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C. SNOUCK

HURGRONJE

THE

ACHEHNESE

VOL. II



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BY

DR. C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE

LATE E. J. BRILL
LEYDEN

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TEUKU UMA. SLAIN 10th FEBRUARY 1899.

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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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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

VOLUME II.

CHAPTER I. *Learning and Science;* Pp. 1—65.

(1) The practice of the three branches of Mohammedan teaching and its preliminary study in Acheh; p. 1. (2) The heretical mysticism and its antagonists; p. 10. (3) Present level of learning in Acheh; p. 20. (4) Schools and student life; p. 23. (5) Branches of knowledge not appertaining to the threefold learning of Islam; p. 32. (6) Art; p. 59.

CHAPTER II. *Literature;* Pp. 66—189.

(1) Introductory; stories; forms of written literature; p. 66. (2) The Hikayat Ruhé; p. 78. (3) Epic Hikayats; p. 80. (4) Original treatises; p. 117. (5) Fiction; p. 121. (6) Tables relating to animals; p. 158. (7) Religious works; — pre-Mohammedan era; p. 165; (8) Idem; — Mohammedan era; p. 171. (9) Idem; — books of instruction and edification; p. 183.

CHAPTER III. *Games and Pastimes;* Pp. 190—268.

(1) Various games of young and old; p. 190. (2) Games of chance; p. 208. (3) Ratébs; p. 216. (4) Music; p. 267. (5) Processions and popular feasts; p. 265. (6) Hikayats; p. 268.

CHAPTER IV. *Religion;* Pp. 269—351.

(1) Introduction; p. 269. (2) Doctrine, popular beliefs, worship of saints, oaths; p. 281. (3) The remaining four "Pillars of Islam"; p. 303. (4) Domestic Law; p. 314. (5) Laws relating to trade and business; p. 319. (6) Government and the administration of Justice; p. 321. (7) The future of Islam; p. 338.

INDEX; Pp. 353—384.

CORRIGENDA.

Vol. II, p. 19, note 2: ابقس, بربقس, read: ابغس, بربغس.
„ „ „ 35, note 1: *Telong*, read: *Tèlòng*.
„ „ „ 47, line 4 from below: *srëng*, read: *sréng*.
„ „ „ 48, last line: *sakèt*, read: *sakét*.
„ „ „ 75, line 24: *onomatapaeic*, read: *onomatopoeic*.
„ „ „ 76, line 15: *tabung-‖ka*, read: *tabungka‖*.
„ „ „ 87, line 26: *te*, read: *the*.
„ „ „ 106, title of the picture: *the Louëng Bata*, read: *Luëng Bata*.
„ „ „ 108, line 23: *Teuka*, read: *Teuku*.
„ „ „ 121, line 20: *catastroph*, read: *catastrophe*.
„ „ „ 125, line 16: *Panjang*, read: *Panyang*.
„ „ „ 133, line 35: *Parég*, read: *Paréh*.
„ „ „ 135, line 18: *grurenda*, read: *geureuda*.
„ „ „ 135, line 19: *naza*, read: *naga*.
„ „ „ 145, note 1, line 2: *Hague*, read: *Hague*.
„ „ „ 145, note 4, line 1: *Kajangan*, read: *Kayangan*.
„ „ „ 186, line 9: *worke*, read: *works*.
„ „ „ 204, line 2 from below: *games*, read: *games* [2]).
„ „ „ 206, line 11 from below: *apparation*, read: *apparition*.
„ „ „ 206, line 34: *survives*, read: *survive*.
„ „ „ 208, note 2: *te Malays*, read: *the Malays*.
„ „ „ 208, note 2, line 3: *sevenholes*, read: *seven holes*.
„ „ „ 216, line 3: *on certain*, read: *on a certain*.
„ „ „ 223, line 33: *rythmic*, read: *rhythmic*.
„ „ „ 260, note 1: *rëbah*, read: *rëbab*.
„ „ „ 261, line 6 from below: *at the same time*, read: *and at the same time*.
„ „ „ 262, note: *who weard*, read: *who wears*.

CORRIGENDA.

Vol. II, p. 266, line 21: *meu' ōn,* read: *meu'ōn.*
" " " 273, line 13: *undoubled,* read: *undoubted*
" " " 277, line 12: *utterances,* read: *utterance.*
" " " " line 14: *before*; read: *before*:
" " " 288, line 20: *accounts,* read: *account.*
" " " 293, line 7: from below: *litte,* read: *little.*
" " " 300, line 17: *foreigness,* read: *foreigners.*
" " " 326, line 2 from below: *contries,* read: *countries.*
" " " 330, line 1: *mained,* read: *maimed.*
" " " 334, line 1: *now,* read: *no.*
" " " 338, line 12: *its selfdevelopment,* read: *her self-development.*
" " " 338, line 13: *éxtent,* read: *extent.*
" " " 340, line 2: *repuirements,* read: *requirements.*
" " " 341, line 19: *prevails,* read: *prevail.*
" " " 343, line 12 from below: *indentified,* read: *identified.*

CHAPTER I.

LEARNING AND SCIENCE.

§ 1. The practice of the three branches of Mohammedan teaching and its preliminary study in Acheh.

The learning of Islam.

In Acheh, as in all countries where Islam prevails, there is, properly speaking, but one kind of science or learning (Ach. *èleumèë*, from the Arabic *ʿilmu*), embracing all that man must believe and perform in accordance with the will of Allah as revealed to his latest Apostle Mohammad. It has in view the high and eminently practical purpose of enabling man to live so as to please God, and opening for him the door of eternal salvation. Beside it, all other human science is regarded as of a lower order, and serving merely to the attainment of worldly ends, both those which are permitted and those which are forbidden by the sacred Law.

In Mohammad's time and for a little while after, this single branch of knowledge was very simple and of small compass. The historical development of Islam, however, very soon produced dissent and brought new doctrines into being, so that the encyclopaedia of Mohammedan lore attained very respectable proportions, and the teachers were compelled in spite of themselves to concentrate their powers on single subjects.

To gain some insight into the encylopaedia of Mohammedan learning we must examine the chief features of the history of its composition. These I have already sketched in the introduction to my description of learned life in the Mecca of to-day [1]), so it need not be repeated here. It is enough to recapitulate those branches of Mohammedan learning which are to some extent practised in Acheh.

1) Mekka, Vol. II pp. 200—214.



A TEACHER OF KURU'AN-RECITAL WITH HIS PUPILS.

Elementary teaching (Qurān-recitation).

The beginning of all learning for every properly educated Mohammedan is the recitation of the *Qurān* (Ach. *beuët Kuru'an*). In this less stress is laid on understanding the contents of the book than on correctly intoning the Arabic sounds. This elementary instruction only gives practice to the ear, memory and organs of speech; the rules for recitation contained in the pamphlets on the science of *tajwīd* and impressed *vivâ voce* on their pupils by the teachers of the Qurān are worked out in very fine detail.

Results of the Qurān-instruction.

What the pupil attains in his Qurān curriculum, is the capacity to recite correctly the portions of the holy writ required for his daily prayers. He is also able eventually to chant upon occasion extracts from the sacred Book according to the strict rules of the art, by way of a voluntary act of devotion. Besides this, the non-Arab learner gains an intimate acquaintance with a strange and difficult system of sounds, and thus acquires in passing some knowledge of phonetic science.

Those who pass through the Qurān-school are able, so far as they do not speedily forget what they have learned, to read the Arabic character with the vowel sounds; but unless they extend their studies further, this does not enable them to read Malay, or even Achehnese written in Arabic character.

There are thus even among the higher classes very many persons who know little or nothing of reading; and the art of writing is still less widely disseminated. I have often heard Achehnese declare that they found it much more of a burden than a pleasure to be able to write. Personally they may seldom require to exercise their skill in writing; but every one who wants a letter or other document written betakes himself as a matter of course to his expert fellow-villager, and even seems to think he has a claim on the latter's good-nature for the supply of the requisite stationery.

We have already noticed the part played by this elementary instruction in the education of the Achehnese [1]). The organs of speech of the latter, like those of the Javanese, experience great difficulty in reproducing Arabic sounds. Thus all the purely Achehnese teachers who have not been grounded in the art of recitation under the strict instruction of a foreigner, diverge to a vast extent from the Arabic gamut of sounds. Their nasal pronunciation of the *ʿain* they have in

1) See Vol. I, p. 396 et seq.

common with other Indonesians, but the pronunciation, for example, of an accented *u* or *au* as *èë* [1]) is peculiarly Achehnese. Here, as in Java, these national peculiarities have of later years begun to disappear, since many of the best teachers are now schooled in Mekka. The lesser pandits learn of these or of professional Egyptian Qurān reciters, who occasionally make a tour through Acheh.

Course of instruction in the Qurān.

When the pupil has practised the Arabic character with the aid of a wooden tablet (*lòh*), he is given the last of the 30 portions (Ach. *juïh*) of the Qurān, written or printed separately, and recites this under the guidance of the teacher (*ureuëng pumubeuët* or *gurèë*). This portion is called *juïh ama* (عَمَّ) from its initial word, and that which precedes it *juïh taba* from the first two syllables of its initial word (تَبَارَكَ). In the curriculum the *juïh taba* comes after the *juïh ama*, and it is not till he has spelled out (*hija*) and chanted both of these to the satisfaction of his teacher, that the pupil begins the recitation of the whole Qurān from the fātiḥah, the Mohammedan Lord's Prayer [2]), to the end of the 114th Surah.

Other elementary instruction.

Those who are content with a minimum of further study, that is to say almost all girls and most boys, next proceed to learn the absolute essentials of religious lore from a small catechism, which we shall met with later on, in Achehnese prose and verse, in our description of their literature (nos XCI to XCVII). They are also exercised either by word of mouth or with manuscript to guide them, under the supervision of parents or schoolmasters, in the performance of the five daily ritual prayers (Ach. *seumayang*) prescribed for all Mohammedans.

The majority acquire this indispensable knowledge simply by imitation of what they see and hear others do. Those who employ documentary aid are not as a rule content with the Achehnese works. They read under proper guidance Malay text-books such as those named *Masaïlah* and *Bidayah*, which treat in a simple manner of the absolute first principles of religious doctrine and of the religious obligations of the Moslim. The teacher (male or female) must however explain it all in Achehnese, since a knowledge of Malay is comparatively rare in Acheh. A work such as the rhyming guide to Malay (see n°. XCVIII of the

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1) For example, lèëla = لَيْلَا, kèëluhu = قَيْلُهُ etc.

2) The Achehnese call the first of the thirty divisions of the Qurān *alcuham* from the opening syllables of this first chapter (الحمد).

Achehnese works enumerated in the next chapter) serves simply to make it easy to remember the words most required.

Indispensability of a knowledge of the Malay language for more advanced study in Acheh.

The part played by Malay in Acheh in the acquisition of religious learning is almost the same as that assumed by Javanese in the Sunda country. An Achehnese who desires to learn something beyond the first elements of doctrine and law finds Malay indispensable. Even the few popular manuals in his own tongue bristle with Malay words, while reliable renderings of authoritative Arabic works, which are fairly numerous in Malay, are entirely wanting in Achehnese.

Thus those who, without actually devoting themselves to study, still take pleasure in increasing their religious knowledge so far as time and circumstances allow, learn Malay *en passant* as they read. This they must do in order to be able to understand even the simplest "kitab." A Malay *kitab* is a work derived or compiled from Arabic sources; as a rule only the introduction, the conclusion, and a few passing remarks are the work of the "author", the rest being mere translation.

There is a superabundance of Malay *kitabs* of this description. One, the *Çirāt al-mustaqīm*, written in Acheh by a non-Achehnese pandit of Arab origin from Gujerat, just about the period of Acheh's greatest prosperity, before the middle of the 17th century, is still much in vogue, though later Malay works on the law of Islam have now begun to supersede it.

Not a few Achehnese, whose position demands that they should devote themselves to study, rest content with the perfunctory perusal of some such Malay kitabs, as these suffice to enable them to officiate, say as *teungku meunasah* [1]) or even as *kali* [2]). But though such may be called *leubè* or *malém* [3]), or even *além* in times and places where there is a scarcity of religious teachers, they are never known as *ulama*, for this name is reserved for the *doctor* who can enlighten others on matters connected with the law and religious doctrine with some show of authority.

What is required of an ulama.

To be able to lay claim to the title of doctor it is necessary at least to have studied, under competent guidance, some few authoritative Arabic works on law and doctrine. To reach this end the Achehnese employ a method different from that which has since ancient times

1) See Vol. I, pp. 70—75.
2) Vol. I, pp. 93—102.
3) Vol. I, p. 71.

been followed by the Javanese and Sundanese, — a method which certainly appears more rational, but which is on the other hand so fraught with difficulties, that most of those who adopt it lose courage long before they attain their purpose.

Difference between the methods of instruction in vogue in Java and in Acheh.

Thus in Java the preparatory subjects (Arabic grammar etc.) so indispensable in theory are left in abeyance and often not practised till the very end. The pupil after being grounded in a few elementary manuals is immediately introduced to the greater Arabic text-books.

These he reads sentence by sentence under the guidance of a teacher who probably knows as little of Arabic grammar as his pupil, so that if he makes no serious mistakes in vocalizing the Arabic consonants, he owes it to his good memory alone. After each sentence is read, the teacher translates it into Javanese; the language employed of course differs greatly from that of daily life, as it is a literal rendering of the Arabic text, dealing with learned subjects and leaving technical terms untranslated as a rule. It is only the similarity of these subjects one with another and the unvarying style of the writers that assist the pupil in committing to memory the text (*lapal*) [1]) and translations (*ma'na* or *logat*) [1]). The teacher follows up his word-for-word translation with an explanatory paraphrase (*murad*) [1]), designed to make the author's meaning comprehensible.

Strange as it may appear, diligent students attain in the end so much proficiency by this curious method, as to be able to translate from Arabic into Javanese simple text-books. They are of course liable to gross errors, and even their vocalizing of the Arabic words is seldom entirely accurate. Much depends on the comparative age of their traditions in affairs of grammar. Where for instance their teacher or their teacher's teacher was well grounded in grammar, they are likely to pass on the text in a more uncorrupted form than if it had been for a long time past transmitted from the memory of one to that of his successor.

The chief reason why the patience of the Javanese students does not become exhausted in this process, is that they feel the sum of their knowledge augmented by each lesson. They take a pleasure in the consciousness of having read the authoritative text (*lapal*) in the original and this they would miss did they like the great majority limit them-

1) Arab. لفظ — معنى — لغة — مراد.

selves to the reading of Javanese works. The subsequent literal translation (*logat* or *ma'na*) removes all doubt as to the meaning of the Arabic words, and the explanation (*murad*) makes the matter digestible and capable of being applied.

Gradual modification of the method in Java.

The other method of instruction which has during the last thirty or forty years gradually gained supremacy in Java under Mekkan and Ḥadramite influence, is more logical, but requires much greater patience and perseverance. It takes several years for the Indonesian to learn enough Arabic to enable him to *begin* to read a simple learned work with some degree of discrimination. This preparation costs him no little racking of his brains, the results of which he cannot hope to enjoy for a long time to come.

The Sundanese follow the same system as the Javanese, but with this additional difficulty, that the language into which the translation is made (Javanese) is strange to them, and that only the exposition (*murad*) is given them in their own tongue.

This method, which in Java may still be called new-fashioned, appears to have been in vogue in Acheh for a long time past. It is only those who do not really devote themselves to study who employ the elementary Malay books, just as the Sundanese under similar circumstances avail themselves of Javanese works, or even of those written in their own tongue. But the *student* in Acheh begins by struggling through a mountain of grammatical matter.

The study of Arabic grammar in Acheh.

First comes the science of inflexions, *sarah* or *teuseuréh* (Arab. *ṣarf* or *taṣrīf*), for which are employed manuals consisting chiefly of paradigms, especially that known as *Midan* (Arab. *Mīzān*). These are followed by a number of widely known works on Arabic grammar (*nahu*), which are generally studied in the order given below. The Achehnese names are as follows, the Arabic equivalents being given in the note [1]): *Awamè, Jeurumiah, Matamimah, Pawakèh, Alpiah, Ebeunu Aké.*

Difficulties of the Achehnese method.

It must be borne in mind that the Achehnese have the same difficulty to overcome as the Sundanese, since for them too the text-books are translated into a foreign language, the Malay. Thus we can easily understand how the majority of students in Acheh fail to complete what we might call the preliminary studies (known to the Arabs as

1) العواءل — الاجرومية — المتممة — الفواكه — الالفية — شرح الالفية لابن عقيل.

ālāt or "instruments"), by the correct handling of which one may master the principal branches of religious learning.

The popular verdict on the numerous scholars who have got no further than the Alpiah, yet are wont to vaunt themselves on their learning, finds expression in the verse which passes as a proverb among the Achehnese: "Study of grammar leads only to bragging, study of the Law produces saints" [1]). On the other hand a certain reverence lurks in the idea that prevails among the ignorant, that he who has studied the nahu is able to comprehend the tongues of beasts.

Besides the grammatical lore, there are also other "instruments", branches of learning subsidiary to the study of the law and of religious doctrine, but in no Mohammedan country and least of all in Acheh is the acquirement of these considered an indispensable prelude to the more advanced subjects. Such are for example the various subdivisions of style and rhetoric, arithmetical science (indispensable in the study of the law of inheritance), astronomy, which assists in determining the calendar and the *qiblah*, and so forth. These subjects are indeed taught in Acheh, but they occupy no certain place in the curriculum generally adopted; the time spent on them depends very much on the pleasure of the students and the extent of their teachers' knowledge.

Main object of study.

The main purpose of study should be, properly speaking, the knowledge of Allah's law as revealed through Mohammed in the Qurān and in his own example (*Sunnah*), and as in the lapse of time (with the help of *Qiyās* or reasoning by analogy) confirmed and certified by the general consent (*Ijmā'*) of the Moslim community. With the students or teachers of to-day, however, the knowledge of this law cannot be acquired by the study of the Qurān and its commentaries together with the sacred tradition as to the acts (*sunnah*) of the Prophet. For such direct derivation of religious rules from their original sources a degree of knowledge is required which is at present regarded as quite beyond the student's reach. He has to restrict himself to the authoritative works in which the materials are moulded and arranged according to their subjects. In these studies each is bound to follow the lawbooks of the school (*maḍhab*) to which he belongs, although he must also recognize the full rights of the three other schools to their own interpretation of the law.

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1) *Èleumèë nahu — le beurakah, èleumèë pikah — le èëlia.*

Applying this principle to Acheh, we arrive at the conclusion — a conclusion fully justified by the facts — that the chief objects of study in that country are the authoritative Shafi'ite works on the learning of the law (Arab. *fiqh*, Ach. *pikah*). As these books are the same in all Shafi'ite countries, and the choice of any particular one of them does not affect the subject-matter of study, I consider it superfluous to give a list of this *pikah*-literature. I confine myself to observing that Nawawi's *Minhāj aṭṭālibīn* (Ach. *Mènhòt*) and various commentaries thereon such as the *Fatḥ al-Wahhāb* (Ach. *Peuthōzwahab*), the *Tuḥfah* [1]) (Ach. *Tupah*) and *Maḥalli* (*Mahali*) enjoy great popularity. Authoritative law-books.

The *Usuy* (*Uçūl* or *Tawḥīd*), i. e. "doctrine", is next in importance to the *Pikah*. Both branches of learning are studied simultaneously; the former may even precede the latter if circumstances so require. The differences of the four schools or maḍhabs exercise no influence on this score, as they do in regard to the interpretation of the law. Thus even in a Shafi'ite country preference is by no means always given to such Usul-works as have Shafi'ites for their authors. Study of dogma.

