative.

In point of fact we find in many Mohammedan countries, as an appendage to every qādhī's court, a number of professional witnesses called *'adl* [1]), who lend their assistance for a moderate fee in marriage and other contracts. This also holds true, *mutatis mutandis*, of the Indian Archipelago. Here the district pangulu, or whatever other name the maker of the marriage contract may be known by, causes one or two of the officers of the mosque to attend marriages, and these obtain for their services a share of their chief's fees.

The above refutation of errors which, clumsy as they are, have persisted owing to the appearance of authority with which they were enunciated, puts us in a position to begin our description of the Achehnese marriage contract.

The marriage contract in Acheh.

It is usually concluded in the chapel which also serves as the meeting-house and caravanserai of the gampōng, the *meunasah*, one or two days before the *euntat mampleuë* or wedding which has been described above.

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1) The Arabic عَدْل = "just", since they are declared by the qādhī to be men of upright life and conversation.

Where it does not take place beforehand and the ceremony is made part of the wedding itself, the contract is concluded in the front verandah (*sramòë reunyeun*) before the bridegroom is invited into the *jurèë*.

The teungku as "hakim" and "wakil".

When the *wali* by relationship is available, and is both able and willing to lend his help, the teungku of the meunasah [1]) manages the affair in exactly the same way as is done by the district pangulu in Java. This is likewise the case when the woman has been married before and has no wali at her disposal. Of such a woman it is popularly said: "she has the right to be her own wali" [2]); and though this saying is not legally exact, it expresses clearly enough for all intents and purposes the fact that she has the right to join with her intended husband in appointing a ḥakam. The latter should in this case properly possess the qualifications required of a qādhī, for there are regularly appointed qādhīs in Acheh [3]). As however the qualifications for the office of qādhī are not very narrowly scrutinized in Acheh, it follows as a matter of course that much latitude is allowed to the woman's subsidiary wali appointed by *taḥkim*. While however, the theory of religious law leaves the choice of this *hakam* entirely free, the Achehnese adat limits it strictly to the *teungku*. Amateur marriage-makers such as are commonly found at Batavia would be heavily fined by the ulèëbalang in Acheh.

Where a virgin has no wali by relationship at her disposal, she must not be married by the teungku, but must, as we shall see directly, go to the *kali*. Let us however first give a closer description of the two sorts of contracts which are concluded by the teungku.

The formalities.

Before the bridegroom enters the meunasah, the wali of the maiden or woman who is to be given in marriage appoints the teungku his attorney in some such words as these: "I appoint you, oh Teungku, to be my wakīl, to give my daughter (or sister etc.) in marriage to the bridegroom, who will (immediately) come hither" [4]). The answer is "incha alah", i. e. "If it so please God!"

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1) I. e. of the bride's gampōng. The teungku meunasah of the bridegroom's gampōng and his keuchi' share indeed in the introductory negociations and the procession to the gampōng of the bride, should such take place, but bear no part in the concluding of the contract.

2) *Ka jeuët jidòng wali keu dròë jih.*

3) See p. 332 above.

4) *Wakilah ulōn tuan ba' Teungku neupeunikah oneu' (sèëdara) ulōn tuan si N. ngòn lintō teuka.* The teungku as a rule dictates this formula to the wali word for word. If the

When the bridegroom enters the meunasah with a small following from his own gampōng, his companions open a bundle which they have brought with them, and in which are rolled up two handsome sleeping mats and a number of costly cushions. These represent the future bridal couch, and are spread for the bridegroom to sit on during the making of the contract. Close by is placed a bowl (*mundam*) of water, wherewith the teungku and the bridegroom rinse their mouths before commencing the ceremony. As the name of Allah is to be invoked, it is not fitting that any remnants of food, tobacco or such should defile the instrument to be used in glorifying God.

The attendants of the bridegroom also place in the foreground a platter (*baté*) containing the sum of money given as a wedding-present (*jinamèë*). The *jinamèë* [1]) is seldom mentioned in the contract, since it is in every case pretty closely defined by the adat. The *jinamèë* for the daughters of princes of the blood (*tuankus*) amounts to 500 dollars, or according to the old-fashioned mode of expression, "a kati ($1^1/_4$ lb.) of gold" (*sikatòë meuïh*); for those of persons of distinction (*ureuëng ulèë*) such as ulèëbalangs, imeums and others who are their equals in rank or wealth, 100 dollars or 4 bungkays [2]) of gold; for those of middle rank (*ureuëng peuteungahan*), such as keuchi's, teungkus, wakis and the like, 50 dollars or 2 bungkays of gold, and for the lesser folk 25 dollars or 1 bungkay. He who marries a poor woman need only give one or two *tahés* (tahils) or even less. The marriage gift.

The *jinamèës* here spoken of have reference only to marriage with a maiden; in other cases they depend mainly on mutual consent.

As a rule the dowry is paid at the conclusion of the contract [3]). In

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wali happens to be one of the immediate next of kin of the bride, as for instance her father or brother, the adat forbids him to be present at the concluding of the contract (see p. 302), and thus the authorization is given beforehand in some other place. Indeed this often happens even where the relationship is much more distant.

1) This word sheds a remarkable light on the history of the Achehnese marriage. Derived as it is from *jamèë* = guest, it can only be construed to mean, in its original sense, the gift or recompense given by a guest to him who extends his hospitality towards him. In spite of the great change unquestionably wrought by Islam in the Achehnese conception of marriage, there still remains, as we have seen, much that is based upon the idea of the husband as a guest in the house of his wife (*prumòh*; see p. 327 above).

2) A bungkay of gold is reckoned at 25 dollars for the purpose of marriage contracts, but at 20 only in gambling and in the pepper trade. A *tahé* = $\frac{1}{5}$ th of a bungkay, so that in marriage contracts it is equivalent to 5 dollars.

3) This is entirely different from the custom in Java, in many parts of which it is usual to regard the dowry as a debt, which remains unpaid until separation or the death of one

some cases half the sum is at once repaid to the bridegroom, but this is merely formal, as the bride receives this half again in the form of a present when she pays her first visit to her parents in law after the wedding [1]).

In addition to the bridal couch and the dowry, the attendants of the bridegroom bring with them two sets of "standing sirih" (*ranub dòng*) of the same kind as those already described [2]). In some districts (as for instance the *Mukims Buëng*) this is replaced by a sweetmeat in the form of network, called *halua pulōt*. Both of these are intended for distribution among the onlookers.

Two leubès [3]) from the bride's gampōng, chosen by the teungku, serve as witnesses. They begin by carefully verifying the amount of the dowry on the *baté* or platter.

The bridegroom now takes his place opposite the teungku, behind whom sit the two witnesses and the crowd of onlookers. After they have duly rinsed their mouths, the teungku pronounces in Arabic his *khutbah* (Ach. *kōteubah*). This, though not actually prescribed as indispensable, is strongly recommended by the Law to the wali or his substitute [4]). As a rule he greatly abbreviates this task, using only the words: "In the name of Allah! unto Allah be the praise, and blessing and peace upon the Messenger of Allah. I exhort ye, oh servants of Allah, and myself to the fear of Allah! [5]).

The teungku now clasps the right hand of the bridegroom in his own and says "When I shake (your hand) you must immediately make answer [6])! Thereupon he makes the "offer" in some such words as these [7]): "I unite you in marriage with N., daughter (or sister etc.) of

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of the pair. In most parts of the province of Preanger it is considered to be *pamali*, or forbidden by the adat for the woman to receive any portion of the dowry even in case of a divorce.

1) *Ja' gampōng linto*; see below.

2) P. 300. It is also called "marriage sirih" (*ranub nikah*).

3) Persons who understand and observe to some extent the precepts of religion. These are called *santris* in Java. It is noticeable that witnesses are selected in Acheh in the same way as in Java and other parts of the Archipelago. (See p. 337 above).

4) See p. 71 above.

5) Learned teungkus (who are indeed few and far between) know by heart a longer *kōteubah*, which treats of marriage as an institution ordained of heaven.

6) *'òh ka lōn-yò taseu'ōt lé.*

7) The Achehnese is: *lōn-peunikah gata ngòn* Si N., *aneu' (sèëdara) Si X., nyang ka jiwakilah uba' ulōn (ngòn jinamèë . . . bungkay). — Lōn-trimòng nikah ji (ngòn jinamèë ji. . . bungkay).* The portions in parentheses are often omitted.

X, who has empowered me to do so (under bargain of a dowry of so many *bungkay*)." He now pulls the bridegroom's hand as a signal and the latter then immediately repeats after him the following words "I accept her hand (against a dowry of so many bungkay)."

The *teungku* then recites the fatihah (the first surah of the Qurān) during which all hold their hands before their faces as is customary during prayer. After this comes a general offering up of praise to God, and finally the teungku repeats another prayer generally used in marriages, beginning with the words "Oh Allah! make union between these two, even as thou didst unite the water and the earth" etc. All present express by their "amens" their sympathy in this prayer for blessing, and then the bridegroom thanks them all by a *seumbah* or respectful obeisance.

The order of proceedings is almost exactly similar when the teungku appears not as the substitute of a wali, but as deputed by *taḥkīm* by a woman who has no wali [1]) and her intended husband. Here the authorization of the teungku by the wali is replaced by the woman's tahkīm; and in the "offer" he adds after the bride's name the words "who has empowered me" or "who has entrusted herself to my charge by *taḥkīm*," [2]) no mention being made of her wali. Taḥkīm.

The expedient of the tahkīm is very frequently resorted to in Acheh, although almost every ulèëbalangship has its "kali" (*qādhī*), and in other Mohammedan countries where such is the case, recourse is had to the qādhī or the minor official invested by him with the wali-ship of women who have no wali. The reason is not far to seek. The ulèëbalangships are not indeed very large, but the bad state of the roads and the general insecurity prevailing in Acheh would render it very burdensome to the people to be obliged to go to the residence of the kali for the celebration of every one of the numerous marriages of this description. In Java the facilities are greater, and the pangulu of a division receives all women who are without a wali at the chief centre of the province.

The adat in Acheh is much stricter than in Java in regard to the

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1) It must be remembered that the wali's absence is legally accepted whenever he who is entitled from his relationship to the bride to fulfil this function resides at some little distance from the bride's home, or is unwilling to lend his assistence. Cases of this kind (in which *takhīm* is resorted to) are of very common occurrence.

2) *Nyang ka jiwakilah dròëji ba' ulōn* or *nyang ka jipeutahkim dròëji ba' ulōn.*

part to be played in the concluding of marriage contracts by the authorities of the gampōng, and by the kalis in marriages of the kind which we shall presently proceed to describe. A marriage would not indeed be pronounced invalid in Acheh any more than in Java, on the ground that it was concluded without the coöperation of the heads of the gampōng (in Java of the district pangulu). But while in the latter country the maker of the marriage would escape with a mere censure [1]), all concerned would be heavily fined in Acheh. The *keuchi'* and *teungku* are zealous in maintaining their authority and the profits which they derive from its exercise. In this they are supported both by their overlords the ulèëbalangs, and by the people of the gampōngs, whose rights and claims they maintain against invasion.

The part played by the keuchi' in the preparations for the marriage is, as we have already seen, of great importance; his authority is also required for the concluding of the contract. In this the teungku, the "mother" of the gampōng, is the active agent, since he alone is acquainted with the requisite formalities [2]), but he would not venture to carry out his task without the presence and authority of "father" keuchi'. And although the teungku is the person who actually enters into the contract (*peukatib* [3]), *peunikah* or *peukawén*) it is to the keuchi' alone that the adat allots a fixed sum as recompense. This fee is called *ha' katib*, *ha' nikah* or *ha' chupéng*, speech-maker's money, marriage-money or *chupéng*-money, *chupéng* being the little metal plate which young girls wear to cover their persons.

The ha'katib. The *ha' katib* amounts to one mas (*samaïh*) as it is still called, i. e. $^1/_4$ of a dollar. The teungku is paid so much as the parties concerned see fit to give him. He can adduce no right founded on adat, but on the other hand he has this advantage, that his fee, though not definitely fixed, is made to correspond with the requirements of the occasion. He usually receives one dollar, sometimes more; half of this sum he makes over to the leubès who stand by him as witnesses.

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1) [Since the above was written the Government has interfered in this matter, and both in Java and Madura amateur marriage makers are now punished by fine].

1) Many teungkus do not possess the requisite knowledge; these call in the assistance of some more experienced fellow-villager, who acts only at the teungku's request and in his presence.

2) The action of the registrar is called *peukatib* because its most difficult part is the enunciation of the kōteubah, which the law requires from the wali. In Arabia the person authorized by the wali is said to conclude the contract (يعقد العقد).

Under the Mohammedan law there is no reason why the marriage of a maiden of full age who has no wali should not be performed through the mediation of the same official who acts for a divorced woman or a widow under similar circumstances. In both cases it is the custom in most Mohammedan countries to have recourse to the *qādhī* or the official charged with like functions, even where the law admits of resorting to *taḥkim* under certain conditions. In Acheh the *taḥkim* is habitually applied in the latter case, subject to the choice of a *ḥakam* being limited to the *teungku* of the woman's gampōng, so that we might naturally expect to find the same method adopted for the marriage of a maiden of full age.

The kali as concluder of marriage contracts.

This however seldom happens, the intervention of the kali being deemed necessary in such cases. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that in Acheh the great majority of maidens are given in marriage before they arrive at the age of puberty, and the help of the kali is indispensable in view of the peculiar manner in which most of these marriage contracts are concluded among the Achehnese. There is thus also a tendency to invoke the assistance of the kali in the absence of a wali in those rare instances where a girl is married for the first time after reaching maturity.

It must be borne in mind that according to the Shafi'ite law it is only the agnates in the ascending line that have the right to give a maiden in marriage without her consent. Thus where such ascendant relatives are wanting the marriage of a maiden is impossible under the Shafi'ite ritual, since the refusal or consent of a minor has no force.

In Acheh, however, there is a universal and deeply-rooted prejudice against allowing a maiden to remain unmarried till she attains her majority. This we have already noticed in the beginning of our description of the marriage ceremony, but to guard against error we must here supplement this by observing that Mohammedan law not only places no impediment in the way of contracts of marriage between children, but even expressly permits girls under age to be handed over to their husbands when, as the saying is, "they can endure the married state" [1]). This last contingency is considered by Mohammedans in all

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1) This expression is to be found in the *Tuḥfah* (Vol. VI p. 442 of the marginally noted edition of as-Sharwāni of Cairo, A. H. 1305): ولا تسلم صغيرة لا تحتمل الجماع and further on ويحرم وطؤها ما دامت لم تحتمله ويرجع فيه لشهادة ناكو اربع نسوة

countries to arise at a very early age, and in Acheh one sees children whom we should deem of an age to be taken on the knee, making purchases in the market in the capacity of matrons!

Now as many of these girls have, whilst still unmarried, lost their fathers and grandfathers who are their proper walis, the Shafi'ite ritual conflicts with the Achehnese adat on this point. Means have however been found to reconcile this difficulty.

Changing of maḍhab.

It is difficult to give a clear explanation of this expedient without once more digressing from our subject. As a matter of fact the Shafi'ite school permits its disciples to follow some other ritual in certain isolated cases. Such partial following of another school is called *taqlīd* [1]) i. e., clothing with authority. In Java, for instance, *taqlīd* is commonly resorted to in order to fix the *qiblah* (the direction in which the devout must turn when praying) since the rules of the Shafi'ite school are too strict to be carried out in actual practice. It is also customarily employed in the fulfilment of neglected religious duties on behalf of deceased persons. We should have looked to find in Van den Berg's *Beginselen* a discussion of this subject to which we might here refer, but we seek in vain for even the bare mention of the question.

Taqlīd.

We shall only mention here so much of the law as to this sort of taqlīd as is indispensable to our subject, for a full description would detain us too long [2]); we therefore merely quote such opinions of the teachers as are followed in actual practice at the present time.

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"And the married state may not be entered into with her who cannot yet endure it; for this there is required the testimony of four women." In Java also the "handing over" of a girl to a husband before she is of mature age is common enough, for in the opinion of the Mohammedan teachers the usual signs of puberty are not necessary to constitute a capacity to endure the married state.

1) This word is also used by the disciples of any given school with reference to that school and its founder; for example, the recognition of the imām as-Shafi'i by the Shafi'ites is eminently *taqlīd*. But in its technical use the word is more especially applied to the adoption in exceptional cases of the ritual of another imām. So it is said in answer to the question why such and such a Shafi'ite does a certain thing which is at variance with the teaching of his school, such as drinking fermented liquors (other than wine): "he resorts to the *taqlīd*" (that of Abu Ḥanīfah in the case in point).

2) The doctrine of the taqlīd is somewhat complicated and the authorities differ considerably from one another in details. The best exposition of the subject is to be found in the above-mentioned edition of the *Tuḥfah* vol. VIII pp. 315 et seq. The question is akin to that as to whether the layman (i. e. he who is not endowed with authority as a teacher) has a *maḍhab* or not; on this latter point also the Shafi'ite authorities are divided. In regard to this we must recollect that as measured by theoretical law, all or almost all Mohammedans of the present time, even the so-called doctors, are only laymen (عوامّ).

The doctrine is, then, that every Mohammedan is authorized in a given question to follow a different school to that to which he is supposed to belong, provided he do so with full knowledge that this other interpretation is supported by an imām of equal authority with him whom he himself follows, and that he is acquainted with all the rules controlling the question in point in that other school, since, were it otherwise, inconsistencies would arise from following partly one school and partly another. Some add to this a further condition forbidding the selection from every school of what seems easiest and most agreeable.

According to the prevailing opinion, however, each individual may make use of this permission on his own behalf only; for instance, the judge and the mufti must confine themselves to their own school in their verdicts or interpretations of the law, since these affect not themselves but others. It is indeed allowed that the ideal qādhī, as we find him portrayed in the books of the law, should be guided entirely in his pronouncements by the Qurān, by tradition and by what according to his (the *qādhī's*) view is derived from both these sources by the consensus of the infallible community of Islam. It is, however, admitted without hesitation that it was only in the first two centuries after Mohammad that there were any who came up to this standard, and that now-a-days such a phenomenon would be esteemed a miracle. It is now admitted as a fact that no teacher, no matter how great he be, can do more than simply interpret the law-books of his school. Besides this it is matter of common knowledge that the qadhīs are very seldom chosen from the ranks of the most learned. The existing qādhīs might at best be described as "make-shifts" [1]), *qādhī ad-dharûrah*, but the great majority of them do not even come up to the definition of this term found in the books of the law. They are in fact quite ill-fitted to their task, and are appointed by the authorities for the sake of maintaining social order, but are of course not allowed to go outside the limits of their own school of doctrine.

Ḥanafite law as to the marriage of maidens.

To return to our main subject; where Achehnese girls are under age and their walis in the ascending line are dead or absent, their being given in marriage is facilitated by the tenets of the Ḥanafite school.

1) That is to say, such as only partially fulfil the requirements which the Law makes of a qādhī.

In the first place the order of sequence of the walis in the school of Abu Ḥanīfah differs from that of the Shafi'ites.

In the former the descending line takes precedence of those mentioned in the list given on pp. 331—33 above, so that the son if of full age has the first right to be wali of his mother [1]). Otherwise the series is the same as we have described it so far as the agnates are concerned, but after these come in the first place the mother (who under Shafi'ite law can never be a wali), and then the relations on the mother's side in order corresponding to the degree of consanguinity. After these comes the patron and finally the civil authority [2]). Among the Ḥanafites moreover, a woman of full age can never be given in marriage without her consent even though she be a virgin [3]); on the other hand all walis have the right to give a virgin who is under age in marriage without her consent. The only distinction that they make between the walis in the ascending line and others consists in this, that when the former have exercised the said right of compulsion, the marriage contract receives absolutely binding force, whereas in the case of a forced marriage being arranged by one of the other walis of the woman, the latter, as soon as she is of full age and becomes aware of the circumstances, has the right to demand *faskh* (separation) [4]). The same holds good as regards boys under age who have been married by their guardians, but in their case the compulsory power even of the walis in the ascending line is simply conditional.

Under the Ḥanafite law we also find an absent wali replaced by his successor in the list, and not directly by the civil authority as is the case with the Shafi'ites.

In Acheh it is the universal custom to apply in these matters, so far as appears desirable, the *teukeulit*, as the Achehnese pronounce *taqlīd*. In regard to this it is a somewhat singular fact that not only do the kalis of Acheh recognize this adat (though they ought properly

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1) It will be observed that the function of the *wali* as such consists simply in looking after the honour of his family; and this is recognized by the Mohammedan teachers themselves; but actual *guardianship* of the son over his mother is of course unknown.

2) As to this see the *Sharḥ al-wiqâyah* (Kasan 1881) p. 124.

3) This is permitted among the Shafi'ites, the asking of the woman's consent being only recommended. The Ḥanafites consider even the marriage of a woman of full age *without a wali* permissible and only admit a right of protest when the woman marries beneath her and thus brings dishonour on her family.

4) *Sharḥ al-wiqâyah* pp. 122—23.

speaking to keep entirely clear of adat and follow the Shafi'ite law only in the exercise of their office) but it is even obligatory to invoke their help in order to conclude a marriage contract which is unlawful under the Shafi'ite, though permitted by the Ḥanafite law. This rule has apparently been adopted through mistrust of the knowledge of the teungkus, and through fear that if the matter were left entirely in their hands, many marriage contracts would be entered into which would prove completely at variance with the Law. There could of course be no suggestion of entrusting such duties to "laymen," which in theory would be the proper course.

It must further be borne in mind that in these numerous cases of Ḥanafite marriages of virgins, no one thinks of expecting from the bridegroom and the wali, even with the kali to assist them, a full knowledge of all the rules controlling marriage under the Ḥanafite teaching, although the law, as we have seen, makes this a condition in regard to the *taqlīd*. It is enough simply to keep up appearances, and to follow, however faultily, the outward form.

The wali and the bridegroom go to the kali with the girl and the authorities of her gampōng (the *keuchi'*, the *teungku* and the two *leubès* who serve as witnesses) in order to *balè' meudeuhab* as it is called (i. e. to change the *maḍhab* or school of doctrine under his guidance.

Formalities of the "changing of maḍhab."

The circumstances of the case, viz. that the girl has no walis in the ascending line or that they live at too great a distance to act in the matter, but desire to give her in marriage according to custom, are first communicated to the kali. He replies somewhat as follows: "According to our imām (*as-Shafi'i*) it is not permissible to give this maid in marriage in the absence of her father and grandfather; this can only be done according to the teaching of the imām Abu Ḥanifah" [2]). Thereupon the wali and bridegroom reply: "We will follow your decision, oh Teungku!" [3]). This is really quite improper, as in case of *taqlīd* there should be no mention of following the decision of a third person.

The kali now dictates to both wali and bridegroom a formula which

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1) Or the bridegrooms guardian if he be under age.

2) *Ba' imeum geutanyöë han sah tapeukawén aneu' nyöë, sabab hana kuji, hana nè'; meung kòn ba' imeum Hanapi.*

3) *Ban nyang hukōm Teungku.*

is understood to authorize them to have recourse to the taqlīd for the matter in hand. This runs as follows: "we embrace the authority of the Ḥanafite Imām, this is our belief; I agree with the Ḥanafite imam in this question, that it is permissible to give in marriage a child under age who has neither father nor grandfather; I am convinced of the force of the Ḥanafite arguments" [1]).

After this mock taqlīd the kali is empowered by the wali in the same way as the teungku in other cases. The marriage ceremony is then completed, and as soon as the girl's family [2]) are of opinion that she is fit to share her husband's bed, she is handed over to him or rather he is brought to live with her.

The common people who have recourse to this *takeulit* in actual practice, have no knowledge of the niceties of the question. It is enough for them to know that a special method known as *balé' meudeuhab*, which is stamped with the approval of the ulamas of Acheh, and in which the kali is regarded as an indispensable guide, has to be adopted in order to marry young girls who have no walis in the ascending line and that this guide must receive 4 dollars for his trouble. It may even be doubted whether the majority of kalis, whose incomes are augmented to no inconsiderable degree by this balé' meudeuhab, have any real knowledge of its origin. Indeed some kalis find themselves compelled (like the teungkus) owing to their ignorance to have their task performed for them by some helpful friend who is well versed in the law.

As we have seen above, the *kali* is also resorted to on the less common occasions when a virgin of full age whose wali is absent or who has no wali, is given in marriage.

The ta'līq adat wanting in Acheh.

As Acheh forms a part of the East Indian Archipelago, our remarks on the marriage contract would be incomplete if we failed to notice one negative peculiarity, namely the complete absence in Acheh of a very characteristic adat which prevails among the vast majority of Moslims in these regions. Here again a slight digression is necessary in the absence of any reliable authority on the subject.

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1) *Geutanyòë tatamòng ba' imeum Hanapi, meunòë ta'è'tikeuët: ulônteu ikôt imeum Hanapi ba' masa'alah nyòë, mèë peukawên aneu' nyang chut, nyang hana ku ngòn ja; ulônteu è'-tikeuët kuat dali Hanapi.*

2) The opinion of four women prescribed by the Law, is not insisted on in such cases, that of the mother or perhaps the elder sister being accepted as sufficient.

The relation of wife to husband is finally fixed in all its details by the Mohammedan law, and, as we have seen, there must be no conditions made on either side in the marriage contract, *a fortiori* none that would in any way modify this relation. The position of the wife as defined by the *fiqh* or law of Islam is in many ways a very unfavourable one, and this not merely as measured by European standards; yet in many Mohammedan countries there prevails in practice an interpretation of the law much more favourable to the woman. This is based on the pre-existing social conditions which Islam found established on its first introduction, and which it was unable to exterminate.

Difficulty experienced by women in obtaining faskh.

Such are for example the obligations of the husband in regard to the provision of maintenance, lodging, clothing etc. for his wife. These are indeed closely defined by the Law, but it furnishes no sufficient practical means for the enforcement of these rights. In fact, if the man deserts his wife, and fails to provide her with the necessaries of life etc., she has no right to demand a divorce [1]) until she can prove that her husband is *incapable* of providing for her maintenance. In the absence of such proof she can only invoke the interference of the civil authority to compel her husband to fulfil his obligations, a course which, as might be supposed, is in most cases of little avail. Where the woman has succeeded, no matter in what way, in providing for her own support, and where no money has been paid by the husband in response to the judge's order, every claim on her part for compensation for the deficiency as a rule falls to the ground.

The ta'līq in the East Indian Archipelago.

In the East Indian Archipelago [2]), a method to which the Mohammedan law itself gives the impulse has been resorted to in order to prevent the husband from leaving his wife to life-long misery by desertion and neglect of his duties towards her.

According to the law a conditional *talāq* (divorce) may be pronounced or as the saying is, the talāq may be "suspended" (*ta'līq*). The numerous ways in which this can be done are most minutely defined in the books of the law. The essence of the matter is that if the husband has

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1) It must be borne in mind that for the man on the other hand the mere expression of his wish is sufficient to disolve the marriage without any further reason, and that the woman who is abandoned by her husband without any severing of the lawful bond of marriage occupies a miserable position in Mohammedan society.

2) The same custom exists in the Straits Settlements, and would in all probability be met with in those parts of Hindustan whence Islam was introduced into the E. Indian Archipelago.

said: "If such and such a thing happen, my wife is divorced," the actual thing referred to need only take place, in order to make the talāq a determinate fact.

This *ta'līq* can be used for sundry purposes. Sometimes a Mohammedan employs it by way of an oath, saying for example to some one who doubts the truth of his words: "If I lie in this, my wife N. is divorced." Or he uses it as a threat to his wife in case of disobedience, as thus, "if you enter that house again, you are divorced."