In Acheh the same works are employed for this branch of study as in other parts of the Archipelago, and especially those of Sanusi with their accompanying commentaries.

The great Moslim father al-Ghazali (ob. 1111 A. D.) describes the study of the law (Ach. *Pikah*) as the indispensable bread of life of the believers, the dogmatic teaching (*Usuy*) being the medicine which mankind, threatened with all manner of heresy and unbelief, is constrained to use as preventive and as cure. Lastly he considers mysticism (Arab. *taçawwuf*, Ach. *teusawōh*) the highest and most important element in man's spiritual education, since it serves so to digest the bread of life and the medicine, that a true knowledge of God and of the community of mankind with the Creator may spring therefrom. Mysticism.

Many works on the law and on dogma contain here and there mystic points of view, but expressly mystic orthodox works are also studied in Acheh.

Yet *these* works on mysticism cannot be said to be popular in Acheh. As we know, a sort of heretical mysticism found its way into the E. Indian Archipelago simultaneously with the introduction of The more popular kind of mysticism.

1) The Tuḥfah and the Nihāyah are the authoritative works *par excellence* for the Shafi'ites. Where the two agree, departure from their common tenets is prohibited, where they differ, the later commentators decide the question.

Islam, and still continues to exercise a great supremacy over men's minds, in spite of influences originating directly or indirectly from Arabia. There can be no doubt — numbers of written documents testify to it — that this mysticism was brought hither by the pioneers of Islam from Hindustan. The most important works on mysticism in vogue in the Archipelago were penned by Indian writers, or else are derived from a body of mystics which flourished in Medina in the 17th century and which was strongly subject to Indian influence. To this body belonged Aḥmad Qushāshī, [1]) whose disciples became the teachers of the devout in Javanese and Malayan Countries.

Many of these Indian authors and also Qushāshī and his disciples, represent a mysticism which though regarded by cautious and sober doctors of the law as not exempt from danger, is still free from actual heresy. Behind this orthodox mysticism comes another, hardly distinguishable from the first on a superficial view, but which by its unequivocal pantheism and its contempt for sundry ritual and traditional elements of Islam, has incurred the hatred of all orthodox Mohammedans.

§ 2. The Heretical Mysticism and its Antagonists.

Heretical mysticism.

The heretical mysticism, of which there are numerous distinct shades, fell here, as in India, on fruitful soil, and nothing but the persecutions which orthodox theologians occasionally succeeded in inducing the princes to resort to, were able to thrust this pantheistic heresy back to narrow limits.

This latter sort of mysticism has this in common with the orthodox kind, that it finds in man's community with his Maker the essence and object of religion, and regards ritual, law and doctrine merely as the means to that end. Many of the representatives of this mysticism almost at once forsook the orthodox track and embraced the belief

1) We shall shortly give further particulars in regard to this remarkable personage. For the present let it suffice to observe that the "*salasilahs*" (i. e. spiritual genealogical tables, the "chains" of mystic tradition) of the most celebrated mystics in the Archipelago up to about 50 years ago generally have as their starting-point this Aḥmad Qushāshī of Medina, who in his turn counted many natives of India among his spiritual ancestors. The great saint of Acheh, Shaich Abdurra'uf of Singkel, now called Teungku di Kuala from the fact that he is buried near the mouth of the Acheh river, was a zealous pupil of Aḥmad Qushāshī.

that other means than those mentioned above also lead to the desired end, and that those who live in community with God are already here on earth raised to some extent above ritual and law; the religious teaching of these is entirely different from the official sort, and is at most connected with the latter by arbitrary interpretations and by allegory. Most of them also so conceive the community with God, that the distinction between the creature and the Creator is lost sight of.

This pantheism is set forth by some authors in the form of a philosophy; others — and these are the most popular — describe it in mysterious formulas and in sundry comparisons, based on a play on words or numbers. They illustrate, for example, the doctrine that every part of creation is a manifestation of the Creator's being, by pointing to the higher unity in which move harmoniously the four winds, the four elements, the four chief components of ritual prayer, the four archangels, the four righteous successors of Moḥammed and the four orthodox schools of jurisprudence. Now as with man the four limbs correspond with the four great inspired books and the four sorts of qualities of God, so we see how among other things this ever-recurring number four demonstrates the unity of the whole of God's creation. It is the task of mysticism to awaken in man the consciousness of this unity, so that he may identify himself alike with God and with the Universal.

The almost universal influence formerly enjoyed by this sort of mysticism is shown by the vast number of manuscripts to be found among the Indonesian Mohammedans, proclaiming this teaching with the aid of pantheistic explanations of orthodox formulas, allegorical figures with marginal notes, arguments etc. To this it may be added that while varying greatly in detail, they are entirely at one in their main purpose.

Spread of pantheistic mysticism throughout the Archipelago.

This scheme of universal philosophy was (and is still, though in a diminishing degree) represented by those occupied in the study and teaching of the law, [1]) just as much as by the village philosophers and the spiritual advisers of the chiefs. Now it is obvious that these religious teachers have never gone so far as to assume from the mystic unity of Creature and Creator the nullity or superfluity of the Law. In their

1) In Java for instance, many of these "primbons" or memorandum-books were given me by orthodox teachers of religion, who had inherited them from their fathers or grandfathers (teachers like themselves), but set no store by them themselves, and were even a little ashamed of having them in their possession.

opinion the fulfilment of this law was indispensable, although in practice fruitless for the majority of those who are in name believers, since they have not grasped the deep mystic significance of the ritual observances and of the law in general.

Others however go much further and assert that this complete consciousness of the universal unity is a universal sĕmbahyang or prayer, which does away with the necessity for the five daily devotional exercises of ordinary men. Nay they sometimes go so far as to brand as a servant of many gods one who continues to offer up his sĕmbahyang or to testify that there is no God but Allah, since he that truly comprehends the Unity knows that "there is no receiver of prayer and no offerer thereof;" for the One cannot pray to or worship itself. The Javanese put such philosophy in the mouths of their greatest saints, and among the Malays and Achehnese also, teachers who proclaimed such views have been universally revered since early times.

Mysticism in Acheh in the 16th and 17th centuries.

From the chronicles of Acheh, portions of which have been published by Dr. Niemann, [1]) we learn somewhat of the religio-philosophical life in Acheh in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We see there that the religious pandits who held mastery in the country were not Achehnese, but either Syrians or Egyptians who came to Acheh from Mekka, or else natives of India, such as Ranīrī [2]) from Gujerat. We also notice

1) *Bloemlezing uit Maleische geschriften*, 2nd edition, pp. ١٣.—١٤.

2) I cannot discover whether the Muhammad Jailānī b. Hasan b. Muhammed Hamid Ranīrī of the chronicles is actually identical with the man known as Nuruddīn b. Ali. b. Hasanji b. Muhammad Ranīrī, or a younger relative of his. The latter name is mentioned in Dr. van der Tuuk's essay on the Malay mss. of the Royal Asiatic Society (see *Essays relating to Indo-China*, 2e series, Vol II, p. 44—45 and 49—52). The man of whom Niemann speaks came to Acheh for the second time in 1588 and settled the disputed questions of the day in regard to mysticism; the Ranīrī of Van der Tuuk resisted the mystic teaching of Shamsuddīn of Sumatra (Pasei), who according to the chronicles edited by Niemann died in 1630, and wrote the most celebrated of his works shortly before and during the reign of Queen *Safiatōdin Shah* (1641—75). This would render the identity of the two very improbable, but the chronicler may have made an error in the date. The omission of the name Alī in the chronicle is in itself no difficulty, and the names Muhammad Jailānī and Nuruddīn may quite well have belonged to one and the same person; nay, in a Batavian ms. (see Van den Berg's *Verslag* p. 1, no. 3 and 9, no. 49 *c*.) Nuruddīn ar Ranīrī is actually also called Muhammad Jailānī. In the margin of an edition of the Taj-ul-mulk (see § 5 below) which appeared at Mekka in A. H. 1311, is printed a treatise bearing the title *Bad' chalq as-samawāt wal-ardh*. The author of this treatise is called Nuruddīn bin Alī Ḥasanjī, and in the Arabic introduction it is told of him that he came to Acheh in November 1637, and received from Sultan Iskandar Thani the command to write this book in March 1638. The dates given, however, in the Malay translation which immediately follows the Arabic introduction, are quite different from the above!

that what the Achehnese of that day specially desired of their foreign teachers was enlightenment on questions of mysticism, as to which much contention prevailed.

Shamsuddīn and Hamzah Pansuri.

The best known representatives of a more or less pantheistic mysticism were a certain Shaikh Shamsuddīn of Sumatra (= Pasè), who seems to have enjoyed much consideration at the court of the great Meukuta Alam (1607—36) [1]), and who died in 1630, and his forerunner Hamzah Pansuri. [2])

Persecution of heretics.

The orthodox opponents of this Indo-Mohammedan theosophy in a Malay dress won their wish under the successor of Meukuta Alam, who at their instigation put the disciples of Hamzah to death, and had the books which embodied his teaching burnt. Many of these works, however, escaped the flames, [3]) and the princes and chiefs of Acheh were not always so obedient to the orthodox persecutors. Even to the present day Hamzah's writings are to be met with both in Acheh and in Malay countries, and in spite of the disapproval of the pandits they form the spiritual food of many.

In the language of the Arab mysticism, he who strives after communion with God is a *sālik* or walker on the way (*ṭarīqah*) leading to the highest. Although these words are also used by most of the orthodox mystics, popular expression in Acheh has specially applied the term sālik-learning (*èleumèë salè*) to such mystic systems as are held in abhorrence by the orthodox teachers of the law.

About 30 or 40 years ago one Teungku Teureubuë [4]) acquired a great celebrity in the Pidië district as a teacher of such *èleumèë salè*. Men and women crowded in hundreds to listen to his teaching. Even his opponents gave him the credit of having been extremely well versed in Arabic grammar, a thing we rarely hear of other native mystics. Yet the opposition which his peculiar doctrines excited among the representatives of the official orthodoxy was so great that they instigated Béntara Keumangan (chief of the league of the six ulèëbalangs) to

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1) See the Achehnese chronicles edited by Niemann, p. ١٣٩, line 7.

2) As to these two see Dr. Van der Tuuk's essay pp. 51—52. That Hamzah belongs to an earlier period may be gathered from the fact that Shamsuddīn wrote commentaries on some of his works.

3) Hence I was able to obtain from an Achehnese a copy of the اسرار العارفين mentioned by Van der Tuuk.

4) So called after the gampōng in Pidië where he taught; his real name was Muhamat Sa'it, abbreviated into It.

extirpate the heretics. The teacher and many of his faithful disciples set a seal to their belief by their death. [Notwithstanding this, T. Teureubuë found a successor in his disciple Teungku Gadè, also known as Teungku di Geudōng or (from the name of the gampōng where he lives) Teungku Teupin Raya. In the centre of this gampōng is the tomb of Teungku Teureubuë, surrounded by a thick and lofty wall. The village is under the control of the teacher and is mainly peopled with his disciples.]

Habib Seunagan.

No such violent end overtook the Habib [1]) Seunagan, who died some years ago. He derived his name from the scene of his labours on the West Coast to the South of Meulabōh. Before he had attained celebrity he was known as Teungku Peunadò', after the gampong in Pidië where he was born.

The teaching of this heretical mystic is known to me only from information furnished by his opponents, and therefore necessarily very one-sided. He is said to have disseminated the teaching of Hamzah Pansuri, but the statements made regarding his interpretation of the Qurān and the law show it to have been in no special degree mystical, although greatly at variance with the official teaching. He is reported for instance to have held that one might handle the Qurān even when in a state of ritual impurity, and that a man might have nine wives at once, opinions anciently upheld by the Ẓāhirites. [2]) He is also supposed to have had his own special conception of the *qiblah* (the direction in which the worshipper must turn his face in the daily ritual prayers), and a dissenting confession of faith, viz. "There is no God but Allah, this Habib is truly the body of the Prophet." [3])

Pidië and some portions of the West Coast, such as Susōh and Meulabōh, are still regarded as districts where the *èleumèë salè* flourishes. [In Seunagan one Teungku di Kruëng (ob. 1902) may be considered as the spiritual successor of Habib Seunagan.]

Teungku di Kuala.

After this digression we must now turn back for a moment to an earlier period, not with the view of giving a complete history of Achehnese theology, but to recall attention to a remarkable Malay, whom

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1) The word Habib is here used in a sense unusual in Achehnese (see vol I p. 155) namely in that of *friend* (of God); Habib Seunagan was not a sayyid.

2) See *Die Ẓāhiriten* by Dr. I. Goldziher, Leipzig 1884; on p. 54 of this work we find this view as to the touching of the Qurān.

3) *La ilāha illā 'llāh, Habib nyèë sah hadan nabi.*



TEUKU BÉNTARA GLUMPANG PAYÕNG.



TEUKOE MEUNTRÒÈ GARÕT (OF THE FEDERATION OF THE "SIX ULÈÈBALANGS").



PÒÇHUT DI RAMBŌNG, WIDOW OF A FORMER BÉNTARA KEUMANGAN (TITLE OF THE CHIEF OF THE FEDERATION OF THE "SIX ULÈÈBALANGS").



CHUT MANJA', DAUGHTER OF THE PRESENT BÉNTARA KEUMANGAN.

we have already mentioned several times, [1]) and whose activity exhibited itself during the latter portion of his life in Achehnese territory. This was *Abdurra'uf* (Ach. *Abdōra'ōh*) of Singkel, known in Acheh as Teungku di Kuala, since his tomb, the most sacred in the whole country after that of Teungku Anjōng, is situated near the Kuala or mouth of the Acheh river.

In Van den Berg's Catalogue [2]) of the Malay MSS. at Batavia collected by the late H. Von de Wall we find mentioned (p. 8 n° 41): — عمدة المحتاجين "A work on the confession of faith, prayer, and the unity (توحيد) of Allāh."

These words very imperfectly indicate the contents of this *Umdat al-muhtājīn*, of which I have also found a copy in Leiden [3]) and another in the Royal Library at Berlin, [4]) and have acquired a third by purchase. [5]) The book consists of 7 chapters (called *faidahs*), the chief aim of which is the description of a certain special kind of mysticism, of which *ḍikr*, the recital of the confession of faith at appointed times, forms a conspicuous part. Still more remarkable than all this, however, is the chātimah or conclusion which follows these seven faidahs. In this the author, the Abdurra'uf just referred to, makes himself known to the reader and gives a short notice of his life as a scholar, together with a *silsilah* (or as the natives pronounce it *salasilah*) or spiritual genealogical tree, to confirm the noble origin and high worth of his teaching. According to this final chapter, Abdurra'uf studied for many years at Medina, Mekka, Jiddah, Mokha, Zebīd, Bētal-faqīh etc. He

1) Vol I p. 390 and note on p. 10 above.

2) Published at Batavia 1877.

3) N° 1930.

4) Numbered Schumann V, 6.

5) Van den Berg appears not to have read further than the first page.

6) Among the Malay MSS. which I collected in Acheh, is an abstract made by the author himself of his *'Umdat al-muḥtājīn* under the name *Kifāyat al-muḥtājīn*, and also a short refutation of certain heretical dogmas prevalent in these parts in regard to what man sees and experiences in the hour of death. To support his teaching the writer appeals to a work of Molla Ibrahim (successor of Aḥmad Qushāshī) at Medina; of this work I possess a Malay translation by an unknown hand.

Another famous work of this same Abdurra'uf is his Malay translation of Baidhawi's commentary on the Qurān, published in A. H. 1302 at Constantinople in two handsomely printed volumes. On the title page Sultan Abdulḥamīd is called "the king of all Mohammedans!" From this work we perceive among other things, that the learning of our saint was not infallible; his translation for instance of chap. 33 verse 20 of the Qurān is far from correct.

mentions no less than 15 masters at whose feet he sat, 27 distinguished pandits whom he knew, and 15 celebrated mystics with whom he came in contact.

Aḥmad Qushāshī.

Above all others he esteems and praises the mystic teacher Shaikh Aḥmad Qushāshī at Medina. He calls him his spiritual guide and teacher in the way of God, and tells how after his death he (Abdurra'uf) obtained from his successor Molla Ibrahim permission to found a school himself. Thus after 1661 Abdurra'uf taught in Acheh, and won so many adherents that after he died his tomb was regarded as the holiest place in all the land, till that of the sayyid called Teungku Anjōng somewhat eclipsed it after 1782.

We noticed above (footnote to p. 10) that the mysticism of Aḥmad Qushāshī was disseminated in the E. Indian Archipelago by a great number of *khalifahs* (substitutes), who generally obtained the necessary permission on the occasion of their pilgrimage to Mekka. In Java we find innumerable *salasilahs* or spiritual genealogical trees of this tarīqah or school of mystics. In Sumatra some even give their *ṭarīqah* the special name of Qushashite [1]); and it is only of late years that this *Satariah*, as it is usually called, has begun to be regarded as an old-fashioned and much-corrupted form of mysticism and to make place for the ṭarīqahs now most popular in Mekka, such as the Naqshibendite and Qādirite.

Satariah.

I have called this school of Qushāshī corrupt for two reasons. In the first place its Indonesian adherents have been so long left to themselves, [2]) that this alone is enough to account for the creeping in of all manner of impurities in the tradition. But besides this, both Javanese and Malays have made use of the universal popularity enjoyed by the name Satariah as a hall-mark with which to authenticate various kinds of village philosophy to a large extent of pagan origin. We find for instance certain formulas and tapa-rules which in spite of unmistakeable indications of Hindu influence may be called peculiarly Indonesian,

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2) In Arabia the Shaṭṭarite mysticism seems long to have fallen out of fashion; in Mekka and Medina the very name is forgotten. In British India it still prevails here and there, but as far as I am aware it does not enjoy anywhere a popularity which even approaches that which it has attained in Indonesia.

recommended for use as *Satariah* often along with salasilahs in which the names of Abdurra'uf and Aḥmad Qushāshī appear.

The work of Abdurra'uf is, however, in accord with orthodox doctrine, albeit his attitude has excited the jealous or envious sneers of many a pandit.

It might cause surprise that the name of Abdurra'uf should appear in the salasilahs of Qushāshī's teaching not alone in Sumatra but also to a great extent in Java, since as a matter of fact both Javanese and Sundanese imported this ṭarīqah directly from Arabia. But apart from the possibility of Abdurra'uf's having initiated fellow-countrymen or those of kindred race before leaving Arabia, after he had received permission to form a school, we must remember that before sailing ships were replaced by steamers as a means of conveyance for visitants to Mekka, Acheh formed a great halting-place for almost all the pilgrims from the Eastern Archipelago. The Achehnese used to speak of their country with some pride as "the gate of the Holy Land". Many remained there a considerable time on their way to and fro, while some even settled in the country as traders or teachers for the remainder of their lives. [1]) Thus many Javanese may on their journey through, or in the course of a still longer visit, have imbibed the instruction of the Malay teacher.

In the extant copies of his writings Abdurra'uf is sometimes described as "of Singkel," and sometimes "of Pansur," but it is a remarkable fact that his name is almost always followed in the salasilahs by the words "who is of the tribe of Ḥamzah Pansuri" [2]). I have nowhere indeed found it stated that Abdurra'uf expressly opposed the teaching of Ḥamzah, but the spirit of his writings shows that he must have regarded it as heretical. One might have supposed that under these circumstances he would at least have refrained from openly claiming relationship with Ḥamzah. The only explanation I can give of this phenomenon lies in the extraordinary popularity of the name of Ḥamzah, which may have

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1) As may well be supposed, such sojourn was the reverse of favourable to the good feeling of the Javanese etc. towards their European rulers. An example of this in our own times was Teungku Lam Palōh, who died not many years since. He was a Javanese of Yogya, who married and had a family in Acheh, and without much claim to learning came to be regarded as a saint by a certain coterie. This presumptuous pretender to sanctity borrowed his name from the gampōng (within the "linie") where he had his abode.

2) The expression is حمزه فنصورى (Jav. بغ بربقس (دغ ابقس.

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induced the disciples of Abdurra'uf to avail themselves of this method in order the better to propagate their own orthodox mysticism.

Sleight dissemination of the other ṭarīqahs in Acheh.

Abdurra'uf has undoubtedly had a great influence on the spiritual life of the Achehnese, though it is true that of such mystic systems only certain externals (such as the repetition of ḍikrs at fixed times, and the honour paid to their teachers) are the property of the lower classes. But his works are now little read in Acheh, and adherents of a Shattarite ṭarīqah or school of mysticism are few and far between. The other ṭarīqahs, which in later times caused so great a falling away from the Satariah, cannot boast one whit the more of great success in Acheh. Perhaps the war is to blame for this, but without doubt the Achehnese adherents of the Naqshibandiyyah or Qadiriyyah are of no account as compared with those of West Java or of Deli and Langkat.

On the other hand the tomb of Abdurra'uf continues to attract crowds of devout visitors, and it is made the object of all kinds of vows which are fulfilled by pious offerings to the saint. This tomb has become the subject of a characteristic legend which shows how little regard the Achehnese pay to chronology.

Legend respecting Abdurra'uf.

Some of them make out Abdurra'uf to have been the introducer of Islam into Acheh, although this religion was prevalent in the country at least two centuries before his time. Others make him a contemporary of Ḥamzah Pansuri and represent him as the latter's antagonist, as it became a holy teacher to be. The story goes that Ḥamzah had established a house of ill-fame at the capital of Acheh; for no vice is too black to be laid at the door of heretics. Abdurra'uf made appointments with the women, one after another; but in place of treading with them the path of vice, he first paid them the recompense they looked for, and then proceeded to convert them to the true faith.

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§ 3. Present level of learning in Acheh.

From the above remarks it may have been gathered that for more than three centuries the three chief branches of learning of Islam (*Fiqh*, *Uçul* and *Taçawwuf*, Ach. *Pikah*, *Usuy* and *Teusawōh*) and as a means or instrument to attain them, the Arabic grammar and its accessories

have been practised in Acheh. There are just as many at the present day as in earlier times, who have reached a moderate degree of proficiency in this triple learning, and the branch that is studied with especial zeal is the Law, which is also that of the greatest practical utility. Some gather their knowledge in their native country, others undergo a wider course of study in the Straits Settlements or at Mekka.

Learning in Acheh in ancient and in modern times.

Whether learning advanced or declined in Acheh during the historical period of which we have some knowledge cannot be definitely ascertained. The fact that such an extraordinary number of Malay writings on the teaching of Islam appeared in Acheh during the 16th and 17th centuries was merely the result of the political condition of the country, as that period embraces the zenith of the prosperity of the port-kings. Among the authors of these works or among the most celebrated mystics, heretical or orthodox, we do not find a single Achehnese name, but only those of foreign teachers. Learned Mohammedans have at all times sought countries where their attainments commanded solid advantages in addition to honour and respect. [1]) The activity of these champions, who fought their learned battles in the capital, had but little significance in regard to the scholarly or religious development of the people of Acheh.

Value of the learned writings of Achehnese.

It may well be supposed that there were formerly as well as at the present time some teachers of Achehnese race who gave the necessary enlightenment to their countrymen in Malay or Achehnese writings The fame of such works of the third rank, however, is not wont long to survive their authors [2]); and to this must be added the fact that they were always compiled to meet the requirements of a definite period and of a definite public. Pamphlets like those of Teungku Tirò or Teungku Kuta Karang, and books and treatises such as those of Chèh Marahaban (to be more closely described in Chap. II) will not be so much as spoken of half a century hence.

There is one treatise in Malay apparently written by an Achehnese

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1) Even up to the present time teachers and exponents of mysticism occasionally come, chiefly from Mekka, to make a profit of their learning or their sanctity among religiously disposed chiefs in various parts of the country.

2) The writings of Teungku Tirò (Chèh Saman) and of Chèh Marahaban, both of whom were (before the war) among the most highly esteemed teachers in the country, furnish us with a good gauge wherewith to measure the highwater-mark of learning in Acheh. Like those of all their predecessors among their own countrymen, their productions have not the smallest significance or value outside the narrow limits of their own land.

named Malém Itam or Pakèh Abdulwahab [1]), in which are collected the principal rules of the law in regard to marriage, and the original of which is fully a century old. Another Achehnese named Mohammad Zain bin Jalāluddīn, from whose hand there appeared in Malay an insignificant essay on a subordinate part of the ritual, [2]) and one of the innumerable editions of Sanusi's small manual of dogma, [3]) appears also to have been the author of a Malay treatise on the Mohammedan law of marriage, [4]) which enjoyed the honour of being lithographed in Constantinople in A. H. 1304 under the name *Bāb an-nikāḥ* (Chapter on marriage). I do not know in what connection this writer stands with Jalāluddīn (= Teungku di Lam Gut, see p. 28 below) who in A. H. 1242 (A. D. 1826—27) wrote the Tambihō rapilin (see Chap. II, N°. LXXXVI). It is probably due to chance that his works have not been consigned to oblivion like those of so many others. They are not specially marked by any redeeming traits and are also devoid of local colour, with the exception of an appendix two pages in length attached to Mohammad Zains Bāb an-nikāḥ, containing precepts designed to suit the requirements of Achehnese life.

The most characteristic of these precepts concerns the *taqlīd* (Ach. *teukeulit*) i. e. resorting to the authority of the imam of the Ḥanafite school in respect to the marriage of a girl who is a minor and without father or grandfather. The object of the author is to give legal sanction to the peculiar Achehnese custom of the *balè meudeuhab*. [5])

Study has not declined in Acheh.

The study of the teaching of Islam, of what is generally described

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1) I find no clear indication of the author's name in the three copies with which I am acquainted (Berlin Royal Library, Schumann V, 6, and Malay MSS. of the Leiden library, N^os^ 1752 and 1774).

2) See Van den Berg's *Verslag*, p. 7, N° 36.

3) See Van den Berg's *Verslag*, pp. 8—9, N° 45.

4) I cannot recall the source of this book, though I feel certain that I have heard or read of it; as to its having been written by an Achehnese, that is beyond all doubt.

5) See Vol I p. 347 et seq. The passage in question runs as follows: دان عارس بك كيت شافعي تقليد قد مذهب امام ابو حنيفه قد منكاحكن كانق٢ فرمقون يغ بلم بالغ يغ مات بقلب مك عندقله وليپ ايت برنية تقليد سفرت دكتاب سهجاك تقليد يعنى مغيكوة كقد مذهب امام ابو حنيفه قد مسءله منكاحكن كانق٢ ايبن دان ماسقله اكن (اكو: read) قد مذهب مريكيت دان جك اد ولى ايت بروكيل قد معقدكن نكاح عندقله وليپ ايت برنية قول سفرت دمكين ايت دمكين لاك يغ نكاح دان دو اورغ سكسي

as "Mohammedan law", has not declined in Acheh, though it has received somewhat of a check during the disturbances of the past 30 years. If such learning is of little value as a qualification for offices such as those of *kali* [1]) and *teungku meunasah* [2]), that is due partly to the adat which makes these offices hereditary, and partly to the fact that the chiefs do not want as kalis too energetic upholders of the sacred law, and to the reluctance of all true pandits to strengthen the chiefs' hands by pronouncing their crooked dealings straight.

Ornamental branches of study.

Such branches of study as commentaries on the Qurān (*Tafsīr*, Ach. *Teupeusé*) or the sacred tradition (*Ḥadīth*, Ach. *Hadih*) which in the earliest times of Islam formed the *pièce de résistance* of all learning, as it was from them that the people derived their knowledge of the rules of law, have now become more or less ornamental, since the study of the law has been made independent of them. Such ornamental branches of learning are however highly esteemed even in Acheh. Proficient teachers occasionally give instruction in them, but no one thinks of studying these until he has mastered the essentials of *Pikah* and *Usuy*.

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§ 4. Schools and Student Life.

Student life.

The student life of Mohammedans in the Archipelago would furnish an attractive subject for a monograph. The pĕsantrèns of Java have indeed been described in a number of essays, but in these nothing is to be found but a superficial view of the question, which has never been closely examined.

No real schools of priests.

A capital and wide-spread error in regard to the schools of the Mohammedan religion in these countries is that they are schools of priests [3]). This is absolutely untrue; not only because there are no such things as Mohammedan "priests", but also because, even if we admit the erroneous term "priests" or "clergy" as applied to the pĕngulus, naibs, modins, lèbès etc. in Java, the pĕsantrèns cannot in any sense be regarded as training-schools for the holders of these offices. Most

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1) See vol I, p. 93. 2) See Vol. I, pp. 70 et seq.

3) Van den Berg falls into this error in his essay: *De Mohammedaansche geestelijkheid* etc. *op Java en Madoera* (Batavia 1882) p. 22 et seq., and therefore expresses his astonishment at the fact that the pĕsantrèns in West Java are attended by women "although they cannot of course become candidates for any priestly office."

of the pĕngulus and naibs (but not the so-called desa-clergy) have, it is true, attended a pĕsantrèn for a time, but there are many who have entirely neglected such instruction. What is still more striking, however, is the fact that the great majority of students in pĕsantrèns never think of competing for a "priestly" office; indeed it may be said of ninety per cent of the *santri* or students that they would be unwilling to fill such offices, and that they rather as a class view those who occupy them with contempt and sometimes even with hatred.

Kyahis and pĕngulus.

As in Java so also in Sumatra and elsewhere relations are proverbially strained between the gurus or "kyahi" (as they are called in Java) i. e. the non-official or teaching pandits, and the pĕngulus and their subordinates, including those officials in other countries whose duties correspond to those of pĕngulu in Java.

Those who administer the Moslim law of inheritance and marriage, who control the great mosques and conclude marriage contracts, regard these kyahis and all belonging to them as a vexatious, quarrelsome, hairsplitting, arrogant and even fanatical sort of people; while these teachers and pandits, on their part, accuse the pĕngulus of ignorance, worldliness, venality and sometimes even of evil living.

As we have already observed, by far the greater number of the students who frequent the *pĕsantrèns* or *pondoks* in Java, the *suraus* in mid-Sumatra, or the *rangkangs* in Acheh, is composed of embryo teachers or pandits, who disdain rather than desire office, or of those whose parents set a value on a specially thorough course of religious instruction. Such institutions could only properly be termed "schools for the priesthood" if we might apply the name of priest to all persons who had passed through a course of theological training.

The students.

In Acheh as well as in Java there are to be found among the students young men of devout families; sons of the wealthy and distinguished whose parents consider it befitting that some of their children should practise sacred learning; lads who study from an innate love of and impulse towards learning, to contradict which would be esteemed a sin on the part of their parents; some few who are later on to be *pĕngulus, naibs, teungkus* of *meunasahs* or *kalis*, though fewer in Acheh even than in Java, since devolution of office by inheritance forms the rule in the former country; and finally those of slender means, who hope to attain through their learning a competence in this world and salvation in the next.

However deep the contempt in which the maléms and ulamas may hold the occupiers of the so-called "priestly offices," sold as these are to Mammon, yet they are not themselves without regard for the good things of this world, and are not slow to seize the opportunity of securing a fair share of the latter for themselves.

Advantages of religious learning.

Well-to-do people very often prefer to give their daughters in marriage, with a sufficient provision for their maintenance, to these *literati*, who are on this account viewed with marked disfavour by the chiefs both in Java and Acheh. All alike occasionally invoke their knowledge or their prayers in times of distress, and such requests for help are always accompanied by the offer of gifts. At all religious feasts — and we know how numerous these are in Native social life — their presence is indispensable, and their attendance is often actually purchased by gifts of money. There are thus numerous opportunities for profit for the ulama or malém, quite apart from the instruction they give, which though not actually "paid for" is still substantially recompensed by those who have the requisite means. To this must be added the honour and esteem liberally accorded to these teachers by the people, who only fear the "priesthood" (wrongly so called) on account of its influence in matters affecting property and domestic life.

None acquire learning in their own gampōng.

Just as the Israelites used to say that a prophet is without honour in his own country, so the Achehnese assert with equal emphasis that no man ever becomes an *além*, to say nothing of an ulama, in his own gampōng. To be esteemed as such in the place of his birth, he must have acquired his learning outside its limits. This is to be explained chiefly by the prejudice natural to man; to recognize greatness in one whom we have seen as a child at play, we must have lost sight of him for some time during the period of his development. To this must also be added the fact that those who remain from childhood in their own gampōng, surrounded by the playmates of their youth, find it harder as a rule to apply themselves to serious work than those who are sent to pursue their studies among strangers.

The same notion is universally prevalent in Java. Even the nearest relatives of a famous *kyahi* are sent elsewhere, preferably to some place not too close to their parents' home, in order that the love of amusement may not interfere with the instruction they are to receive and that their intercourse may be restricted to such as are pursuing or have already partially attained the same object. Hence the expression "to

be in the pondok or pèsantrèn" always carries with it in Java the notion of being a stranger [1]). In Acheh the word *meudagang* [2]), which originally signifies "to be a stranger, to travel from place to place", has passed directly from this meaning to that of "to be engaged in study."

Thus it happens that most of the learned in Great Acheh have spent the greater part of their student life in Pidië, while vice versâ the studiously inclined in Pidië and on the East Coast amass their capital of knowledge in Great Acheh [3]).

Achehnese schools of repute.

In the territory of Pidië in the wider sense of the word [4]), there were, before the coming of the Dutch to Acheh, certain places which were in some measure centres of learned life, where many *muribs* (the Achehnese name for "student", from the Arab. *murīd*) both from the country itself and from Acheh used to prosecute their studies. Such were *Langga*, *Langgò*, *Sriweuë*, *Simpang*, *Ië Leubeuë* (= Ayer Labu). Tirò, which has in these latter days acquired a widespread celebrity from the two teungkus of that place who took a prominent part in the war against the Dutch, was from ancient times less famed for the teaching given there than for the great number of learned men whom it produced and who lived there [5]). Tirò was as it were sanctified by the presence of so many living ulamas and the holy tombs of their predecessors. None dared to carry arms in this gampōng even in time of war; and the *hukōm* or religious law was stronger here than elsewhere, while its enemy the adat was weaker. Growing up amid such surroundings, many young men feel themselves led as it were by destiny to the study of the sacred law.

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1) In Bantën this principle is pursued so far that boys are even sent for their elementary studies (the recitation of the Qurān) to a *pondok* outside their own village; but in other parts of Java as well as in Acheh this is exceptional.

2) *Ureuëng dagang* always means "stranger" and is usually applied to foreign retail traders and especially to Klings; *meudagang* has now no other meaning than that of "to study" and *ureuëng meudagang* means "a student."

3) Thus there is a teacher at Ië Leubeuë (Ayer Labu) called *Teungku di Acheh* or *Teungku Acheh*, since he pursued his studies for a long time in Acheh. Others generally take their names from the gampōng in which they reside or were born, even though they may have travelled elsewhere to seek instruction.

4) The Achehnese give the name of Pidië to the whole of the territory which formerly belonged to the kingdom of that name, i. e. almost the whole of the North Coast with its hinterland, and include under the name *Timu* (the East, as reckoned from the capital of Acheh) all that we call the North and East Coast.

5) Vol I p. 178.

Chèh Saman [1]), who of late years was conspicuous in Great Acheh as a leader in the holy war until his death, was the son of a simple leubè from Tirò [2]). The foremost member of an old family of pandits in that place was within the memory of man the Teungku di Tirò *par excellence*, also sometimes known as Teungku Chi' di Tirò. Such was till his death in 1886, Teungku Muhamat Amin, and his relative, the energetic Chèh Saman, was his right-hand man. The latter indeed succeeded him; for at Muhamat Amin's death his eldest son (a learned man who has since died), was still too young to fill his father's place. A younger son of Muhamat Amin is now panglima under the supervision of the well-known Teungku Mat Amin, the son of Chèh Saman. [This Mat Amin with about a hundred of his followers perished in 1896 at the surprise of Aneu' Galòng by the Dutch troops.]

In Acheh Proper, before the war, the principal centres of teaching were situated in the neighbourhood of the capital and in the sagi of the XXVI Mukims.

Teungku di Lam Nyòng, whose proper name was Nya' Him (short for Ibrahim), attracted even more followers than his father and grandfather before him, and drew them by hundreds to Lam Nyòng, eager to hear his teaching. He had himself studied at Lam Ba'ét (in the VI Mukims) with a guru who owed his name of Teungku Meusé (from Miçr = Egypt) to his sojourn in that country, and at Lam Bhu' under a Malay named Abduççamad. Very many Achehnese ulamas and almost all the teachers of the North and East Coasts owe their schooling wholly or in part to him.

After the death of a certain Muhamat Amin, known as Teungku Lam Bhu', and of his successor the Malay Abuççamad, who had wedded the former's sister, a period of energy in learning was followed by one of inactivity. This was all changed by the appearance of Chèh Marahaban [3]). His father was an unlearned man from Tirò, who settled later on the West Coast. Marahaban studied in Pidië (in Simpang among other places) and later on at Mekka, where he acted as haji-shaikh [4]) (guide and protector of pilgrims to Mekka and Medina) to his fellow-

1) See Vol I, pp. 179—182.

2) Hence the jealous Teungku Kuta Karang would never speak of Chèh Saman to his followers as Teungku Tirò, but contemptuously styled him Leubè Saman.

3) Vol I pp. 101, 187.

4) See my *Mekka*, II, pp. 28 et seq. and 303 et seq.

countrymen. He returned from Arabia with the intention of settling down again in Pidië, but at the capital of Acheh he yielded to persuasion and put his learning at the disposal of Teuku Kali Malikōn Adé [1]) and of the less learned kali of the XXVI Mukims. At the same time he became a teacher and a prolific writer [2]).

In course of time there arose a clever pupil of the above-named Malay Abduççamad, who received the title of *Teungku di Lam Gut* [3]) from the gampōng of *Lam Gut*. His proper name was Jalāluddīn. He became not only a popular teacher but also kali of the XXVI Mukims. His son, a shrewd but comparatively unlearned man, inherited his father's title and dignity, but gladly transferred the duties of his office to his son-in-law, the Marahaban just spoken of. The grandson of the old Teungku di Lam Gut, and his surviving representative, is similarly kali in name, but is consulted by none and never poses as a teacher.

At *Kruëng Kalé* there was a renowned teacher who succeeded his father in that capacity. At *Chòt Paya* such students as desired to bring their proficiency in reciting the Qurān to a higher level than could be attained in the village schools, assembled under the guidance of Teungku Deuruïh, a man of South Indian origin.

The unsettled condition of the country during the past 26 years has of course completely disorganized religious teaching. In *Lam Seunòng* such instruction is still given by an old Teungku who takes his name from that gampōng; like him, *Teungku Tanòh Mirah*, who besides being a teacher is also kali of the IV Mukims of the VII (sagi of the XXVI) acquired his learning at Lam Nyòng. The same was the case with *Teungku Kruëng Kalé* alias *Haji Muda*, who studied at Mekka as well. In Seulimeum (XXII Mukims) is a teacher called Teungku Usén, whose father *Teungku Tanòh Abèë* [4]), celebrated for his learning and independence, held the position of kali of the XXII Mukims.