He may, however also employ the ta'līq to improve the position of his wife, as for instance by saying, "If I beat you, or leave you for a month without support, or forsake you for a year, then you are divorced." The husband cannot indeed be constrained to such a *ta'līq* and his voluntary declaration is necessary to bestow such privileges on his wife.

At the same time, if a man asks the hand of a woman in marriage, and first undertakes, at the request of the father or wali, to make such a ta'līq in her favour immediately after the conclusion of the wedding contract, the bridegroom considers himself so to speak morally bound by such promise. No one, it is true, would raise any legal objections if after the contract was completed he were to declare that he thought better of his intentions in regard to the talīq, but by so doing he would entirely forfeit the confidence of his acquaintance.

Such predeclared and morally compulsory ta'līqs are to be met with everywhere. In the Indian Archipelago they are by no means rare; the husband for instance, in conformity with an agreement with his parents-in-law, declares immediately after the marriage ceremony, that his wife may regard herself as divorced by him if he marries a second, or gives her no house of her own to live in, etc. Here again, as might be expected, the great majority of bridegrooms require the assistance of the official who concludes the marriage contract for the proper expression of the formula; he dictates the words one after another to the bridegroom.

This is not peculiar to Indonesia, and is also to be found in Acheh. But throughout the *whole of Java* [1]) and the greater part of the other

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1) In Van den Berg's *Beginselen* not only do we find no single word about this most important adat, but even the possibility of a "conditional talāq" is only barely alluded

Mohammedan possessions of Holland, the adat has always within human memory required every man who marries to pronounce a *ta'līq* immediately after the conclusion of the contract. The form of this is subject to local variations, but its general drift is everywhere the same, viz. that the wife may regard herself as divorced if her husband forsakes her and betakes himself to some other part of the country for seven months, or beyond the sea for a year (in some places two [1]), or if he fails to maintain her for a given period (e. g. one month) [2])

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to (p. 157). In 1888, when I verbally informed Mr. Van den Berg that I had been told of the existence of this adat by many Javanese at Mecca, he denied that any such special custom existed, and when I maintained my ground and proved to him that it did exist at Batavia by referring to an allusion to it in an application for fatwa (verdict of a religious judge) composed by Sayyid 'Uthmān, the most he would allow was that something of the kind might perhaps appear sporadically. In support of his view that it was exceptional, he alleged that he had found no mention of any such adat in the registers of the Mohammedan courts. Since then, as appears in his essay on the *Afwijkingen* (*Bijdr. Instituut*, 1892 pp. 485 seqq.), Van den Berg has gleaned some popular information on the subject and finds himself compelled to speak of "the use sometimes made of (the permission) to pronounce a conditional divorce." Not a trace of 'personal observation', though in the introduction to his essay he speaks of notes personally made by him (Van den Berg). Had he taken trouble to enquire, he would have found that the custom is the *established rule throughout the whole of Java*, its omission being sporadic and requiring explanation; he would have known that among the commonest questions arising before the Mohammedan courts are those which spring from the ta'līq, the *pĕrkara rapa'* as they are called; he would have furnished us with examples of the very characteristic and instructive Javanese and Sundanese ta'līq formulas, and we should not have to complain of the omission from his essay of the most important technical terms connected with this question such as *janji ningratu*, *janji dalĕm* and *rapa'*. Now he only supplies the small amount of information given him by certain popular books, — information which he has acquired 20 years too late — draws wrong conclusions therefrom, and gives misleading explanations.

1) In Batavia it is a year in each case, and the following condition is added to the other two: failure to maintain the wife for one month or serious ill-treatment. Even as regards Batavia, Van den Berg supplies misleading information. He might have collected better data from any Batavian; or else as he chose to form his ideas of the adat in the East Indies from printed works which he studied in Holland, he might in place of consulting Sayyid 'Uthmān's tabular treatise have referred to the fatwa pronounced by the authorities at Mekka on the application of that writer, and especially the wording of the application itself to which this fatwa conveys the reply, and which is printed under the title اين سكلا سؤال جواب اتس مسئله تياد عارس محكمكن طلاق دغن سمات۲ تولیسن سکسی۲. On page 2 in the description of the contents of the ta'liq at Batavia, we find the following words: وذلك التعليق المكتوب هو باحد ثلاثة امور بترك النفقة شهرا وبالغيبوبة عنها سنة وبضربها ضربا مبرحا مع تقييد كل من الثلاثة بعدم رضاها بذلك وشكاية حالها الى ذلك المنصب وطلبها الطلاق.

2) So that the woman if she wishes to obtain a separation is not bound to prove her husband's incapacity to maintain her.

or maltreats her [1]) or excludes her entirely from his bed [2]) and other similar conditions [3]). To the series of conditions "on which the talāq is suspended" the two following [4]) are always attached: "if the woman is not a consenting party thereto and places the matter in the hands of the constituted authorities." The omission of these two conditions would lead to the greatest difficulties. The Mohammedan law will not allow the word *talāq* to be made light of; when the *talāq* has been once pronounced or a condition on which it "hangs" fulfilled, the marriage is dissolved *ipso facto* without any judicial decree and all further cohabitation of the pair is from that moment regarded as adultery. The talāq must be proved by two witnesses, if one of the parties concerned denies its having been pronounced; but it has full force with all its consequences for both parties as soon as ever it has been uttered by the husband.

Suppose the husband then to have created a ta'līq of the kind we refer to and to have done one of the acts therein enumerated, the marriage would be then and there dissolved, irrespective of the wishes of the woman, who would perhaps be glad enough to leave things as they were. Extraordinary complications would arise if the man's act were to be decisive and the woman to have no voice in the matter. There would be a complete want of control, and amid the prevailing ignorance of the great mass of the people, many a married couple might form an entirely wrong opinion as to whether a given "condition" had been fulfilled or not. The addition of the two final conditions just mentioned gets rid of all these difficulties, since they make the completion of the divorce dependent on the consent of the woman and a

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1) The nature of the assault is sometimes defined, as for instance striking her so as to draw blood, or pulling out her hair, or smashing to pieces her loom, the silent witness of many a forbidden intrigue.

2) Although the marriage can be dissolved by the judge (*faskh*) at the instance of the woman in case of impotence on the man's part, Van den Berg is wrong in concluding that the man is bound to give "marital rights" (see his essay quoted above, p. 482). All Mohammedan law-books teach the opposite; it is only the woman who is bound to surrender her person. Divorce owing to impotence only takes place because the object to be attained by marriage (that is, according to the law-books, sexual union) is thereby rendered impossible, so that there is no longer any reason why the marriage should continue.

3) In some districts we find conditions whose object is simply religious, e. g. "If I neglect the obligatory prayers or fasts or drink arak or gamble" etc. etc.

4) Absurd as it may appear, neither of these are mentioned by Van den Berg.

declaration before the judge [1]), who must of course enquire into the case in the first instance.

The judge before whom the declaration is made gives no verdict (for which indeed there is no necessity) but declares the facts viz. whether or no the divorce is brought into force by means of the declaration made in his presence coupled with the fulfilment of the other condition as evidenced by the woman's statement.

Intentional adoption of the ta'liq custom.

As appears from the above explanation, this adat in favour of the woman is a most reasonable one since if the law were applied in its purity [2]), the right of demanding separation (*faskh*) on the grounds mentioned would be entirely denied to the woman. Thus where Van den Berg, in the essay referred to (pp. 486—7) notices as "peculiar" the wide use made of the ta'līq, and characterizes it as "a somewhat useless expedient for dissolving marriages", we are constrained to qualify as most peculiar the writer's want of familiarity both with the essential nature of this native adat and with the rules of Mohammedan law as to *ta'līq* and *faskh*. This adat is universally esteemed by native teachers and laymen as a social blessing, in view of the thoughtlessness with which marriages are entered into, the indifference of many husbands to their wives and their proneness to abandon them, as well as the large numbers of those who lead a roving life [3]).

1) This declaration is called rapa' (رفع), a word which in Arabic may be used to signify all kinds of declarations, but is used in Javanese and Sundanese as the technical term for the declaration of a woman that a *ta'līq* condition has been fulfilled and that she wishes the marriage dissolved. The ta'līq-formula usually runs as follows: *samangsa-mangsané kula* (here follow the conditions) *ora trimané rabi kula, rapa' maring kakim, mangka runtuh talāq kula siji maring rabi kula N.*

2) There are indeed Mohammedan courts which give *faskh* on simple proof that the husband has failed in his obligations, but such verdicts are based simply on the ignorance of the judges, and not on any rights conferred by adat, far less on Moslim law. Some courts also wrongly apply the name *pasah* to proof of the *talāq* which has arisen through *ta'līq*, but we must not draw from this use of the term any negative conclusions in regard to the adat of the ta'līq. In certain parts of Jogjakarta (where *ta'līq* is universal and *faskh* in its proper sense very rare) the word *pasah* is used to designate the official who is elsewhere called *naib* or district pangulu.

3) The fact that "the majority (of the Javanese) even of the lower classes, do not enter into matrimony with a settled intention of being guilty of wilful desertion of their wives" (Van den Berg, *Afwijkingen*, p. 487) is but a poor consolation to the woman whose husband is compelled to migrate as a labourer for hire or cultivator into districts where possession in common prevails, but does not possess the means or the inclination to take his wife along with him. It is sought to arm the woman, not against a base intent conceived beforehand, but against unfortunate eventualities which as experience shows very frequently occur. Even Arabic teachers, who are otherwise always inclined to frown on native customs, exhibit a great regard for the "conditional separation" and do their best to maintain it.

Meantime such a *ta'liq* whether made with or without previous parley between the bridegroom and his parents-in-law, must under Mohammedan law always be a voluntary act on the part of the former, as otherwise it would be invalid. Yet it must be understood that in the large field where the adat prevails of conditional divorce after every marriage, the chance concurrence of the wishes of all married couples cannot be regarded as the cause of this custom. As a matter of fact, where this adat holds good, it is usually compulsion or "persuasion" bordering on compulsion that carries the day.

In olden times in Java, not only in the kingdom of Mataram, but also in such places as Chirbon and Bantĕn, the *ta'lĭq* was ordained by the rulers of the country. The tradition of the Javanese that this adat, which extends so far beyond the limits of Java, was an invention of their great sultan (Sultan Agĕng) is of course to say the least of it open to doubt. Still this ta'lĭq was everywhere known as "the promise ordained of the Prince" (*janjining ratu* or *janji dalĕm*) and is still so called even outside the Native States. It is indeed customary for the official who concludes the marriage contract to enquire of the bridegroom "do you accept the *janjining ratu?*", but this question is purely formal, since a reply in the negative is unheard of.

In addition to this main departure from Mohammedan law, another unorthodox custom (which seems formerly to have been universal) still prevails in many districts, viz. that the words of the *ta'lĭq* are only uttered by the official marriage-maker, who of course speaks in the second person [1]), and the bridegroom instead of repeating the words in the first person simply answers "yes". According to the law this defect in form renders the whole transaction void, yet the adat regards it as valid.

In the provinces directly subject to the Dutch government there is of course in theory no such thing as compulsion in regard to the ta'lĭq. Both this freedom and the increasing study of the Mohammedan law cause the proper legal form for this voluntary declaration to be more largely employed in these provinces; but as a matter of fact the formula is dictated to the bridegroom in such a way that he is left to suppose in his ignorance that it forms an indispensable part of the

1) He ought properly speaking to dictate the words to the bridegroom in the first person. This has of late become customary in most localities owing to the increasing influence of Mekka in such matters.

marriage contract. The ordinary villager, or indeed any native who has not studied, knows naught of the rules of the Law in regard to the contract. He places himself entirely in the hands of the official who concludes it; when for example, the latter, after the ratification of the contract proper, says to him: "You will now surely repeat the ta'līq according to the good adat which all men follow", few bridegrooms would so much as conceive the possibility of refusing this request.

Some, part pedantic, part overscrupulous pangulus have of late abandoned this admirable adat, but in every place where I ascertained the non-existence of the custom (and I have always made a special task of investigating such cases) I have met persons who could still remember when the *janjining ratu* or *ta'lè'* was universally practised.

In the Residency of Batavia and also in Malay countries, where submission to the princes and their representatives is much less slavish than in Java, the free voluntary declaration is always observed in form, but the advice of the official marriage-maker combined with the layman's ignorance of the law gives rise to a kind of restraining force that serves to maintain the adat.

We now see clearly that this ta'līq-adat, so far from being exceptional, is deeply rooted in the necessity for rendering the position of the married woman more favourable than it is under the Mohammedan law, while yet avoiding as far as possible all conflict with that law. However open to dispute may be our conjecture that this adat was introduced by the pioneers of Islam in the East Indies, we may rest assured that the almost universal acceptance of the custom was due in each instance to the fact that it harmonized with the requirements of the people.

I say *almost* universal acceptance, and in doing so I intend not only to draw attention to the exceptions which are everywhere made in favour of persons of rank or teachers of the law, in whose case malevolent desertion or ill-treatment of a wife is not supposed possible, but also to put in strong relief the fact that the adat is entirely lacking in some good Mohammedan countries of the Archipelago.

Reasons for the absence of the ta'līq-custom in Acheh and certain other places.

The most unequivocal confirmation of our explanation of the acceptance of this adat is to be found in the fact that it supplies a satisfactory reason for the absence of the *ta'līq* from among the essential adjuncts of marriages in some countries. This will be at once recognized, on the mere mention of their names by every one who has any knowledge of the social system of the two principal countries which are without

the ta'līq-adat; Acheh and the Menangkabau territories [1]). In both of these the woman is, so far as lodging and maintenance are concerned, practically independent of her husband, since she continues to form an integral part of the family wherein she was born. An Achehnese woman whose husband has gone as a pepper-planter to the East or West Coast and gives no sign of his existence for years, may indeed feel unhappy; but as she lives in her own house either together with or in the immediate neighbourhood of her own family, she is seldom constrained to demand a dissolution of marriage by *faskh*. In the same way there exists no necessity for facilitating by conditional divorce, such dissolution of wedlock which as we have seen is most difficult to obtain by *faskh*.

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## § 3. Early days of married life. Polygamy and Concubinage. Financial relations of Husband and Wife.

We may now proceed to mention certain adats which are observed during the period immediately following the completion of the marriage. We shall at the same time find an opportunity for discussing the results of marriage as regards the property of husband and wife.

Tuëng meunarō.

After the wedding, some months, indeed sometimes as much as a year or so, will pass before the family of the bridegroom takes any further notice of the bride. The latter does not make her first visit to her parents-in-law, until her husband's mother comes to "fetch her away" (*tuëng meunarō*) [2]).

The elder woman brings with her a number of female companions from her own gampōng and a money present for the young wife. The guests are entertained at the bride's house at a formal feast with idangs [3]).

This visit however is not sufficient according to the adat to constitute an invitation. Some time later the request must be repeated by a woman sent by the husband's mother. The messenger thus addresses the mother of the bride: "The reason why I have directed my

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1) Here the ta'līq has begun to be employed in some places on the coast.

2) The word *tuëng* means to "fetch away," and *meunarō* is formed from *marō* = *barō* (*dara barō* means "the bride"); cf. *meunçuri* (present) = *beunçuri* from *bri*, "to give."

3) See pp. 320, 324 above.

footsteps hither to you is in order that I may fetch away this Si Nya' [1]). The invitation is politely accepted, but a considerable time is allowed to elapse before it is acted upon.

Finally, after due notice of the visit has been given the bride repairs to the gampōng of her husband [2]) accompanied by a crowd of female relatives and fellow-villagers. She takes with her from 6 to as many as 20 *idangs* [3]) of sweetmeats, which gift is paid for by the bridegroom's mother at the fixed rate of 1 dollar per idang. This return gift is, however, intended for the more advanced in years of the women who attend the bride.

Feast and "handwashing".

The welcoming (*sapa*) of these guests is attended with a certain amount of ceremony, but is by no means so tediously protracted as at the wedding. Here too we find *idangs* of the sort which we have seen in use at the *peujamèë*. At the conclusion of the feast there takes place a ceremony (probably a survival from ancient times) which bears the name of "handwashing", though there is in fact no washing of hands. The mother of the bridegroom rubs some yellow glutinous rice behind the ears of the bride (*peusunténg* see p. 306). The bride then greets her with the usual respectful obeisance (*seumbah*) and receives as a gift in return for this greeting a peculiar ring (*eunchiën gilë*), which is worn on the thumb [4]). Sometimes a money present is given instead, and in those districts where it is the custom for the bridegroom to give back half the dowry after the wedding, the bride receives this half [5]) — usually with an additional sum superadded — on this occasion.

The ancient adat also prescribes that the bride when returning home should receive as a parting gift from her mother-in-law a cow-buffalo. This should properly speaking not be slaughtered, but kept as a *keubeuë peunulang* [6]) for breeding purposes only, as a special blessing

1) *Nyang tō' langkah lōn keunòë ba' dròëneu, geujuë ja' tuëng Si Nya' nyòë.* Si Nya' is a pet name for children.

2) The technical expression is *ja' gampōng* or *rumòh lintō* = "to go to the gampōng (or house) of the bridegroom."

3) The *idang* of sweetmeats (*peunajōh*) consists of only a single *dalōng*; the *idang* for feasts is, as we have already seen, composed of two.

4) This ring consists of a succession of thick knobs or balls held apart by little thin strips of metal.

5) See p. 340 above.

6) *Peunulang* is the special term applied to all that children receive from their parents for their support. It is thus opposed to *peusaka* or inherited property, but is taken into account on a division of the latter, so that a child who has received more *peunulang* than the others, gets less *peusaka*.

is supposed to rest upon it. It often happens, however, that the buffalo is only handed over to the young woman *pro formâ*, and afterwards politely returned to the giver. In case of second marriages the adat of the *keubeuë peunulang* does not apply.

The woman herself always stays three complete days in the house of her parents-in-law. During this time she is the recipient of constant visits from her new connections, who come to offer presents of sirih and eggs [1]). All these gifts she brings home with her. Her fellow-villagers who form her escort return home on the first day.

The husband, although usually present in his native gampōng during these days, takes no share of any kind in the festivities.

On her return journey [2]), the wife is escorted by a crowd of people from the gampōng of her husband, and a procession of her own fellow-villagers comes out to welcome her back.

These *meunarō* ceremonies always take place even where both man and wife have been married before, and the same may be said of most adats connected with the first seven days of the marriage. In the case last referred to however there is less merry-making, and even though the bride be a young maiden, the circumstance of her husband being of a more advanced age usually imparts a calmer tone to the festivities.

After this first visit of the bride to her parents-in-law she goes to see them but seldom. It is only at the two great Mohammedan feasts that the adat requires her to go and make her respectful salutations (*seumbah*), for which she receives a further present of money. When she has been about three years married, she is absolved from the necessity of presenting herself on these occasions, and in any case receives no more money presents.

The parents and other blood-relations of the married pair also visit one another very rarely. It is only important events in the families on either side, especially deaths or marriages, which give occasion to such visits. Nor do the visitors come in a body but each at his own time. Each brings a present of a dollar or two by way of contribution to defray the expenses of the ceremonies. Those who receive such visits, on the other hand, are bound to entertain their guests

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1) The technical name for these visits is *ja' bri ranub* = going to offer sirih. The sirih is brought in the form of the *ranub dòng* already described.

2) This is technically known as *wòë ba' meunarō* = "returning from the *meunarō*" (see note on p. 356).

in the best possible style (*peujamèë*) with the traditional *idangs* [1]).

Let us here interpolate one word as to the practical significance in the social life of Acheh of the polygamy which is permitted by the creed of Islam. Polygamy in Acheh.

As might be supposed, those who make most use of the custom of plurality of wives are to be found among the scions of royal blood (*tuankus*), the *ulèëbalangs* and other lesser chiefs who rank next in dignity to these, and the religious teachers or others who stand in the odour of sanctity or learning, and to whom many are willing to unite their daughters, were it only as their second, third or fourth wives.

This is all the more true of the principal chiefs, since the distinguished marriage alliances they seek are as a rule only to be found at a great distance from their own homes or territory. Hence as the wife does not follow the husband and the latter may not absent himself too long from the sphere of his authority, the married life of such couples consists of short scenes with long intervals. Many of these chiefs, it is true, console themselves for their constant loneliness by illegitimate intrigues, but many others attain their purpose by contracting one or more marriages of inclination over and above their *mariages de raison*. When their choice falls on women of the lowest class, such marriages are frequently dissolved later on by divorce on the ground of satiety, though as we shall see, separations of this sort are otherwise less common in Acheh than in many other countries of the Malayan Archipelago.

The great and wealthy, it is true, had till a short time ago, and indeed still have to a considerable extent the opportunity of sexual intercourse with female slaves, especially those of Nias, who are remarkable for their beauty and are not too expensive. These were and are so used, but comparatively speaking, to a very moderate extent. Concubinage.

The Mohammedan law places the children begotten by a free man of a slave on a full equality with those born of his free wives. In order however to see this theory actually adopted in practice, we must seek a centre of Mohammedan civilization such as Cairo, or towns with a very mixed population such as Mecca or Medina. In Acheh (as also in the inland parts of Arabia), this custom is only partially observed. The legal privileges are the same, but the social position is different, and it is never forgotten that a man has slave blood in his veins.

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1) See pp. 320, 324 above

Even where two free wives of the same husband differ somewhat in rank and birth, this difference has its effect on the social position of their children. Hence it is that the propagation of the race is so much, and we might almost add, so openly and shamelessly interfered with by causing of abortion or preventive checks.

It is especially those who cannot refrain from intercourse with their female slaves who make an extensive use of such methods. This does not alter the fact that the fear of failure in the efficacy of the drugs used withholds the majority from that concubinage with their slaves which is lawful according to the creed of Islam.

Where such concubinage takes place, the slave is called *gundè'*, and the legitimate results of the union are controlled by the Mohammedan law. The name *gundè'* is however often also applied, though incorrectly, to

1°. Women of very humble origin, who become (generally for only a short time) the wives of men of position such as *ulèëbalangs* or *tuankus*.

2°. Women who are kept in unlawful concubinage, over and above the lawful number of four. Few Tuankus, however, regard themselves as so far exalted above all consideration for law and morals as to admit of their forming such openly illicit connections. Children born of such unions, albeit not recognized or legitimized under any *hukōm* or *adat*, are still, under the name of *aneu' gundè'*, esteemed part of the family of their natural father, so long as he himself sets the example of so regarding them.

Persons of humbler rank sometimes indulge in plurality of wives when their means admit of such a luxury and the journeys to and fro between the abodes of their spouses do not prove too burdensome. As a rule, however, they do not choose two wives in the same gampōng, and thus the quarrels between rival consorts of the same husband are reduced to a minimum.

A great number of Achehnese, however, are practically monogamists. They only marry a second wife after the death of the first, or where incessant domestic quarrels necessitate a divorce. Various causes are assigned in explanation of this phenomenon, each of which perhaps lends its share towards producing it.

In the first place there is the husband's position in regard to his wife and her family, to whom he is as a rule under very great obli-

gations. This prevents him from doing what might be disagreeable to them, and his taking a second wife would in most cases be unwelcome to the family of the first.

Secondly, there is the facility for forming illegitimate connections, which though strongly condemned by the law and also in theory by the adat, do not in point of fact do any injury to the social position of the Achehnese who indulges in such intrigues in moderation.

Finally the paederastic habits of the Achehnese, and (as many think) the use of opium [1]), cause the majority of them to set a lower value on intercourse with the opposite sex than is usual among other native populations.

Financial results of marriage.

The financial consequences of marriage for the husband have so far received only a passing notice.

The obligations which the Mohammedan law imposes upon a man in respect of his wife are nearly all of a financial nature [2]). He has to pay the dowry, which is fixed either by mutual consent or in accordance with the bride's position; as we have seen, the Achehnese *jinamèë* is regulated according to the rules laid down by the law.

The husband is also bound to supply his wife with food, clothing, lodging and service in conformity with *her* social position, and has on the other hand the right to require of her within fitting limits, obedience and fulfilment of conjugal duties, but not to burden her with domestic cares or occupations.

These rules serve as a basis for the settlement of differences between married people when brought before the qādhī, but the married state is in fact controlled by quite different principles in all Mohammedan countries, and that without any conflict with the law. The latter in fact leaves the husband and wife entirely free to give validity to just so many of their privileges as they choose. For instance, it is a universal adat that the wife should assume the duties of housekeeper, and both the universality of this custom and the want of acquaintance of the people with the details of the law causes this to be regarded almost as an obligation. Marriages of wealthy wives with men of little

1) I must here observe that while opium-smoking is very common on the West and North-East coasts, it is not at all so prevalent in Acheh Proper as is usually supposed.

2) The man is *never* bound to connubial intercourse (see p. 352 above); and is only required to pay regular visits to his wife where he has more than one. In the latter case the claims of the wives are relative only and not absolute, i. e. he is bound to spend as much time with one as he does with the other.

or no property whom their learning, birth or other qualifications render eligible *partis* are also of very frequent occurrence. No wife would think of enforcing against such a husband her rights to maintenance etc., much less such maintenance as befits her position; indeed they much more often support the man. Even where the means of both are more on a par, such financial obligations are seldom taken into account.

There is thus in this respect a great and generally prevalent difference between the teaching of the law and the reality. The nature of this difference exhibits a special character in each country, to be explained from past history and from the social conditions of the present time.

In Acheh, where the adat assumes the mastery even in questions of domestic law, and the adat-judge is generally the supreme arbitrator, these peculiar departures from the law have not only a greater degree of stability, but also serve — albeit in conflict with the hukōm — as a standard in the settlement of disputes.

The Achehnese adat sets the husband free during a certain period from all obligation to maintain his wife. The length of this period depends on the amount of the dowry, irrespective of whether it is in fact paid in full, or only half, or even not at all [1]). For every bungkay of gold (25 dollars) of the marriage gift, the bride is made dependent for a full year on the support of her parents. All that the man gives her during this period is regarded as a free gift, even though these gifts are themselves to some extent regulated by the adat.

These presents consist first of all in the monthly *biaya* [2]) of 3 or 4 dollars or more, which may be almost considered as boarding expenses for the 10 to 15 days in each month which the young man spends in the house of his wife. In the next place he has to "bring home meat" [3]) as it is called, at the two great Mohammedan feasts, and especially that at the end of the fasting month. In our description of the feasts we have seen that it is an established adat in Acheh to form small societies for the slaughter of buffaloes before these feast days, and the ancient custom required the young man to bring home to his wife a handsome share of the meat from the slaughter in his own gampōng.

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1) The dowry is not infrequently (especially by persons of position) handed back after the conclusion of the contract.

2) See p. 327 above.

3) *Puwòë siè;* cf. p. 237.

This gift of meat gradually gave place [1]) to other gifts of a fixed value. Where the dowry amounts to one bungkay of gold, it is considered proper for the husband to present to his wife 6 dollars as a feast-gift the first time; on later occasions 5 dollars or so is sufficient. For a dowry of 2 bungkays these feast-gifts may amount to 8 or 10 dollars respectively and so on. To this are often added garments and ornaments made of the precious metals. The old appellation is however still retained, and though it is quite well understood that a wife has received from her husband money only as a feast-gift, the question is asked all the same "How much meat has he brought home to you?" (*padum jipuwòë sië?*).

Here again it must be borne in mind that only gifts of a transitory description (such as meat or the *biaya* and other money presents) become the property of the woman, while in regard to personal ornaments she can only regard as her own what she receives on the 7th day after her marriage [2]), and the present made in token of the loss of her virginity [3]).