Places of abode of the students.

The students, who are for the most part strangers in the place where they pursue their studies, must of course be given a home to live in. Even where their numbers are not told by hundreds it would be difficult

1) Vol I pp. 96 et seq.

2) He is further referred to in the next chapter.

3) The preposition *di* in such appellations, which distinguished persons borrow from the gampōng where they reside or were born, is sometimes employed and sometimes omitted; but the vernacular has given to this prefixing of *di* a honorific signification, Teungku di Tirò, for instance, sounds more respectful than Teungku Tirò.

4) See Vol. I, p. 100. [Both father and son are now dead].

to house them all in the *meunasah*, a building which, as we know, serves as a chapel for the village and as a dormitory for all males whose wives do not live in the gampōng. The intercourse with the young men of the gampōng resulting from lodging under the same roof with them, is also regarded as detrimental to their studies. As a rule, then, the people of the gampōng, on the application of the teacher, erect simple buildings known as *rangkangs*, after the fashion of the students' pondoks or huts in Java.

Rangkangs.

A *rangkang* is built in the form of a dwelling-house, but with less care; in place of three floors of different elevations it has only one floor on the same level throughout, and is divided on either side of the central passage into small chambers, each of which serves as a dwelling-place for from one to three *muribs*.

Occasionally some devout person converts a disused dwelling-house into *waqf* (Ach. *wakeuëh*) for the benefit of the students. The house is then transferred to the enclosure of the teacher and fitted up as far as possible in the manner of a rangkang.

Assistant teachers.

In Java every pondok or hut of a pĕsantrèn has its *lurah* (Sund. *kokolot*) who maintains order and enforces rules of cleanliness, and enlightens the less experienced of his fellow-disciples in their studies. Similarly in Acheh the *teungku rangkang* is at once assistant master and prefect for the students who lodge in the rangkang. He explains all that is not made sufficiently clear for them by the teaching of the gurèë. The students are often occupied for years in mastering the subsidiary branches of learning, especially grammar, and here the teungku rangkang is able to help them in attaining the necessary practical knowledge, by guiding their footsteps in the study of Malay *pikah* and *usuy* books such as the Masaïlah, Bidayah and Çirāt al-mustaqīm [1]).

This establishment of heads of pondoks or rangkangs and the excellent custom among native students of continually learning from one another alone save the system from inefficiency, for the teachers take no pains to improve the method of instruction, and many of them are miserably poor pedagogues in every form of learning.

Method of instruction adopted by the teachers.

The ulamas are wont to impart instruction to the students in one of the two following ways. Either the latter go one by one to the teacher with a copy of the work they are studying, whereupon he recites a

1) See p. 5 above.

chapter, adding the requisite explanations, and then makes the pupil read the text and repeat or write out the commentary; or else the disciples sit in a circle round the master, who recites both text and commentary like a professor lecturing his class, allowing each, either during or after the lesson, to ask any questions he wishes.

Sorogan and bandungan.

In Java the first of these two systems is called *sorogan* and the second *bandungan*. In Acheh the former method is usually followed by the reading of one of the Malay manuals mentioned above under the supervision of the gampōng teacher or of the teungku rangkang, the *bandungan* method alone being used for the study of the Arabic books. The Achehnese have no special names for these methods of instruction [1]).

Uncleanliness of the students.

Besides the system of teaching, the Achehnese rangkangs have in common with the Javanese pondoks an uncleanliness which is proverbial — indeed the former surpass the latter in this respect. One might suppose that in such religious colonies, where the laws of ritual purification are much more strictly observed than elsewhere, we should find an unusually high degree of personal cleanliness. Experience however shows that a man who limits himself to the minimum requirements of the law in this respect can remain extremely dirty without being accused of neglect of his religious duties. Nor do the laws of purification extend to clothing. The mere ritual washing of the body (often limited to certain parts only, since the complete bath is seldom obligatory, especially where there is no intercourse with women) is of little service, as the clothes are seldom washed or changed and the rooms in which the students live rarely if ever cleaned out.

Such advantage over ordinary gampōng folk as the *muribs* may possess in regard to cleanliness through their stricter observance of religious law, they lose through their bachelorhood, since they have to manage their own cooking, washing etc.

In Java there are to be found in many pësantrèns written directions regulating the sweeping out of the huts, the keeping of watch at night, the filling of the water-reservoirs etc., and fines are levied on those who omit their turn of service or enter pondok or chapel with dirty

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1) The bandungan method is thus described; '*Teungku kheun, geutanyöë sima*' = "the master speaks and we hearken." *Sima*' is the Arabic سماع, and is also used in Malay and Javanese in the sense of "hearkening" to teaching by word of mouth, or to the hearing by the guru of his pupils' reading or recitation.

feet, the money being paid into the common chest [1]). Ill-kept though these rules often are, they still render the pondoks and their occupants a little less unclean than the rangkangs and their muribs in Acheh, where the universal dislike of water and habit of dirt have reached an unusually high degree.

In Java *gudig* or *budug* (mangy or leprous) is a very common epithet of the students, and the "*santri gudig*" is even to some extent a popular type. Thus it is not surprising that in Acheh also *kudé* and suchlike skin-diseases [2]), though they are not confined to the students huts, are yet regarded as a sort of hall-mark of the murib.

Influence of the life led by the students on their general development.

The general development of the *muribs* in Acheh derives less benefit from their sojourn in the *rangkangs* than that of the santris in Java from their wanderings from one pèsantrèn to another. The latter become familiar with their fellow-countrymen of other tribes, as Javanese with Sundanese and Madurese, and their studies draw them from the country into the large towns such as Madiun and Surabaya. They also improve their knowledge of agriculture through planting padi and coffee to help in their maintenance. In Acheh geographical knowledge is confined to narrow limits; as the student only moves about within his own country, intercourse with kindred tribes is not promoted by the *meudagang* nor does he act as a pioneer of development in any way. He returns home with very little more knowledge of the world than he possessed when he went on his travels; all he learns is an ever-increasing contempt for the *adat* of his country (which conflicts with Islam in many respects) so that later on, as a dweller in the gampōng, he looks down on his fellow-countrymen with a somewhat Pharasaical arrogance.

It is needless to observe that the morals of the inhabitants of the rangkangs in Acheh are still less above suspicion than those of the pèsantrèn-students in Java.

Popular estimation of the teungkus.

Those who have devoted themselves to study and all who have for some reason or other a claim to the title of teungku [3]), are regarded by the mass of the people not only as having a wider knowledge of religion than themselves, but also as having to some extent, control

1) This common fund, called the *duwit nëgara*, serves to defray the expense of entertaining guests, the purchase of lamp-oil, provisions etc.

2) The *kudé buta* is a disease specially characteristic of the *ureuëng meudagang;* as a remedy for this the juice extracted from the leaves of the ricinus (*nawaih*) is rubbed into the skin.

3) See Vol. I, p. 70 et seq.

over the treasury of God's mercy. Their prayers are believed to command a blessing or a curse, and to have the power of causing sickness or ensuring recovery. They know the formulas appointed of Allah for sundry purposes, and their manner of living is sufficiently devout to lend force to their spoken words. Even when some ignorant leubè is so honest as to decline the request of a mother that he should pronounce a formula of prayer over her sick child, he cannot refuse her simple petition that he will "at least blow upon it"; even the breath of one who has some knowledge of book-lore and fulfils his ritual duties with regularity, is credited with healing power by the ignorant people.

§ 5. Branches of knowledge not appertaining to the threefold learning of Islam.

The *èleumèë* par excellence, as we have already seen, is the threefold sacred learning (*Pikah*, *Usuy* and *Teusawōh*) with the preliminary branches (*Nahu* etc.), and the supplementary ones such as *Teupeusé* and *Hadih*. We have also made a passing acquaintance with an *èleumèë* which, chiefly owing to the heresy it involves, lies outside learning proper, namely the *èleumèë salé*' [1]). There are besides a number of other "sciences" which cannot be regarded as forming a part of "*the* learning".

These numerous *èleumèë's*, like their namesakes among the Malays and Javanese (*ilmu*, *ngèlmu*), are if viewed according to our mode of thought, simply superstitious methods of attaining sundry ends, whether permissible or forbidden. A knowledge of these is considered indispensable alike for the fulfilment of individual wishes and the successful carrying on of all kinds of callings and occupations. For the forger of weapons or the goldsmith, the warrior or the architect, a knowledge of that mysterious *hocus-pocus*, the *èleumèë* which is regarded as appertaining to his calling, is thought at least as important as the skill in his trade which he acquires by instruction and practice. So too he that will dispose of his merchandize, conquer the heart of one he loves, render a foe innocuous, sow dissent between a wedded pair, or compass whatever else is suggested to him by passion or desire, must not

1) See p. 13 above.

neglect the *èleumèë's*; should he be ignorant of these, he seeks the aid of such as are well versed in them.

Views of religious teachers with regard to the èleumèës.

From the point of view of the religious teacher, there is a great difference in the manner in which these various *èleumèës* are regarded. Some of them are classified as *sihé* (Arab. *siḥr*) i. e. witchcraft, the existence and activity of which is recognized by the teaching of Islam, though its practise is forbidden as the work of the evil one. It is just as much *sihé* to use even permissible methods of *èleumèë* for evil ends, such as the injury or destruction of fellow-believers, as to employ godless means (such as the help of the Devil or of infidel djéns), although it be for the attainment of lawful objects. The strict condemnation of the *èleumèë sihé* by religious teaching does not, however, withhold the Achehnese, any more than the Javanese or the Arabs, from practising such arts. Hatred for an enemy and the love of women (generally that of the forbidden kind) are the commonest motives which induce them to resort to *èleumèës* of the prohibited class.

The formulas of prayer and the methods recommended in the orthodox Arab kitabs as of sovereign force are such as might also well be classified under the head of witchcraft, but they are regarded by the Believers as ordained of the Creator. Nor do the Achehnese teachers confine this view to such mystic arts as are marked with the Arabic seal; they also readily employ purely Achehnese material or such as smacks of Hindu influence, so long as *they* fail to detect in it a pagan origin.

An important source of information in regard to the mystic arts of which we now speak, as practised at the present time in Acheh, is a work called Taj-ul-mulk, printed at Cairo in 1891 (A. H. 1309) and at Mekka in 1893 (A. H. 1311). It was written in Malay by the Achehnese pandit Shaikh Abbas i. e. Teungku Kuta Karang (as to whom see Vol. I pp, 183 et seq., Vol. II Chapter II § 4 etc.) at the instance of Sultan Mansō Shah (= Ibrahim, 1838—1870). It contains little or nothing that may not be found in other Arabic or Malay books of the same description, but furnishes a useful survey of the modes of calculating lucky times and seasons, of prognostications and of Native medical art and the methods of reckoning time which are in vogue in what we may call the literate circles of Acheh.

As the writer is an *ulama*, he of course abstains from noticing "branches of science" which give clear tokens of pagan origin.

The science of invulnerability.

A very important class of *eleumèë* for all Achehnese, but especially for chiefs, panglimas and soldiers, is that known as *èleumèë keubay*, i. e. the science of invulnerability. This used also to be held in high esteem in Java, witness the numerous *primbons* [1]) or manuals extant upon this subject. The principles on which this group of *eleumèë* is based are (1) the somewhat pantheistic scheme of philosophy to which we have alluded above [2]) and (2) the theory that a knowledge of the essence, attributes and names of any substance gives complete control over the substance itself.

The science of iron.

The combination of these two notions causes a knowledge of the innermost nature of iron (the *ma'ripat beusòë*, as it is called) to form a most important factor in endowing man with the power of resisting this metal when wrought into various weapons. The argument is as follows. All elements of iron are of course present in man, since man is the most complete revelation of God, and God is All. The whole creation is a kind of evolution of God from himself, and this evolution takes place along seven lines or grades (*meureutabat tujòh*), eventually returning again into the Unity through the medium of man. In the earth then all elements are united and capable of changing places with one another. Now the *èleumèë* of iron has the power of producing on any part of the human body that is exposed to the attack of iron or lead, a temporary formation of iron or some still stronger element that makes the man *keubay* or invulnerable.

Treatment with mercury.

Mercury (*ra'sa*) is regarded as exercising a mysterious influence over the other metals; hence one of the most popular methods of attaining invulnerability is the introduction of mercury in a particular manner into the human body (*peutamòng ra'sa*). This treatment can only be successful when resorted to under the guidance of a skilled gurèë. So every Achehnese chief has, in addition to many advisers on the subject of invulnerability, one special instructor [3]) known as *ureuëng peutamòng ra'sa keubay* or *ra'sa salèh*.

Preparation for the course of treatment.

Ordinarily the treatment is prepared for by at least seven days *kaluët* (doing of penance by religious seclusion) in a separate dwelling near

1) See Vol. I p. 198.

2) P. 10 et seq.

3) The *gurèë* of Teuku Nè' was a man from Batèë Iliè' in Samalanga; that of Teuku Nya' Banta (panglima of the XXVI Mukims) is called Teungku di Pagar Ruyuëng; that of Panglima Meuseugit Raya is Teungku Gam, said to come from Daya. There is also a certain Teungku di Lapang who enjoys great celebrity.

some sacred tomb. These days the patient spends in fasting, eating a little rice only at sundown to stay his hunger. After this begins the rubbing with mercury, generally on the arms, which lasts until a sufficient quantity of mercury has, in the opinion of the gurèë, been absorbed by the patient's body. For the first seven days of his treatment he is further subjected to *pantang* of various kinds; he must refrain from sexual intercourse, and the use of sour foods, and of *bòh jantōng* (plantain-buds), *ōn murōng* (kèlor-leaves) and *labu* (pumpkin).

Not only during the treatment but also in his subsequent life, the patient must repeat certain prayers for invulnerability at appointed times. Many teachers hold that such *du'as* or prayers are only efficacious if they are made to follow on the obligatory *seumayangs;* some even require of their disciples an extra seumayang in addition to the 5 daily ones to supplement those which they may have neglected during the previous part of their lives. By this means an odour of sanctity is given to their method, while at the same time they have a way left open to account for any disappointment of their disciples' hopes, without prejudice to their own reputation. As a matter of fact very few chiefs remain long faithful to this religious discipline; thus, should they later on be reached by the steel or bullet of an enemy, they must blame their own neglect and not their teacher.

The patron of invulnerability.

During the massage the teacher also repeats various prayers. To perfect himself in his calling he has to study the proper traditional methods for years as apprentice to another *gurèë*, and also to seclude himself for a long period amid the loneliness of the mountains. In this seclusion some have even imagined that they have met Malém Diwa, the immortal patron of invulnerability, with whom we shall become further acquainted in our chapter on literature (N°. XIII) [1]).

In many of the systems employed to compass invulnerability, it is considered a condition of success that the pupil should not see his teacher for a period of from one to three years after the completion of the treatment or the course of instruction; indeed it is even asserted

1) [In the year 1898, and again on a smaller scale in 1899, an adventurer from Telong in the Gayō country who bore the name of Teungku Tapa owing to his alleged long mystic seclusion (*tapa*) caused a considerable commotion in the dependencies on the East Coast, and to some extent also in those on the North Coast. He gave himself out to be Malém Diwa himself, and promised his followers invulnerability and victory over the "unbelievers" The appearance of the Dutch troops speedily put an end to the success which this impostor at first enjoyed among the people. He was killed in 1900 in a skirmish with the Dutch troops near Piadah (Pasè)].

that a transgression of this pantang regulation would result in the death of the heedless disciple who disregarded it.

In the night following the first day of the treatment, the patients complain of a heavy feeling in the neck, the idea being that the quicksilver has not yet fully dispersed and collects beneath the back of the head when the patient assumes a recumbent attitude. The remedy for this intolerable feeling is the repetition of a *rajah* or exorcising formula by the instructor.



TEUKU NÈ' OF MEURA'SA.

To give some notion of the energy with which the mercury is rubbed in, we may mention the popular report that Teuku Nè' of Meura'sa absorbed 10 katis (about 13 lbs.) of quicksilver into his body through the skin [1]).

Objects the wearing of which ensures invulnerability.

The "introduction of quicksilver" is, however not the only method employed to produce invulnerability. There are certain objects which have only to be worn on the body to render it proof against wounds.

Peugawè.

One class of such objects is known as *peugawè*. These have the outward appearance of certain living creatures, such as insects, caterpillars, lizards etc., but are in fact composed of iron or some still harder metal, which a knife cannot scratch. They are only to be met with by some lucky chance on the roadside or in the forest.

1) Massage with mercury appears to be also regarded as a specific to secure invulnerability among the Malays of the Padang highlands.

Peugawès having the form of an *ulat sangkadu* (a long-haired, ash-coloured variety of caterpillar) are very highly prized. The possessor of such a charm, if constrained to part with it, can easily secure a price of as much as two to five hundred dollars.

According to the prevailing superstition, these objects were once actually living creatures, but have become metamorphosed, through the conversion of elements mentioned above, into iron, copper or some other metal. A sort of *peugawè* can be made by rolling up an *ajeumat* (= *jimat, ajimat* "amulet") in a layer of *è' malò* (sediment of gum-lacquer). This too is supposed to be gradually transformed into iron by means of certain formulas, and like other *peugawès*, renders its wearer wound-proof. A *peugawè* prepared in this manner has the special name of *baronabeuët* (from *baḥr an-nubuwwah* = the (mystic) sea of prophetical gifts). It is worn on a band round the waist.

If the object found combines with the hardness of iron the form of a fruit or some other eatable thing, it is also called *peugawè*, but is only of service as a charm (*peunawa*) against poisons, from the action of which it protects its wearer.

Another peculiar sort of charm against wounds is the *ranté buy* (pig's chain). Certain wild pigs called *buy tunggay* from the fact that they are solitary in their habits, are said to have a hook of iron wire passing through their noses which renders them invulnerable. This is supposed to be formed from an earthworm which the animal takes up with his food, but which attaches itself to his nose, and there undergoes the change of form which converts it into a charm. When the *buy tunggay* is eating he lays aside this hook, and happy is the man who can avail himself of such a moment to make himself master of the *ranté*. The ranté buy.

According to the devout, however, the efficiency of most *peugawès* is conditional on the wearers leading a religious life; otherwise the charms merely cause irritation instead of protecting his body.

Bullets the lead forming which changes of its own accord into iron, are called *peungeuliëh*. Whoever finds one of these infallible charms will be wise to keep it about him *when he engages in combat*, but not on other occasions, as it will then bring him evil fortune. Hence the common saying, addressed for example to one who arrives just too late for a feast: — "what, have you a *peungeuliëh* about you?" [1]). Peungeuliëh.

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1) *Peuë? na tanguy peungeuliëh?*

Other charms to cause invulnerability.

Another charm for turning aside the enemy's bullets is a cocoanut with one "eye" (*u sabòh mata*) worn about the body [1]). Another *keubay*-specific is a piece of rattan some sections of which are turned the wrong way. Malém Diwa was so fortunate as to find such an *awé sungsang*, as it is called, of such length that he was able to fasten it under his shoulders round breast and back. Nowadays such freaks of nature are only to be found of the length of a couple of sections.

Spots on the skin which produce invulnerability.

Certain peculiar spots on the skin, generally caused by disease, are also held to be signs or causes of invulnerability. Such for instance are the white freckles known as *glum*, which remain as scars upon the skin after a certain disease. This disease, (called *glum* or *leuki*) is said to begin between the fingers and in the region of the genitals and to cause violent irritation. It is supposed to be infectious [2]). Malém Diwa had seven glums of the favourite shape known as *glum bintang* or *bungòng*. Such marks are considered by the Achehnese to enhance the personal beauty of both sexes.

A sort of ring-worm called *kurab beusòë* or iron *kurab*, which manifests itself in large rust-coloured and intensely itching spots on the body, is supposed to confer invulnerability, especially if it forms a girdle around the waist. This disease is also very infectious. When it begins to declare itself, the patient is asked by his friends whether he has been having recourse to a *du'a beusòë* ("iron prayer"), as it is supposed that the *kurab beusòë* can be brought about by the mysterious craft connected with iron.

The science of weapons.

Where so much depends on the efficacy of weapons as in Acheh, it is not surprising that the *èleumèë* which teaches how to distinguish good weapons from bad is regarded as of high importance. This art has been to a great extent (though with certain modifications) adopted from the Malays. The Achehnese regard the Malays of Trengganu and the Bugis as the great authorities on the subject.

The forger of weapons has his special èleumèë, which according to our European notions would contribute exceedingly little to the value of their wares, though the Achehnese think quite the contrary. Equally

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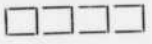
1) Teuku Nè' had such a cocoanut about him on his journey to Keumala.

2) Oil of kayu-putih or the roots of *kuëh* or *langkueuëh* pounded fine and mixed with vinegar are employed as remedies. Some strike the rash with a twig of the shrub called *leuki*. This last remedy is of course an example of superstition with regard to names, as it is based on the resemblance of the name of the plant to that of the disease.

strange but very simple are the expedients resorted to by a purchaser to test the value of a *reunchöng*, *sikin* or *gliwang*. For instance, he measures off on the blade successive sections each equal to the breadth of his own thumb-nail, repeating a series of words such as: *palèh* (= unfortunate), *chilaka*, *meutuah* (= lucky) *mubahgia* (or *chénchala*); or *tua*, *raja*, *bichara*, *kaya*, *sara*, *mati*; or *sa chénchala*, *keudua ranjuna*, *keulhèë keutinggalan*, *keupeuët kapanasan* etc. up to 10.

The word that coincides with the last thumb-breadth, is supposed to give the value of the weapon.

For sikins, the ordinary fighting weapons of the Achehnese, the following test is also employed. The rib of a cocoanut leaf is divided inso sections each equal in length to the breadth of the sikin, and these are successively laid on the blade thus:



Should they when laid upon the blade form a complete row of squares as in the above figure, it is called a *gajah inòng* (female elephant without *gadéng* or tusks) and the weapon is esteemed bad. Should there be two pieces too few to complete the last square, thus  , then it is thought to be superlatively good, as representing the rare phenomenon of an elephant with only one tusk. Should there however be one too few, thus  , then it is called an elephant with two tusks, and the weapon is considered moderately good at best.

There is another rich variety of èleumèë, which confer on their possessors the power of *seeing* what is hidden from ordinary mortals. Those who practise this craft are called "seers" [1]) (*ureuëng keumalòn*). The possessors of this gift are questioned in order to throw light on the cause of, or the best cure for a disease, the fortunes of a relative who has gone on a journey, the thief or receiver of stolen goods and so forth. Seers.

The questioner usually offers to the *ureuëng keumalòn* a dish of husked rice on which are also placed two eggs and a strip of white cotton. The methods employed by the "seers" or clairvoyantes vary greatly. Some draw their wisdom from a handbook of mystic lore, others from the lines produced by pouring a little oil over the eggs presented to them, others again from studying the palms of their own hands.

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1) Compare the *orang mĕliatin* of Batavia etc.

Invisible helpers of the female "seers".

It sometimes also happens (just as in Java) that the clairvoyante invokes the help of an invisible being (*ureuëng adara*). After the burning of incense, which she inhales or over which she waves her hands, muttering the while, the familiar spirit enters into her. Then she appears to lose her senses; trembling and with changed voice she utters some incoherent sentences, which she afterwards interprets on coming to herself again.

The tiông as a seer.

The mina, a well-known talking bird, called *tiông* by the Achehnese, is regarded as endowed with this gift of second sight, but a human "seer" male or female, is indispensable for the interpretation of its utterances. Such clairvoyantes are supposed to understand the speech of the bird, and translate into oracular and equivocal Achehnese the incomprehensible chatter of the mina.

In cases of theft the *ureuëng keumalòn* usually declares whether the thief is great or small of stature, light or dark of complexion, and whether he has straight or wavy hair [1]), so that the questioner has at least the consolation of knowing that the stolen article is not hopelessly lost, and that he may recover it by anxious search.

For sick persons the results of the clairvoyance consist as a rule in a recipe in which the leaves of plants take the foremost place, or else it is divined that drums (*geundrang*) or tambourines should be played for the benefit of the sick child or that a many-hued garment (the *ija planggi*) should be given it to wear [2]).

Lucky marks.

Another kind of divination consists in the examination of the lines on the palm of the hand (*kalòn urat jaròë*) as a means of telling peoples' fortunes. A further method of predicting the future is from the shape and position of the spiral twists of the hair, called *pusa* (in Java *usër-usëran*). From this is deduced the quality of the animal in the case of cattle, goats, sheep and horses, and their future destiny in the case of human beings. Two symmetrical *pusas* placed opposite one another are lucky signs. A certain peculiar spiral called *pusa rimuëng* is a token that its possessor will be torn by a tiger.

The spirals found in the very fine lines of the skin are also called

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1) The kampong-folk of Batavia, who are much harassed by thefts, also frequently have recourse to such *orang mëliatin*; the writer has even himself known a case in which certain police officers of the capital of Java did not disdain thus to facilitate the fulfilment of their duty.

2) See Vol. I pp. 390 et seq.

pusa. On the hand these mean that their possessor will not be slain unavenged; on the foot, that he will never grow weary in walking; on the male genital organ, that he will lose his wives by death; on that of women, an early death for the husband, and so on.

Quivering of nerves; physiognomy.

The signifiance of the quivering of nerves (*tōtō*, the Jav. *kĕdut*) in certain parts of the body, is chiefly to be found in Malay handbooks, as also the *èleumèë peurasat* (Arab. *firāsah*), which determines a man's nature and disposition from the shape of his face and the build of his body.

The *phay* science.

The *èleumèë phay* is also worked with the help of books. Sometimes it is the Qurān that is used, sometimes a fortune-teller's manual, preferably that ascribed to the Alide Ja'far Çādiq (Ach. Ja'pa Sadé') [1]).

Where the Qurān is used, the enquirer into the hidden things of the future, after preparing himself for his task by ceremonial ablution, opens the book at hap-hazard at any page and then turns over seven pages more. The first letter of the 7th line of this 7th page supplies the answer to his question, for every letter of the alphabet has corresponding to it certain formulas which show what may be expected or what should be done under various circumstances, e. g. "There are obstacles to your journey", "The marriage will be a happy one", etc. The kitab Ja'pa Sadé' is employed in the same manner.

Omens.

Phay is really an Arabic word (*fa'l*) meaning "presage", "omen", but in Achehnese it is restricted to prognostications in books and some other kinds of soothsaying [2]). Omens proper are described by another Arabic word, *alamat*. These are of the same character as the omens of Javanese superstition — sounds seldom heard under ordinary circumstances, animals, especially birds and insects, which are rarely seen, in fact all manner of more or less uncommon phenomena. The knowledge of this secret language of nature is however practically the common property of all grown-up people, and does not form the subject of a separate *èleumèë*. It may rather be classified among the *hadih maja* ("traditions of female ancestors"), as to which we shall have something more to say in our chapter on literature.

The approaching death of an inmate of the house, a relation or a friend, is announced by the unwonted nasal cry (*kòòò*) of a *jampō'* (a

1) We have seen (Vol. I p. 198) that in Batavia even the memorandum-books used by the natives are known by the name of *Japar Sidé'* or *Tip*.

2) As to the application of these in Acheh see footnote on p. 298, Vol. I.

sort of night-bird) or the sound emitted by a kind of cricket [1]) called *sawa* which no one ever sees, or by the strong and continuous screaming (*cheumeuchéb*) of a kite (*kleuëng*).

A nocturnal visit (which in Acheh generally means one of thieves or adulterers) is foretold by the nasal *kèt-kèt* of the *sareuë'* bird. On the other hand the voice of the *titilantahit*, a little bird which haunts the jungle close to the gampöngs, is a sign of the long-deferred return of a relative who is on a journey.

The advent of other guests is announced by the flying into the house of a large brown butterfly, the *bangbang jamèë* (guest butterfly) or by water thrown out of doors making a plopping noise as it falls on the ground.

The cock is said to crow in a peculiar way when rain is at hand, and in a different manner when the sun has attained its midday altitude. For these reminders the Achehnese is grateful; but when the cock approaches him and gives vent to a peculiar shrill cry, it is believed that the bird hears the dead screaming in their graves as they suffer castigation at the hands of the angels. This makes the listener reflect in spite of himself on the punishments in store for him, and he angrily chases his mentor away.

The howling of many dogs [2]) betokens, as in Java, an approaching epidemic.

Where one sets out with some special object in view, and meets a cat or a snake in an unusual place, he may just as well return home again, as he is doomed to failure in his enterprise; equally *malang* [3]) or unlucky is he who on his way catches sight of another's nakedness.

Interpretation of dreams.

Another special class of *alamat* consists in the revelations made by Allah to men in dreams, though these cannot be entirely depended on, as the Devil often suggests false dreams to the mind. In Arab science the interpretation of dreams forms the subject of a special branch of literature.

A famous work on this subject (*ta'bīr*) by an Arab named Ibn Sīrīn,

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1) We are reminded of the "death-watch" of English superstition, and the Irish *banshee*, though in the case of the latter the warning sound is believed to be caused by a spirit and not a living creature (*Translator*).

2) There is a somewhat similar superstition in Ireland where the howling of a dog at night is believed to foretell the death of someone in the neighbourhood. (*Translator*).

3) See also Vol. I p. 296.

is also pretty generally known in the Indian Archipelago; there are numerous handbooks based directly or indirectly on this work.

Thus in Acheh we find persons possessed of some knowledge of the *ta'bi* or interpretation of dreams, who are able to enlighten their countrymen as to the meaning of their visions. A portion of this science has been added to the popular wisdom of the Achehnese, and having been augmented still more by native methods of interpretation, has become embodied in the *hadih maja* or traditions of female ancestors. Hadih maja.

This popular Achehnese *ta'bi* teaches that he who is seen naked in a dream (be it the dreamer himself or another) must expect ill-fortune, but that he who appears to the dreamer with unusually long hair or beard will have good luck. Serious loss awaits him who is shaven or bathes or eases himself in the dream. A long life is destined for him who is dreamt of as dying; early death of himself or his parents or children for him who is seen clad in white or lacking a front tooth, and the death of a brother or more distant relative for him who loses a molar. To see one's house on fire foretells wealth; walking under an umbrella or riding on a horse or elephant are omens of fame or worldly greatness. The Achehnese is however loth to tell his friends when he has seen himself riding thus in a dream, lest they should pester him with mocking questions as to what dignity he thinks is in store for him, or whether the omen of speedy exaltation might not perhaps only mean that the dreamer would shortly find himself sitting as a thatcher astride the ridge-pole of a roof.

The man or woman who dreams of a great fire or a snake, will soon get married; the pregnant woman who sees herself dressed in feminine finery will become the mother of a girl, while she who dreams of putting a cap on her head will bear a boy.

He who dreams of being on board ship, has without knowing it come into conflict with a spirit of the kind known as *sanè* [1]), but has come off without injury to himself. The eating of rice, especially glutinous rice, is an omen of success.

Some dreams are ascribed to a *praja*, by which seems to be understood a kind of tutelary spirit, whose chief task is to appear in some visible form and warn the occupants of a house or ship of evil threatening their dwelling-place. The phenomena which foretell a marriage are also called *praja*.

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1) Vol. I p. 409.

Pantang rules.

There is another branch of popular lore much akin to the *hadih maja* described above, namely the rules or restrictions comprised under the generic name of *pantang* or taboo. There are indeed many prohibitory rules (as is also the case with the *pamali* of the Sundanese) employed in the education of children; but in these the representation of the awful consequences of disobedience is merely a rod in pickle, so that they may be described as imitations of the true pantang, employed for educational purposes.

Men must never eat an egg taken from a fowl that has been killed; should they neglect this prohibition and afterwards be struck by a bullet, all efforts to extract it would be in vain. This is a true pantang rule.

If a child lies on its back in the court-yard, its father will die; should it lie on its face with its feet raised, its mother will die. This is mere imitation, utilized to train children.

We have already noticed in passing sundry pantang regulations connected with pregnancy [1]), agriculture [2]), fishery [3]), certain diseases [4]) etc. We shall now add some others which are among the best known.

To wish to regain something one has given away gives rise to sores on the elbows. Eating rice from the cooking-pot (*kanèt*) after marriage causes the face to turn black. Throwing raw rice [5]) into the mouth with the hand causes the teeth to decay; while a swollen stomach results from sitting in the wind or sleeping under the open sky. Want or poverty threaten him who shakes the dust from his clothes in the evening, or who has a *chĕ'brĕ'* tree (Jav. *juar*) growing in his compound.

Cocoanut trees should be planted only at night and under a clear sky, so that the fruit may be as many as the stars. A green cocoanut in which a hole has been cleft accidentally in some other part than the top or bottom should be avoided, as he who drinks its water will run a great risk of losing his life by sword or bullet. One should not kill the iguana, lest one become sluggish and awkward. A woman who eats twin plantains (*pisang meukeumbeuë*) runs the risk of having twins. In winnowing rice the mother should never turn the point of the winnowing basket (*jeu'èë*) towards the sleeping-room, (*jurèë*) lest one of her children be compelled to go on distant journeys.

Pantangs of speech.

To pantangs of speech, words which may not be used under certain

1) Vol. I p. 372. 2) Vol. I p. 259.
3) Vol. I pp. 280—81. 4) Vol. I pp. 416—17.
5) Achehnese children are very fond of chewing raw rice.

circumstances, we have already alluded in our description of fisheries and epidemics. There are however others besides those mentioned. Should one wish to enquire as to the extent of a friend's rice-harvest, he must not ask "how much" (*padum*) but "how little (*padit*) have you obtained" [1]). "How few" and not "how many" is also the expression used by a man called out to fight in enquiring of his panglima the number of his fellows. Fighting men have also other pantangs of speech which they employ for fear of spoiling their luck by boasting of their prowess, their numbers or their successes. To speak to a mother of the health or vigour of her child will make her anxious and even angry [2]). On the other hand, if one of the family is seriously ill, he is spoken of as being "dainty or pleasant of flesh" (*mangat asòë*). Old fashioned people never mention the names of their ancestors or of former Achehnese royalties and other deceased worthies without first saying *ampōn, meuribèë-ribèë ampōn, bè' tulah,* i. e. "Forgiveness, a thousand times forgiveness (may the mention of your name bring on me) no curse!"

The setting of the sun also gives rise to certain definite speech-pantangs. In the evening or at night meat must be described as *eungkōt darat* (land-fish), or if the real name be used it must be preceded by the words "let no one dream of it to-night" (*bè' lumpòë malam*); for to dream of meat means misfortune. For the same reason no mention must be made in the evening of the drawing of teeth or of shaving; these verbs (*bōt* and *chukō*) are replaced by the general expression *bòïh* ("to do away with"). Cutting of nails may be spoken of, but must not be done at night, as poverty would be the result.

All who have to traverse the forests in the exercise of their calling, such as deer-hunters or searchers for camphor and honey, must in order to ensure success pay due regard to pantangs of speech as well as to various *tangkays* or magic formulas. Among other things it is said to be indispensable for the seekers of camphor to preface all remarks they make to one another by the way with the word *kaphō* (camphor). When a tiger is close by he must not be spoken of by his proper name (*rimuëng*), but must be called *datō'* (grandfather or ancestor) [3]).

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1) The answer also, especially if the harvest has been very abundant, begins with the words *na bachut tè'* = "a mere trifle".

2) So among the Irish peasantry it is considered unlucky to praise a child without adding the expression "God bless it" (*Translator*).

3) The Malays also fear to name the tiger when in his vicinity. (*Translator*).

A great part of the remaining *hadih maja* has been already described in our discussion of Achehnese manners and customs; upon *hadih maja* indeed is based the observance of most of those adats which have no (Mohammedan) religious significance or origin, but the neglect of which is believed to be attended with evil results in this life.

Incantations and amulets.

The lore of *ajeumats* (amulets), *rajahs* (formulas which when written serve as amulets and when spoken as charms), *tangkays* (incantations), and *du'as* (prayers) is of course very highly prized. No one who has any regard for his own well-being or that of those belonging to him, can dispense with the aid of the experts in such lore.

All these serve as protectives or preparatives. Those who wish for success in love have recourse to a *peugaséh* or love-charm, those who would sell their wares at a profit to a *peularéh*, while for every sickness a *tangkay* is employed, even though medicines be applied as well.

We have already noticed the malignant lore of poisons (*èleumèë tuba*) and of the fungi [1]) in particular.

Medical art.

The remarks, partly incidental and partly direct [2]), which we have made respecting the treatment of some diseases, have clearly shown that native medical science in Acheh, as indeed all over the Indian Archipelago, is based to a great extent on superstition. In point of fact the simple application of a natural medicament without any "hocus-pocus", in case even of the most ordinary and well-known indispositions, is a rare exception, and numbers of diseases are treated with "hocus-pocus" and nothing else.

This very quackery is the only portion of medical science which the Achehnese would dignify with the name of *èleumèë*. All the rest is in his eyes mere practical knowledge, some degree of which everyone acquires as he advances in years.

Such practical experience is more especially the property of women, whose task it always is to prepare the drugs, and it is the old women in particular whose advice is constantly called for by those who seek medical aid outside the limits of their own homesteads. Such experts are known as *ureuëng meu'ubat* or "medicine people" a name applied to both sexes, though one hears more often of the *ma ubat* or "medicine mother".

Foreign influence.

Their lore has not remained free from foreign influences. In the stalls of the druggists (*ureuëng meukat aweuëh*) there are to be found a number

1) Vol. I p. 414.

2) Vol. I pp. 408 et seq.

of products native to Acheh, but many more simples of Indian and Arabian and even of Chinese origin. Without making the smallest claim to completeness, I note below some of the recipes used in indispositions of common occurrence in Acheh. It should be added that the proportion of each ingredient and the amount of the dose are determined in each case by the instructions of the *ma ubat* [1]). In Java in like manner, purely native prescriptions contain no indications as to quantity, or only very vague ones.

The remedy prescribed for all inflammation of the eyes is injection of the juice squeezed from the buds of the wild fig.

Conjunctivitis (*mata timòh* lit. = "germination of the eye") is very common. It is treated by dropping into the diseased eye about sundown on three successive evenings the juice obtained by rubbing a certain viscous sort of grass called *naleuëng azwō*. This is repeated seven times on the first evening, five on the second and three on the third. There is another method of treating this disease which suggests the symbolical heart-cleansing of the hajis at Jèbèl Nur near Mekka [2]). A cocoanut-shell is laid on the patient's head, and on it is placed a grain of rice (a symbol of the white "bud" in the eyeball) with a little piece of turmeric (*kunyèt*). The grain of rice and the kunyèt are then cut through with a sharp knife. "If it be Allah's will" the ulcer in the eye will then shortly break up and disappear. Conjunctivitis.