On the feast-days the husband also receives a return present from his wife, the first time a suit of clothes, which he proceeds forthwith to don; in later years his parents-in-law present him with a dollar or so by way of feast-gift. On such occasions the parents-in-law appear as it were by chance in the passage when their son-in-law is about to leave the house, and he seizes the opportunity to make his obeisance (*seumbah*) in all haste, for we know how shy the Achehnese is of any encounter with the parents of his wife!

The period during which the wife still remains a charge upon her parents is called *janji jinamèë* [4]). While it lasts, there subsists between the pair a peculiar relation which is entirely in conflict with Mohammedan law. Janji jinamèë.

This law allows unconditionally to the husband a certain definite portion of the goods of his wife on her decease, and vice versâ. In Acheh this right of inheritance does not become effective till after the *janji jinamèë* has ceased.

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1) These gifts of meat are not however entirely discontinued. Most men whose gampōngs are not too far off from those of their wives bring presents of meat as well as of money.

2) See p. 326 above.

3) See p. 327 above.

4) This properly means "the dowry period agreed on" since the length of this period depends upon the amount of the *jinamèë*.

Ha' balèë and pulang balèë.

Should his wife die during this period, the husband in Acheh has a right to only one of two things; he either gets back half of the dowry [1]), which sum is known as *ha' balèë* [2]), or he waives this right and chooses rather to marry a sister or other near relative of the deceased. In the latter event the *jinamèë* is mentioned at the marriage but never paid. Marriages of this kind are known as *pulang balèë* [3]).

A wife who becomes a widow during the *janji jinamèë*, has just as little claim to her legitimate portion, but receives in its place a sum of money equal to half of her dowry, while in certain cases to which we shall presently allude, the walis of her husband offer her a suitor for her hand, preferably of the same family. It is only where the husband is very rich, and leaves behind him few relatives and those very distant ones, that the widow gets her proper share.

It is also understood that if a woman dies during the *jinamèë* period, the expenses of the laying out of the dead body, the funeral feasts etc., must be borne by her parents, but propriety requires that the widower should politely request his parents-in-law to allow him to bear the cost of one of the kanduris, as for instance that held on the seventh day after the death. Sometimes the father of the deceased privately warns his son-in-law not to expend too much money in this way, as any hopes he may cherish of a share in the subsequent distribution of property will be disappointed, and he will get no more than the *ha' balèë*. Yet often even in such cases the husband gives as costly a feast as he can.

Peungklèh.

As soon as the year or years of the *janji jinamèë* are over, the woman is committed to the sole charge of her husband. If she is an orphan, this is done without much formality, but with great ceremony if her father or mother be still living. The parents "put her forth" (*peungklèh* [4]) in the presence of all the authorities of the gampōng and other notabilities as witnesses, and mark the occasion by a public

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1) If the dowry has been only paid in half (see p. 340 above), the widower pays the remaining half and afterwards receives it back as *ha' balèë*.

2) *Ha'* is the Arab. *ḥaqq* = right, that which appertains to a person, and *balèë* means both widow and widower.

3) It is said: *maté adòë, pulang balèë ngòn a* = "to make use, after the younger sister's death, of the right of wedding her elder sister without paying a dowry" and vice versâ, *maté a, pulang balèë ngòn adòë*. Cases of both such marriages occur.

4) *Peungklèh*, which properly means "to set apart, to give up control of," is the technical term for the action of the parents or next of kin in this matter. After the conclusion of the ceremony it is said of the woman that she *ka meungklèh*, i. e. is put forth and placed under the protection of her husband.

feast (*kanduri*) consecrated with prayers. In the set speech in which the father abandons all direct interference with the concerns of his daughter for the remainder of her married life, he sums up all that she has received from him, so that no unpleasantness may arise on any subsequent distribution of her property. Either he or another in his name delivers himself somewhat as follows: — "The reason why I have summoned you hither, Teuku Keuchi', Teungku and all ye elders, is that I have now "put forth" my daughter N; be this known unto all of you, O elders. What I have given her is as follows: a pair of anklets 6 bungkay in weight, one *yō'* of rice land, a pair of earrings, this house and all its equipment. This is what I wished to inform you of, be it known unto you all." The keuchi' replies in the name of the assembled company: "We have heard it."

Laba sihareukat.

Just as all that the husband brings to the home of the pair, even in the form of presents to his wife, remains with few exceptions his own property, so the wife retains an indisputable right of ownership over all that she can show to have been brought thither by her. In districts where it is the custom for the wife to assist the husband in his employment, the property accumulated during the marriage by their respective toil is in the event of a divorce divided in equal shares between the man and the woman or their respective heirs. Where one of the two dies, the survivor obtains in addition to this half share his lawful portion of the heritable property, to which the other half of their common earnings is regarded as belonging. Thus we find in Acheh the same peculiarity that exists in Java and Madura [1]), and most Malayan countries, viz. that where the woman is the

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1) Van den Berg mentions this adat in his essay on the *Afwijkingen* pp. 474 et seq. In regard to this subject he makes fewer of the gross blunders into which he elsewhere falls, but here again he gives us nothing but what he has derived from books without a trace of "notes personally made by him." He might for instance have discovered by personal enquiry that the exceptions he mentions (Bantën and a number of other places) are really no exceptions at all; the only reason why the *saguna-sakaya* or common earnings are not divided in these districts is that they have no existence, since the women there do not assist their husbands in their work. He might also have found out that the division in the proportion of 2 to 1, though of frequent occurrence, is by no means universal, since in many places it is the custom to enquire first into the circumstances, and then to decide what is the just proportion which each has earned. In Madiun for instance, division into equal parts is very customary. On page 477 Van den Berg makes the curious deduction that this adat is specially Javanese, *because* it is also to be met with in outlying Dutch possessions such as Southern Celebes."

fellow-worker of her husband, there gradually grows up a kind of partnership between the two.

Such property acquired by common labour is especially to be met with in the highland districts of Acheh, where the wife assists her husband in field work. In the lowland districts, such sharing of their labour by their wives is naturally excluded in the cases of fishermen, traders and manufacturers, but here the same is the case also with regard to agricultural work which is entirely performed by the men. It is only of late, owing to the Achehnese war and the disordered conditions arising therefrom, that the women have ceased to be ashamed of field labour and accordingly are entitled to the half share, as allowed by the adat, of accumulations during marriage.

This property acquired in common is called *atra* or *laba sihareukat*[1]) (goods or profits gained by common toil), or *atra* or *laba meucharikat* (goods or profits held in partnership). As opposed to this all that is derived from other sources is characterized as *atra ba' ku* (property that one receives from one's father).

Where the adat of division of the *atra sihareukat* into equal portions is firmly established, it is sometimes applied although the grounds for it are non existent or very far-fetched. Suppose for instance that a highlander goes to the West Coast to plant pepper, and returns later on with his earnings, it might be said that such gains could not possibly be classed as *atra sihareukat;* in fact the adat forbids the husband to take his wife with him to another district. Yet it often happens that the half of all that the husband has accumulated by such means is made over under the name of common earnings to the wife or her heirs in case of a dissolution of the marriage by divorce or the husband's death. To give this a show of legality, a formal enquiry is made as to whether the wife gave her husband at his departure *bu kulah*[2]) with fish and sirih as provender for his journey. Such provender is then regarded as the capital with which the man embarks on his work since his subsequent requirements (some very simple tools of husbandry and rice for the first year) are supplied him by the chief in whose territory he proceeds to plant pepper.

1) *Hareukat* means "occupation," and the profits derived from one's employment. It is "also used as a verb in the sense of "to earn one's bread," "to carry on an employment," "to go forth to seek one's fortune."

2) The name given to rice folded up in a peculiar way in plantain leaves. Fishermen, travellers, etc., often take their food from home in this fashion.

## § 4. Divorce.

Compulsory marriages.

Before proceeding to describe the most usual methods of divorce in Acheh, we should point out that marriages to which the man, or both man and woman, are compelled (in conflict with the Mohammedan law), are of much less common occurrence in Acheh than in Java [1]), yet do occasionally occur in the former country.

Most chiefs prefer to punish pregnancy in the unmarried by imposing a money fine and directing that abortion be caused, rather than by compulsory marriage; but there are nevertheless some who employ the latter method. Cases also occur here (just as in Bantĕn) where the man is compelled to marry the woman on her complaining to the chief of his overtures to illicit intercourse and producing as evidence (tanda), like Potiphar's wife, a fragment of a garment worn by him.

Faskh.

Separation is rare in Acheh as compared with other Mohammedan countries. We have seen that the woman, even when abandoned by her husband for years together, does not readily resort to a demand for *pasah* (*faskh*) or judicial separation, for she seldom wants for lodging or the means of support. Where, however, such a demand is made before the *kali*, he, like the pangulus in some parts of Java, grants the *pasah* rather more readily than is consonant with the strict interpretation of the Mohammedan law. Still the Achehnese kali cannot pronounce *faskh* without the special permission of the ulèëbalang, and where the latter forbids its exercise in a particular case, the *faskh* does not take effect, even though all the conditions required by the religious law may be fulfilled.

Ṭalāq.

The ordinary divorce (Ach. *taleuë'* from the Arab. *ṭalāq*) of the woman by her husband is also of less frequent occurrence in Acheh than in other parts of the Archipelago. The man feels himself under a deep obligation, for many obvious reasons, to the family of his wife, his relations with whom border on dependence. This withholds him in most

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1) In Java such marriages, especially between persons who have been detected in illicit intercourse, are much more frequent than would appear to be the case from Van den Berg's oft quoted essay (p. 466). They take place when the night watch on their rounds find a pair on terms of too great intimacy. Chiefs compel their followers, pangulus the inhabitants of their districts, to marry a pregnant woman simply on her unsupported assurance as to who her seducer is. The woman is generally divorced after a short time, but in the meantime this expedient has provided the yet unborn child with a father.

cases from breaking the marriage tie for the many trifling reasons which in other places, as in Java for instance, give rise to such separations.

Neither momentary anger nor the cooling down of first love, but violent and irreconcilable differences between the pair form the cause of most cases of *taleuë'* which occur in Acheh.

The law, as we know, prescribes after a single *ṭalāq* a period (*ᶜiddah*) during which the woman may not marry, and during which the husband may, if he please, reconsider his decision [1]). This latter privilege the man enjoys only after the first and second time he has pronounced divorce against a given wife; the third divorce is irrevocable. After a first and second divorce, if the man has not made timely use of his right of recall (*ruju'*) a new marriage can still be concluded between the pair by mutual consent. When divorce has been pronounced three times against the same woman by her husband, this method of reunion becomes impossible, and they can only remarry if the wife has meantime been wedded to another man and separated again from him. In districts where the ṭalāq is extensively resorted to, it frequently happens that both parties desire reunion even after three divorces. In such cases a middleman is employed, who for a certain fee enters into a marriage with the divorced woman, and then at once divorces her again to give his principal the chance of remarrying her.

This device, however, can be made use of twice only, for after $3 \times 3$ divorces the marriage is irrevocably and for ever dissolved.

As may easily be supposed from the comparative rarity of divorce in Acheh, the lay-folk are but little conversant with the rules controlling this subject, of which only a few of the main principles have been sketched above. In Java on the other hand, most of the people are tolerably familiar, through experience amongst their own surroundings, both with what we have described above and with many other similar technicalities as well.

As a result of the fact that the *ṭalāq* as applied in Acheh is not an

1) For a woman who has periods the *ᶜiddah* amounts to three seasons of sexual purity, the first of which may be that during which the ṭalaq was pronounced, thus comprising at least three periods; for others it is three full months. In the case of a pregnant woman it lasts till about 40 days after childbirth. In all Mohammedan countries of the E. Indian Archipelago it has been usual to fix the *ᶜiddah* of all non-pregnant women at three months and ten days, through fear of errors arising from ignorance or miscalculation on the part of the women. Of late however, Arabic influence has caused an increasing tendency to adhere to the letter of the law.

expression of ill-temper, but the means used to terminate a position which has become impossible, the permission given by the law to pronounce three *ṭalāqs* all at the same time and thus make the separation at once irrevocable seems to have been made use of from the earliest times. Thus arose the idea popular in Acheh, that a divorce is necessarily composed of three parts.

There are two different ways of pronouncing the *ṭalāq* in Acheh. Some take three fragments of ripe betelnut [1]) (*lhèë kra' pineung masa'*) and hand them over one by one with a kind of dignified anger to the wife with the words "one *taleuë'*, two *taleuë's*, three *taleuë's*, thou art to me but as a sister in this world and the next [2])." Thereupon they give notice of the dissolution of the marriage to the *teungku*. The idea of divorce is thus intimately connected in the minds of women with these three pieces of betelnut. When particularly angry with her husband a woman will ask him to give her "the three bits of betelnut."

Others, however, betake themselves to the teungku of a neighbouring gampōng, and charge him with the task of giving notice in writing in their name to the authorities of the gampōng that they have pronounced the threefold *ṭalāq*. This notification, called *surat taleuë'* is addressed to "the Teungku, the Keuchi' and elders of the gampōng." It is wrapped in a cover of fine cloth costing about two dollars, called *lapé' surat*.

Recall (*ruju'*) is thus as a rule excluded under this method. It occasionally happens that a man says in anger to his wife: "I divorce you [3])," adding no further words, and afterwards repents of what he has done. In such a case most are aware that a remedy exists, since the three pieces of betelnut have not been employed, but as a rule they have to go in the first place to an ulama to ask him to explain in what that remedy consists. After enquiry, he declares that in the case in question only one *ṭalāq* has "fallen [4])," and that what has been done

Recall.

1) The Malays have the same custom, but with them any small objects, such as pieces of paper etc. may be used as tokens, and not fragments of betelnut only. (*Translator*).

2) *Sitaleuë'*, *dua taleuë'*, *lhèë taleuë'*, *gata sah sèëdara dōnya akhérat.*

3) *Ka kutaleuë'*, *ka kupeulheuëh* or *gata ka chré ngòn tōn.*

4) In most of the languages of the Archipelago the words used indicate "falling," the idea being that the three *ṭalāqs* are as it were suspended over the woman's head, and that one or more of them may fall at a given time. Another very common notion is that the man originally "possesses" three *ṭalāqs* of his wife, and that as often as he pronounces one of these, he "gives" it to her. From this we can readily understand the prevailing idea that the woman can, with her husband's consent, purchase from him one of the three *ṭalāqs* that are in his possession.

may therefore be set aside, but adds that the reconciliation should be consecrated by giving a feast to a number of devout poor (*peujamèë paki*), and this is generally done.

The ʿiddah. The *ʿiddah* is just as little understood by the laity as the *ruju*ʿ. It is known indeed that a woman cannot marry again immediately after a divorce, but as a rule she seldom wants to do so. Where there is any doubt, the teungku's advice is again sought and he decides that according to the adat of Acheh three months and ten days must be allowed to elapse except in case of pregnancy [1]). The use of intermediaries to make reunion possible is practically nonexistent and is known only to such as have studied the kitabs or books of the law.

Where the ground of divorce is incompatability of temper, it is almost always the woman who urges her husband to the final step of giving the three *taleuë*'. If he is slow to yield, she imprisons him in the house, generally in the inner room, until he meets her wishes by giving her the "three pieces of betelnut." He might easily set himself free from this temporary confinement, but most men are ashamed of the diabolical outcry raised on such occasions by their wives, who sum up all their evil characteristics, real or imaginary, in the most unflattering form in the hearing of the whole gampōng.

Khulʿ. Should the measures of compulsion adopted by the woman prove fruitless, she may have recourse to the remedy known in the Arabic law-books as *khul*ʿ, which consists in the purchase of the ṭalaq by the wife from her husband [2]). In such a contract even a single ṭalāq is irrevocable [3]), as is implied in the very idea of purchase. In Acheh this

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1) After the *death* of the husband an *ʿiddah* is also observed in Acheh lasting 4 months and 10 days. This is quite in accordance with Mohammedan law.

2) Called *tĕbus talak* by the Malays. It is occasionally resorted to in the Peninsula, but is not a general practice. (*Translator*).

3) This again seems not to have been understood by Van den Berg. On p. 484 of his *Afwijkingen* appears a note, wherein he expresses surprise at Winter's applying the term *khul*ʿ to the temporary divorce of a wife brought into practice by the princes of Java, when they wish to wed a concubine with child. If he employed the ordinary single divorce, the prince, who always has four wives, would not be able at once to marry another, but would have to await the conclusion of the *ʿiddah* and the period (*ruju*ʿ) allowed for recall. On the other hand if he gave his wife a three-fold divorce, although he might then immediately wed another, he could not remarry the divorced one later on, as he wishes to do. He therefore selects the khulʿ method as the only one which combines the power of eventual remarriage with immediate separation. Some teachers even hold that the khulʿ can take place more than three times without preventing a renewal of the marriage, and the princes of the Native States adhere to this dictum.

is known as the "redemption of a divorce" (*teuböih taleuë'*), and it usually costs double the amount of the *jinamèë*. Cases of such bought divorce are however rare and only to be met with among the lower classes.

Position of the woman.

The comparative rarity of the ṭalāq, the fact that the woman is mistress of the house (*prumòh*), the efforts of the men to obtain wives of social standing not inferior to their own, all this and much more besides testifies to the position of the woman in Achehnese society, a fairly high one for a Mohammedan country. This is indeed what we should expect to find in a country where the throne was occupied for more than half a century (1641—1699) by four successive female rulers. Even now there are instances of female government in the dependencies [1]), and it is the rule rather than the exception to find the wives of ulèëbalangs and other chiefs exercising a very considerable influence on all their actions. It is very common for the wife of a chief to wield her husband's authority in his absence, and a case occurred not long ago on the East Coast, where a woman of the ruling class, with her hair hanging loose, took actual part in a civil war.

Great freedom of action, some knowledge of affairs (within the limits of the ordinary Achehnese horizon) and a sound understanding are to be met with even among women who do not belong to the ruling families.

The women are also the hereditary guardians of old-fashioned words and expressions, the meanings of proverbial sayings and so forth. When enquiring into such matters I have been often told by Achehnese that they must refer to their wives or mothers, and I can say that the latter seldom failed to supply the desired information.

## § 5. Pregnancy and Birth. Early years of childhood.

Pregnancy.

Before proceeding to consider the relations of child to parent in Acheh, let us say a few words as to the birth of the child and the early days of his life.

At some time between the 4th and 6th months of pregnancy, the

1) See the essay of Van Langen, entitled *Atjeh's Westkust*, in Tijdschr. Kon. Nederl. Aardrijks. Genootschap, 2nd Series Vol. VI (longer articles) p. 38.

adat prescribes a formal visit of the husband's mother to her daughter-in-law. The former is accompanied on such occasions by about ten other women. This ceremony is called "bringing rice" (*ja' mè bu* or *ja' ba bu*) or where persons of wealth and position are spoken of, "bringing a great pot of rice" (*ja' mè dangdang*) [1]). Of humbler folk it is said that they "bring a *naléh* [2])." As a matter of fact well-to-do people take with them a large pot (*kanèt*) of boiled rice, another of goats'-flesh and a great tray (*dalōng*) of fruit, to the total value of about 25 dollars, or else they save themselves the trouble by giving "the *dangdang* uncooked" (*dangdang meuntah*) [3]), i. e. the actual sum of money named above. Those of humbler rank confine their gift to a *katéng* [4]) of cooked rice and a bowl of meat, or to *bu kulah* [5]) and some additional dishes.

The mother-in-law remains for two or three nights under her daughter-in-law's roof, but it is only on the day of her arrival that she is entertained in the way we have described (*peujamèë*) [6]). At her departure she is presented with some tobacco or clothing material as a return gift.

A second visit of the same description and of similar duration is paid by the mother-in-law about a month after the *mè bu*, and is known as *ba meulineum*. On this occasion she brings with her sundry kinds of sweetmeats (*peunajōh*) and fruits.

Pantang rules.

In Acheh, no less than in Java, the pregnant woman must pay particular regard to certain mysterious rules (*pantang*), carelessness in the observance of which is supposed to be attended with evil results both to herself and her child [7]). For instance, she must not sit at the top of the steps leading up to the house (*ba' ulèë reunyeun*), lest her

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1) A pot (kanèt) of a very large size when used for cooking rice is called *kanèt dangdang*.

2) *Naléh* is a measure (see p. 201 above) for raw rice whether husked or unhusked. Baskets (*katéng*) are manufactured of rattan or bili, to hold exactly a *naléh*. These are also sometimes used for carrying cooked rice.

3) We thus find the expressions *dangdang masa'* and *dangdang meuntah*, on the same analogy as *biaya masa'* and *meuntah* (see pp. 325—26 above).

4) See note 2 above.

5) See as to this the note to p. 366. The name is taken from the manner in which the boiled rice is packed in leaves.

6) See p. 320 above.

7) Very similar superstitions prevail among the Malays of the Peninsula. In addition to those here mentioned, a pregnant woman must always carry a knife or other iron implement when she walks abroad, and must let no one walk behind her. It is also regarded as extremely dangerous to pass beneath the tree known as *chermai* or the *pisang batu* or *banggala*. This reminds one of the superstitious objection English people have to walking under a ladder. (*Translator*).

labour be difficult, nor must she be allowed to see monkeys for fear the child should resemble them. If her husband goes out for the evening (outside the gampōng) he must not return direct to the house, but must first go and sit for a time in some other place, as for instance the *meunasah*. Should he neglect this rule, the dreaded *burōng* [1]), the Achehnese *pontianak* (of which more anon) will most likely follow him into the house. Superstitions of this sort are very numerous. In Java the husband is forbidden to slaughter animals [2]) during his wife's pregnancy, for fear the child should come into the world mutilated; but in Acheh disregard of this prohibition is supposed only to affect the meat, causing it to have a nauseous smell (*hanyi*).

The relations and friends of the woman also pay her occasional visits at this period, bringing her dishes of food (*mè bu*); but these visits are not so ceremonious as that of her mother-in-law. Women in this condition are much given to organizing picnic-parties (*meuramiën*). They go with a crowd of friends to the seashore or some other suitable place out in the country, or else to a mosque. There they pass the day in gossip and enjoy a feast, the food being either cooked on the spot or brought ready prepared from home.

In the seventh month the mother of the woman summons the midwife and makes a preliminary engagement of her services. "Should God will," she says "that my daughter should fall ill, I leave it all in your hands." After this the midwife pays no more visits till the confinement, unless she considers occasional massage (*urōt*) necessary.

The confinement.

All expenses of the first confinement fall on the parents of the woman. The husband may evince his good will by contributing some fish, oil and tobacco towards the housekeeping, but he gives no money save in the form of fees or presents.

The confinement generally takes place in the back verandah (*sramòë likōt*). At the beginning of labour the woman simply lies down on the plank floor, or on a mat if the flooring be of bamboo. Fastened to the ceiling above her head is a rope which she employs to raise herself slightly during labour; she leans against another woman and holds

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1) A bogey inimical to pregnant women.

2) An exception is made in cases when such slaughter is required for special purposes defined by traditional custom. On the like pretext almost all pantang prohibitions may be occasionally transgressed.

fast by the rope. Hence the expression for a woman in childbirth, *ureuëng mat talòë* = "she that holds the rope [1])."

Meanwhile the husband waits in the *jurèë* or in the front verandah, but when the confinement is difficult his help is sometimes invoked. The custom in Acheh in this respect resembles that in vogue in Java [2]). He must step backwards and forwards (*lingkeuë*) seven times over his wife's body, and blow hard through his fist on a spot (*mbōt-mbōt*) just above her forehead. He must also recite a certain prayer (*du'a or tangkay seulusōh*) over a bowl of water which the woman then drinks; this is supposed to make her delivery more speedy. This incantation is just as meaningless as most others of the kind, but the general intention is clear enough — to open that which is closed, and to clear away all hindrance [3]).

Should the *ië seulusōh* be of no avail, a *teungku* whose prayers are known to be efficacious is called upon to charm some water with his incantations. For the rest, matters are left to nature. Deaths in childbirth seem to be of common occurrence.

Lucky children.

Great expectations are cherished in regard to children born feet foremost (*jaheuë*) and these born with a caul (*meusarōng*). The first are supposed to have an incomparable natural gift for massage (*urōt*), and their prayers and their spittle are thought to have great curative properties. Those born with a caul are believed to be invulnerable (*keubay* [4]). To ascertain whether they are likely to possess this gift in a high degree, a cocoanut is placed in the fold of the caul (*sarōng*) and left to sprout. If it bursts through the skin of the caul it is a bad omen, but if it is constrained by the covering to assume a crooked growth, then it is certain that neither lead nor steel will ever threaten the infant's life. The caul is kept, and at the circumcision of the child it is roasted and given him to eat.

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1) In Java the woman is so placed that her position corresponds with the direction taken by the nearest running water or with the line of the split bamboos which form the flooring. In Acheh no attention is paid to her position.

2) And in Malaya. The Malays explain this custom as an atonement by the woman for any sins she may have committed against her husband. Such faults are supposed to be condoned by this symbolical trampling under foot of the wife by the husband, who should touch her body lightly with his feet as he steps over it. (*Translator*).

3) Atsi pater nulla talia carmina noscit, satis est ei penem in aquam, quae mulieri dabitur, intrudere.

4) This reminds us of the wellknown superstition among English sailors as to the efficacy of a child's caul as a charm against death by drowning. (*Translator*).

As in Java, the placenta is regarded as the younger brother or sister (*adòë* [1]) of the new-born child [2]), but the estimation of the liquor amnii as the elder brother is unknown in Acheh. The younger brother (placenta).

The child, still united to its *adòë*, is placed for the time being on a fine large betel-nut spathe. The woman, after being cleansed and treated with sundry oils [3]) which her mother holds in readiness, is laid upon a bench or platform (*prataïh*). After the woman has recovered a little, an oven is placed beneath this platform, and in this a fire is kept up continually for forty-four days [4]). The idea is that the almost insupportable heat and smoke will counteract the collection of damp in the woman's body and assist in quickly restoring her figure to its former shape. During this period it is said of the woman that she is "engaged in drying herself over the fire" (*madeuëng* [5]). She is then called *ureuëng didapu* i. e. "one that lies close to the hearth." The oven.

The woman suffers dreadfully under this process, and tosses hither and thither to save her skin from being scorched. She is not allowed to quench her thirst with water, but must be content with a little tea. She gets nothing to cool her parched mouth except some sugar-cane and pineapple which she is allowed to chew. Of late a less severe treatment of women after childbirth has begun to be adopted in imitation of the Javanese.

As an instance of "pantang" during this period of drying [6]), the woman

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1) Hence the saying *Si N. maté meukamat adòë* = "N. (the woman) died because the younger brother was not brought to the birth."

2) The Malays have this notion too; when an infant smiles it is said to be "thinking of its younger brother" (*adèk*). The Malays do not keep the placenta; they put it in a jar and bury it in the ground and plant a cocoanut over it. The tree that grows from this serves as a token of the child's age. (*Translator*).

3) *Minyeu' kayèë puteh* (kayu puteh), *minyeu' d'òythun* (olive oil) and *minyeu' sribuguna* or *minyeu' kòntò*.

4) As to the signifance of a period of 44 days after birth, marriage, death etc., see pp. 264, 324.

5) This is an abbreviated form derived from *dadeuëng* with the addition of the inserted syllable *eum*. *Dadeuëng* = "to dry over the fire." (transitive). As to this custom cf. G. H. Niemann in the *Bijdragen van het Koninkl. Inst. voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederl.-Indië* for 1892, p. 36.

[The Malay is *bĕdiang*. The Malays only apply the "oven" at intervals as a rule, and the intensity of the heat is gradually diminished. The wood used for fuel must contain no poison; the kind most generally employed is a variety of mangrove known in the Malay Peninsula as *api-api*. Rambutanwood is also used occasionally. (*Translator*).

6) The Malays have a curious pantang-rule as to the wood used for the oven; those who tend the fire must be most careful not to break the burning brands, as to do so would be likely to cause sickness to the child. (*Translator*).

must eat rice from a bowl and not off a plate. It is thought that neglect of this rule would cause her body to swell in an unbecoming manner after childbirth.

After the mother has been laid on the *prataïh*, the infant is attended to. The navel-cord is, as in Java, cut with a piece of sharp bamboo [1]) (*teumèn* = the Jav. *wĕlad*), and to ward off evil influences the midwife spits (*seumbō*) upon the child from her mouth a slaver composed of chewed sirih, turmeric (*kunyèt*), betel-nut, gambir and lime.

The midwife then wraps the child in some strips of cloth and hands it over to the father. If it is a boy, the latter repeats in his right ear the *adan* or *bang* (the formula used as a summons to the five daily prayers), and in his left the *kamat* or final exhortation before the performance of a religious exercise. In the case of a girl he limits himself to the last. The intention of this pious custom is to make the child hear, immediately after its birth, the Mohammedan confession of faith, which occurs frequently in both these formulas. Where the father is incapable of performing this office, the services of a teungku are engaged. At the same time the father gives a fee of one or two dollars to the midwife, who after her first attendance on the child also receives a money present from the woman [2]) and another from her mother-in-law.

A first born child (*aneu' phōn*) is presented by his father with a couple of dollars, which he puts under the infant's sleeping-place, to be spent by the mother's parents for the child's advantage.

The burōng.

The child is now laid beside its mother on the *prataïh*, and care is taken to spread some raw rice beneath its pillows. This is one of the numerous devices employed both about the *prataïh* and all through the house, to avert the dreaded *burōng* (pontianak). Pieces of wood of a variety with a malodorous bark [3]) supposed to frighten away the *burōng*, are laid all round the platform. Over the mother's head is hung, bell-wise, the hollow half-shell of a cocoanut, suspended by a cord passing through its top. To the end of this cord, inside the bell, is fastened a *duròë rungkōm*, the thorn of a large tree which bears small sour-sweet fruits.

The stairway or ladder leading up to the house is protected against

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1) The *bulōh*, the only variety of thornless bamboo found in Acheh.

2) This present is called *kòh pusat* or *lapé' pusat*. Among the humbler folk it amounts to half a dollar, but those who are fairly well off give two dollars.

3) For instance the *kayèë meuïh-meuih*, also called *maih-maïh*.

the attacks of the *burōng* by means of a strip of rattan (*awé*) slung round the steps on one side; this is first consecrated by a *tangkay* or incantation. Sometimes an arèn-rope (*talòë jō'*) to which the burōng is equally averse, is used in place of this. Seven or thrice that number of filaments of the arèn-bark (*puréh jō'*), charmed in a similar way, are also placed under the pillows or sleeping-mat of the mother, or else fixed in the ground beneath the stairs.

The *burōng* (like the *kunti* of the Sundanese) is generally believed to be much afraid of palm-leaf fibres (Mal. *lidi*) and old fishing-nets, yet these are not used in Acheh as charms [1]).

Under the stairs and also under the *guha* (the hole in the floor of the back verandah, which serves as a latrine for sick people and young children) some thorny twigs of pandan (*duròë seukè*) are laid on the ground to scare away *burōng*.

The *burōng* [2]) of Achehnese superstition has much in common with the *kunti* or *kuntianak* of the Sundanese and the *sundél bolong* [3]) which is an object of dread in certain parts of Java. Like the latter the *burōng* is conceived of as having the form of a woman with a great hole in her back, showing the vital organs. It is supposed that many of them are the spirits of women who have led an unchaste life and come to an unhappy end in consequence. It is also believed that the number of this malignant race of spirits is added to by the ghosts of women slain by a *burōng* in childbed, and who then become *burōngs* themselves.

The means resorted to for protection against the *burōng* are also to a great extent the same as those employed to drive away the *kunti*. The incantations used to exorcise the *burōng* are essentially identical with the *jampe* or *japa* customary in Java. Recourse is also had to abuse of the *burōng*, and she is driven away by being shown that her

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1) In the West of Java on the other hand, they are universally so employed.

2) The word is exactly identical in sound with the Malay *burong* = "bird." But "bird" in Achehnese is *chichém*, and their expression for the spirit inimical to women in childbed has no connection in the mind of the Achehnese with the Malay word.

3) Compare also the Arabian *Umm aç-çibyān* or *qarīnah* (see my "Mekka" Vol. II pp. 123—24). The Malays also believe in the *pontianak*; but even more dreaded is the *pĕnanggalan*, a sort of second self of certain living persons who have the mysterious power of detaching their heads and pulling out their entrails so as to hang loose in front. These dread beings are supposed to visit at night houses where women in childbed lie, so the midwives often fasten strips of mĕngkuang below the steps to catch in the protruding entrails and bar the entrance of the *pĕnanggalan*. (*Translator*).

enemies know her name and origin and that they have a greater mastery of charms than she.

Leubè Peureuba.

As might be supposed, however, the *burōng* has some characteristics which are peculiarly Achehnese. Sundry strange tales are told by the Achehnese as to her origin. These exhibit local differences, but agree in some respects, especially in the assertion that one Leubè [1]) Peureuba, who in his lifetime was a *hatib* or Friday preacher in a mosque, played a principal part in connection therewith.

This man had an intrigue with a certain woman, and his passion for her was so great that one Friday he was still dallying with her when the time for the weekly service arrived. He betook himself in all haste to the mosque, and omitted the bath of purification which is indispensable after sexual intercourse for the efficacy of a çalāt or prayer. He also forgot to return to his mistress her earrings, which for a jest he had hidden on the *bara* or main beam of the house.

When he had mounted the pulpit and commenced the service in the customary manner, leaning on his great staff, his paramour entered the mosque and enquired of him "where are my earrings?" In reply he recited the Arabic words from the service *barra 'rra'ūf arraḥīm* [2]), indicating the *bara* as the place where the earrings were hidden. The woman asked him other questions all of which he answered by fragments of the Arabic service, whose sound recalled Achehnese words [3]). This unholy by-play ended in the hatib Peureuba suddenly falling from the pulpit and being killed by the iron point of his own preacher's staff.

According to one view he now became the *burōng*, parent of all subsequent *burōngs*, some of whom were derived from deceased women of loose morals, and others from those who fell a prey to *burōngs* during pregnancy or at child-birth. Others narrate that his mistress was killed by the congregation immediately after her lover's fall, and

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1) See p. 71 above.

2) البرّ الرءوف الرحيم epithets of God, used in praise of him in the beginning of the service.

3) Thus she is said to have asked him: "What is that tree whose leaves are as big as a rice-sieve and its roots as big as rice-pounders?" whereupon he gave her the name of the tree *birah* by reciting the Arabic formula *biraḥmatika ya arḥam arrāḥimīn* = "by thy mercy, o most Merciful of the merciful." In reply to her question "what are the plants which stand in a row?" he recited the words: *wakhtilāf al-aili wan-nahār* ("day and night succeeding one another") the first of which suggests *keutila*, a kind of vegetable.

that her spirit became the forerunner of the *burōngs*. The first notion, though open to the objection that it makes the feminine *burōng* spring from a man, finds support in the *tangkay burōng* (charms against the burōng) where the latter is often thus addressed "I know who thou art; thou art Hatib Peureuba" and "thou hast not taken thy bath of purification."

In addition to this story of the origin of all the *burōngs*, each of the more celebrated of these spirits has a history of its own, though there is a general resemblance between the various legends.

In Lam Bada (XXVI Mukims) may be seen the grave of a famous *burōng* woman, named Tuan Siti or Pòchut Siti. She was of good lineage, but having allowed herself to be seduced and having become pregnant was in the end treacherously drowned by her lover while on a pleasure trip to which he had invited her.

Most dreaded of all, however, at the present time is the *burōng Srabi* or *Seurabi*, whose tomb is situated in gampōng Tanjōng (mukim of *Pagarayê*) close to the capital of Acheh. She is also known as *burōng Tanjōng*.

The proper name of the woman who after death was changed into this monster, appears to have been *Rabiah* (abbreviated in *Srabi* = *Si Rabi*). She is said to have been the daughter of a religious teacher, but in spite of the pious lessons and strict discipline of her father she was seduced into an intrigue. When she had been some time pregnant her lover induced her to fly with him to the West Coast. They dropped down the river in a boat, but before they reached the open sea, the man slew his paramour and casting her body into the water, pursued his journey to the West alone. Her body was found near the gampōng *Kajèë Jatòë* (just about where the hospital at Kuta Raja now stands), and was pulled out of the water by the people of that gampōng. When they found it was the body of a woman belonging to Tanjōng, they brought her thither and she was buried there. Meantime the unhappy woman had been transformed into a *burōng*, which rested not until she had overtaken and slain her murderer. After having thus appeased her passion for revenge, she seized a man in the gampōng of Kayèë Jatòë, but on his reminding her that his people had rescued the body of Rabiah or Srabi from the waves and made her burial possible, she let him go, and at the same time swore never to molest a woman of that gampōng. All the more violent however were her

onslaughts on pregnant women and those in childbed in other gampōngs.

Like the Sundanese *kunti*, the burōng sometimes announces her presence by a shrill scream, a sustained nasal *iiii* [1])! But she is most to be feared when she creeps upon her victim without any such warning. This she does more especially when a pregnant woman heedlessly ventures out of doors after sunset, or when her husband or some other inmate of the house after having been out for the evening comes in directly without taking the proper precautions [2]).

Occasional loss of consciousness and delirium are regarded as unmistakeable symptoms of possession by a *burōng*. As the women from their earliest youth hear countless stories about these evil spirits and are convinced that possession by them is the greatest danger that threatens them during pregnancy or shortly after confinement, it is not astonishing that their ravings while delirious appear like utterances from the mouth of the *burōng*.

Like the *zārs* [3]) which are wont to "possess" the women of Mekka, the Achehnese *burōngs* have certain desires which they express to the comprehension of expert enquirers through the lips of the victims whom they have bereft of their senses. These experts do not confine themselves simply to repeating a *tangkay* or exorcising incantation; they must first know what *burōng* it is they have to do with. They thus enquire whence they come and what are their intentions and wishes. The last question is generally that first answered, and the rest may be deduced from the reply.

Where the delirious patient through the interpretation of the expert expresses a desire for *murōng*-leaves (the leaves of the plant known as *kèlor*, which are used as a vegetable), for dried buffalo's flesh (*balu*) and salted ducks' eggs (*bòh ité' jruë'*), it is then regarded as certain that it is the dreaded *Burōng Tanjōng* that has to be contended with.

As long as the woman lies over the fire (*madeuëng*), that is to say for the space of 44 days after childbirth, some anxiety is felt in regard to the *burōng*, but most of all during the first 10 days, and especially on the 3d, 5th, 7th and 10th days [4]). During this period care is taken

1) Thus the making of such a sound is called by the Achehnese *meu'i'i lagèë burōng*.

2) See p. 373 above.

3) See my Mekka, vol. II, pp. 124 et seq.: also M. J. de Goeje and Th. Nöldeke in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländ-Gesellschaft*, Vol. XLIV pp. 480 and 701.

4) These are, it will be noted, the very days which are considered as of importance after a marriage or a death.

to avoid all needless mention of the *burōng* within hearing of the patient, while all the precautions mentioned above are taken to guard against its approach.

Should the *burōug* have entered into the woman ("*ka tamòng burōng*"), a man who is acquainted with the proper incantations is called in; on the dangerous days this is done in any case as a measure of prevention. Sometimes the mother of the sick woman makes a vow to visit the tomb of the evil spirit in case of her daughter's recovery. She promises "to go and fulfil her vow at the tomb of her grandmother," (*ja' peu-lheuëh ka'ōy ba' jeurat nè'*), thus euphemistically describing the ill-omened *burōng*. Vows to the butōng.

Such a vow is performed in the company of a large party of friends after the 44th day. Goats or fowls are killed as the occasion may require, and a feast is given. Flowers [1]) are also offered at the tomb, together with a piece of white cloth to serve as a covering [2]) for one of the tombstones. At the same time a piece of one of the white coverings already surrounding the tombstone is brought away, and strips of this are worn as charms round the neck and wrists of the mother and child, until they wear out.

The circumstance that these spirits which torment women in childbirth have definite names, and especially the fact that they have tombs which are revered in the same manner as those of departed saints is peculiar to Acheh, at least in contradistinction to Java.

During this first critical period of ten days there must always be a lamp burning by the patient's side, and some one must keep watch beside her. To facilitate this task the women from the neighbourhood come in off and on at night. Where the company is numerous they often while away the time by reciting popular stories (*hikayat*).

When the *burōng* reveals itself these women of course evince much sympathy, which they express chiefly by conversing through the medium of the patient with the invisible being.

"Who art thou?" they ask for example. "That shall I not tell." — "Wherefore comest thou hither?" — "I am taking a walk." — "What

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1) *Bōh bungòng*, identical with the Javanese *ngĕmbang*.

2) *Salōb batèë*.

3) *Ja' dòm ba' ureuëng madeuëng* as it is called, i. e. "to go and spend the night with one who is drying" (intrans.)

dost thou seek for, what dost thou desire?" — "Fishes' heads, *murōng* leaves, dried flesh, ducks' eggs [1])."

The answers given by the *burōng* to the leubè who comes to withstand her with his incantations (*tangkay*) are regarded as of greater consequence. It is thought a very good sign when the patient grows quiet after the exorciser has said emphatically to the *burōng* "get thee gone to thy home" (*ja' wòë*). Should this be of no avail, the expert then employs sundry phrases to drive the *burōng* out of the inner room, through the passage, down the steps and out on to the gampōng-path (*jurōng*); this is called bringing down the *burōng* [2]) (*peutrōn burōng*). But woe to the victim if in reply to all his admonitions the spirit replies through the lips of the delirious patient: "I will not go down unless I bring (the sick one) along with me" (*meung hana kupeutrōn, han kutrōn*). Then all hope is lost.

The chawat.

One of the duties of the midwife is to prepare, on the first or second day after the birth, what is known as the *chawat*. This word generally denotes a fold of cloth twisted round the middle and between the legs so as to convey the impression of a short pair of trousers. In the sick-chamber, however, the *chawat* denotes a long bag in which are placed the indispensable "44 herbs" [4]), pounded fine and mixed with various simples. This is placed *in situ* and fastened with a band at back and front to the ordinary girdle [5]). This *chawat* is renewed once or twice during convalescence, and on each occasion the nurse receives a fee of about a dollar.

The placenta, or "younger brother" (*adòë*) of the infant, is mixed with some salt and ashes from the kitchen, and folded up in a piece of cloth. It is then placed behind the cooking place, probably in order that it may dry quickly. In Java there are many superstitious notions about this *adi ari-ari*, as it is there called. It is thought for example that the placenta returns to its place after the confinement, and is

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1) *Sòë gata? — Han kupeugah. — Pubuët keunòë? — Kuja'-ja'. — Peuë taja' mita, peuë tameunapsu? — Ulèë eungkòt, gulè ōn murōng, sië balu, bòh itè' jruë'.* As we have seen these last-named objects are those desired by *Srabi Tanjōng*.

2) Where the speaker is in an Achehnese house, which is raised on posts, the expression "below" is the equivalent of our "out-of-doors."

3) A common form of curse against a pregnant woman is thus: *ba' burōng peutrōn keu* = "may the burōng bring you down below."

4) *Aweuëh peuët plōh peuët.* These will be again referred to in connection with Achehnese medical art.

5) *Taloë ki'iëng.* See p. 30 above.

thus the same at every birth, and that it is a source of danger to its elder brother (the babe) at the time of his birth. None of these ideas are current in Acheh.

Much less weight is attached in Acheh than in Java to the severance of the umbilicus [1]). When the cord is cut, a little gold-dust is sprinkled in the navel to prolong the life of the child, and the severed portion is wrapped in a piece of cloth and placed above the cooking-place, where it remains till it disappears of its own accord [2]). No feast is given on the occasion of its severance [3]).

The peuchichab.

On the seventh day after the child's birth there takes place the ceremony of the *peuchichab* (lit. = to give to taste), which is generally accompanied by the first shaving of the child's head. Like other ceremonies [4]) of the kind, it may be postponed for a day or two, but it is officially understood to take place on the 7th day. The presence of the teungku of the *gampōng* and some *leubès* is indispensable at the great *kanduri* or religious feast given on this occasion, not only for the sake of the prayers with which the feast must be consecrated, but also because it is generally thought to be essential to the sanctity of a feast, that it should be partaken of by some indigent persons who are distinguished from the mass by their knowledge and practice of religion.

Where the *peuchichab* feast is celebrated on a fairly large scale, the male and female relations of the father and mother are invited in any case, and generally also a number of people from the gampōngs of both.

The guests arrive at about 8 A. M., and are welcomed without any prolix ceremonies. Some of the relatives bring a money present (say a dollar each) for the child; the father's mother gives new mats, pillows, clothes and a little swinging bed which serves as a cradle (*ayōn*) [5]) and is supported by a rope covered with cloth. The male guests give

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1) *Ka srōt pusat* is the expression used to denote this occurrence.

2) The use of the separated portion as a charm or medicament for the child, so common in Java, seems to be quite unknown in Acheh.

3) The Malays cut the navel-cord with a bamboo knife; while being severed it is often supported (*di-alas*) with a strip of silver, which afterwards becomes the property of the midwife. (*Translator*).

4) See p. 326 above.

5) Malay *buayan*. The Malay cradle is of basket-work; cords are attached to the four corners and by these it is hung from a beam of the house and swings easily to and fro. (*Translator*).

*biaya peukan* (things bought in the market), such as tobacco, fruits, sirih and fish.

Food is served to the assembled guests, but not in so formal a manner as at the *peujamèë* [1]). An *idang* of glutinous rice with its accessories and some fruits are set aside for the midwife.

After the feast all the guests depart except the immediate relatives and the teungku and his attendants. The *bidan* (midwife) after shaving the child's head, lays it in all its finery on a small mattress (*kasō*) covered with a number of costly cloths, and then brings it in and hands it over in the first place to the teungku. At the same time she sets before the latter a tray containing a bowl of dates, another of cocoanut milk and the savoury paste known as *kleumba'*, in the midst of which a chĕmpaka flower stands erect. The teungku takes a small piece of date, mixes it with the *santan* (cocoanut milk) and rubs it on the child's lips after invoking the name of Allah.

Both the teungku and after him the relatives of the infant also "give him to taste" a sort of pap (Ach. *cheunichah*; Mal. and Jav. *rujak*) made of a compost of raw fruits pounded very fine. It is from this compulsory introduction to human customs as to food that the whole ceremony is called *peuchichah*. [2])

The "hakikah."

The Mohammedan law recommends an offering of two sheep or goats for a male, and one for a female child, by preference on the seventh day after birth, but if this be impossible then at some later date — even when the child is quite grown up. This sacrifice is called *ʿaqīqah*, and is not only known but actually practised in Acheh under the name of *hakikah*. In Acheh, no less than in other parts of the E. Indian Archipelago, the people of Mekka have done their best to foster the doctrine that it is an extremely meritorious act to offer this sacrifice for the child in the holy city. The Mekka folk thus of course reap the profits on the sale of the goats, and at the same time enjoy their share of the meat. Many Achehnese are however aware that the *hakikah* is more properly offered at home. The choice of some later occasion for this sacrifice, and not the seventh day after birth is also common in Acheh.

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1) See p. 320 above.

2) This feast is also observed by the Malays, in much the same way as here described. The child's hair is not shaved, but small pieces snipped off *pro formâ*. Well-to-do people often fasten small diamond-shaped pieces of gold or silver in the child's hair, and these are presented to teachers and others of repute at the discretion of the father. (*Translator*).

The giving of the name, for which the seventh day is also recommended by the law of Islam, generally takes place in Acheh at the end of the period of convalescence, and is not attended by much ceremony. The teungku is called to the house or the child sent to him. He consults a Malay manual which gives the names most suitable for a child born on a given day of the week and month throughout the year. Before the name is fixed, the child is usually called *Si Chut* or *Nya' Chut* both meaning "the little one," or else *Si Chuëng* [1]) or *Si Khèb*, both of which words have a somewhat unsavoury significance; or, if a boy, it may be called *Si Gam* (mannikin), or if a girl, *Si Inòng* (little woman). Such names, universal and indistinctive as they are, remain in many cases the only ones by which those that bear them are known all their life long. Many dispense with the Arabic names given by the teungku's skilled advice, and have in their places names borrowed from some object of daily use or mere nicknames indicating some bodily characteristic or defect.

After the 10th day begin the visits of congratulation. Female acquaintances drop in at odd times and bring some little gift for the mother or the child. These presents are called *neumè* ("things brought"). Those intended for the child consist especially of the little sweet banana known as *pisang seumatu* or the sourish *pisang klat*, both of which may be eaten by sucking infants without causing indigestion. Bananas are given to newborn children as early as the seventh day after birth, and it is the universal custom in Acheh to habituate the infant as much as possible from the very beginning to eat regular food in addition to the mother's milk.

The gifts of the visitors to the mother usually consist of fresh fruits such as oranges of various sorts (*bòh kruët mamèh, bòh giri*), plates of yellow glutinous rice, etc.

From the second day after its birth the child is twice a day, at about 7 A. M. and 5 P. M., bespued (*seumbō*) by an old woman with

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1) *Chuëng* properly means the smell of urine. In other parts of the Archipelago, as for instance in Java, children's names are very often borrowed from such ideas or from the names of the sexual organs. Thus we find in Java *tolé* or *kontolé*, *li* (contracted from *pëli*) which signify the male organ; *lup* or *kulup* = uncircumcised, for boys, and *ruk* (from *turuk*) or *mè'* from *tëmè'* (= pudendum muliebre) for girls. [*Kulup* is a very common name among Malays; they do not however seem to employ any of the others mentioned above. (*Translator*)].

a slaver composed of the same ingredients which in Java serve as a protection against the evil influences which threaten the infant: sirih, turmeric (*kunyèt*), sweet-flag (*jeureungèë*, Jav. *dringo*), *cheukō* (Jav. *kĕnchur*, Mal. *chĕkur*) and brown onions. Sometimes a chewed pap of the same articles is laid on the spot above the child's forehead (*mbōt-mbōt*). After the whole body has thus been overspread, the infant is dressed in a sort of swadding-cloth (*ija teumpèë*) and over this are thickly wound strips of cloth till he is closely packed (*geudōng*).

Diseases of children.

The indispositions most dreaded for the child are *beuténg* and *sakét dròë*. The former is a swelling of the abdomen which is especially common in the first two months and is generally fatal. As a measure of prevention chewed turmeric (*kunyèt*) or ashes from the cooking-place (*abèë dapu*) are laid on the navel "that no wind may enter in" [1]) as they say. The *sakét dròë* [2]) (*sakit diri*) appears to derive its name from the idea that every child brings into the world in himself (*dròë*) the tendency to this disease; it is supposed to depend entirely on the supernatural powers [3]) whether the malady will be developed or suppressed.

A European physician would probably divide into several distinct ailments what the Achehnese understand by this single appellation. Fever is said to be often the first symptom of the *sakét dròë*, but at a later period the hands are clenched and the eyes staring, while the patient moans continually. *Hinggu* or asa foetida roasted and applied to the forehead and chin is believed to act as a preventive. Remedies are seldom employed for this disease; the *tangkay* or incantation is alone of avail. It is thought indispensable that a child suffering from this ailment should always be laid on its stomach and it is sometimes placed in this position on a manure-heap, in the hope that this treatment may be of some service [4])!

The *sakét dròë* is especially feared during the first year of the child's existence, and during this period children are kept carefully indoors

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1) *Bè' tamòng angèn.*

2) This disease is also called *peunyakét manya'* = the suckling's sickness.

3) Such diseases are called *peunyakét dimanyang* = "diseases from above," which name refers to the supernatural powers supposed to inhabit the air. Another disease also so classified is *peunyakét gajahan*, the symptoms of which are a feeling of oppression just above the navel followed by loss of consciousness.

4) Saepe quoque mater, alios modos frustrâ experta, indicem in pudendum suum intrusum osculo pueri adfert.

after sunset, as the "powers of the air" are supposed to threaten them outside. There are however some diseases which are apt to appear later in the child's life, and these are regarded as arising from the *sakét dròë* having been imperfectly exorcised. Such for instance are epileptic attacks, for which the mother resorts to the same peculiar remedy which she employs in the case of the *sakét dròë;* another is a sort of derangement called *pungò buy* (pigs' madness), in which the patient, besides exhibiting certain symptoms which recall the movements of wild pigs, shows a strong inclination to jump into the water [1]).

The spirits whose malign influence causes the development of the *sakét dròë* are known as *hantu buru*. They inhabit the woods, so that the class of persons best acquainted with the proper incantations for neutralizing their influence are the professional deerhunters (*pawang rusa*), and those who bring honey-combs from the forests (*ureuëng pèt unòë*). These hold all wood-craft in fee, and their help is invoked both on the appearance of symptoms of the *peunyakét dròë* and for sundry other diseases as well.

Another disease of children is thought to be caused by loss of the *seumangat* or of one or more of the *seumangat*. The popular psychology is not entirely agreed on the question as to whether man has one or seven of these souls.

When a child is badly frightened at some unwonted occurrence, such as a fire, and subsequently continues nervous, it is regarded as certain that the *seumangat* has been driven out, and that something must be done to call it back again.

This task is undertaken by a skilled old woman, who receives as her fee some husked and unhusked rice (*breuëh padé*), two eggs, a piece of white cloth and some *keumeu*. This last is unhusked rice opened by roasting, a form of food which we shall have occasion to refer to later in our description of small-pox. She burns incense and recites *pantōns* by the hour, varying these occasionally by an appeal to the *seumangat* to return. Finally she enquires of the assembled women:

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1) Mal. *gila babi;* but the disease so called by the Malays is not confined to children, and the name is taken rather from the grunting sound emitted by the patient than from movements recalling those of wild pigs. Other diseases of children so classified by the Malays are *sĕrâwan*, a soreness of the tongue, the chief cure for which is Chinese ink rubbed on the part affected and *sawan*, a form of fever accompanied by giddiness and delirium. (*Translator*).

"Have you not seen those sparks? They are the *seumangats* which have now returned." And fortunately for the credit of the expert, there are always one or two women who are kind enough to answer in the affirmative.

Grown-up people speak of the loss of their *seumangat* only figuratively, to express great astonishment or confusion. The common expression *kru seumangat!* used to one who has borne himself too politely or submissively towards the speaker, seems to contain the rudiment of a notion of this soul with its occasional departures from the body as a bird which may be summoned back by the word *kru*, which is used to call fowls home.

End of the oven period.

After the 44 momentous days [1]) have passed, there takes place what is known as the "removal of the oven" (*bòïh dapu*); this however as a rule really occurs on the 41st or 43d day, as a day of even number is considered less lucky. A *kanduri* is given to a number of *teungkus* and *leubès*, at which feast there must be plenty of *apam* or cakes in addition to the rice and its accessories. One of the guests consecrates the fast by the funeral prayer, in which the mercy of Allah is invoked for all the dead and for the living as well. A number of women are invited to attend the ceremony, but these take no share in the *kanduri*.

Those whose means allow of it give at the same time a Rapa'i, the religious play so popular among the Achehnese.