Small-pox patients [3]) are "cooled" by being bathed on three successive days with water in which finely pounded leaves of *peureuya la'ōt* are left to ferment. This bathing is called the first, second and third water (*ië sa, dua, lhèë*). After the third water there is hope of recovery, as, if the patient is going to die, he generally does so before that time.

When the small-pox ulcers have appeared, the patient is rubbed with "sour water" (*ië asam*) composed of water mixed with the juice of the lime (*srëng*), cummin (*jara* or *jeura putéh*) and kunyèt, and boiled down to a paste. After this has dried, the mites (*kumeun*) which are supposed to cause the ulcers are killed by rubbing the patient with *beuda'* (bĕdak) mixed with turmeric or lime-juice. To counteract the evil effects of this

1) Where a measure is prescribed, this is done in precisely the same way as by the *dukuns* in Java; cf. A. C. Vorderman's *Kritische beschouwingen over Dr. C. L. Van der Burg's "Materia Indica* (Batavia 1886), p. 24.

2) See my Mekka, Vol. II pp. 321—22.

3) We have already (Vol. I pp. 416—17) described the purely superstitious practices in regard to small-pox.

disease on the eyes a little of the moisture derived from the slug called *abō* is injected into them.

The small-pox patient may eat roasted food, but the roasting must not be done in his house; meat and eggs he may not touch.

All purgatives are called *julab*. As such are employed, among other things, the pips of the *peunyeuha*-fruit and a kind of castor-oil (*minyeu' nawaïh*) of native manufacture.

Ordinary diarrhoea (*chirét*) is treated with sour semi-ripe *blinggè*-fruits, or an extract of roasted buffalo-hide and roasted rice, both of which ingredients are first pounded fine.

Dysentery and cholera.

Dysentery (*biōh*) is treated with opium, or with a compound of pounded unripe *pisang klat* (a kind of plantain with an astringent taste) and molasses [1]).

In cholera [2]) (*ta'eun, mutah-chirét*) and kindred ailments, the patient is given sugarcane juice mixed with a little powdered turmeric to drink, or else rice-water with some gambir, or extract of pounded betelnut (*pinang*), or the expressed juice of a pomegranate which has first been heated with the skin on. The sufferer is also cooled by constant bathing.

It is said by the natives that a common preliminary symptom of choleraic seizures is a violent pain in the arm or leg, as though some hard body under the skin were moving upwards. This is regarded as the prime cause of the complaint, and it is sought to counteract it by cupping or making an incision over the spot where the foreign body is supposed to be felt.

Fever.

The feverish symptoms known as *sijuë'-seu'uëm* (cold-heat) are treated with the expressed juice of *chuëh*-leaves, together with those of *pisang talōn* (= *pisang raja*), or with the bitter gummy sap of the *ba'raja peunawa*, called in Malay *lidah buaya* (crocodile's tongue) or simply with water in which seeds of the *seulaséh* (*sĕlasih*) are soaked. The patient must not bathe, but is occasionally bespued with water from another's mouth.

In *deumam* (continuous or remittent fever) nothing but tangkays or incantations are employed.

Sampòng.

It is believed that the young suffer three times in their life from an indisposition called *sampòng*; first at puberty (*sampòng chut*), again when they come of age (*sampòng peuteungahan*) and finally when they have completed their growth (*sampong rayeu'* or *sakèt ulèë neurayeu'* =

1) The children have a song which runs: *Ayōh, raja, ayōh — pisang klat ubat biōh.*

2) See Vol. I p. 415.

sickness of the end of growth). The symptoms are said to be feverishness, loss of appetite and peculiar ridges crossing the middle of the nails. This indisposition is, like the *sakét dròë* or *manya'* [1]), regarded as one which must be allowed to take its natural course.

Where children suffer from such a complaint, nature is assisted by laying on the forehead either *chuluët*-leaves (which resemble betel-leaves in appearance) or a chewed-up compost of *cheukō* (*kěnchur*), onions and turmeric. Another method resorted to in order to expel the demon of childish maladies is smoking (*rabōn*) with the vapour of burning bones, leaves, onions and horn.

If a child suffers from hiccough, a small fragment of sirih-leaf is laid on its forehead.

For headache or cold in the head various kinds of strongly flavoured rujak (*cheunichah*) are eaten.

Domestic physic.

The old-fashioned housewife has always at hand a bag containing a store of the different simples appertaining to domestic doctoring. In this *baluëm ubat* [2]) are also carefully preserved the first excreta of newly-born infants (*è' meujadi* or *mula jadi*), regarded as a potent ingredient in remedies for convulsions etc.

Urine.

Human urine is also believed to have healing powers [3]); that of boys still uncircumcised is administered to those who have sustained a heavy fall from a tree or the roof of a house, etc., while water made in the morning immediately after rising (*ulèë iè'*) is considered a sovereign remedy for jaundice (*bambang kunèng*).

Poisonous bites.

It is believed that the bites of sundry poisonous creatures can be cured by rubbing the part affected with some precious stone credited with healing powers, especially that known as *akè'* (Arab. *ʿaqīq*). For snake-bite is prescribed, in addition to incantations, cauterizing with red-hot iron or the application to the spot of half a split tamarind-seed. It is said that the bite of the snake known as *uleuë maté iku* can only be cured by laying on the wound the brains of a snake of the same description.

Small fresh superficial wounds or cuts are treated by applying to them by way of wadding the white web of a certain sort of spider called *cha'iè*.

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1) See Vol. I p. 386.

2) In Java such a bag, which is in special requisition after confinements, is called *ponjèn* (Jav.) or *kanyut kundang* (Sund.).

3) It is used in Java also, especially in cases of persons struck by lightning.

Eruptions of the skin, ulcers etc.

Skin-diseases are very common and of many different kinds. A reddish eruption called *uri* and a kind of swelling resembling, in appearance and the irritation it causes, the bite of the mosquito, are treated by rubbing in the ashes of wood (*abèë dapu*) and the slaver of sirih (*ië babah mirah*).

We have already noticed *kudé* (the skin-disease of the students) [1]) and its treatment, and *glum* and *kurab* (ringworm), some varieties of which no attempt is made to cure, the disease being actually fostered to ensure invulnerability, or because the marks it leaves are thought to enhance personal beauty [2]). For *kurab ië* is used a paste made of the leaves of the bush called *glinggang* (cassia alata), mixed with alum (*tawaïh*) and white onions.

A sick person who plucks *glinggang* leaves [3]) for his own use must take care that his shadow does not fall upon the bush, as this would mar the efficiency of the remedy in his case.

Pimples and pustules are called *chumuët*, other words being added to express their size, e. g. *chumuët lada* (like peppercorns) or *ch. gapeuëh* (cotton-tree seeds). Such excrescences are treated with a compost of buds of the *pi*-tree mixed with onions. Larger pimples and boils on various parts of the body are called *rahō*; the *barah* occurs most generally on the thighs, and the *birêng* under the arm-pits. More confidence is however placed in checking such pustules at the start than in the application of healing drugs. This method of suppression is called *bantōt*, and consists in pressing on the part affected some lime over which a *rajah* has been recited.

The various sorts of *purèë*, which according to the Achehnese has nothing to do with venereal disease, are regarded as difficult of treatment. Hardly a family in Acheh escapes this infectious disease, which appears especially in the nose, mouth, feet and anus. In children it is treated with a corrosive mixture of *blangan* fruits, vitriol and *janggōt jén* (a lichen, usnea barbata), laid on the ulcers after they have first been opened by rubbing the skin. Grown-up people, who usually catch this ailment from children, find it difficult to shake it off.

The sores called *kayab*, which emit blood and pus, are also very infectious. A special variety is known as *kayab-apuy* ("fire-kayab") from

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1) See p. 31 above. 2) See p. 38 above.

3) An extract of these leaves is recommended as a cure for impotence.

its resemblence to a burn. The treatment is rubbing with cocoanut- or garu-oil.

Budō' or leprosy is also called the "evil disease", *peunyakèt jheut*. Lepers are avoided as much as possible in Acheh, but they are not always collected together in separate gampōngs as is done on the N. and E. coasts.

The *raseutōng*, a sore on the nose believed to be caused by the bite or the egg of a small insect which haunts the flowers of the pandan (*seukè*) is regarded as incurable and deadly.

The proper Achehnese name for *biri-biri* (commonly known as *beri-beri*) is difficult to ascertain, since this disease, at all events in the form it now assumes, appears to have been formerly unknown in the country; it is identified sometimes with one and sometimes with another familiar Achehnese complaint that happens to bear some resemblance to it. It is thus usually designated by the name *biri-biri*, which has been only comparatively lately introduced into Acheh. Beri-beri.

Some assert that the proper name is *baruëh* or *charuëh*, and prescribe rubbing the body of the patient with the leaves of the baruëh-tree [1]) chopped fine and mixed with vinegar, or a draught composed of the sap of these leaves mingled with water.

Others say that *badōm*, a light form of dropsy, and *basō*, the more severe stage of that disease, are really identical with biri-biri. The opponents of this view, on the other hand, allege that in *badōm* and *basō* the patient does not suffer at all from difficulty in breathing, as is the case in *biri-biri*.

Elephantiasis of the calves, accompanied by difficulty in walking, is called *untōt*, and has been indigenous in Acheh since ancient times. Recovery from this complaint is despaired of, as is also the case with *burōt*, under which are included both hernia and all other diseases which cause enlargement of the scrotum. A popular proverb, illustrating human endeavours after greatness, says that there are two classes of men who unlike the majority of their fellow-creatures, are ever striving to become less than they are, namely those who suffer from *untōt* and from *burōt* [2]); the allusion of course being to their efforts to reduce the swellings caused by these diseases.

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1) This view is perhaps simply due to the similarity of the names; many like instances are to be met with in native physic. We have already noticed an example of this in Acheh, in the treatment of the disease known as *leuki* with a twig of the bush of the same name.

2) *Nyang keumeung keuchut dua dròë ureuëng: siuntōt ngòn siburōt.*

Burōt is treated by the application of a paste made of white onions and the leaves of various trees, especially the *reudeuëb* (Mal. dadap = erythrina); or else the scrotum is rubbed with the juice obtained by pounding up the buds of the manè-tree, mixed with lime. The patients are also directed to bathe early in the morning and to produce retching by inserting the finger in the mouth, in order that "what has sunk may rise again"!

Affections of the joints.

Pains in the joints are treated in a peculiar manner. One or two hoofs are obtained in an unbroken state from some one who is killing a buffalo or ox; from these the marrow (*uta' tuleuëng*) is extracted and rubbed on the part affected, or mixed with water and given to the patient to drink.

Swellings caused by a fall or blow and broken limbs are dealt with as follows: some hot ashes or salt or a smooth heated brick are rolled up in a cloth and continuously rubbed (*teu'uëm*) on the injured part under heavy pressure. Another method is the laying on of compresses similarly folded up in a cloth (*barōt*).

Pain in swallowing is called *kawé lhan* (*kawé* = a fish-hook), and is treated by giving the patient water to drink in which has lain for some time a fish-hook which has been found in the maw of a fish.

Gonorrhea.

For gonorrhea (*sakét sabōn*) the cure is to drink water mixed with soap, preferably the kind which the hajis bring back from Arabia [1]). Another remedy is pine-apple juice mixed with yeast, which we have already noticed as a specific against the fecundity of women [2]), or a solution of powdered white sea shells mixed with alum and camphor.

Toothache.

In diseased and hollow teeth is placed a mixture of three kinds of vegetable sap (*geutah*), that of the *asan*-tree, the *keupula* or sawō-tree, and the leaves of the *nawaïh* or castor-oil plant. For toothache or face-ache a sort of medicinal cigar is smoked, the *rukò' siawan* (Mal. *sĕriawan*). These cigars have for their covering leaves paper or pieces of plantain-leaf, and within a mixture of various finely-pounded leaves, such as those of the *grupheuëng agam* (Mal. *langgundi* = vitex trifolia), *grupheuëng inòng*, *nawaïh* (ricinus), *rihan* (resembling *sĕlasih*), *glinggang*, *peundang*, *adat agam*, *adat inòng*, *meura'*, *keusab rayeu'*, *keusab chut* and *pladang*; some opium, a little of the resin called *mò*, some saffron (*kōmkōma*), a few foreign drugs such as *ganti* and *meusui*, some camphor and tree-cotton. There must

1) The Achehnese seldom use soap, but hajis sometimes bring back soap with them from Mekka, for the washing of their own bodies after death.

2) Vol. I p. 70.

also be added a portion of the 44 herbs which we shall presently describe.

Siawan is a complaint which is supposed to result in the early falling out or turning grey of the hair, the rapid decay of the teeth and weakening of the eyesight. Its symptoms are toothache, a disagreeable sensation in the nose, and headache. The medicinal cigar just described is also used as a remedy for this complaint. Siawan.

A moderate use of various narcotics is prescribed for sundry purposes, as for example the smoking of ganja (hashish) to excite the appetite, and the eating of opium to render the body thickset or to prolong sexual enjoyment.

The bitter extract of *beum*-leaves taken on an empty stomach, serves to dispel a chill and shivery feeling often experienced on rising in the morning. Various other medicaments.

The Achehnese very rarely drink tea or coffee [1]) on ordinary occasions, but in case of illness these beverages are employed in place of water, or at all events the latter is boiled before use, a custom which European medical science is certain to regard with approval.

A soup composed of various vegetables mixed together (*gulè rampòn*) is the favourite fare of convalescents.

Tears of the sea-cow or duyong (*ië mata duyōn*) are generally known by name as a sovereign cure, but no one has ever beheld them.

The methods of treatment are for the most part identical with those common to the Malays and Javanese.

A large number of external remedies are applied to the spot on which they are supposed to act by ejection from the mouth. The bespuing of a wound with water to cleanse it is called *preut*, and the same word is applied to the beslavering of a sick person with sirih spittle or "charmed" water. This last is also called *seumbō*, but the more special meaning of this word is the bespuing of patients with chewed-up medicaments, whether blessed by an incantation or not. Blowing (*prōih*) [2]) on the head or some other part of the patient's body as a finale to the recitation of a *rajah*, and of massage (*urōt*), for which, as we have seen, Method of treatment.

1) The use of both of these beverages in Acheh is restricted for the most part to the foreigners who have settled in Gampōng Jawa and their Achehnese neighbours or to hajis who have grown accustomed to their use during their sojourn in Arabia.

2) Compare Sir William Maxwell's description of a Malay cure N°. 22 p. 23 of Notes and Queries issued with N°. 14 of the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* for Dec. 1884. (Singapore 1885). *(Translator).*

some have received a special divine gift from the very time of their birth [1]), are universally practised.

There remain to be described two recipes the application of which must be regarded as peculiarly Achehnese.

Peundang. The first is the extract of the peundang-root, called *gadung China* [2]) by the Malays. This is imported by Klings and other traders and has nothing but its name in common with the native Achehnese *peundang*, the leaves of which are used in the siawan-cigar described above.

The root is very cheap, but its preparation is expensive, as there are at the most one or two persons in each mukim who understand how to turn it into a potent draught in the approved manner, and especially by employing those incantations which are indispensable to its efficacy.

This draught is prescribed for all sorts of complaints [3]) which other remedies have failed to cure, and especially in cases of loss of strength through excessive toil or continued illness.

It is however no light matter to decide on having recourse to the *peundang*-cure. The Achehnese are, indeed, firmly convinced that he who has once undergone it loses for the rest of his life his susceptibility to the influence of other medicines. The cure also requires a certain amount of patience.

Dieting. It must be commenced by isolation for seven days, if possible without moving out of one room; and during this period the patient is subjected to numerous pantang-rules. He should eat, if possible only dry rice and other dry food, and must be careful to abstain from the flesh of the cocoanut, meat, vegetables and the juice of the arèn and sugarcane. His drinking water must be entirely replaced by the decoction of the peundang-root.

The draught is insipid to the taste for the first few days, but afterwards grows more and more bitter. It must be drunk to the exclusion of all other liquids for the first 40 days, but the strict dietary just mentioned only lasts for the first week. The Achehnese derive their knowledge of the healing properties of the peundang from Nias; it is supposed to have been discovered by the leprous princess banished thither, from whom the whole population of the island is said to be derived [4]).

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1) Vol. I, p. 374.

2) The botanical name is *Smilax China*. (*Translator*).

3) In Van Langen's Dictionary it is stated to be a specific against syphilis; this is an error.

4) See Vol. I p. 20.

Next come the "44 herbs or medicaments" (*aweuëh peuët plöh peuët*) to which we have already more than once made passing reference [1]). We are aware of the peculiar significance of the number 44 in Acheh [2]). This number is not always strictly adhered to in practice (as for instance in the case of the days of purification after childbirth, and also of the number of these herbs), yet still everyone *speaks of* the 44 days and the 44 herbs.

In the shops of the druggists (*ureuëng meukat aweuëh*) in the Achehnese markets, is to be found a rich variety of dried seeds, tubers, roots and leaves and even articles of mineral origin, which are to some small extent indigenous, but for the most part imported from India or Arabia. Small quantities of each of these simples to the number of 44 are taken at hap-hazard, mixed together and pounded to a powder. This powder is of itself regarded as an excellent curative, but it is most generally employed as an indispensable ingredient of various recipes.

The tradition which determines what ingredients should go to make up the 44, is in the keeping of the drug-sellers and of the physicians male and female (*ureuëng meu'ubat* or *ma ubat*). On this subject there is not complete unanimity of opinion, but the difference is only as to trifling details; as a rule those who prepare the powder for themselves employ a greater number of ingredients than the traditional 44. On the other hand the drug-sellers keep in a separate jar a supply of the powder for such as wish to purchase it ready-made; the quantity required for any given prescription can be had at a very low price, but there is a general idea that in the mixture thus sold dust and ashes are substituted for the most expensive ingredients. The list appended below contains the names of 56 simples which according to the authorities whom I have consulted find a place in the recipe of the *aweuëh peuët plöh peuët*. Of some I can only give the native names, certain of which are borrowed from other countries; in classifying the rest I have had the advantage of the assistance of Dr. P. van Romburgh and Dr. A. G. Vorderman.

1. *Aweuëh.* This general name for herbs drugs and simples is also specially applied to the coriander seed, also called *keutumba* (Mal. *kětumbar*).

1) Vol. I p. 382 and p. 53 above.

2) Vol. I pp. 264, 388, 429—30.

2. *Kulét manèh.*	Cinnamon.
3. *Jara* [1]) *manèh.*	Foeniculum panmorium [2]).
4. *Jara itam.*	Seeds of the Nigella Sativa.
5. *Jara kusani.*	Caraway seed.
6. *Jara putéh.*	Cummin.
7. *Aka manèh.*	Licorice-root.
8. *Bungòng lawang.*	Cloves.
9. *Sunti halia.*	Ginger.
10. *Lada putéh.*	White pepper.
11. *Jumuju.*	Seeds of Carum Copticum.
12. *Champli puta* or *buta.*	Chabe jawa (Chavica densa) [3]).
13. *Tumbang mangkò'* [4]).	Scaphium Wallachii S. et E. (?)
14. *Bungòng lawang Kléng.*	Seeds and seed-pods of the Japanese stellated anise (Illicium Anisatum).
15. *Haleuba.*	Fenugreek-seed.
16. *Sibeurantō.*	Fruits of Sindora Sumatrana.
17. *Kachang parang* [5]).	Canavalia gladiata DC. (red and white seeds).
18. *Bòh mayakani.*	Jav. Majakani; gall-nuts from British India.
19. *Ōn arōn.*	Leaves of Baeckea frutescens L.
20. *Langkueuëh China.*	Root-stock of Alpinia galanga.
21. *Bòh puta talòë.*	Fruits of Helicteres isora.
22. *Bòh keunuë.*	Root-stock of Cyperus tuberosus.
23. *Hinggu.*	Asa foetida.
24. *Peundang.*	Mal. Gadung China = the rhizome of Smilax China (see above p. 54).
25. *Mò.*	A kind of resin imported by the Klings.
26. *Galagarō.*	A sort of aloes-wood.
27. *Kulét lawang.*	Cinnamomum culilawan or cinnam. camphoratum (a bark).

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1) The forms *jeura* and *jira* (cf. Jav. jintën) are also in use.

2) Mr. H. N. Ridley, the Director of the Botanic Gardens at Singapore describes this as anise (Pimpinella anisum). (*Translator*).

3) Ridley calls this Piper sarmentosum. (*Translator*).

4) A specimen which I received later is according to Mr. Vorderman the as yet inexactly classified *changkok* of native physic in Java.

5) A specimen received later is according to Dr. Vorderman the plant known at Batavia as *kachang bengkok*. It has not yet been exactly classified.

28. *Kulét srapat.*	Bark of Cleghornia cymosa [1]).
29. *Keuneurukam.*	Incense resin.
30. *Bòh keudeukè.*	Jav. Maja kling = Myrobalani chebulae.
31. *Aneu' sisawi* or *keusawi.*	Mustard-seed.
32. *Meunta batèë.*	The Achehnese say that this is found on rocks over which water has been running. The name signifies "stone-scum".
33. *Puchō'.*	Jav. Puchuk = roots of Aplotaxis auriculata [2]).
34. *Bòh raseutōm.*	According to Mr. Vorderman probably a bud of the rose of Jericho.
35. *Peuja tuleuëng.*	Borax.
36. *Peuja bu.*	Borax in crystal.
37. *Seuna maki.*	Senna-leaves.
38. *Bòh meusui.*	Massooi-bark = Sassafras goesianum.
39. *Bòh ganti.*	Jav. ganti, the highly aromatic root of Chinese origin, the mother-plant of which is not yet known. It is often found compounded with *meusui* in Jav. and Ach. recipes.
40. *Janggòt jén.*	A lichen, Usnea barbata.
41. *Ruminya* or *rumia.*	Arab. mumia = pitch.
42. *Kachu.*	Cachou (Extractum acaciae).
43. *Chamchuruïh.*	Jav. Alim = Lepidium Sativum.
44. *Bungòng kambuë.*	
45. *Kaphō Barōïh.*	Camphor.
46. *Kapulaga.*	Cardamum.
47. *Bòh pala.*	Nutmeg.
48. *Kōmkōma.*	Saffron.
49. *Tòwaya.*	
50. *Bijèh apiun.*	Poppy-seed.
51. *Bungòng baruëh.*	Blossom of a kind of wild mangosteen. As to the use to which its leaves are put, see above p. 51.

1) As to this Mr. Ridley supplies me with the following note: "Cleghornia cymosa is Baisrea acuminata, a Ceylon plant. *Srapat* is applied to a number of climbing Apocynaceae, but specially in the Straits to Parameria polyneura". (*Translator*).

2) Ridley describes this as "roots of cost. Saussaurea Lappa". (*Translator*).

52. *Cheukō.* — Malay Chĕkur, Jav. Kĕnchur, Sund. Chikur[1]).
53. *Kulét salasari.* — Jav. Pulasari = bark of the Alyxia stellata.
54. *Muglé.* — Jav. Bĕngle = Zingiber cassumunar Roxb.
55. *Jeureungèë.* — Sund. Jaringao, Jav. Dringo = Acorus calamus.
56. *Aneu' keudawōng.* — Seeds of Parkia speciosa.

Herewith we can take our leave of the èleumèës of the Achehnese.

The "fourteen sciences".

We often read of the heroes of hikayats or stories and sometimes hear it asserted in praise of ordinary mortals in Acheh that they have successfully practised "the fourteen sciences" (*eleumèë peuët blaïh*). That this number has not been fixed by the Achehnese themselves may easily be surmised from the variety to be found in the recapitulations of these branches of knowledge. Every author has his own system of enumeration. One regards the 14 sciences as made up of different branches of the one science *par excellence*, that of religion; and these branches can equally well be divided into a greater or smaller number of heads than the supposed fourteen. Another includes in the fourteen various *èleumèës* such as those we have just described. There is no hard and fast rule or traditional division.

In Arabic works on the Mohammedan law, the scientific attainments required of a candidate for the post of *qādhī* or judge are often described as the mastery of 15 sciences. It is not improbable that in some work of this kind the number cited may have been 14 instead of 15, for in this case too the actual number depends very much on individual taste. This may have given rise to the adoption of 14 as the traditional number in Acheh, first in the learned circles and later on among the general public. Now however, each individual takes the liberty of deciding for himself what *èleumèës* are included in the *peuët blaïh* (fourteen).

The term *teuseuréh*[2]) *peuët blaïh*, which really means the fourteen forms which in a tense of an Arabic verb serve to mark all distinctions of number, gender and person has gained a certain popularity outside the circle of literate men. It may well be that these *teuseuréhs* (the true meaning of which is only known to those initiated in Arabic grammar) were conceived of as separate branches of learning.

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1) Described by Ridley as Kaempferia Galanga. (*Translator*).
2) From the Arab. *taçrīf* = "inflexion".

§ 6. Art.

We have omitted "Art" from the title of this chapter, as it appears, so far as we are at present aware, never to have been cultivated to any great extent in Acheh.

In the lowland districts, and especially in Meura'sa, there were formerly stone-cutters of repute, whose chief work was the ornamentation of tombstones (*nisam, batèë jeurat*), in which they displayed considerable skill. We have already explained [1]) the nature of this decorative work; and the difference between the nisams of men and women. Stone-cutters.

This art is now practically defunct. Certain handsome stone monuments



TOMBSTONES OF MEN AND WOMEN.

of royal personages are to be found in or near the chief town, but it is doubtful whether these are of native Achehnese workmanship.

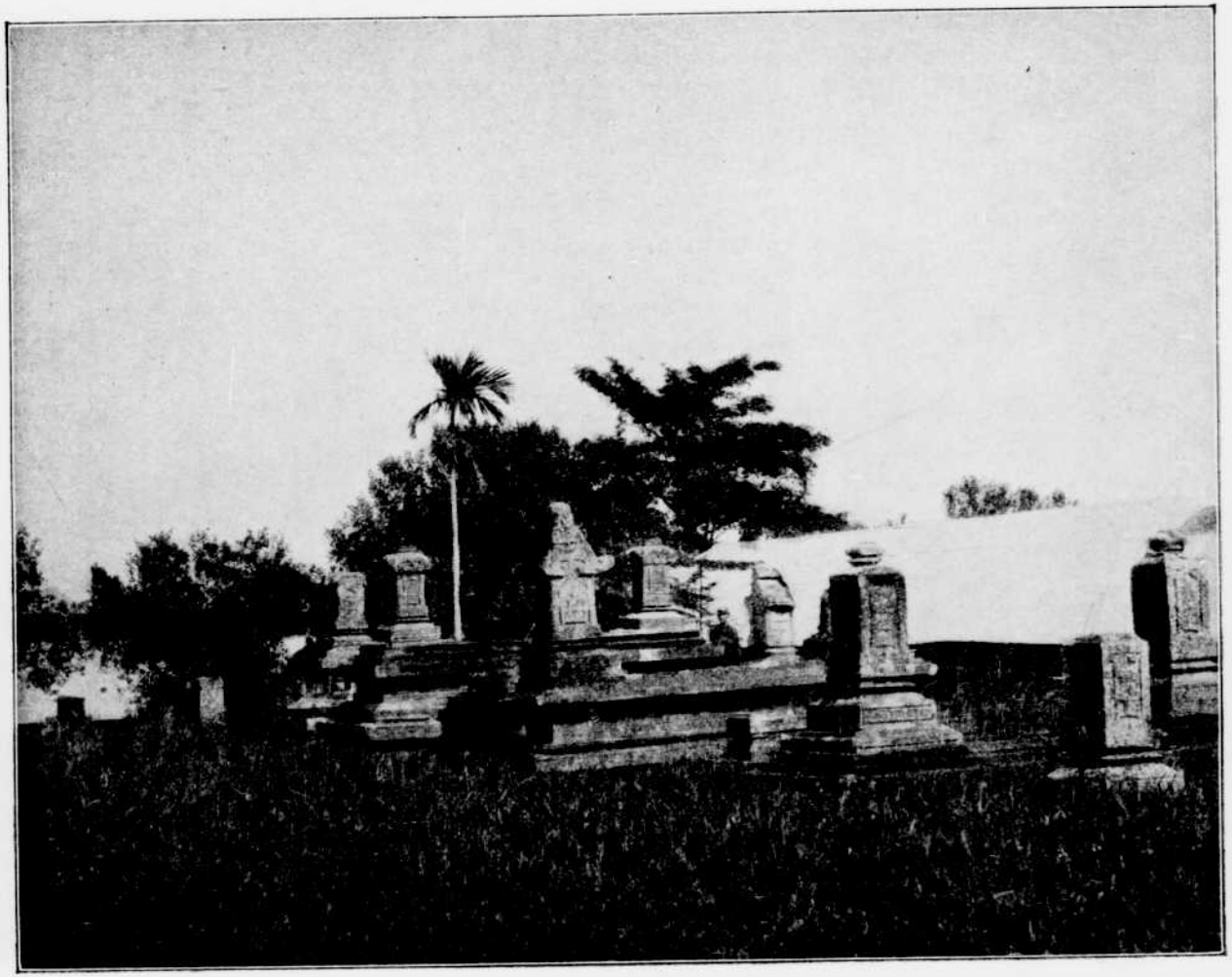
This doubt is still more justifiable in regard to a quite unique specimen of architecture, viz. the little building called the *Gunòngan* [2]) which Architecture.

1) Vol. I pp. 430—31.

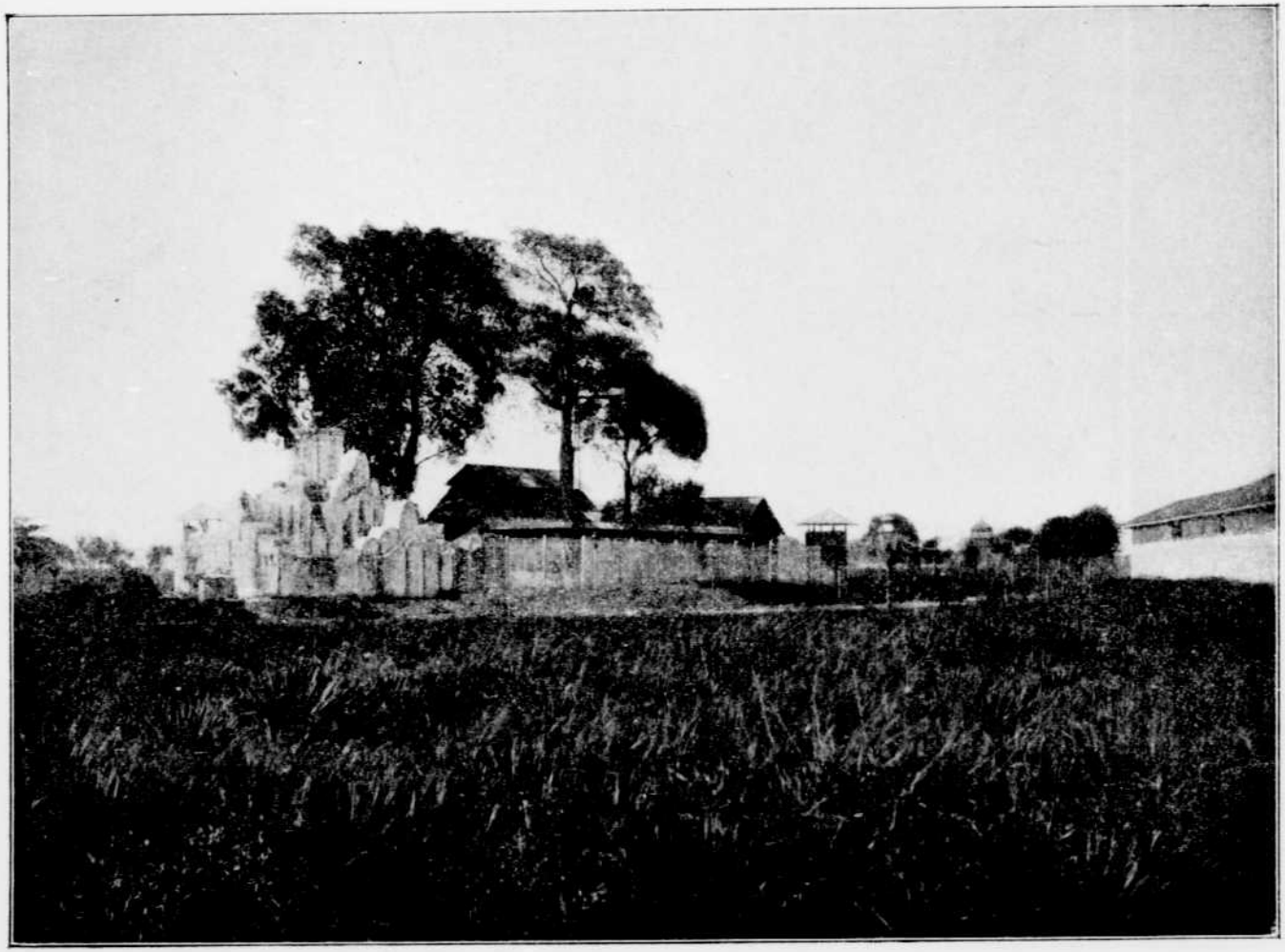
2) Not, as it is wrongly called by the Europeans resident in Kuta Raja, "Kotta Pëchut" (this again should be "Kuta Pòchut").



REMAINS OF THE PINTŌ KHŌB.



SULTANS' TOMBS AT KUTA RADJA.



THE BUILDING CALLED KUTA GUNÒNGAN.

stands behind the Dalam, and of which numerous representations have been already published. The origin and purpose of this building still remain unexplained except by a legend, something like that of the hanging gardens of Nebuchadnezzar's wife. It is said that a prince of Acheh, to gratify his highland consort who was homesick for the mountains of her native land, had this artificial hill erected and a pleasure ground laid out around it. The place where the building stands is in fact at the present time known to the Achehnese as *Taman* ("pleasure-ground"), whence we may perhaps conclude that it was formerly surrounded by some sort of garden. In the latter days preceding the occupation of Acheh by the Dutch, the building appears to have occasionally served as a place of recreation for the members of the royal household, especially the women, who used to sit on the topmost terrace to enjoy the view.

The ruins of the low vaulted gate at the back of the Dalam (*Pintō Khōb* [1]), through which in former times none but royalties might enter, give evidence of the same style of masonry that is observable in the royal tombs.

With the above exceptions the buildings of the Achehnese are, as we have seen, all of wood, and the only difference between the houses of great and small consists in their size, the character of the wood used, and the carving on the beams and walls.

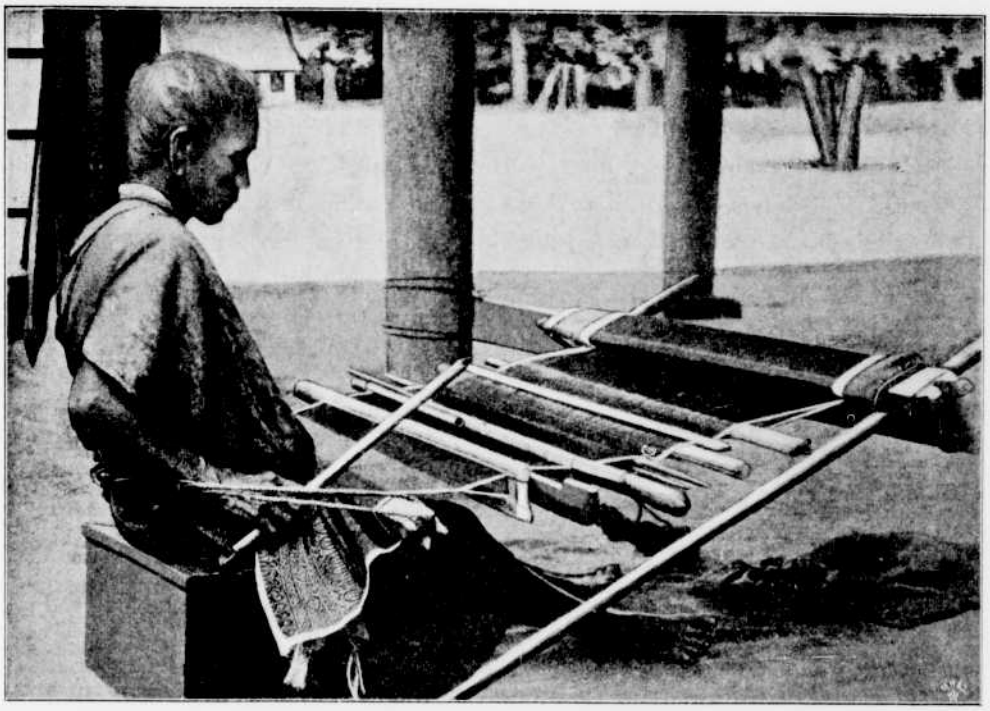
The art of silk-weaving continues to flourish as much as ever, and no little taste is displayed in many of the patterns worked in silk of various colours or shot with gold thread, for loin-cloths (*ija pinggang*) and kerchiefs (*ija sawa'*) and materials for trousers (*lueuë* or *silueuë*). Weaving.

The names given to the *ijas* and *lueuës* at once recall to connoisseurs their colour, pattern etc. These names are partly borrowed from their appearance, as *ija lunggi mirah, ija plang, ija plang rusa, sileuë plang tujōh lumpat, silueuë lutōng meukasab;* partly from the place where the pattern was first introduced or is best designed, as for instance *ija Lam Gugōb, Langkareuëng, Lam Bhu';* and partly from both combined, as *ija lunggi Mukim Peuët, ija Lam Gugōb bungòng peuët.*

The commonest pattern for the centre-piece of a garment is called *awan* ("clouds"), another *bungòng tabu* ("strewn flowers"), while the different figures in which the gold thread (*kasab*) is interwoven with

1) When a salvo of seven guns had to be fired in the Dalam, four were let off at the great gate (*Pintō Raya*) and three near the back gate (*Pintō Khōb*).

the silk of the borders, are denoted by such names as *glima* ("pomegranate"), *glima meugantung*, *glima siseun trōih*, *glima bungòng peuët*,



WOMAN WEAVING A CLOTH.

reukueng leuë' ("neck of the tĕkukur or dove"), *talöë ië* ("water-border", from a resemblance to dropping water).

Almost every woman knows how to weave, but the setting up of the woof is the task of expert dames, not more than one or two of whom are to be found in each gampōng. Most of the silk employed is taken from Achehnese silk-worms and spun by Achehnese women, but foreign (Chinese) silk is also used. The native silk is also coloured by the weavers themselves. They used formerly to employ indigenous dyes, such as indigo leaves (*ōn tarōm*), the sap of various kinds of wood, such as *seupeuëng*, *kudrang*, roots of *keumudëë* (Mal. *bengkudu*), also turmeric, ashes, mud, lime-juice and alum. These ingredients have now been to some extent driven out of the field by the cheap aniline dye-stuffs imported from Frankfurt and Ludwigshafen; even these however are in the first place mixed with lime-juice and alum.