The midwife removes the *dapu* or oven and pushes it beneath the house, where the platform on which the mother has rested during her confinement is also deposited. The woman is then given a bath, which is called the "bath of 44" (i. e. 44 days). If we may believe the old legends, women of rank in earlier times had this bath served from 44 jars [2]). The water for the bath is mixed with the juice of sour oranges (*bòh kruët*).

In ordinary cases the midwife can then take her departure. She must first, however, "cool" (*peusijuë'*) the house. For this purpose she employs the means with which we have already [3]) become familiar,

1) The Mohammedan law sets down the average period of purification after childbirth at 40 days, and this is the time observed in Java. As we have seen however the period of forty days customarily observed in other countries is often replaced by forty-four, which latter number plays a prominent part in Achehnese superstition.

2) Compare the bath of the woman in Java in the 7th month of her pregnancy, the water for which is if possible taken from seven wells.

3) See pp. 43—44 above.

i. e. flour and water which is sprinkled on the places to be "cooled" with an improvised besom formed of twigs or whole plants of *sisijuë'* and *manè'-manòë* and stalks of *naleuëng sambō* [1]). With this, after solemnly invoking Allah's name, she besprinkles all the 16 or 24 posts which support the Achehnese house, beginning with those called *raja* and *putròë*, to which superstition assigns a special importance.

At her departure the midwife receives, in addition to the sum estimated by her as the equivalent of the various drugs etc. which she has prepared for the mother and infant, a douceur in money for her trouble (*peunayah*) and a complete outfit of garments [2]) (*seunalén*). In Java it is customary for the woman or her husband to ask forgiveness of the midwife for all the trouble they have put her to, but in Acheh this *lakèë meu'ah* [3]), as it is called, is made by the woman's mother.

The peutrōn.

Throughout the whole of the Indian Archipelago it is regarded as a momentous epoch in the life of the child when he first comes into contact with his mother earth. All who have not entirely abjured the old ideas, are careful not to let the child lie or sit upon the ground until such contact has been duly prepared for by a number of ceremonies, of which a religious feast forms an important part; for the earth, which contains so many blessings, holds within it also much that is evil.

Acheh is no exception to this rule. The ceremony which in Java is called *nurunkeun* (Sund.) or *mudun lĕmah* (Jav.), is in Acheh known as *peutrōn* i. e. "causing to descend," referring to the child's being brought out of the house [4]). This may take place a couple of months after its birth, but preference is given to a month of uneven number, as for example the 3$^{d}$, 5$^{th}$ or 7$^{th}$ month of the child's age. Up to this time the child must on no account be brought outside the house.

In Acheh, however, not nearly so much is made of this or other important epochs in life, as in ceremony-loving Java. In the former country such events are chiefly marked by the giving of a big kanduri in the house, a goat or buffalo being slaughtered and the occasion

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1) See pp. 305—306 above.

2) A pair of trousers (*siluenë* or *lueuë*), an undergarment (*ija pinggang*), and a sort of shawl (*ija sawa'*, Mal. and Jav. *slendang*).

3) The invariable reply to this, as to all other prayers for forgiveness, is *hana peuë* = "it is nothing."

4) Owing to the fact that the Achehnese houses stand high off the ground, the word for entering the house is *é* = to climb up, and for going out of doors, *trōn* = to descend.

sanctified by the prayer of the official *teungku*. This last indeed holds good of all feast of any importance; no leubè and few ulamas of consideration would venture to appear at such a feast and honour it with their prayer except on the special invitation of the *teungku* of the *meunasah*.

This feast is also frequently embellished by a Rapa'i representation, when the givers are persons of means.

When the kanduri is over, some women, including the midwife, who is always invited on such occasions, fetch the child from the house and take it to the tomb of a saint (*kubu kramat*). Such tombs are to be found in the neighbourhood of almost every gampōng. They take with them as an offering for the dead some flowers and incense, and a piece of white cloth to renew or add to the coverings of the tombstones (*salōb batèë*). At the grave the child's head is solemnly washed (*srah ulèë*) either by the keeper of the tomb or by the women themselves, and thus the ceremony is brought to a close.

Vows.

All such events in the family life form the occasions for vows. These are sometimes made without any special motive, but particularly in cases of sickness or misfortune, in the hope of furthering the well-being of him in whose behalf the feast is given. The Rapa'i representations just mentioned may form the subject of such a *ka'ōy* or vow. It is also a common custom for the father or mother to vow at the sickbed of a child which has not yet been "brought down," that in the event of its recovery they will not merely bring it to the nearest holy tomb to inaugurate its first contact with the earth, but will take it on a pilgrimage to the resting-place of one of the great saints of Acheh, such as the renowned *Teungku di Kuala* Abdōra'ōh, the saint of Singkel, or the holy Sayyid *Teungku Anjōng* buried in Gampōng Java. In such cases the child is escorted to the sacred spot by a great procession of men and women, and cattle are slaughtered and a feast given at the tomb.

Where the vow includes the expression of an intention to head the procession with *geundrang*, the two drums or *geundrang* and the flute (*srunè*) are marched in front.

It sometimes happens that when the time of the *peutrōn* arrives, the means of fulfilling the vow are momentarily lacking. Then the "descent" of the child takes place simply in the manner described above, and the fulfilment of the vow remains a debt to be discharged as soon as possible.



WOMEN RESTING IN THE GREAT MOSQUE (MEUSEUGIT RAYA) OF KUTA RAJA, ON THEIR WAY TO A SAINT'S TOMB WHERE THEY ARE ABOUT TO FULFIL THEIR VOWS. THE GIRLS ON WHOSE BEHALF THE VOWS WERE MADE, ARE STANDING IN THE FOREGROUND.

The non-fulfilment of a vow is regarded as apt to be attended by disastrous consequences. For instance if a child suffers from persistent ulcers on its head, ears or eyes, or is slow in recovering from an illness, or suffers for an unusual length of time from the effects of circumcision, people say: "That child has a *bimaran*" [1]), which means either that a vow has been made in its behalf and remains unfulfilled, or that one of those feasts or ceremonies which are generally the subjects of vows should be held for its benefit.

In this last case recourse is had to certain mysterious tests in order to ascertain what should be done. For instance the child is watched in its sleep and asked what it is that it really needs. The names of the usual ceremonies etc. are slowly repeated one after another, and it is assumed that the one desired is that at the mention of which the sleeping infant seems most at rest. Sometimes the same method is resorted to in order to ascertain the nature of an unfulfilled vow. It may happen, for instance, that the child's mother has died, and the wise man or woman who is consulted in regard to the illness of the babe may say that there seems to be *bimaran* in the case, and that probably the mother had made a vow but had not communicated it to others. Under such circumstances nothing seems left but to try and discover the terms of the vow by the means of divination described above.

The most usual kinds of *bimaran* are the procession to the tomb with *geundrangs* which we have so often referred to, or the presentation to the child of a peculiar garment of many colours [3]) (*ija planggi*) which now-a-days at least is not worn except in case of vows or *bimaran* [4]).

We shall here enumerate some of the vows most commonly made in Acheh, especially by parents in behalf of their sick children. Two of them we have already noticed, the vows to celebrate with *geundrang* music or with a *Rapa'i* performance the first occurrence of importance

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1) *Aneu' nyan kadang na bimaran.*

2) The idea is that the thing in question is desired by a *jén* (*jinn*) or other supernatural being which afflicts the child with sickness.

3) There is a specimen in the museum of the Batavian Society.

4) When a woman's hair falls out this also is thought to be *bimaran;* she is then supplied with a golden hair ornament, called *ulëë cheumara*, consisting of an oblong gold plate on the underside of which is fixed a chain to which is attached a hook to fasten it to the hair. The woman places it in her back hair, but conceals the golden plate, as it is not the custom for grown up women to wear such ornaments. The idea is that the demands of the spirit which caused disease in the hair, or of the hair itself, are thus satisfied.

in the life of the child. The things vowed have always some connection with religion, or else are such as have been shown by tradition or personal experience to act as charms against evil spirits. Where a parent in desperation promises to perform an act which has never before formed the subject of a vow, and the wished-for recovery supervenes, the means that has proved so successful is resorted to by many others [1]), and one more is added to the list of vows.

In addition to the Rapa'i, the following are some of the vows which are regarded as of a religious nature.

"If you recover, I will take you to seven mosques." The fulfilment consists in taking the child round to seven different mosques and washing its head with water from the reservoir (*kulam*) of each.

"I shall have the whole Qurān recited". A couple of dollars are given to a leubè, who then performs this pious task.

"I shall take you to 44 saints." This visiting of holy tombs is again coupled with the washing of the head (*srah ulèë*) of the convalescent child.

"I shall give a kanduri of seven head of buffalo." These are then purchased at the great slaughter preceding the commencement of the fasting month (*ma'meugang*) and given as a present to the teungku of the village.

"I shall bathe you with water that has washed the feet of His Majesty." To fulfil this vow, it was customary to beg of the Sultan's servants 'a little of the water that had washed the feet of their royal master', and the latter would generally oblige the suppliants by putting his hand into a jar of water presented for the purpose.

Either in fulfilment of a vow, or simply to avert evil influences, a child's head is often washed near the pulpit of a great mosque, or else some flowers and perhaps a little copper money are laid on the pulpit at the Friday service. Sometimes the child is given to drink some water, in which a congregation of not less than 44 persons all have dipped their hands at the commencement of the Friday service.

Besides the *geundrang* music, the following are some of the purely superstitious vows classified as *puja* or efficacious against evil spirits:

"If you recover, I shall go and beg in seven shops [2])." Thereupon

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1) Of such a thing it is said *ka geupuja* i. e. it has been successfully used as a charm against the jéns.

2) Such a vow can only be fulfilled by well-to-do people; most shops would close their doors against poor folk who come to beg for such a purpose.

they beg for some trifle or other in the *keudès* (shops) where they deal, saying that they do so in fulfilment of a vow, and generally receive a piece of gold thread, which is afterwards sewn on the head cloth (*tangkulō'*) if the child is a boy, and on the kerchief (*ija sawa'*) if it is a girl.

"I shall slaughter a sheep in the midst of the courtyard." When the fulfilment of this vow is accompanied by an invitation to reciters of the Qurān, it assumes a religious character [1]).

The Achehnese mother rocks (*ayōn*) her child to sleep in a kind of swing, consisting of a rope of which the two extremities are fastened to the ceiling while it is kept apart below by a bar of wood placed horizontally. Under this bar is fastened a handkerchief or cloth so disposed that the child can lie in it with comfort. The mother sings the child to sleep (*peulalè*) with native lullabies [2]).

The child's age is described in Acheh as in the adjacent countries by allusion to the movements it is capable of making. Thus they distinguish between the stages of "lying on the back" (*meulinteuëng*) "turning on the side" (*balé'*), "lying on face and hands" (*dugòm*), «sitting" (*duë'*), "crawling" (*meuâeuy*), "standing" (*dòng*), "walking" (*ja'*) and "running" (*pluëng*) [3]).

To practise the child in its movements a rounded stick is planted in the ground; to this is attached a section of bamboo, so placed that its hollow end covers the point of the stick, round which it easily revolves. To the bamboo is fastened a wooden handle, the end of which is given to the child to hold, so that thus supported he can toddle round the stick. This instrument is called *wéng* [4]).

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1) The Achehnese formulas for the above mentioned vows are as under. The condition *meung ka pulòh kah* = 'if you recover' is to be understood as preceding each one.

*Kuja' mè kah tujōh bòh meuseugit.*

*Kujuë beuët siseun tamat.*

*Kuja' mè kah ba' peuët plōh peuët èëlia.*

*Kukanduri tujōh bòh ulèë keubeuë.*

*Kupumanòë kah ngòn ië srah gaki pòteu.*

*Kuja' geumadè tujōh bòh keudè.*

*Kusië kamèng sabòh diteungòh leuën.*

2) The singing of these songs (in Java *lêla-lêla*, among the Sundanese *neng-nengkung*) is called in Achehnese *meudōdi*, from the sound *dōdi* (Mal. *du-duy*) which constantly occurs in a more or less modified form in the cradle-songs.

3) The question asked of parents by those who seek to know a child's age is: "what can your child do (*peuë thèë aneu' gata*)", to which the reply is: *ka thèë duë'*, *meuâeuy* etc.

4) This is also in general use in Java: Sund. *kurilingan*, Jav. *leredan* or *gritan*.

[Also used by the Malays of the Peninsula, and called by them *kepala payong* = "umbrella-top." (*Translator*).]

In the case of girls circumcision follows very soon after the peutrōn. It is performed with great secrecy. Even the father does not know when his daughter is circumcised. The haste with which this operation is got over is attributed to the fear lest the girl so soon as she can speak should mention it in her childish innocence. Not a semblance of festivity attends the ceremony; some yellow glutinous rice is simply brought to the teungku and he repeats the fatihah over it a single time. In presenting it to him the women say: "we have here a small offering in honour of the Prophet" (*na hajat bachut keu Pangulèë*), without further elucidation. The teungkus receive such little gifts almost daily with a request for a fatihah or a prayer. The secrecy observed in this matter is much greater in Acheh than in Java. In the latter country there is not indeed a feast given to celebrate the circumcision of girls, but there is on the other hand no concealment where they are circumcised at the feasts given to celebrate the performance of the same rate upon their brothers or cousins. The midwife acts as surgeon. Circumcision of girls.

The "piercing of the ears" (*tòb glunyuĕng*) [1]) of girls is performed in their 6th or 7th year. Piercing of the ear-lobes.

This ceremony is restricted to the "open season of the year" (*musém luaïh blang*) as it is believed that if it is done during the "narrow" or "closed" season (*musém piché' blang*) the holes in the ears will have a tendency to contract. Neglect to fulfil a vow made with reference to the feast of ear-boring is considered likely to result in the complete splitting of the ear-lobe.

It is only the very poor who have this operation performed at home, inviting but few guests to witness the ceremony. It is more usual to take the girl in procession to a neighbouring holy tomb, so that the saint's blessing may rest upon the act. This is done even when the mother has made no vow with reference to the piercing of her daughter's ears. But it seldom happens that the mother has not made some such *ka'ōy* or vow, the most customary being that the ceremony shall take place at the tomb of some famous saint, such as Teungku Anjōng or Teungku di Kuala.

On such an occasion both men and women of the gampōng are invited in great numbers, and a procession is formed to the sacred

1) Mal. *bĕrtindek telinga*. The Malays often bore the ears before the child has completed its first year. (*Translator*).

spot, escorted if possible by the gampōng authorities (*keuchi'* and *teungku*) and with the two traditional drums (*geundrang*) and a flute (*srunè*) leading the van. After the leubès have recited some passages from the Qurān followed by the customary prayers, an animal is slaughtered and a *kanduri* held.

The woman whose task it is to bore the ears begins with the usual precautions against evil influences. Invoking the name of Allah, she scatters *breuëh padé* (husked and unhusked rice) over the child, and besprinkles her with a besom formed of the three "cooling" plants [1]), which she dips in flour and water (*teupōng taweuë*). Finally both she and the other old women who are present at the ceremony rub yellow glutinous rice behind the ears (*peusunténg*) of the young maiden. The expert then bores the holes with a thorn or a golden needle.

Every time of life has its special amusements, which play no inconsiderable part in the bringing up of the young. These will be described in a subsequent chapter. We shall also discuss later the elementary instruction of children, but one or two points which rather concern the attitude of the parents in respect to such teaching may fitly be dealt with here.

Instruction in the Qurān.

At the age of about 6 or 7 the boys are brought by their father, and the girls by their mother, to the school where they are taught to recite the Qurān [2]). This instruction is given chiefly by women, though some men who have not been able to find a more lucrative means of livelihood also act as *ureuëng pumubeuët*, as these teachers are called.

Wednesday is generally chosen as the day for bringing the children to the schoolmaster or mistress. As a gift for the teacher, they bring a large dish of glutinous rice with grated cocoanut and red sugar [3]) on top. The parent addresses the teacher somewhat as follows [4]): "I come to hand over my child to you. Teach it and spare not the rod; so you make it not lame or blind, let the rest be at your discretion."

From this time forth the child attends school pretty regularly until

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1) See page 305 above.

2) This "bringing to school" is called *cuntat beuët* i. e. to take to be taught recitation, and the teachers, not only of Qurān recitation, but also of higher forms of knowledge, are called *ureuëng pumubeuët*, i. e. the persons who cause (the pupils) to recite or read.

3) This dish is called *bu leukat ngòn u mirah*.

4) *Aneu' lōn lōn ja' jō' keu dròëneu, neupubeuët, neupòh, mubè' chapië' deungòn buta, la'ën ba' nyan hukōm dròëneu.*

the *tamat*, i. e. until it has completed the recitation of the whole Qurān to its teacher's satisfaction. Some teachers give notice to the parents when the task is half finished, whereupon the latter are considered bound to send the teacher a dish of yellow glutinous rice (*bu kunyèt*) with little cakes of rice-flour (*kětan*) and *cheuneuruët*, a sort of gelatinous network of the same kind of rice, or grated cocoanut and sugar (*u mirah*), for the "cooling" of the Qurān, as they express it. When the teacher's task is entirely finished, the adat prescribes that the guru should subject the pupil to a final "cooling." As we have repeatedly observed, every important act or occurrence, according to the popular belief, sets in motion "hot" (i. e. dangerous) influences, against which precautions are necessary. Thus husked and unhusked rice (*breuëh padé*) are sent to the teacher to scatter over his pupil, and flour and water, together with the plants [1]) which serve as sprinklers, so that he may perform therewith the usual ceremonies. Besides this, he gives his pupil a bath. This is called "the bathing (of the pupil) on account of the completion (of the recitation)" — *pumanòë tamat* — and is recompensed by certain gifts, viz. a large dish of yellow glutinous rice, (whence may be taken at the same time what is required for the *peusunténg*), a piece of white cloth, an under-garment, a kerchief and from two to ten dollars in money. The ceremony takes place in the house of the teacher, in presence of the father and a few guests.

Well-to-do people, however, invite the *teungku* (for this title is applied to instructors in the Qurān both male and female) to their house, and give a great kanduri to which, besides the teungku, a number of people from the gampōng, and in particular the *keuchi'* and many *leubès* are invited. A *teungku*, whether the teacher or another, but in any case a man, directs the *peutamat*, the making of the tamat or completion, in the front verandah where the guests sit. As a matter of fact, however, this ceremony only serves to set a seal on the already finished task; for the custom that prevails elsewhere, as in Java for instance, of making the pupil give a sample of his proficiency, is unknown in Acheh.

When the pupil is a boy, he sits arrayed in his best clothes along with the others in the front verandah, with an open Qurān before him,

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1) See p. 305 above.

but takes no active part in the proceedings and simply listens to a number of leubès chanting certain chapters (Surah 93—114) from the sacred book. When they reach the 112th Surah, all present join in and close the ceremony with one of the prayers specially used for concluding every recitation from the Qurān (*meuhatam*).

If it be a girl, she sits inside the house with an open Qurān before her, for it is always considered unbefitting for men and women to sit together during such religious ceremonies.

When the reading is finished, the paraphernalia of "cooling" are brought into the house, always by a woman.

Owing to the early marriages of Achehnese maidens, it often happens that a girl becomes a bride long before this elementary instruction is at an end. When such a young wife is with child, the ceremony of peutamat is performed in all haste, for fear of her dying before she has completely chanted the word of Allah. Either simultaneously with, or immediately after their instruction in the Qurān, the children learn how to fulfil the principal duties prescribed for every grown-up person by the creed of Islam, and especially the ritual washings and prayers (*seumayang*). This knowledge they gain either by actual practice or from the pages of a Malay hand-book.

Circumcision of boys.

In the case of boys the *peutamat* is usually followed by the circumcision (*kòh bòh* or *peusunat*), either immediately or after the lapse of a couple of days. In contradistinction to the practice in the great majority of Mohammedan countries, this ceremony is often unattended by festivities of any kind, so that even near relations and neighbours are sometimes ignorant that the operation has been performed.

Under the Mohammedan law circumcision is a duty but not a chief obligation or "pillar" of religion. Popular feeling, however, attaches great importance to this rite, regarding it more or less as the outward form of adoption into the Mohammedan community. In Acheh, however, this special significance is given to circumcision only in case of unbelievers who embrace Islam and not for the children of Mohammedan parents.

It is the vows (*ka'ōy*) which in many cases lend distinction to the ceremony of circumcision. In accordance with such vows, Rapa'i performances are sometimes given on one or more nights, but oftener still the parents bind themselves to visit a holy tomb (in some cases accompanied with *geundrang* music) one or two days before the performance

of the rite. A great procession is organized; the boy is dressed just like a bride, except that he wears the high Achehnese *kupiah* or cap, round which is folded a *tangkulō'* (head-cloth) [1]). Sometimes he is set on horseback and rides to the holy place. His head is washed (*srah ulèë*), at the foot of the tomb, and a great kanduri is given.

If one of the boy's ancestors happens to have been in his lifetime a very learned or distinguished person, the grave of the latter is first visited, and the procession then moves on to the tomb of the saint.

Persons of wealth and rank inaugurate the circumcision with other festivities, which owing to their purely secular character cannot form the subject of a vow, such as the *ratéb sadati*, *pulèt* or a *piasan*.

The bath which in Java is regarded as an indispensable prelude to circumcision is not made compulsory in Acheh. The boy is simply cleansed prior to the operation. He is placed on a mat which is strewn with ashes from the cooking-place covered with plantain leaves, or upon a *krikay*, a small tray standing on a foot and thus serving as a table. The implements used in the operation are a *puréh* (a piece of the bark fibre of the arèn palm, of which native pens are also made), chalk to make a line to guide the operator, a forceps and a razor [2]).

As a rule the only styptic used is a prayer (*du'a peudòng darah*), that employed being the first part of a formula used to exorcise the burōng, or some other such *tangkay* or charm, in which occurs the word *teutab* (motionless or fixed) and the words that rhyme therewith from the 111th chapter of the Qurān. This symbolizes the checking or stopping of something — as the blood in the case in point.

The injured part is simply wrapped in a white rag, and it is not till the following day that it is covered (after being first washed with warm water) with a healing drug composed of gambir and tamarind-

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1) This *kupiah* with the kerchief surrounding it really forms a turban as defined in the books of Mohammedan law. In Acheh however the name *seureuban* is only given to the turban of Arab pattern surrounded by a kerchief twisted in the Arabian fashion. Only a few distinguished *teungkus* wear the seureuban. There is no proper term for the Achehnese shape, consisting of a high *kupiah* and a small *tangkulō'* wound round its lower edge; it is described as *kupiah palèt tangkulō'*.

2) The operation is absolute circumcision and not incision merely. Incision, which is universal in the Native States of Java, and the removal of a triangular patch from the end of the prepuce which is sometimes resorted to, are unknown in Acheh. The absolute circumcision is becoming more common in Java of later years.

bark grated fine. This treatment is repeated daily till the patient is convalescent [1]).

Meantime, as in Java, a strict dietary is observed. No vegetables must be eaten, and no fish except the *eungkōt chuët* and the stockfish (*keumamaïh*) from the Maldives, with dry rice, *eumpiëng* [2]) and the like. Fruits and pungent herbs are forbidden, and as it is thought dangerous for the patient's feet to come into contact with human ordure or the dung of fowls or horses, they are wrapped in cloths as a precaution. The cure is generally complete in from 7 to 10 days.

The operator (*mudém*, probably from the Arabic *mu'aḍḍin*, which is in Java also entirely wrested from its proper meaning) obtains as a recompense for his trouble a quantity of husked and unhusked rice (*breuëh-padé*), a piece of white cotton cloth, a dish of yellow glutinous rice and one dollar.

Boys are generally circumcised at from 9 to 10 years of age. A well-to-do father often has one or two poor lads circumcised along with his son, but the same peculiar significance is not attached to this as to what is known as *béla* in Java.

The filing of the teeth (*kòh gigòë*) does not take place with women till after their marriage, as it is thought proper to leave the decision of this matter to the husband; in the case of boys it is done in their 12th or 13th year. Many omit this form of mutilation altogether, either because their teeth are not naturally too large or ugly, or from religious motives.

So far from giving this custom a devotional origin, as some Javanese do by alleging that it is in conformity with the example of the Prophet, whose teeth are said to have been shaped as though filed from the time of his birth, or according to others, after having been injured in the battle of Uḥud, the Achehnese regard it simply as a personal embellishment; and some of their ulamas are opposed to it as being self-mutilation. The filer of teeth (an operation usually performed by women) uses for her work a whetstone (*batèë chanè*). The better to keep the patient's mouth open, a piece of betel-nut is thrust between the molars on one side. The teeth to be operated on, i. e. the four front teeth (*gigòë dikeuë*) and the two "dog's teeth" (*gigòë asèë*) of the upper jaw, are rubbed with white onions before the operation, "to make them soft."

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1) The Malays use a dressing formed of fine clay mixed with the yolk of eggs (ubat tasak). See Skeat's *Malay Magic*, p. 360.

2) This consists of rice which is first roasted and then pounded fine and passed through a sieve.

After they have been ground down to the desired length, the line of the teeth is filed until all unevenness disappears. This filing is known as *asah*. *Baja* (soot) is then laid on the surface so formed as a curative. *Baja Kléng* (Kling) is to be found with the medicine-sellers, but many make the baja themselves by catching the soot off a burning cocoanut-shell on a wet knife or other steel weapon.

The people of Pidië file their teeth in such a manner as to make it appear as if they projected outwards, and end by making them entirely black, as the Javanese used to do in earlier times. Some fops and women of light reputation use *baja* every day to blacken the space between each pair of teeth [1]).

## § 6. The Parents as Bringers-up of their children.

Share of the father and mother in the bringing up of the child.

As we have already seen, the woman after marriage continues to live in her own house or that of her parents. Thus the children are as a rule brought up in the house of their mother, in which the father is in a certain sense a stranger. In a certain sense, for though some Achehnese institutions bear clear traces of an earlier "matriarchate," they are still traces and nothing more. In Acheh no one would dream of prohibiting the father from seriously concerning himself in the bringing up of his children, and reserving that right for the mother's brother, as is done in the highlands of Padang. As we have already seen, the wife's family are only too anxious to leave the ground free to the husband, and it is not till after years of wedded bliss that the ban which severs the latter from his wife's people is gradually removed to some extent. Thus the father has as great a share as he pleases to take in the bringing up of his children.

On the whole, however, it may be asserted without hesitation that the children grow up more under the protection of the mother and her relations than that of the father. The latter has many reasons which cause him to be repeatedly absent from home for long periods. When, for instance, he has more than one wife, his spouses are gene-

1) The operation of tooth-filing is equally popular among the Malays of the Peninsula. A full description of the Malayan tooth-filing ceremony will be found in Skeat's *Malay Magic*, p. 355 et seq. (*Translator*).

rally established in different gampōngs, and the man divides his time between them, not indeed according to the strict rules of the Mohammedan law in respect of the *ḳasm* [1]), but as suits his own liking. But he also spends much of his time with his own family, or travels about visiting friends or on business etc. There are also the pepper-planters, seamen, fishermen etc., who often remain absent from their wives' homes for years at a time.

The attitude of the married couple in the matter of their childrens' bringing up is shown most characteristically by the adats observed when one of the two happens to die.

Fatherless children.

If the father dies, such of the children as have reached a discriminating age (say 7 to 10 years) usually remain with the mother, or if the latter marries again they are free to choose whether they will take up their abode with her or with the family of their deceased father.

Where there are children below this age, the adat requires the male relations (wali) of the deceased to interest themselves *pro formâ* in their destiny. They must, however, before taking the first step, perform the task, so important in native estimation, of setting up tombstones (*pula batèë*) on the grave of their deceased relative; otherwise they have no right to interfere. When this duty has been fulfilled, they depute the keuchi' of the gampōng to go to the widow and demand the young children at her hands. The mother always replies that she admits that they have a right to the children, but earnestly begs that she may not be separated from them till her death. The keuchi' is then again deputed to enquire whether the mother can assure befitting support for the fatherless infants. A woman of means exhibits on such occasions a sum of money, or some article of value, or a house (where the child is a girl), with the assurance that these things are destined to defray the cost of bringing up the children. Others give tokens of good intent in proportion to their means, and the walis rest content with these assurances. Apart from the question as to whether this formal demand is or is not a rudiment of an older in-

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1) This rule of law imposes no special obligations on the husband as to the frequency of his visits to his wives or the length of time which he must spend in their company, but it expressely gives to all the wives of one husband a claim to *equality* of rights in this respect, so that he may not spend more of his time with one than another except by the latter's consent.

stitution of Achehnese family life, which has now fallen into disuse, it may be asserted conclusively that both the demand and the enquiry as to means of support are now mere formalities. These are, however, never omitted by the walis of the deceased, because otherwise public opinion would condemn them as completely indifferent to the fate of children closely related to them.

Disposal of the fatherless on the re-marriage of the mother.

When the widow re-marries, new formalities are observed. The adat is for the walis of a deceased person to offer his widow a new marriage subject to her consent. Sometimes one of the walis offers himself as the dead man's successor; or another suitor is sought, who is regarded as a suitable person to act as father to the surviving children in the future [1]). If this suitor is accepted, the childrens' interests are considered to be as well assured as where the widow does not marry again.

She has of course full liberty to contract another marriage. If she makes use of this freedom, the walis of the deceased lie in wait for and "steal" *pro formâ* the latter's child, which cannot yet choose for itself. After a day or so, the new husband, attended by an elder from the mother's gampōng, comes and politely begs for the restoration of the child. This request is generally granted; the walis however remain on the watch, as becomes careful guardians, and if the step-father proves to be a good-for-naught, they demand back the pledge which they have entrusted to him.

Motherless children.

Where the woman dies leaving a young child, its surrender is demanded in like manner, but of course in the father's name. As a rule it is only entrusted to him if his wife's mother be already dead. Should the latter be still living, she begs to be allowed to retain the child. This request may be made in one or other of two ways. She may reply, when called on to surrender it, "give me the child in life and death" [2]), and if this wish is acceded to, the father or his wali have no right to demand the body of the child in the event of its death. Sometimes however the grandmother says "Give it to me during life; should it die I shall return it to your hands" [3]).

Contest for the disposal of the bodies of the dead.

Great importance is indeed attached to the disposal of the body

1) We have already seen (p. 364 above) that if the woman dies before the *meungklèh* or "putting forth," her family offer a new wife in her place to the widower.

2) *Neubri keu lōn udèb matè.*

3) *Neubri keu lōn udèb, còh matè pulang keu dròëneu.*

and the question as to where it shall be buried, whether in the *bhōm* or family burying-place of the mother's family, where it will not perhaps enjoy the company of any of its walis, or in that of its father, where most of them repose.

This question is regarded as of equal importance when the husband dies before the wife. The death of course very frequently occurs in the house of the wife. The walis of the husband in such a case are unwilling to leave the disposal of the body to the woman, since she will probably marry again later on, and her first husband would thus lie buried among strangers. This objection is not raised if the couple have already lost a child by death and have buried it in the *bhōm* of its mother's family. If however the man dies in his own original gampōng, the walis assume the entire disposal of his body, which is only just brought for a moment, before burial, into the inner room (*jurèë*) of the wife's house. For this service she rewards the bearers with a present.

A characteristic specimen of Achehnese prolixity is furnished by the negociations which take place between the gampōng of the husband and that of the wife in respect to the dead body of their first child (*aneu' phōn*). It may be inferred that at an earlier period of Achehnese civilization more substantial reasons existed for such a contest for the possession of the bodies of the dead than is the case at present. All this speech-making now seems rather objectless, and suggests a petrified adat.

Like all other important domestic events, the burial of the dead is treated as a public affair of the gampōng. The authorities of the husband's gampōng proceed in a body to that of the wife, and there hold with the chiefs and elders a colloquy, of which the following may serve as a model. The prelude forms a sort of theatrical dialogue between two speakers of the husband's gampōng. This takes place after their arrival in the gampōng of the wife, and in presence of the authorities there assembled. We shall call the speakers A and B; the latter speaks in the name of all his fellow-villagers.

A. Well now, where are ye all, my brethren? We have arrived at our destination. Time moves on (lit. the sun advances), and we sit doing nothing. Of walking a single step; of speech a single word; it is now your turn to speak, my brethren.

B. Well then, Teuku, as concerns us your younger brethren, what saidst thou? "Of walking a step, of speech a word." With us it is even

as on the 30th day of the month [1]), darkness from eve to morn. Let the whole matter as it stands be dealt with by you, our elder brother. Wherefore? Because, as the elders say "where the sun shines, the brightness of the moon is overpowered." Our hopes are thus fixed on you alone.

A. Good then, if you are all resolved to leave it in my hands, I am ready and willing to be of service. I act with leave of all of you; withhold me then from error, follow me in the truth, help me in all difficulties and stop me if I go beyond the mark [2]).

B. With all joy, if Allah so will.

As soon as this farce of appointing A as spokesman of the husband's gampōng is played out, he proceeds to address the fellow-villagers of the wife. The man who replies in their behalf we shall designate as C.

A. Well now, where are ye all, my brethren [3])? I desired to address one single word to you; how are your thoughts to us-ward?

C. Well, O Teuku, give us a moment's time (to deliberate upon our answer).

After an interval of a minute or two:

C. Well then, where art thou, O Teuku, our brother? We have slumbered for a moment, we have delayed a little, but be not vexed thereat, O Teuku! Now by Allah's will we are here present, one or two at least; to all that you will now say we shall respectfully hearken (lit. take it on our head).

A. Where are you, Teuku?

C. I am here at your service.

A. Well then, if Allah the Exalted so will, though it be somewhat clumsy and crooked, somewhat rumpled and creased [4]), it is profitable for a piece of goods to be speedily disposed of [5]). We are in any case people of Acheh, our words are those of Acheh [6]).

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1) I. e. "you require us to speak, but we are too stupid; our understanding is as dull as the darkened moon."

2) Cf. p. 318 above.

3) The constant repetition of this question, though the persons addressed are present, appears also in the formal orations to which the adat of Menangkabau gives rise. Specimens of these are to be found in the work printed by Edw. Van Muien in 1890, "*Adat mandirikan pangulu undiko tarpakai dalam nan salaras Kapau.*" This is far from being the sole point of resemblance between the eloquence of the Menangkabau people and that of the Achehnese.

4) This is a formula used to introduce an apology.

5) The words from "though it be" to "speedily disposed of" are in Achehnese verse. The meaning is "it is well to proceed to business without delay."

6) The meaning is that the matter will be dealt with short and sharp in the Achehnese fashion. Their conception of brevity is somewhat original.

C. That is certain.

A. To the matter in hand then: X (here is named, *not* the father but his brother or some member of his family, or a fellow-villager) who is a relative of the dead child, and we, who have directed our steps hither to you all, oh Teukus, have somewhat to beg of you. There is a saying that for begging three things are needed, which are only complete with the addition of a fourth; first a staff, secondly a beggar's sack, thirdly the hands held up (in supplication); these three are completed by the prayer itself.

To the matter in hand; once on a time in days gone by we had a cutting of a plant (i. e. the man who has married a woman of that gampōng); later on we gave it to all of you, Teukus. Ye planted it and the plant brought forth a fruit; this fruit (the body) we now come to beg of you, oh Teukus. If it sufficeth not that we should beg once, we do so ten times. Be it insipid or be it savoury, be it sour or be it sweet, let it be thought fitting to give this fruit to us your servants to taste.

C. Where are ye all, oh Teukus?

A. We are here at your service.

C. What said ye but now? As to the fruit which the teuku requires of us, let your wish be fulfilled if God so will. Yet do we now ask and beg of you all, oh Teukus! Behold, this plant was indeed given us by you, it was indeed your own possession. For the future, then we beg of you to leave this fruit to her who has tended the garden (the mother). Should the tree again bear fruit in the years to come, that fruit, oh Teukus, shall be yours. Even should you not come to fetch it, we shall bring it to you. But as for this, we invoke your love and compassion, Teukus, let this remain with us; sweet or sour, let us taste it first. When we have once tasted, and know if it be well-flavoured or insipid, then shall it be given to all of you to taste, oh Teukus.

A. Well, Teuku, I have now taken counsel with my brothers here present, and what say they to us? The first fruit, say they, properly belongs to the people of the place [1]). As you know well, oh Teukus, those that tap the arèn-tree and draw the sap, take the first that flows forth and pour it on the root of the tree.

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1) The husband and his family are here meant.

C. It is even as you say, of a surety! It is that which we now ask and beg of your love and compassion; if Allah so will, we beg this first sap as a healing balm.

A. Well, if you speak in this wise, nothing remains for us to say. But even so, there is still a trifle on our part. Ye have not acceded to the request we made but now, oh Teukus; this time you must without fail grant the prayer we address to you all, as token of good will to us your brethren. If one visit the sick, what then? One brings a cluster of pisangs as a gift. Here however he (i. e. the relative of the father whom we have referred to as X) has come to visit one who has this world already behind him and the other world before him; thus it were but fitting, oh Teukus, to grant us our request, namely (that he should contribute) a plank for the head of the coffin, a single piece (lit. a fold) of cloth (for the shroud). May you see fit that he who has this world behind him and the next before him should bring this with him to the tomb.

C. Well, Teuku, what saidst thou just now? Didst thou desire to give to him who has this world behind him and the other world before him a plank for the head of his coffin and a single piece of cloth? As far as we can see, you have brought, not a single plank for the head of the coffin, but a shipload of timber. What saidst thou besides? A piece of cloth? As far as we can see you have brought, not a single fold of cloth, but a whole *kudi* (20 pieces), so seemeth it.

A. Well then, Teuku, if it is one for you, it is ten for us (i. e., we are all the more content), and if it is ten for you, it is a hundred for us.

After this colloquy the body of the *aneu' phōn* (first-born child) remains in the gampōng of the mother, as all concerned were well aware would be the case before ever the farce commenced.

We require no further examples to make it clear that the children of a fairly happy marriage receive the greater part of their upbringing from the mother and her family, even when the union is severed by death. The father is indeed the recognized guardian and educator, but he is not always at home; and though the members of his family show an interest in the lot of the young children whom he leaves behind, such interest as a rule expresses itself in mere formalities. Exceptions are not rare; the father has the power to take his children to himself and have those of one wife brought up by another, and

his rights in this respect are admittedly in entire agreement with the Mohammedan law, and are sometimes actually excercised, yet they remain exceptions and no more.

Children of a dissolved marriage.

It is different in the case of dissolution of marriage, whether by divorce (*taleuë'*) or judicial separation (*pasah*). We have already seen that these are of comparatively rare occurrence and almost always entail an irreconcilable breach of the peace between the pair [1]). It naturally follows that both parties insist on their rights to the uttermost, and in these cases the adat of Acheh gives the husband somewhat more extended privileges than the Mohammedan law.

It is the almost universal rule that after such separations the children are taken away by the man, or where the marriage is dissolved in his absence, by his walis.

It often happens that the mother claims certain rights which would seem very strange to European mothers. If her own unweaned child were left to her charge one might suppose that no true mother would shirk the task of nursing it. Yet the Moslim law does not *oblige* the mother to suckle the child, and if she choose to do so, gives her a right to a recompense for her services as wet-nurse. In Acheh, after the child of a divorced woman has been weaned, the mother often refuses to hand it over to the family of its father until her wages as wet-nurse have been paid. This she looks upon as a sort of revenge for her compulsory separation from her child.

## § 7. Sicknesses, their Origin and Cure.

Causes of sickness.

Before proceeding to describe the most important customs observed on the occurence of a death in an Achehnese family, and the results to the survivors, it may not be out of place to make a few observations in regard to the sicknesses which cause death. Our purpose in this is not, of course, to enlighten medical men as to the diseases

1) This is entirely different from the custom prevailing in Java, where marriages are dissolved on quite trivial pretexts, and the divorced couple and their families remain on good terms with one another after the separation. Among the Sundanese, when a man puts away his wife and yet remains on excellent terms with her and her people, the situation is described as *Pondok duriat panjang baraya* = "a short marriage, but a long friendship" (lit. relationship).

prevalent in Acheh, but to give a sketch of the lore of the Achehnese with respect to sickness, a lore which indeed constitutes a large part of their philosophy of life. In this we must involuntarily touch on some of the methods and means for effecting cures, though Achehnese medical art as such will be treated of in another chapter.

Those of our readers who are not unacquainted with the Native world, are aware that the question is not one of microbes, but of spirits which threaten man with all manner of evils [1]). We have already made acquintance with the treacherous *burōng* [2]) and the nameless beings who punish with sickness the non-fulfilment of a *puja* vow [3]).

Spirits hostile to mankind.

Those who wade through creeks or rivers, or bathe in these or in the sea, or accidentally fall into the water, are exposed to the attacks of sundry enemies. Sometimes such an one disappears without a trace, swallowed up by a *baleuëm beudé* or *bidé* [4]). What these are like may best be judged from a tale respecting their origin. There is a certain formula of witchcraft, known to few, and serving as a means to gain forbidden ends. If one recites this sitting on a buffalo-skin, it closes round him to open no more, and he dwells for the future in the mouth of a river, changed to a *baleuëm beudé* and eagerly bent on swallowing up [5]) man and beast.

In swamps, creeks and rivers there also dwell the *sanè*, invisible spirits which house more especially in dead wood floating and drifting in the water. Their agency is felt in the form of pains in the legs, supposed generally to supervene two days after the sufferer has come into contact with them.

Seafaring men often make acquaintance to their sorrow with another kind of *jén* [6]), the *euntèë iè* [7]), which sometimes appear as glittering fire-

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1) For an account of the Malay spirits, demons etc., see Skeat's *Malay Magic* Chap. IV. (*Translator*).

2) See p. 376 above.

3) See p. 392 above.

4) *Baleuëm* means a bag or sack. *Beudé* might mean "gun" but the variant *bidè* has not that meaning. The people of Menangkabau give to a similar malignant spirit the name of *ula biday* or *baday*, the connection of ideas being the formidable size of the snake of that name, which they compare with the *biday*, a rattan mat of great length used for drying padi.

5) Of one who thus disappears it is said: *ka jĕuët lé baleuëm beudé* = "the b. b. has swallowed him." Instead of *'uët*, *samòn* or *samuë* may also be used; both these words refer to being carried off or put out of the way by evil spirits.

6) The Malay *hantu ayer*. To prevent this spirit from alighting on the mast, the Malays fasten to its summit twigs of the kabong palm. See Skeats' *Malay Magic* p. 279 (*Translator*).

7) Literalty "track or trace (Malay *bĕkas*) upon the water." It thus means the traces or

flies, sometimes as men with no covering on their heads. Their influence causes the vessel to become water-logged. To exorcise them, strips of arèn-fibre are tied to the step of the mast and the mast itself, and if they persist in approaching the crew strike at them. Sailors are strictly forbidden to take off their caps on board ship after dark; should one do so inadvertently, his companions fall on him and beat him until he covers his head.

The *geunteut*, which takes the form of a gigantic black man, sometimes flings his victim head over heels from the shore into the sea. As a rule, however, the *geunteuts* appear elsewhere, as for instance on the main roads, where they pounce upon the lonely wayfarer and hurry him away; those who seek him find him eventually sitting apparently lifeless in a tree or a clump of bamboos [1]).

The clearers of the forest are persecuted by some of the beings mentioned above, but still more by the lurking denizens of the trees. The great heavy trees with hard timber (such as the *seumantō'* and the *peunò*) are regarded as "haunted trees" (*kayèë meujén*) which bring sickness on all who meddle with them.

There is one disease "coming from above" (*peunyakét dimanyang*) which usually shows itself at midnight or midday. Its symptoms are loss of consciousness, stiffness of the body, and a rigid closing of the teeth. It is called *meurambuy* and is ascribed to the hostile influence of the *rambaluys*. These spirits resemble apes, but have the power of flight through the air. They are always accompanied by a flock of shrilly screaming *giré'* birds. Old women never hear these birds without exclaiming "Keep far away!" [2]).

The form of the *rambaluys*, however is not the same at all times and places; in fact there is a distinction made between sea-, world-

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residue left by the dead, i. e. a kind of ghost. So too the expression *mata euntèë* (lit. = "trace"- or "remnant-eyes") to the pairs of glittering objects like stars or fire-flies which are supposed to be seen at times in the dark in the inner room (*jurèë*) of an Achehnese house. It is in this room that the dead are washed, and they are supposed to leave these mysterious glittering eyes behind them as the traces of their existence as human beings. People avoid sitting in the evenings in the *jurèë* of an old house, as many dead bodies must have been washed there and many of these dread *mata euntèë* are likely to appear.

1) In Java spirits called *gëndruwa* and *wéwé* are supposed to torment human beings, and especially children, in a similar manner.

2) The word they use is *jawōh* (Ach. pronunciation of the Malay *jauh*), and never *ji'ōh*, the Ach. word for "far."

and ground-rambaluys [1]) and to these last is ascribed, among other diseases, that of beri-beri.

The word *meurambuy* or *meurampòt* is also applied, however, in other cases of sudden illness without discoverable cause, such as dysentery; both words may be approximately rendered "blown upon," and that which has blown on the patient may equally well be a jén dwelling in the leaf or branch of a tree which the victim has accidentally brushed against, as a rambaluy of the kind above described.

The evil thing which is thus "blown upon" a person may be "blown away" again by magic art; this is done in the house of the patient, and almost every old woman can act as an expert in this *peurampòt* as it is called.

For this seven things are required: a *chinu*, or water-dipper made of a cocoanut-shell, a spoon (*aweuë*) of the same material, a *reungkan* or rough mat of cocoanut or other palm leaves on which pots just removed from the fire are set, a red betel-nut leaf, a kala-leaf (Malay *kantan*), a worn-out pair of trousers and a rice winnowing-basket (*jeu'èë*). These seven objects are each waved [2]) seven times in the above order over the head of the sufferer who has been breathed on by the jén, with the solemn counting already described [3]) up to the number seven, which is long drawn out thus, *tujōōōōh!* After the waving the articles employed are all thrown out of doors. During this operation the patient has to sit opposite the open door of the house, so that nothing may intervene between him and the doorway. Before the waving of the *jeu'èë* certain expert matrons besprinkle him with water poured through this, the last of the seven objects named.

A certain climbing liane in the jungle called *leumbé* or *lumbé* is a favourite haunt of spirits hostile to man. This does not prevent its fruits, round in shape and as hard as wood, which drift down the rivers, from being used as balls by the children in some of their games. But anyone who encounters on his way one of these creepers full-grown and shooting freely, maintains a respectful distance. Specimens that have as it were slung themselves across a stream inspire special alarm. In the wood of these climbing plants are to be found knots or callo-

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1) *Rambaluy la'ōt*, *dōnya* or *tanòh*.

2) Cf. the description of the "wave-offering" among the Malays in Skeats *Malay Magic*, pp. 418 et seq. (*Translator*).

3) See p. 307 above.

sities sometimes six feet in girth and known as *guchi*, owing to their resemblance in shape to the Achehnese watertubs or *guchis*. Where three such *guchis* are observed at short intervals in the branch of such a creeper, its being haunted is considered as beyond all doubt.

The influence of the *leumbé* is most clearly to be seen in regard to the water of the mountain streams on which they exert their spell. Most of those who drink such water get goitre (*chugòng*) [1]). This disease is very common in some parts of Pidië, especially in the neighbourhood of Keumala; and also in part of the highlands of the auriferous district of Wòyla on the West Coast. Most of the sufferers are women. The malady is ascribed with absolute conviction by the Achehnese to the drinking of the water of certain definite streamlets [2]) in those districts, and it is the influence of the *leumbé* which is believed to render their waters so dangerous.

Some cases of goitre are referred by the Achehnese to another cause, namely sucking the fresh *puntòë*-fruit off the kernel (*jujuët*) instead of removing it piecemeal with the hand [3]).

Nightmare. What we call nightmare is in Acheh ascribed to certain spirits called *beunò* [4]), which set up a pressure on or under the breast (*geuntèn*), sometimes to such an extent as to cause death.

Ghosts. At times the wayfarer sees something in his path resembling a dead body wrapped in its shroud. This is a *burōng punjōt*, the phantom of a woman who has died in childbirth, and who has been buried without the winding sheet being loosened before closing the tomb. The ghosts of other dead people also walk on account of a like omission [5]), but the only influence that man has to fear from them is fright or stupefaction. Much the same may be said of the *tuleuëng dòng* ("standing bones"), walking skeletons looking like our own pictures of "Death"; also of the *jén apuy* which appear in the form of men walking in the distance with burning torches, and are most often to be observed in

1) Mal. *bëngoh* or *bëgong*. The remedy used by the Malays is *nila* (indigo). (*Translator*).

2) Cf. Wilken's *Struma en Cretinisme in den Indischen Archipel*, in the *Bijdr. van het Koninklijk Inst. v. d. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* for the year 1890, p. 420.

3) A swelling on the lower jaw is called *chugòng buë*, i. e. monkey's *chugòng* from its external resemblance to the full pouch of an ape.

4) The Malay *hantu kopek*. (*Translator*).

5) In Java the dead are believed to "walk" if their shrouds are not unfastened at burial. They appear especially in the first 40 days after death, crying "*chuli, chuli!*" i. e. *uchuli* = loosen!

nightly perambulations among the padi-fields, and of the *blò'*, our "bogey man" with which children are frightened, and whose terrifying aspect is compared with that of the Bengalis with their gigantic turbans.

More dangerous than this last-named class of ghosts are the wraiths of persons who have met their deaths by violence. These seize and grip their victim unobserved [1]), the result being that he feels as though he were wounded and grows feverish, and in his delirium speaks of some person whose fate has been the same as that of the dead whose ghost haunts him. Like all other tormenting spirits they themselves best know the antidote against the malady which they cause. Thus those whose duty it was in the Sultans' time to execute death sentences with the sword or by strangling, were wont to ask their victims what the remedy would be in case they should attack people after their death [2]). The condemned was generally good-natured enough to recommend some leaf or herb as a cure for the sicknesses which he might engender, so that the executioner derived from his employment the additional advantage of being able later on (not of course without a fee) to cure those possessed in this peculiar way.

A further remedy against various kinds of possession is the drinking of water in which prehistoric stone implements, or as the Achehnese call them, thunder-teeth (*gigòë glanteuë:* cf. the Javanese *huntu glap*) [3]) have lain for a time.

It sometimes happens that a person who has just paid a visit to a grave is seized with a colic, or sits down and behaves as though doting. He is then said to be *seumapa*, meaning that a dead person has addressed or greeted him. This must of course have happened without his knowing it, and such a contact of his coarse earthly nature with the subtler one which appertains to the realms of the dead, is sure to be attended with evil consequences.

In such cases the sufferer is bespued with charmed sirih spittle, a universally recognized remedy for many ailments in Acheh. Should this red spittle turn yellowish in hue on his body, the conjecture that he is *seumapa* becomes a certainty.

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1) *Ka jimat lé ureuëng geupòh* (*geuchang, geucheukië'*) or *ka teukenòng ureuëng geupòh* etc., was said of such a victim.

2) *Peuë ubat kadang tamat-mat gòh.*

3) Cf. the Malay *batu halilintar*. Skeat (*Malay Magic* p. 276) describes how they are grated into water and used as medicine by the Malays. (*Translator*).

Others contract maladies through transgressing the strict commands of their parents or teachers, or in consequence of a curse pronounced against them by the latter. The resulting condition is called *keunòng srapa ureuëng chi'* or *gurèë* [1]).

Poisoning and witchcraft.

Nor is it spirits only that have to be dreaded. The happiness of man in Acheh is just as much a prey to his fellow men, and these too have control of remedies the action of which is held to be a mystery. Such powers of witchcraft, employed to bring misfortune to another, are called *hêkeumat* [2]); the most terrible kinds, against which no remedy prevails, are known as *hêkeumat dônya*. The whole of this destructive science is included under the name of "magic" (*sihé*, Arab. *siḥr*).

All poisons may be classed under the head of *hêkeumat*. Just as a remedy derives most of its force from the prayer uttered over it, so a poison owes its activity chiefly to the magic incantations pronounced over it, or to the witchcraft required for its preparation. Its force may in like manner be broken by an expert with the aid of certain definite prayers (*tangkay*).

Certain sorts of toadstool (*kulat*) are very much dreaded. The preparation of these for malicious uses forms a special branch of mystic craft. The scoundrels who practise the art are called *ureuëng meukulat*. The most powerful *kulat* of this description is called *kulat Lam Teuba* from the name of the locality where it is to be found in the greatest abundance, and the poison-makers of Lam Teuba are also regarded as the best. Much skill is required to seek out the right kinds, to "charm" (*rajah*) them in the desired sense, and to work the charm when prepared. Thus to cause an enemy a wound on the leg they transfix a toad-stool with a needle, and then secretly mix a portion of it with his food. Other manipulations are employed to engender passion for a lover, hatred against a spouse, madness or even death.

As an antidote to the ills which result from *kulat* [3]) there is no better remedy than *kulat*; but it is a remedy most difficult to procure. The expert kulat-seekers use for their purpose only such toad-stools as grow near each other in pairs and satisfy certain other requirements of the craft. Of each pair one is the prince (*raja*) and the other the

1) Literally "smitten by the curse of parents" or "of the teacher."

2) From the Arab حِكْمَة meaning "knowledge, philosophy."

3) It is said of the victim: *X ka keunòng kulat.*

princess (*putròë*). The *raja* is the worker of evil, and this the poisoner gives to his customers to work the destruction of their enemies. The *putròë*, which provides the genuine antidote, is carefully secreted by the poison-maker. Should he have no scruple about defrauding his customers, he hands over the *putròë* to the victim for a handsome fee, just as he supplied his enemy with the *raja*.

The simpler methods of witchcraft are of the same kind as in Java. The name of the victim is written (together with a formula suiting the object to be attained) upon an egg or a particular kind of fruit. This is then buried with stringent formalities. The result is that the victim, as the case may be, falls sick, dies, loses his wife through faithlessness or his house by fire, or suffers whatever other misfortune his enemy may have wished him. The employment of such methods is called *jhung*.

Another plan is to bury in a path by which the victim is in the habit of passing, a section of *bulōh* (thornless bamboo) filled with hair, nails and other such things. Such an implement of destruction, the employment of which is called *tënung* in Java, is named by the Achehnese *teunanòm*, which properly means "something buried [1])."

Even diseases which are of daily occurrence, and the natural cause of which must be obvious even to an Achehnese, he refers by preference to some such causes as those of which we have just given examples. None the less he has recourse in the first instance to the usual remedies for diseases such as *sijuë'-seu'uëm* ("cold-heat") and *deumam*, both of which are sorts or stages of fever, *biōh* (dysentery), *burōt* (inguinal hernia), *sabōn* (gonorrhea) and skin-diseases such as *kudé* and *kurab*.

Small-pox and Cholera.

As in Java, the invisible powers again play an important part in regard to small-pox and cholera, though the Achehnese conceptions differ greatly in details from those of Java.

Cholera is called by the name *ta'eun*, derived from the Arabic, and signifying pestilence or epidemic, or *mutah-chirét* (vomiting and diarrhoea) from its two prominent symptoms.

These diseases are supposed to originate in the battles waged with one another by the *jéns* (Arab. *jinn*). These beings, which exhibit themselves in sundry forms, and can upon occasion render themselves invisible, and which are unhampered by the laws of gravity in their

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1) The verb used to denote the application of such a charm is *teumanòm*, "to bury."

flight through air, earth and water, are like the human race divided into Moslims and unbelievers. Thus among them too there subsists a holy war. The Mohammedan jéns when pursued by their enemies with arrows invisible to the human eye, take refuge among human beings without making any distinction between the heathen and their fellow-believers. Thus many men are smitten by the arrows of the heathen *jéns*, and it is these which are the cause of cholera.

In Acheh, as in the other Mohammedan countries of the Archipelago, the inhabitants of a gampōng where an epidemic prevails combine to give "religious feasts to allay the calamity," (*kanduri tula' bala*), either in the chapel or at the entrance to the gampōng (*babah rèt*). At such times many dream that some one asks them for a white or yellow apam-cake, and the dreamers omit not on the following day to offer the two things so asked for to a *teungku*, as they fear that omission to do so will render them a prey to the disease.

Public processions, at which Arabic formulas of prayer are chanted, are then the order of the day; when these arrive at the entrance of the gampōng, they intone the *bang* or *adan*, the familiar summons to prayer.

Small-pox (*plawa*) is ascribed to an aged dame of the spirit world, who bears the name of *Pò Ni*. She throws small objects like grains of corn on men's bodies, thus giving rise to the ulcers of small-pox. Besides the native therapeutics, which we do not propose to describe here, most of the remedies adopted consist in measures to secure the favour of Pò Ni.

By way of an offering to this small-pox spirit, grains of *keumeung* or *keumeu* are hung up, strung on a thread and alternating with the white flowers which are usually exposed for sale in the market (*bungòng peukan*). *Keumeung* is made by placing unhusked rice in a pot, preferably one which is old and cracked (*neuleuë*) and shaking it violently till the grains spring open and the husk separates itself of its own accord. To hasten the development of the ulcers, *keumeung* and a pomegranate are given as kanduri to a *teungku*. The flowers in full bloom and the "burst" rice are supposed to have the effect of causing the small-pox ulcers to come to a head and burst [1]).

1) If a relation or fellow-lodger is on a journey, it is customary to bring to a *leubè* a present of *keumeung* with a bunch of *pisang abin* (a kind of plantain), a pomegranate and some "market flowers." The *leubè* thereupon offers up a prayer (*du'a seulamat*) for the safety of the traveller.

The sick person is also wrapped in a cloth stained yellow with turmeric (*kunyèt*). The things that are *pantang* or tabooed in such cases are of the same description as in Java. The invalid must not be needlessly exposed to view, and thus a curtain is stretched in front of the bed. Within earshot of the patient the small-pox ulcers are spoken of only as "flowers" (*bungòng kayèë*), and those who wish to enquire whether they have fully developed employ the word *kaya* = "rich." The answer to this question must be only "rich" or "middling" but never "poor." Words such as "dead" (*maté*), "blind" (*buta*), "crooked" (*cheukò'*), "much" (*lé*) must not be uttered in the presence of the sick person. Nothing is fried in oil for fear the pock-marks should prove black [1]).

There are also other curious methods of preventing and resisting epidemics. On Pulò Breuëh (Bras) is an old *kariëng*-tree which according to popular superstition has the power of enchaining epidemics and letting them loose upon the people at will. This tree is called *Ja* [2]) *Kariëng*. Once a year the inhabitants of the island hold there a great kanduri, offering up flowers and incense, and take sea-baths close by. During the course of this feast many forbidden intrigues are set on foot and indulged in. Were this festival not observed, it is thought that the coming year would surely be marked by pestilence. Combatting of epidemics.

Another preventive of epidemics, employed so to speak officially in Acheh in earlier times, was the "setting afloat of a *lanchang*" (*bòïh lanchang*).

Lanchangs on a small scale are set afloat in case of individual illnesses. The process is as follows: — a rectangular piece is cut from a betelnut spathe, folded and stitched tight on three sides, and kept open by means of a cross-piece attached to its upper edges, so that it roughly resembles a boat; a sort of mast is also fixed in it. In this little vessel are placed various sweetmeats (*peunajõh*), sirih, a live hen, two raw eggs, boiled glutinous rice, flowers and a piece of white cotton. It is then taken to the river or the padi-fields, in which last case it is deposited at a spot where three or four ways meet (*simpang lhèë* or *peuët*). All this is carried out under the orders of a woman skilled in

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1) With the Malays it is *pantang* or tabooed for those in attendance on the small-pox patient to wear a *baju* or upper garment, or to talk loudly or quarrel in the house. Cocoanut-leaves or other green fronds are hung in front of the house to warn passers-by of the infection. These are called *gĕgawar*. (*Translator*).

2) *Ja* is the generic term for "ancestors." See above p. 49 et seq.

medicinal art (*ma ubat*) who herself conveys the *lanchang* to its destination, She first causes the patient to eat some of the sweetmeats; the other objects are moved backwards and forwards over the patient's head with solemn reckoning ending in a long-drawn *tujōōōōh!* [1]) (seven), and then placed in the boat.

Formerly, when an epidemic prevailed, the Sultan would command a great *lanchang* [2]) built of wood or bamboo and furnished with a quantity of rice and meat. A pretended human sacrifice to the sea was also made; some poor man who was willing to play the part of victim for a few dollars was placed on board the boat and set off to drift down the Acheh river and out of the kuala. At the river's mouth he would manage to regain the shore, leaving the rice and meat to their strife with the waves.

## § 8. Death and the disposal of the Dead.

The death-struggle.

If a sick person lies staring with fixed eyes (*mumandang*), and still more if he is seen gasping for breath with mouth open (*meu'ungkab*), the Achehnese say that the *sukreuët* [3]) or death-struggle has begun, and that all hope is vain. In moments of consciousness the dying person, in order to alleviate his battle with death, is wont to ask the members of his family who are present for forgiveness for his sins against them. They will then reply "It is naught" or "Forgiveness rests with our Lord Allah" [4]).

It is considered as of prime necessity for one of those present to prepare the dying man for the trials that await him after death by reminding him of the confession of faith: "There is no god but Allah."

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1) See the description of the *peurampòt* (p. 411) in which the same repetition of numbers is observed; see also p. 307. In the ceremony of counting here described as well as in those referred to above, nothing must intervene between the patient and the open door facing him.

2) This custom also exists in the Malay peninsula, in the northern part of which the same word *lanchang* is used to denote the boat; in the south it is called *jong*. The hantu or evil spirit which causes the epidemic is supposed to sail away in the boat. See also Skeat's *Malay Magic* pp. 433—6.

3) The Arab. سكرات (*sakarat* in Jav.), "death-struggle," "death-anguish." *Teungòh sukreuët* is said of one who is at the last gasp.

4) *Hana peuë* or *meu'ah ba' pòteu Alah.*

No sooner is a dead man laid in his grave, than he is visited by the angels Munkar and Nakīr (Ach. *Mòngkarōnwanangki*), terrible of aspect and prepared if he fails to answer their questions to chastise him grievously as a foretaste of what he has to expect after the resurrection. These questions relate to the faith, and only he who has died in that true faith can reply to them.

The Mohammedans believe that it is during the very last moments of man's life that the Devil makes especial efforts to lead him astray from his belief; and thus the dying when embarking on their journey to eternity are continually put in mind of that confession of faith, which is regarded as containing an epitome of all religious truth.

This last service rendered to man on the boundary between life and death is called *peuntat* or *peu'euntat* (properly = "to conduct," "show the way to").

There must be no weeping in the presence of the dying, but the Achehnese adat requires that when death supervenes all present should wail aloud in chorus. Like the Arabian *çiāh* [1]), this cry of lamentation also serves as an announcement of the death to the neighbours.

As may be seen in the Moslim law-books four duties are specially enjoined on the survivors in the case of a deceased Mohammedan.

1°. The washing of the body.

2°. Its envelopment in the shroud.

3°. The ritual service for the benefit of the dead.

4°. The burial.

All four must be in accordance with the detailed rules given in the books of the law.

As a matter of fact these rules are pretty faithfully observed among the Moslims of the Indian Archipelago, though here as everywhere else they are modified and added to in details by the adat of the country [2]).

In Acheh, before fulfilling any of the above obligations, they first of all wash the face of the deceased. This is always done with water from a *chinu* (ladle made of a cocoanut-shell), which is probably used on this solemn occasion as being the most primitive and old-fashioned

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1) See my Mekka vol. II, p. 188.

2) As to the ceremonial observances after death among the Malays of the Peninsula, which are practically identical with those here described, see Skeat's *Malay Magic*, pp. 397—408. (*Translator*).

vessel attainable, just as the bamboo knife is de rigueur for the severing of the navel-cord [1]).

The washing of the corpse.

The eyes of the dead are then closed, a band is wound round the head to keep the jaws together, and the body is laid on a bedstead (*prataïh*); shortly before death the sufferer is generally laid on the floor of the back verandah to give him space and coolness. Finally the corpse is enveloped in a costly garment, and all present sit down and await the coming of those whose task it is to wash the body.

Where a death occurs at night, the watching of course lasts till the morning; in such a case the dead is armed against malignant *jéns* with a small knife laid beneath his pillows, and watch is kept by his corpse, while a lamp burns close by. The chief object of this watch is to prevent the body from being touched by a cat, for the Achehnese, like the people of Java, believe that such contact would result in a ghostly resurrection, not a return to life, but a terrifying imitation thereof [2]).

In the case of men the washing is performed by the teungku of the *meunasah*, who brings one or two helpers with him; for women an expert of the same sex is summoned.

The body is now placed in the *jurèë*. In this room, as we have seen, provision is made at the time of building the house for the washing of the dead, by making an opening in the floor for the water to flow off by. The mats are taken up and the corpse is placed over the aperture in the floor, supported by two plantain stems laid at right angles to the opening so as to leave sufficient space under the body.

When the deceased leaves grown-up sons, the eldest squats at the head of the dead body and supports it with his hands, while a younger brother does the same for the feet. Where there are no sons, other relatives often pay this token of respect. In the case of persons of high rank or great religious teachers, the plantain stems are replaced by the outstretched legs of relations or friends of the deceased, who sit in rows opposite one another on each side of the body, and esteem it an honour to support it during the last purification [3]).

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1) Water from a *chinu* (*ië meuchinu*) is also required for the baptism of a newly-purchased ploughing buffalo, and we have already seen the use made of the *chinu* in the "waving" (*peurampòt*).

2) The Malays lay a betel-nut scisson (*kachip besi*) or a small knife on the breast of the corpse. This "contact with iron" is supposed to counteract the evil influence (*hadi*) of the cat. See Skeat's *Malay Magic*, p. 398. (*Translator*).

3) Cf. Skeat's *Malay Magic*, pp. 399—400.

We shall spare our readers a detailed description of the washing, noting only the fact that, in addition to water, soap (preferably that brought back by pilgrims from Mecca) or lime-juice (*bòh kruët*) is used as a detergent, while leaves of the *bada* [1]) and the *sijalòh* [2]) are squeezed into the water used for one of the six ablutions. After the cleansing in the literal sense of the word comes the ceremonial ablution, for which the teungku in accordance with the law first pronounces the *niët* (= "intention").

Though not obligatory and only recommended by the law, it is the universal custom for the survivors to follow up the washing of the dead body (*pumanòë manyèt*) by the small ceremonial ablution which generally serves to restore the standard of purity required for a ritual service. This *peutuëng ië seumayang* serves as it were to prepare the dead for the service presently to be held for his benefit. During the service the body is placed in front of those who perform it.

For those who are not yet circumcised the *pumanòë manyèt* and the *peutuëng ië seumayang* are replaced by the *tiamòm* (تَيَمُّم) i. e. the wiping of certain parts of the body with pure sand. This is permitted by the law in the case of those who cannot be, or can only partly be cleansed with water.

Shrouding of the corpse.

To dry the corpse it is entirely enveloped in a great towel (*ija peukréng*). Meanwhile the shroud lies ready on the bedstead (*prataïh*). If the deceased is a man, a large cloth called the turban (*seureuban*) is laid beneath his head, and round the upper part of the body is wound a piece of cloth with an opening through which the head protrudes; this cloth is called the *bajèë*. For the bodies of women this undergarment does not appear to be used in Acheh, though it is in Java. Over this comes the *kaphan* proper or winding-sheet, forming usually three but some times five or even seven layers; this covers the whole body. Poor persons use but one kaphan. Before these cloths are wrapped round the body, the face is covered and all orifices closed with wadding, over which is spread a little camphor. The hands are laid one above the other (*puwa*, properly to place the one within the other) in the manner prescribed for the living in prayer. The dress formed by the folded cloth is fastened over the head, beneath the feet, and in five

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1) Mal. *bidara*.
2) Mal. *nalu*.

other parts of the body, with bands of the same white material of which the kaphan is made. Before these bands are finally tied about the head and neck, an opportunity is given to the relatives to take their last leave of the dead.

The coffin. The use of coffins is, as we know, exceptional among Mohammedans [1]). It is desired that the last resting-place of the dead should be the earth in its literal sense. Hence where coffins are used, as in the Native States of Java, some earth is generally placed below the body. As a rule Mohammedan graves are made in one of the two following forms, according to the nature of the soil. One way is to dig a great square hole in the ground and then to hollow out in one of its sides a space which forms the real tomb (Arab. *laḥd*, Mal. *lahat*), in which the body is laid, so that the earth which is afterwards thrown into the grave covers it at one side only and not above. Or else, where the soil is too loose to make such a primitive vault even with the aid of one or two planks, a deep trench (Arab. *shiqq*) is dug in the bottom of the square hole from end to end and serves as the resting place of the body. The winding-sheet is loosened in the grave, and the head is partly exposed so as to allow the left cheek to come into contact with the soil.

In Acheh it is only slaves and the very poor who are buried in this fashion, customary as it is in other parts of the Archipelago, including Java. For others a wooden coffin (*kreunda*) is made.

The construction of the *kreunda* is seen to by the authorities of the gampōng. It is smaller at the foot than at the head and is provided with a loose lid. The bottom is made, not of planks, but of rattan or the midribs of cocoanut leaves (*peuleupeuë*), fastened together with rattan, in order to facilitate the contact of the body with the earth.

Burial. It is considered as of great importance that he who lays the body on the bier before leaving the house should be a connection by marriage of the deceased [2]), such as a son-in-law or brother-in-law. He places

1) The Malays employ coffins of three different sorts, the *papan sa-kĕping* (a simple plank), the *karanda* (= Ach. *kreunda*), a plain oblong plank box, and the *long*, described by Skeat (*Malay Magic* p. 399) as consisting of two planks which form a sort of gable with closed ends, or of a three sided box with the sides bulging out, both ends open, and no bottom. In the case of the *papan sa-kĕping* a wicker-work covering (*lerang-lerang*) of split bambus is used, while in the case of the *long*, the body lies on a mat. (*Translator*).

2) This custom does not prevail among the Malays; but where there are many children or grandchildren left by the deceased they are sometimes made to walk beneath the bier before it is carried to the burying-place. (*Translator*).

the body on the lid of the coffin, since the latter is borne to the tomb on the heads of two men, a method of transport known as *seu'ōn*, the way in which heavy objects are always carried by the Achehnese. Thus if the body were allowed to rest on the bottom of the bier, composed as it is of loose lattice work, it would come into contact with the heads of the bearers. Round the bier is fastened with bands of white cotton a mat or carpet [1]) which is afterwards handed over to the meunasah or gampōng-chapel by the heirs of the deceased. Over this are spread five or six handsome cloths, such as those worn by a bride.

The bier is solemnly borne down the steps of the house by a crowd of the fellow-villagers of the deceased. When they are half-way down, an old man or woman scatters over them from above *breuëh-padé* (husked and unhusked rice), and some copper money, calling three times upon the name of Allah.

The coffin is then set down in the front part of the enclosure, close to a mat which lies spread ready for those who wish to take part in the burial service.

The funeral service.

In Acheh, as in Java, this service (*seumayang manyèt*) presents a sad contrast to the intention of the Mohammedan law. According to the latter it is almost the same as an ordinary *çalāt* such as every Mohammedan is supposed to perform five times a day. It differs indeed in a number of special details from this daily service, but as the law urges all to take part in these services for the benefit of their fellow-believers, it assumes that such differences in details are generally known.

As a matter of fact, however, there are but very few who are acquainted with these rules. Every funeral is attended by a large number of persons who scarcely ever perform their obligatory prayers, and who would yet be ashamed to exhibit their ignorance in public. Thus they generally leave the performance of the whole ceremony in the hands of hired experts.

In an Achehnese village the *teungku* is naturally the person first chosen, and he is not unfrequently the *sole* performer of the service, though when funds permit, some *leubès* are also summoned. It is only where the deceased are devout persons or religious teachers that a number of people come and join in the *seumayang manyèt* of their

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1) This covering is known as *lapé' hreunda*.

own accord, and the rich make a show of their wealth on such occasions by engaging the services of a large number of *leubès*.

When the short funeral service is over, each of those who have taken part in it receives as *seudeukah* or gift of piety, a strip of white stuff, or if the deceased be of high position, a piece of the more expensive *patanilam*. Each of the fellow-villagers of the departed, who come to offer their condolences (*kumunjöng*) is given a present of from five to fifteen cents.

Visits of condolence.

The *kumunjöng* begins immediately after the death and lasts as long as seven days. The men who come to pay these visits are generally received in the space beneath the house (*yub mòh*), while the women pay their tribute of sympathy within the house itself.

On these occasions the usual display of oratory is conspicuous by its absence; in Acheh the native is most chary of his words both in congratulation and condolence. There is however one absurd custom which forms part of the condolences of women.

When a friend comes to express her sympathy, a female relation of the deceased or in her absence a stranger who is good enough to act as her deputy, has to "make the visitor wail" (*pumòë* or *puba'e*). This she does by herself crying loudly as she embraces her guest, whereupon the latter also sheds some theatrical tears and gives vent to a sound as of sobbing [1]). After this they act as though nothing had occurred and eat and drink what is set before them.

As may be imagined where are so many visitors, the strength of the kinswoman who does the wailing eventually becomes exhausted, and when a new guest arrives, there often ensues a discussion in the back verandah as to who shall undertake the duty.

The coffin is, as we have already stated, borne to the tomb on the

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1) *Mòë* "to weep" and *ba'e* "to lament" must be distinguished from *meunyaba'* i. e. the mentioning of the deceased's name with endearing epithets or description of his virtues, e. g. "my heart, the apple of mine eye" (*bòh atéku, bijèh mataku*). This is done by a woman on the death of a child, brother or sister, or of her parents, but not of her husband, as this is prohibited by feminine modesty. On the West Coast especially we meet with the adat known as *muphō*, looked on with strong disfavour by the pious. Some five or six days after a death, men, women and girls assemble together in the house, the walls of which are partly removed. The women and girls perform a dance in which they raise one leg repeatedly. This is accompanied by the recitation of pantöns which are often very far from decent in their purport. The performers keep by them ready-made sirih quids, which they distribute to their favourites among the male audience.

heads of two men, and if the deceased be a person of position, one or two umbrellas are held open over it.

There is a characteristic custom observed where the deceased is a member of the family of an ulèëbalang or of some one whose rank or wealth entitle him to like consideration.

On either side of the way to be taken by the funeral cortege, from the steps of the house through the courtyard and gampōng to where the road enters the surrounding fields, lengths of white cotton are suspended on poles. At intervals of about every four *haïh* (ells) in the length of the stuff a slight tear is made. These two fences of cotton are called *tutuë* or "the bridge" [1]).

As soon as the procession is set in motion, the people of the gampōng, as they pass, tear the cotton off in pieces of four ells in length, and each takes all he can, the consequence often being a free fight.

In Arabic the interment is called *jināzah* [2]) and this is corrupted by the Achehnese into *jeunadah*, but has with them taken on an entirely different signification from its Arabic original.

If a child dies unmarried, and also sometimes in case of the death of young married people or women in child-birth, the custom is to bear the body to the grave in a sort of ark, the frame of which is made of wood or bamboo, entirely surrounded by a cloth covering, over which are scattered flowers such as betelnut blossom, chĕmpaka, mĕlati etc. This ark, which is usually prepared by the women, is called *jeunadah* [3]); after the burial it is laid on the top of the grave.

As soon as the funeral procession has left the house, the whole wardrobe of the deceased (*reuhab*) is laid on the bedstead and flowers are scattered over it. It remains in this position for forty-four or one hundred days. On the floor beneath the *prataïh* must always be placed a vessel (*mundam*) full of water to slake the thirst of the spirit (*aruah*) of the deceased. Thus in Acheh, just as in Java, the dead man is

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1) *Tutuë* is a dialectic variation of *titi* "a bridge." [In the Malay of the northern part of the Peninsula "bridge" is also "*titi*;" in Malacca and Singapore it is *jĕmbatan* (*Translator*).]

2) According to Skeat (*Malay Magic*, p. 397), the name *jĕnaja* or *jĕnazah* is given to the dead body of a Raja, in contradistinction to the corpse of an ordinary person (*maiat*). (*Translator*).

3) The same name is given to the *tabut*, which is carried round in procession by the Klings and the people of Padang during the Ḥasan-Ḥusain feast, and also to a similar coffer which is used to send yellow glutinous rice, with a certain amount of pomp, as a present on the occasion of the circumcision of the son of a relative or friend.

popularly believed to be, in a certain sense, present in the house for a definite period after his death.

The Javanese custom of placing by the bedside from day to day one or more dishes of the favourite food of the deceased, does not prevail in Acheh. We find here, however, an adaptation of this custom, viz. the serving of these favourite dishes at the funeral feasts or *kanduris*. This is also gradually gaining ground in Java.

The *reuhab* is sometimes given away in alms after the funeral, but more often sold by the greedy heirs.

During this period of one hundred days, the wife, children, brothers and sisters of the deceased must refrain from staining their feet red with *gacha* (Arab. *ḥinna*).

The burial itself takes place as follows: the wrappings of the coffin are unfastened, and it is placed on the edge of the grave [1]), within which two men stand prepared to receive it. Sometimes, but not always, the *bang* or *adan* (call to prayer) is recited inside the grave. The *kreunda* is then set in the midst of the grave, now of course with the bottom downwards, in such a position that the head of the deceased points towards the North. The bands which are fastened round the *kaphan* are then loosened, and a *teungku* is requested to say whether the body is in the desired position, i. e. with the face towards Mecca (*kiblat*). Sandbags are placed by way of cushions to support the neck and the middle of the body.

The grave. The depth of the grave is such to bring its edge on a level with the gravedigger's breast. The length and breadth are supposed to be four *haïh* (ell or cubit, the distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger) [2]), but in fact it is more spacious than this, as otherwise it would be difficult for the men standing inside to lay down the bier. When this has been done, some earth is handed down to those inside by others from above to cover the coffin. This is done slowly and carefully, for if by mishap a clod of earth should fall noisily on the coffin it is regarded as "a token that others will follow" (*tanda seumeutèt*)

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1) The grave is called *uruë'* (properly an excavated hole) after it has been prepared but still stands empty. After the burial it is called *jeurat*, which is the commoner expression also used to denote the graves of the unbelievers, or *kubu*, which is more refined. *Bhōm*, as we have already seen, indicates the burial-place of a family or the members of a clan.

2) Hence the common oath: *ba' bè' jitrimòng lé humòë peuët haïh, bit* = "What I say is true, so may the four cubits of earth never receive me (if I lie)!"

i. e. that there will soon be another death in the same house. Such an occurrence excites special horror in times of epidemic.

When once the coffin is covered, the grave is filled without more ado, and the earth is then gradually trodden flat.

The graves of persons of rank are always raised somewhat higher than those of humbler folk, and the tumulus formed above the grave is somewhat rounded off. As temporary grave-marks (*nisan*), live ricinus-plants (*nawaïh*) are placed at the head and foot of the grave; these plants are later on replaced by two tomb-stones. Finally the grave is besprinkled from head to foot from a water-pot filled with water mixed with a little powdered sandalwood, and which is brought from the house with the body; while at the head of the grave is spread a mat, on which the *teunghu* takes his seat in the midst of those who have followed the body to the tomb.

The teuleukin.

We have seen above that the dying are fortified by the *peuntat* (see p. 419) against the inquisition of the angels of the tomb. The law, which in this respect is universally observed, requires that the deceased should be once more reminded when laid in the grave of what he needs for that enquiry. The object of the *talqīn* formula (Ach. *teuleukin*) is chiefly to let the newly buried hear the confession of faith once more before taking leave of him.

Fearful indeed are the punishments dealt out even in the narrow limits of the grave to the unhappy wight whose answers (which always harmonize with his manner of life on earth) are deemed unsatisfactory by his dread inquisitors. Those who have sharp ears sometimes hear the tormented wretches shrieking in their graves, so that it is considered undesirable to live in the neighbourhood of the tombs of great evildoers or tyrants.

The grandfather of the present Teuku Nè' (chief of Meura'sa), who under the title of *Teuku Ulèë Lheuë* was the right hand man of the old *Teuku Nè'* (the second predecessor of the present chief), lives in the memory of the people as an atrocious tyrant. When buried he shrieked (*geumeuchië'*) so dreadfully in his tomb that the people of the neighbourhood after being continually robbed of sleep, secretly exhumed his body and cast it into the sea. Such at least is the story.

The *teungku* usually reads the *teuleukin* [1]) from a book, together

1) The Malays believe that the corpse revives momentarily and raises itself on its elbow (*ber-tëkku*) to listen to the *talkin*. Skeat's *Malay Magic*, p. 406. (*Translator*).

with the proper prayer for the repose of the departed soul. All those present then perform *ratéb*, i. e. repeat a hundred times or more *lā ilāha illā 'llāh* = "there is no God but Allah," and the teungku repeats another prayer, the *du'a kubu* or funeral prayer. After partaking of the plantains brought for their refreshment, the company returns to the house of mourning, where there awaits them a kanduri of rice and its accessories, called the "kanduri of those returning from the grave [1]).

As a fee for his *teuleukin* the *teungku* receives by fixed custom *samaïh*, i. e. ¼ of a dollar, but the growing demands of the time have gradually increased the amount of this gift to nearly a dollar. Most people lay by during their lifetime the money destined for this purpose (*ha' teuleukin*), and do not touch it under any circumstances; hence the proverbial saying when some one has lost his all by theft or accident, "they have taken away with them even my *teuleukin*-money [2])."

The *teungku* is also given the *ija peukréng*, the great piece of cloth spread for a few moments as a "towel" over the body after the ablution. This is often replaced by an unused piece of white cotton, but the name *ija peukréng* is retained.

Lastly he profits by the custom of the Achehnese of employing *tahlils* for the benefit of the dead. *Tahlil* is the meritorious act of reciting the words *lā ilāha illā 'llāh* "there is no god but Allah." According to the Moslim doctrine, one can perform for the benefit of the dead good works which are not obligatory, thus making over to them the reward which God has appointed for such works. On this notion is also based the common form of saint-worship, namely the distribution of money, giving of feasts and the like at the tomb of a saint. The recompense for such pious acts is made over to the saint, not that he has need of it, but to secure his goodwill. This amounts to a request to the departed one to use his good offices as far as he can to win the fulfilment at God's hands of a definite wish on the part of the suppliant.

To the ordinary uncanonized dead, on the other hand, the recompense of good works is devoted without any such egotistical purpose, to increase their "provision for the journey to the other world." The custom in Acheh requires that special *tahlils* should be recited in such

1) *Kanduri ureuëng wòë dijeurat;* the name *surtanah* given to this feast in other parts of the E. Indian Archipelago is unknown in Acheh.

2) *Lōn ha'-ha' teuleukin ka abêh jichò'.*

cases, and as it is important that this task should be performed by suitable persons, it is generally assigned to experts such as leubès or ulamas. The usual tariff is $ 4. for 100.000 tahlils. On the day of the death this sum is handed over to the teungku of the gampōng, who retains say a quarter of a dollar for himself, and divides the rest among a number of *leubès* and *ulamas*, informing them of the purpose in hand. It is also not unusual for near relatives of the deceased to give in addition money presents to certain devout and learned men, requesting them to undertake the recital of such and such a number of tahlils for the benefit of the departed one. Another pious work, the "merit" of which is in all Mohammedan lands devoted to the service of the dead, is the recitation of portions of the Qurān. Hence in many districts professional reciters may be seen in the burial-grounds waiting for clients who employ them for a small sum to add to the heavenly recompense of their deceased relatives.

In Acheh it is customary to have a portion of the Qurān chanted (*beuët dijeurat*) for this purpose every morning and afternoon during the first ten days after a death. This is done either at the grave, or if that be too remote, in the house where the death took place. Rich people hire a number of persons for this purpose, but as a general rule it is performed by one only. This one is again the *teungku*, who has a sort of adat-claim to be so employed; he may however depute another in his place. The fee for these ten days is about two dollars, besides two meals daily, for after each recitation the reciters come and seek refreshment in the house.

Where this recitation takes place at the grave, a *mundam* of water is poured over the tomb at the conclusion of each portion, just as after the interment.

Kanduris for the benefit of the dead.

The following days, counting from that of the death, are kept in commemoration thereof; the 3d, 5th, 7th, 10th, 30th, 40th or 44th, 100th and the anniversary of the death [1]). The 1000th day is not observed in Acheh.

On the first four (3d, 5th, 7th and 10th) of these days, the fellow-villagers are invited to a *kanduri* of yellow glutinous rice. The meal is usually preceded by *meuhatam*, i. e. the recitation of a portion of

1) The day of burial counts as the first day. If the funeral is on a Tuesday, the first great kanduri falls on the Friday, the second on the Sunday following, and so on, counting by the number of nights that the corpse has lain in the grave.

the Qurān concluding with the *hatam*-prayer which properly serves to mark the termination of a complete recitation of the Qurān. For this purpose *mukadams* (little books, each of which contains one of the thirty divisions or *jüh* of the Qurān) are distributed among the more learned of the guests as they enter the house.

The names of these kanduris follow the serial numbers of the days on which they are held: *kanduri uròë lhèë, limòng, tujōh* and *siplōh*. The daring levity of the Achehnese has given popularity to the following saying:

*Uròë lhèë — mubèë,*
*Uròë limòng — keumòng,*
*Uròë tujōh — beureutōih,*
*Uròë siplōh — ka ulat pajōh.*

"The third day (the body) smells, the fifth it swells, the seventh it bursts, the tenth the worms have devoured it."

On the other days mentioned all that is done is to give very small kanduris (*kanduri beuët bu*) to some needy folk, or to have the Qurān recited in the evening by a few *leubès*, who are supplied with food either before or after the performance of this task. On the 7th day the kanduri must consist in part at least of apam-cakes; the reason for this has been given in our description of the calendar of feasts under the head of the seventh month.

On the 44th day the female members of the family go and visit the grave. They take with them water to pour on the tomb, flowers as an offering and plantains to be eaten on the spot. They also render service to the deceased by Qurān recitations if there are among them one or more female *teungkus* or women of religious learning.

Tombstones. The same day is sometimes chosen for the *pula batèë* or "planting of the stones," i. e. the actual tombstones, in place of the ricinus-plants which are put down as marks after the burial. It often happens, however, that this is postponed for a considerable time owing to temporary lack of the funds required for the ceremony, or because the season *musém pichê blang* forbids the "planting of the stones."

Nor is that forbidden in the "close season" only. While the padi is being sown in the nurseries, no tombstones may be set up, even though the land is then "open." And this is no mere adat-rule that may be transgressed at will, like so many others; did anyone venture to do such a thing, the *keuchi'* would at once interpose his prohibition, as

otherwise all the padi in the neighbourhood might fail as the result of the transgression.

The tombstones are imported from neighbouring islands, such as Pulò Wè, and sold for one or two dollars a set. The stones brought from these islands are oval or globular in shape, and pairs are made of those which match best. In former times the wealthier folk used to have chiselled tombstones, and employed for this purpose a porous and easily workable kind of stone from Pulò Batèë [1]) (Stone Island) opposite Ulèë Lheuë (Olehleh). Till quite recently the people of Meura'sa possessed great skill in cutting these stones, so that the *batèë Meura'sa* were in great demand throughout all Acheh.

The tombstones were given a different shape according as they were intended for men or for women (*nisan agam* and *inòng*). Those for men, for instance, were prisms with four, six or eight angles [2]). Sometimes, too, they narrowed towards the base, so that the lower surface was smaller than the upper, while the side surfaces resembled reversed trapezia. Foot pieces and ornamental tops of various forms relieved the unwieldiness of their appearance, and the whole surface was cut in fine patterns [3]) of leaf-work, the words of the confession of faith being sometimes engraved on the stone.

For women the side-surfaces of the stones were made narrow, the back and front broad; as the Achehnese express it, the stones are "flat" or "thin." On both sides, where the crown joined the trunk, were widely projecting spiral ornaments suggesting ears, and called *subang* (earrings) by the Achehnese. Sometimes the two stones were connected by a long flat one which overspreads the whole surface of the tomb from head to foot. This is called *batèë badan* (body stone).

The *pula batèë* and all that is connected with it is attended to by the walis of the deceased, or if the latter is a married woman, by her husband. Should he conclude a new marriage or demand back the *ha' balèë* [4])

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1) This sort of stone was also used to form the pediment (*keunaleuëng*) of the posts of Achehnese houses. It is easy to work but not durable. Hewn tomb-stones are now largely imported from Penang.

2) Skeat (*Malay Magic*, p. 408), believes that these were evolved from a phallic emblem. (*Translator.*)

3) Two of the handsomest patterns, which are also employed in silk-weaving, are called *awan* (clouds) and *glima* (pomegranates).

4) See p. 364 above, where we have shown under what circumstances the husband has a claim to *ha' balèë*.

from his parents-in-law before the "planting of the tombstones" has been attended to either by him or her father, he is branded as a man with no sense of honour. In like manner, as we have seen [1]), the relatives of a deceased man cannot press their claims to interfere with the up-bringing of the children against the widow until they have seen to the erection of the *pula batèë*.

The setting up of the stones is accompanied by a religious feast (*kanduri*). Some give this at home, others on a larger scale at the place of burial. Yellow glutinous rice is indispensable, and it is also thought desirable to slay a goat. The *teungku* of the gampong acts as "planter." He first effects the indispensable "cooling" by scattering *breuëh-padé* (husked and unhusked rice) over both stones and besprinkling them with flour and water with the besom already alluded to [2]), formed from the three kinds of "cooling" plants. This ceremony is introduced with a *bismillah* (= in the name of Allah). The teungku then sets up the tombstones and consecrates the feast with a prayer, if the viands furnished for the occasion appear to him worth the trouble.

Little care is taken to keep the graves from being overgrown, so that few Achehnese can tell the exact spot where their ancestors are buried. After a generation or two no one troubles about them any longer. Visits to the tombs are only paid on the occasion of great feasts [3]). A bride visits the tombs of her parents and grandparents on the eve of her marriage, but the bridegroom seldom does so. Before circumcision such a pilgrimage is made only in the rare cases where a great deal is made of the affair, and where the boy's father happens to have been a great teacher or a distinguished chief. The Javanese idea of asking the permission of the dead ancestors for such important acts is quite strange to the Achehnese.

A widow who cherishes her husband's memory and has the necessary means at her command, usually takes upon herself voluntarily many of the expenses occasioned by his death. Should she be unable or unwilling to do so, the Mohammedan law is then followed. This law prescribes that before proceeding to the distribution of the property, all debts of the deceased, including his funeral expenses, should be paid off and satisfied.

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1) See p. 402.
2) See p. 305.
3) See pp. 241 and 243 above.

At the same time it is incumbent on the widow to keep her husband's relatives in mind of the *kanduris* that have to be given etc. and to fix in consultation with them the amount to be thus laid out, as otherwise the relatives would be certain subsequently to refuse to allow these expenses to be charged upon the inheritance.

The interest displayed by the relations of a married man in the proper disposal of his remains after death often leaves much to be desired, where it is known that the heritage is insufficient, or nearly so, to cover the expenses connected with burial. In such cases the affair is left entirely in the hands of the widow or her family. Stinginess in such matters is characteristic of the Achehnese, in strong contradistinction with the Javanese, who are only too ready to throw away their money even on funerals.

Announcement of deaths.

It often happens in Acheh that a man dies on the North, East or West Coast, or at least at a great distance away from his wife and children or his parents. It is than an adat-duty for those in whose house the death occurs to notify it to the wife or parents of the deceased. This is done by bringing to them his *ija bajèë* [1]), i. e. his clothes. It is however not absolutely necessary to produce one of each kind of garment worn; a single lower garment will suffice. In presenting the bundle containing the garments to the survivors, the bringer says "this is the token of the departed" (*nyòë alamat ureuëng maté*). In the case of persons of position, the *ija* must be as voluminous as possible, and folded up in another *ija* of costly material.

This official notice is usually long preceded by the news or rumour of the death. This however does not prevent the "arrival of the clothes" (*ka tò' ija bajèë* as it is called), from giving rise to a perfunctory loud wailing followed by condolence (*kumunjòng*) of friends and neighbours with its attendant ceremonial.

The customary manner of referring to the dead is based on the confusion (common also among our own people) of the souls or the immortal part of men with angels. They say for instance *mala'ikat ayah lòn* (lit. "the angel my father") = my late father. In Java in like manner the dead is glorified as a dweller in paradise by the

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1) The Achehnese language possesses no generic term for clothes; *peukayan* betokens only ornaments of precious metal. Thus the combination of two principal articles of dress (*ija* = lower garment and *bajèë* = coat) is employed to designate clothing generally.

addition of the terms *swarga* or *jĕnat*, used respectively according as the person spoken of is of high or low rank.

In some cases *aruah* = "spirit" is used in place of *mala'ikat*. This is done where reference is made to an occurrence during the lifetime of the deceased (e. g. *ada' yōh na aruah A* = "when A. was still living"), or when someone relates how they have seen him in a dream [1]).

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## § 9. Distribution of Effects.

"The day". The division of property is not arranged till the principal funeral ceremonies are over, i. e. till "the day has come" (*ka tō' uròë*), by which is meant the 44th or the 100th day after the death.

Interference of the ulèëbalang. It is only where the inheritance is very paltry that its administration is left entirely in the hands of the family. In all other cases the ulèëbalang interposes. The official grounds for his intervention are as follows:

1°. That the interests of minors are involved.

2°. That one of the heirs is discontented with the distribution made, and consequently files a suit before the ulèëbalang.

3°. That the amount of the property is too large to justify its administration being left in the hands of the heirs, who are probably ignorant persons.

The real reason however is that the ulèëbalang, when he takes the matter in hand, cuts off 10% of the property for himself as *ha' pra'é* (حق فرائض = "that which is due for the fixing of portions of inheritance").

The *teungku* and *keuchi'* of the gampong go with the interested parties to the *ulèëbalang*. An account is given to the latter of the heritable assets; gold and other valuables, including money, are actually shown him, and the total value of the property in dollars is estimated.

After this the debts are reckoned up and arrangements made for their liquidation. These liabilities include, as we have seen, in addition to the debts contracted by the deceased during his lifetime, all his

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1) In speaking of one who is absent, as for instance a friend or relative who is on a journey, the Achehnese always place before his name the words *teusrō' manèh*, "may he choke gently," as it is thought that to mention his name would result in his being choked.

funeral expenses, unless these are voluntarily settled, as for example by his widow. Besides this there is the debt "to Allah." This includes in particular the expenses of a deputy haji (*baday*). These are deducted from the effects after death, where the deceased has been in a position to perform the haj during his life time, but has availed himself of the permission given by the Shafi'ite school to postpone indefinitely the fulfilment of this duty [1]).

Another sort of debt to Allah requires to be described at greater length, the more so as this custom is also very prevalent in Java, and has not, so far as I am aware, been mentioned in any extant work [2]).

Penalty (padiah) for neglected prayers.

There are comparatively few Mohammedans who do not leave at their death a considerable deficit of ritual prayers (*çalāt*, Ach. *seumayang*) five of which every full-grown man has to perform daily.

Now it is a ruling doctrine of the Shafi'ite school that this arrear can only be cleared off by penance and punishment in hell, or by the merciful forgiveness of Allah, and that neglect to perform this purely "bodily" obligation cannot be made good by gifts to the poor. In opposition to this there are some Shafi'ite teachers [3]) of authority who hold the view that this latter method may be availed of. They direct that the *çalāts* neglected by the deceased should be counted up as carefully as possible, and that for every one of these a mudd of the grain of the country (rice in Sumatra and Java), should be given to the poor, the burden being borne by the inheritance. Others again teach that if the deceased leaves some property his *walis* are bound to make up (*qadha*) the çalāts omitted by him, or to appoint others to do so as their deputies, paying them if need be for their services.

Those who hold the first of these two views expressly require the distribution of the dole to be made in the staple grain of the country, just as is prescribed in the case of the pitrah. The Ḥanafites, who are also in favour of the doctrine of the distribution of food among the poor, raise no objection to the grain being replaced by its value in money.

It may easily be imagined that many teachers favour the practice

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1) See my "Mekka", Vol. II, p. 310.

2) It is perhaps superfluous to observe that Mr. L. W. C. Van den Berg never mentions this either in his *Mohammedaansch Recht* or in his essay on the *Afwijkingen*.

3) For all the necessary information on this point see the *Tuhfah* Vol. III p. 231—2, edition with the marginal notes of as-Sharwānī, Cairo 1305 H.

based on such views, since it is all to their advantage. For it is they themselves who are the poor and needy among whom is distributed the corn or its value in money, and who unite with a religious life a real or pretended lack of means. The performance of çalāts by deputy is also a source of profit to them, since the walis seldom or never take this task upon themselves, and require substitutes who are known to be capable of performing the çalāt in such a way as to satisfy all the requirements of the law.

In Java, on the death of persons of substance who do not belong to the category of the "santri" (devout persons), one of the three following methods is adopted as a rule in some districts, and as an exception in others:

1°. Counting up the çalāts, which should have been performed by the deceased during his lifetime and employing one or more santris (especially members of the *kaum* = servants of the mosque) to make up the deficiency.

2°. Paying the indemnity (*fidyah*) at the rate of 1 mudd of rice for the poor per çalāt. As however it seldom happens that people have the requisite quantity of rice in store, they resort to the expedient of purchasing a sack of rice which is good for say 100 çalāts from one of the recipients of the dole, and giving it to another. This is repeated over and over again, so that in point of fact the "poor" (i. e. the people of the *kaum*) do actually receive the money.

3°. Distributing the value of the rice in direct money payments. This is done under the express *taqlid* [1]) of the Ḥanafite school.

There is another expedient resorted to in order to cloak the fact that it is only the rich who can make use of the system of *fidyah* or the vicarious performance of çalāts. This expedient has been improvised evidently not so much to satisfy the consciences of those of moderate means, as to multiply the chances of the officials of the mosques and other devotees to increase their sources of income. The sum due in money for the performance of çalāts may easily amount to some hundreds or thousands of guilders. Should full payment be insisted on, it is probable that many would show a preference for the "ruling" Shafi'ite doctrine, according to which all such paying off of çalāts is superfluous or even impossible; the requirements of the law may not

1) See above pp. 344 et seq.

be made the subject of traffic. But there is nothing to prevent the greedy votaries of *fidyah* or çalāt-fees from coming to an agreement with the heirs somewhat in the following fashion. "Your relative," they may say, "has left çalāts to be made good to the value of two thousand guilders, but in view of the interests of his heirs it will be difficult to set apart more than two hundred for this purpose. Give now this sum of 200 guilders to one of us as *fidyah* or recompense for the wiping off of one tenth of the debt due to Allah, and we promise that this amount will be accepted in due form for the purpose named, but will in fact be immediately handed back again. This we shall repeat ten times, and the debt will thus be paid through our co-operation. All we ask for ourselves is the 200 guilders, that the oldest and wisest among us may distribute it as is right and just."

This is the ordinary way in which the fidyah or fee for vicarious performance of çalāts is paid off in the districts of Java where the custom prevails. After every death of a person of substantial means who does not belong to the "upper classes," the farce we have just sketched takes place [1]).

In Acheh there are plenty of people who at their death leave behind them great arrears of uncompleted ritual prayers. Here too the *leubès* and *ulamas* are not a whit less grasping than in Java, and are thus equally strongly inclined to uphold the unauthorized view taken by some Shafi'ite authorities. On the other hand the covetousness of the heirs is just as great, and in many cases they declare that the matter is incapable of calculation, and that though the deceased neglected his chief religious obligations for years, he has left no account of his omissions.

Nevertheless it sometimes occurs in Acheh also that *padiah* (as it called by the Achehnese) for neglected prayers and fasts is paid out of the estate as an imperative debt, especially where the amount due can be fairly accurately fixed. As the name *padiah* (Ar. *fidyah* = ransom) implies, the idea involved is that of a compensation without resorting

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1) Sometimes the play has a less agreeable ending. I know of a case in Bantën, where an Arab who had been invited to a funeral feast, witnessed for the first time in his life this method of distributing the *fidyah*. He saw the purse containing the money passed from hand to hand with the usual formal gift, acceptance and return. It came to him in his turn, but after he had duly accepted the money, he absolutely refused to restore it, in spite of all representations based on the adat. The chance of profit proved too strong for him!

to *taqlīd*, so that the custom is to give a quantity of rice, which is repurchased repeatedly from its recipient. Cases of farming out the çalāts are also to be met with, but these are likewise called *padiah* in the vernacular.

Achehno-Mohammedan law of inheritance.

After all debts have been deducted from the total sum at which the estate is valued, the ulèëbalang directs the kali or some other ulama whose services are available, to reckon up the portions of the various heirs. Hence it follows that the Mohammedan law mainly controls the distribution; most of the departures from this law introduced by the adat of Acheh have already been described. Such are the deduction from the estate in some districts of one-half of the *atra sihareukat* (common earnings of man and wife) for the benefit of the survivor of the two (see pp. 365-6 above); the rule that raiment or ornaments given by the man to his wife form, with few exceptions, part of the husband's estate (pp. 327-8); that married people do not inherit from one another unless the *janji jeunamèë* has expired before one of the two dies (p. 363); and that presents of parents to their children (*peunulang*) are subsequently taken into account at the distribution of the parents' estate (p. 357). To this it may be added that the adat requires for various reasons that houses and their enclosures should as a rule be assigned to the daughters, and rice-fields and weapons to the sons.

Where the portion falling to each is fixed in dollars, the supervision of the just distribution of movable and immovable property among the various claimants rests on the *teungku* of the gampōng as the deputy of the ulèëbalang.

The latter, as we have seen, takes 10% as *ha' pra'é*, to the disgust of the ulamas and kalis, whose covetousness only allows them to approve of this application of the adat when it turns to their own advantage. The ulèëbalang gives part of his share by way of a present to the *kali* or *ulama*, and to the *keuchi'* and *teungku*.

Control of the property of fatherless infants.

The property of infant children who have lost their father by death is usually handed over to the custody of the mother. The walis of the deceased, however, show pro formâ their interest in the childrens' concerns by requesting the widow, on the 44th or 100th day after his death, to exhibit to them all the property which belongs of right to the children. This pretended interference is simply to save them from being subsequently charged with neglecting the interests of their young relations, and enabling them to say "we have satisfied ourselves fully as to their means."

Where the mother also dies, the administration of the orphans' property is left to their father's brothers, unless the ulèëbalang has no confidence in them, in which case he takes the matter into his own hands. This he does only too often, when the property is large enough to excite his greed. The same often happens in regard to the estates of absent persons, while those of foreigners who die in Acheh frequently disappear into the *bait al-māl* (state treasury) which means really that it finds its way into the pockets of the ulèëbalangs.

Such a system of administration furnishes, as may easily be supposed a fruitful source of abuses. Of these the very least is that the ulèëbalang trades with the money under his control and renders little or no account of the profits. As a rule, however, the settlement with the claimants, even when these have attained their majority, is endlessly deferred, and in the protacted "deliberations" as to its disposal, fresh slices are constantly cut off from the principal. Should the ulèëbalang die before the settlement takes place, his son or whoever else succeeds him professes to know nothing of the matter and to have found no notes or reliable witnesses in regard to the administration, and thus excuses himself from making any payment whatever.

128 7

95 15 (Eastern Longitu

96°

Subdivisions:

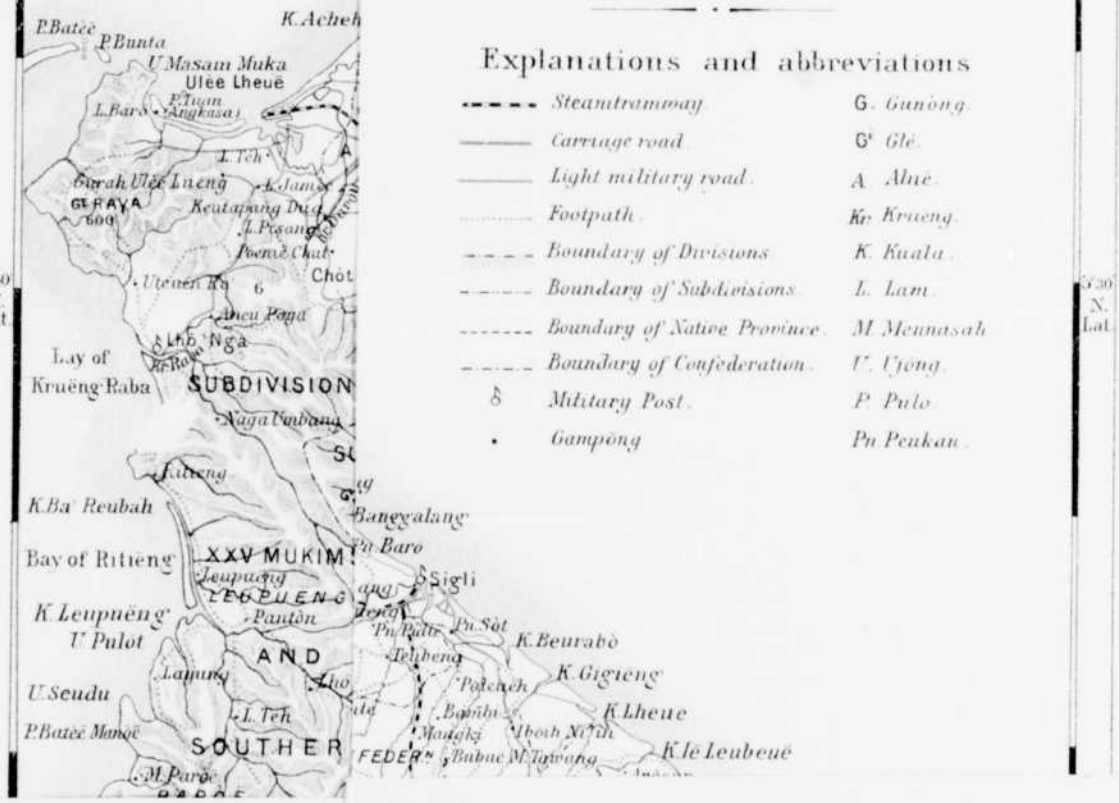
A *Territory of Kuta Ra*

B *Territory not belong*
*three sagis of Ache*

# GREAT ACHEH
## (ACHEH PROPER)

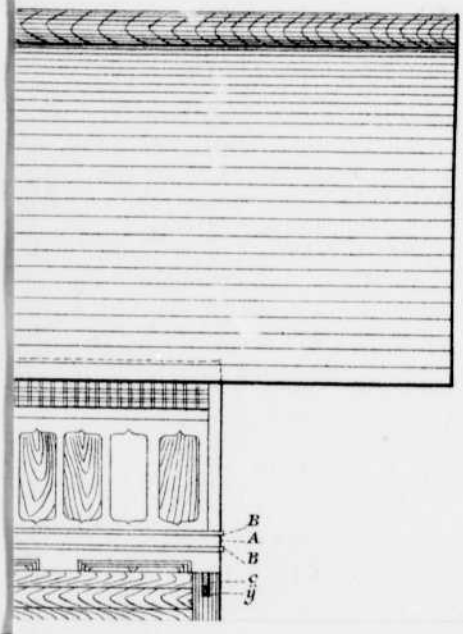
and the neighbouring littoral states.

Scale 1: 300,000




### Explanations and abbreviations

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ---- | *Steamtramway* | G. | *Gunòng* |
| ——— | *Carriage road* | G' | *Glè* |
| ——— | *Light military road* | A. | *Ahuè* |
| ..... | *Footpath* | Kr. | *Krueng* |
| - - - - | *Boundary of Divisions* | K. | *Kuala* |
| - - - - | *Boundary of Subdivisions* | L. | *Lam* |
| ------- | *Boundary of Native Province* | M. | *Meunasah* |
| - - - - | *Boundary of Confederation* | U. | *Ujong* |
| 8 | *Military Post* | P. | *Pulo* |
| • | *Gampòng* | Pu. | *Peukan* |




# EXPLANATORY TABLE.

*a.* KEUNALEUÈNG = base-blocks resting on the TEUNAMBA' or raised ground, which is about 30 centimetres above the level of the surrounding ground.

*b.* TAMÈH = posts supporting main and auxiliary roofs.

*c.* TŌY = lower transverse girders the ends of which are fixed in slots cut in the posts.

*d.* RŌ' = lower lengthwise girders similarly fixed.

*e.* LHUÈ = floor-joists.

*f.* GRATAN = supplementary girders placed on the lower transverse girders to carry the floor-joists, which are of less thickness than the lower lengthwise girders.

*g.* BARA PANYANG = wall-plates fixed to the top of the principal posts, of which the two centre ones carry the ceiling-joists.

*h.* BARA LINTEUÈNG ceiling-joists, which also serve as tie-beams for the top-rafters.

*j.* TITIMAMA = ceiling-joists. Ceilings are only found in some of the Achehnese houses.

*k.* DIRI = king-posts to which are fastened the rafters of the main roof, which are notched over each other at the top. The lower ends of these posts, like those of the rafters, rest on broad supporting beams.

*l.* TULEUÈNG RUÈNG = the ridge. When the thatch (BOEBŌNG) of sago palm-leaves (ōn meureuya) or nipah-leaves has been set in its place and another covering (TAMPŌNG) of woven cocoanut leaves (BLEUÈT) has been placed on the top of the ridge, the whole ridge is called DUÈ, the ornamental top of the ridge being styled ULÈÈ DUÈ.

*m.* GEUNEUNTÒN GASEUÈ = the long ridge-pole to keep the rafters in position.

# Hier bevindt zich een uitklapvel

**Boek:**
Sign. van het origineel: 302 B 19,20 I
Signatuur microvorm: 106023
Moedernegatief opslagnummer: 4072

**Uitklapvel:**
Aantal: 3
Moedernegatief opslagnummer: 4100
Positie in boek: achter in boek