The art displayed in the work of Achehnese goldsmiths and silversmiths does not attain a high level. The workmanship of the hilts of weapons made of buffalo-horn, wood and the precious metals is not without artistic merit, but this craft is now rapidly deteriorating. Gold- and silversmiths.

Formerly there were to be found in Acheh flourishing potteries, in which the pots, pans, plates, lamps etc. for household use were manufactured by women. Though their implements were most primitive, they displayed great skill. In the group of gampōngs called Ateuë', formerly noted for its pottery, the manufacture is still carried on by a number of women, but their products are being gradually driven out of the market by foreign goods, which though somewhat dearer are more durable. The art displayed in this native pottery possesses no great merit.

On the whole we gain the impression that the artistic sense of the Achehnese is but little developed, except in the manufacture of silk fabrics, in which much taste is displayed both in colouring and in pattern. During the period of the prosperity of the port-kings, constant intercourse with strangers, and the desire of those of high rank to rival other peoples in show and splendour, may have led to the temporary importation of some degree of art, but this quickly disappeared with the political degeneration which supervened. The foreign civilization which has exercised the most lasting influence on the Achehnese, namely that of Islam, is but little favourable to the awakening or development of the artistic sense.

CHAPTER II.

LITERATURE.

§ 1. Introductory. Stories. Form of written Literature.

Written and unwritten literature.

Under the head of Achehnese literature we comprehend all that has been composed in their own language for the pleasure, instruction and edification of the people of Acheh. I say purposely *composed* and not *written*, since the hard and fast distinction between what is and what is not preserved by means of letters cannot be consistently applied to the productions of Achehnese writers whether past or present. To make this clear let us take one or two examples.

Two heroic poems (*Malém Dagang* and *Pòchut Muhamat*) dealing with historical facts and legends of the past of Acheh, have been known in written form as far back as the memory of the people extends. Another, which in form and character quite corresponds with the two mentioned above, and which celebrates the heroic deeds of the Achehnese in their war with the Dutch, was composed gradually by a man who could neither read nor write, and was first reduced to writing in its entirety at my own instance. Yet it would be captious criticism to include the first two and not the last under the head of literature.

In the literary works of the Achehnese, pantōns are frequently introduced. There are however many other pantōns, such as those recited at the ratébs and other similar occasions, which are only transmitted by word of mouth; and yet these have often a much higher significance in relation to the intellectual side of Achehnese life than those which are interwoven in stories. Equally absurd would it be to reckon the latter only as forming a part of the literature while excluding the former.

Nor indeed can it be said that an Achehnese work is better protected against change by the written than by the oral form of transmission. Every copyist claims an author's privilege to modify the original, just as the reciter does in transmission by word of mouth. Should he fail to embellish the original according to his own taste and ideas, he would be looked on by the Achehnese as lacking both intelligence and literary talent. Authors and copyists.

In any case there can be no objection to our devoting a portion of this chapter to those products of the Achehnese intellect which lie on or just outside the borders of literature.

The Achehnese is very rich in *proverbs* and other *sententious sayings* (*miseuë*, from the Arab. *mithāl*). Many of these are also to be found in a more or less modified form in Malay, while others display purely Achehnese characteristics. Descriptions of important events or conditions which constantly recur in Achehnese life, are generally contained in metre, and in this form are known to everybody. For instance, one need only repeat the prelude "*I go on foot*", to at once remind an Achehnese of the verses placed in the mouth of heroes departing for the fight, and he will repeat the stanza: "*On my back* (= borne by others) *shall I return; none shall dare to fetch me* (= my corpse) *from the enemy's land. At my departure I have spat upon the steps of the house* (symbolic leave-taking of the Penates); *no man can see the world twice*". Proverbs, etc.

The situation which we should describe by the comparison "*two cocks in one fowl-yard*" [1]), at once suggests to the Achehnese a number of verses descriptive of untenable situations such as "*a country with two kings*", "*a mosque with two lights*" (i. e. two doctors of the law, each of whom wishes to be the ruling authority) "*a gampōng with two teachers*". Such examples might easily be multiplied ten-fold.

The riddles (*hiëm*) of the Achehnese are some of them identical in all respects, all of them in character, with those of the Malays, Javanese and Sundanese. Riddles.

The works employed by the Achehnese for the pursuit of their various branches of learning, are, as we saw in the last chapter, written in Malay or Arabic; some of these are however, as we shall presently see, popularized by being transposed into Achehnese rhyming verse. Scientific and learned works.

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1) "*Twee hanen in één hok*". The English equivalent of this expression is "two kings in Brentford", which is very close to the Achehnese. *(Translator).*

The only works in the vernacular that we know of, which may be reckoned among the (elementary) text-books for students, are a small rhyming guide to the study of Malay, a handbook on the first principles of faith and religious law written in prose, a few treatises on the twenty characteristics of God, only one of which is written in prose, and some others on ritual prayers.

Achehnese prose.

The two named above are the only Achehnese prose works that we have been able to discover. It may thus almost be said that it is poetry alone which is perpetuated in Achehnese writings. We might however give the name of "unwritten prose" to the stories transmitted by word of mouth (like those which have so wide a circulation in Java under the name of *dongèng*), which are used in Acheh to put children to sleep when they are too old for cradle-songs, to shorten the evenings for grown-up people, and to dispel boredom at social gatherings.

Stories.

There is no specific name in Acheh for these tales. They are indeed known as *haba* (Arab. *chabar*), but the same name is given to the stories of old folk about their bygone days, or their traditions respecting the past history of Acheh, and in general to all tidings of any event. An old Achehnese chief who has the reputation of being wise and prudent, is sure to have in his wallet a store of *haba jameun* [1]) (*haba* of the olden times), which he displays on occasion to his respectful listeners. Although such serious narratives are called by the same name as the tales and saws employed to please children, the two *ideas* remain strictly separate in the minds of the Achehnese.

Hadih maja.

The first kind of *haba*, which relates to the past history of the country, combines instruction with amusement, and is in so far akin to what the Achehnese call *hadih* [2]) *maja* = tales or traditions of grandmothers, or rather of female ancestors. Under this heading they comprehend all sorts of traditions preserved by old people, especially women, and which form an appendage to the popular custom and superstition. Customs at birth, marriage, death etc., not prescribed by religion, but the neglect of which is generally believed to result in misfortune, the pantang rules observed by the fisherman at sea, by the woman in her pregnancy, and by the hunter in the forest, all these are based on *hadih maja*, which thus comprises the lore regarding

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1) Malay *chĕritra zĕman dhulu. (Translator).*

2) From the Arab. *ḥadīth* = tradition.

what the Sundanese call *pamali, chadu* or *buyut* and the Javanese *ila-ila*, and also the *adats* which control the daily life of each individual. The blessings, orations and stereotyped speeches described in the first volume of this work, may also be classified as *hadih maja*. [1])

Haba of the kind corresponding to the dongèngs of the Sundanese and Javanese has a somewhat less uncertain form than the *haba jameun* and *hadih maja*. The reciters of these prose narrations, passed as they are from mouth to mouth, have of course greater freedom in the treatment of their subject than the copyists of an Achehnese book, yet certain elements of the *haba* remain unaffected by this license, and each reciter endeavours to adhere to the exact words in which the story has been repeated to him.

Character of the Achehnese fables and tales.

These Achehnese fables and stories are well worth the trouble of transcribing. They present to the ear a language much more closely akin to the colloquial of daily life than do the rhyming verses in which almost the whole of the written literature is composed, and their contents are often of much interest.

Some *habas* are simply modified reproductions in prose of romances written in verse. I have had reduced to writing, among others, a very long Achehnese dongèng consisting of numerous disconnected parts, the principal elements of which may be met with elsewhere in Achehnese and Malay literature. It also frequently happens that an Achehnese, after reading some Malay romance hitherto unknown in his own country, popularizes its contents in the form of *haba* among his own fellow-villagers, and that it is thence disseminated over a wider area.

In the habas of the Achehnese one also meets with much indigenous folklore, which entices the enquirer to comparisons with kindred matters among other peoples of Indonesian race. Besides peculiar differences in the manner of transmission of these tales among the various peoples of the Eastern Archipelago, there is a still more striking agreement among them in the main subjects, and this is noticeable even where there can have been hardly any possibility of borrowing, in later times at least. How much of this common material have all these different peoples obtained from India, and subsequently worked up and added to, each to suit their own taste? How much of it is of purely domestic origin?

1) See also p. 43 above.

For the present we must limit ourselves to collecting the data which will eventually assist us to solve these problems.

Elsewhere I propose to publish a few of these Achehnese *haba;* here I must rest content with giving the reader some idea of their character.

The "crafty Mouse-deer."

The Achehnese stories about the "crafty Mouse-deer" [1]) will shortly be presented to the reader, epitomized from a native manuscript. Besides this rather rare work, however, we find all these tales and many others relating to the *plandō' kanchi* ("crafty mouse-deer") in the form of *haba*. The *Hikayat plandō' kanchi*, as the written work is called, is nothing more or less than haba in rhyming verse.

The native Eulenspiegel.

Just as popular in Indonesian fable as the crafty Mouse-deer is a certain character which even on the most superficial acquaintance exhibits unmistakeable traces of relationship with the German Eulenspiegel, the Arabo-Turkish Juḥa or Chōjah Naçr ad-dīn; it has caused me some surprise that no one, as far as I am aware, has hitherto given any attention to this remarkable type.

Si Kabayan.

I am myself best acquainted with the Native Eulenspiegel in his Sundanese dress; my collection of 70 dongèngs from Preanger, Bantĕn and South Chirĕbon give a picture of his character. He is there pretty generally known as Si Kabayan; but in some places and in some of the tales told of him he appears as Si Buta-Tuli (the Blind and Deaf), while in certain localities sayings and doings which are elsewhere put down to Si Kabayan's account, are here narrated under another name. Such for example is the dongèng of Aki Bolong published by Mr. G. J. Grashuis; [2]) this story is current under the name of Si Kabayan amongst the majority of the Sundanese.

Kabayan's tomb is pointed out at Pandeglang and other places in Bantĕn, usually under mango-trees. This plurality of graves need not be considered an impossibility, in view of the varied accounts of the manner of his death. Some of the tales of Kabayan are at least as pretty as the best of those of Eulenspiegel; others owe their interest more to the rough specimens of popular pleasantry which they contain, while many are, according to European ideas, unfit for translation. Like Eulenspiegel, who as coachman greases the whole of his master's carriage

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1) Mouse-deer is *pĕlanduk* in Malay. For an English version of the Malayan tales about this little creature see Skeat's "Fables and Folk-tales." The qualities attributed by Indonesians to the *pĕlanduk* are somewhat similar to those with which we endow the fox. *(Translator).*

2) *Soendanesch Leesboek.* (Sundanese reader), Leiden 1874, pp. 58 et seq.

in place of the axle, Kabayan is always taking the wrong meaning out of the words of his educators and advisers and constantly alarming astonishing or injuring them by his method of putting their advice in execution. He himself, too, often gets into great difficulties through his endless misconceptions. From these straits, however, he always manages to escape, and though he never has a cent to his name, and shows a constant disinclination to settle down to any fixed occupation or calling or to fulfil his duties as husband or father, he comes out with flying colours day by day from all his pranks, and moves to side-shaking laughter all who have not suffered personal damage from his rogueries and cunning stupidity.

Having once for all become the central point around which all popular humour and irony revolve, he undoubtedly plays a part occasionally in stories which originally belonged to a different cycle or even in those imported from foreign countries. It is just in this way that legend is wont to ascribe to a great hero deeds which were really performed by some of his less celebrated colleagues. The encyclopaedia of Kabayan stories now even comprises some tales differing entirely from one another in type; in some of these the hero is nothing but a foolish dullard, while in others he is characterized by the utmost cunning. Both of these are at variance with the Eulenspiegel character. Among the Sundanese villagers not only are these tales constantly repeated both by old and young, but their whole speech flows over with allusions and quotations from these dongèngs. It is not surprising, therefore, that the name "Kabayan" is often heard even in the kampongs of Batavia.

Jaka Bodo, Si Pandië.

The same remarks apply, though in a less degree, to the *Jaka Bodo* (silly youngman) of the Javanese and to *Si Pandië* among the Menangkabau Malays; also (to return to our Achehnese) of the "Eulenspiegel" whom they variously name *Si Meuseukin*,[1]) *Si Gasiën-meuseukin* or *Pa' Pandé*.[2]) Up to the present I have been able to collect but a few of the habas relating to him, but these few harmonize to a marked degree with these of the Sundanese, while in form and dress they exhibit many genuine Achehnese characteristics.

Si Meuseukin, Pa' Pandé.

Si Meuseukin as a diviner.

Thus for instance the *Haba Si Meuseukin nyang keumalòn* (Si Meuseukin

1) The Arabic-Malay *miskin* = "poor": *gasiën* = the Malay *kasihan* ("poor" in the sense of "pitiable") but in Achehnese it is used to signify "unfortunate," "beggar."

2) This name must not be understood in its ordinary sense of "blacksmith," but as the Achehnese pronunciation of the Menangkabau *pandië* = "silly."

as a diviner) is identical in form with the dongèng of Aki Bolong just mentioned, which is current among other Sundanese in two parts, viz. *Si Kabayan nujum* and *Si Kabayan naruhkeun samangka.*

The Achehnese have many versions of this haba which differ widely from one another in details.

Si Meuseukin's wedding.

The haba *Si Meuseukin meukawén* (Si Meuseukin's wedding) is a disgusting tale, though only moderately so if measured by the standard of the Sundanese Kabayan stories. In the Sundanese I know of three duplicates of this unsavoury tale; in one of these Kabayan's internal troubles are caused by apĕm-dough, in another by *dage* [1]) and in the third by *peuteuy.* [2]) The Achehnese Si Meuseukin's colic on the other hand results from the eating of *nangka* (a kind of jack-fruit, *bòh panaïh* in Achehnese).

Haba Pa' Pandé.

In the *haba Pa' Pandé* there are strung together a number of stories the counterparts of which form separate narratives among the Sundanese.

In the Achehnese version Pa' Pandé (= Si Meuseukin) after receiving an exhortation to diligence which he duly misunderstands, goes forth to catch blind *deut*-fish; in the Sundanese dongèng *Si Kabayan jeung nyaina* ("Si Kabayan and his mother in-law") he fishes with a hoop-net for a blind *paray.*

When sent to seek a *teungku,* [3]) Pa' Pandé through misconception of the order comes home first with a ram, and then with a bird of the kind called *kuë*'; similar mistakes form the *motif* in the Sundanese *Si Kabayan boga ewe anyar* and *Si Kabayan dek kawin* ("Si K's early married life" and "Si K. goes to get him a wife").

Pa' Pandé steals into a sack in which his wife had stowed her household goods and food; similarly the Sundanese Eulenspiegel deceives his grandmother in *Si K. ngala daun kachang* ("Si K. plucking bean leaves") and his grandfather in *Si K. ngala onjuk* ("Si K. gathering arèn-fibres"). Other points of resemblance are not wanting, but are less obvious than the above.

Besides the Sundanese Kabayan-tales, we may also compare the Si Meuseukin and Pa' Pandé with the Malay stories of *Pak Bĕlalang* and

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1) *Dege* is eaten as an adjunct to rice. It consists in fruits of a certain kind which secrete oil when partially decayed; after being kept a sufficient time they are cooked and eaten with the rice as a relish.

2) *Peuteuy* (Anagyris L. = Mal. *pĕtei*) is a bean with an offensive odour, also used as a relish.

3) See vol. I, p. 71.

Lebai Malang (published by A. F. von Dewall in "Bunga rampai" vol. IV. Batavia 1894).

We must however always remember that the name Si Meuseukin has not acquired so specialized a meaning as that of Si Kabayan. This last is always used by the Sundanese to designate their Eulenspiegel. In the Achehnese, however, Si Meuseukin or the "Poor Devil" may be the hero of other tales as well as the Eulenspiegel ones.

Story of the bayan-prince

In the somewhat prolix *Haba Raja Bayeuën* [1]) ("Story of the bayan-prince") Si Meuseukin plays a part which again reminds us to some extent of Si Kabayan, but many of his adventures are of a similar sort to those of Indra Bangsawan and Banta Amat, with whom we shall presently make further acquaintance as heroes of fiction. Si Meuseukin's finally becoming the monarch of a great kingdom places this tale entirely outside the sphere of Eulenspiegel stories.

Si Meuseukin wronged.

The same is true of another *Haba Si Meuseukin* in which the hero is continually being wronged and cheated by his elder brother, but eventually becomes the happy possessor of two princesses and a kingdom. This story also shows features which recall Indra Bangsawan; like the latter, for instance, Si Meuseukin serves a princess for some time in the guise of a shepherd.

The cloven stone.

To conclude our brief review of the Achehnese haba's, we shall mention but one more, the *Haba ureuëng lōb lam batu* [2]) *blaih batèë meutangkōb* ("story of one who hid herself in a cleft of a stone, a stone which closed together"). This is the marvellous history of two boys, Amat and Muhamat, whose mother had an intrigue with a snake in the jungle and cradled in her house her lover's soul, enclosed in a cucumber. Many varieties of this tale are current in the Gayō and Alas countries.

Most of the literary productions of the Achehnese which we are now about to describe, are in writing, and almost all are composed in verse. We must therefore pause a moment to consider the Achehnese prosody.

Achehnese metrical system.

The Achehnese have properly speaking only one metre. This is called *sanja'*, [3]) and consists of verses each of which contains eight feet, or

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1) Bayan is the talking bird which so often appears in Malay hikayats; the Achehnese identify it with their *tiōng* i. e. the mina.

2) We should expect to find here *batèë*, which occurs two words further on, but in this one instance the Malay pronunciation is followed.

3) The same word as the Malay *saja'*, derived from the Arabic *saj'*, which means rhyming prose.

rather four pairs of feet, as the two middle pairs in each verse rhyme with one another in their final syllables; the concluding syllable of each verse also rhymes with that of the next, it being understood that in a long poem the poet has full licence to vary the rhyme as often as he pleases.

A verse is called *ayat*, which is the Arabic name for a verse of the Qurān. Achehnese poems are generally, though not always, written continuously, so that a verse is often distributed over two lines; to separate the verses from one another marks are employed similar to those to be seen in copies of the Sacred Book.

The simplest form of the Achehnese verse is that in which each foot contains two syllables, as: [1])

gah ban | gajah | sië ban | tulō || jituëng | judō || dinab | mata ||

or:

adat | maté | ku pa- | ban bah || hana | salah || lōn ji- | paké ||

There is no such thing in Achehnese as quantity. The essence of the metre lies in the incidence of the accent, which is always laid on the last syllable of each foot. So far the Achehnese verses are in direct contrast to the Malay, in which the movement is "diminuendo", the strong accent falling on the first part of the foot. *Mutatis mutandis*, we might call the Malay metre trochaic, and the Achehnese iambic.

Feet and syllables.

Verses containing one or more feet of more than two syllables are at least as common as those in which each foot contains only two syllables. Thus if – be taken as denoting the accent and ⏑ its absence, ⏑ – may always be replaced by ⏑⏑ – In:

hana | digòb | na di | geutanyòë || sabòh | nanggròë || dua | raja ||

the fourth foot has three syllables. This most commonly occurs in the second of each pair of feet, thus in:

adat | na umu | dudòë | lōn parōh || ba' bhaïh | nyang tujōh || keudéh | lōn mula ||

the 2th, 4th, 6th and 8th feet are of three syllables.

A favourite modification of the rhyme in the middle of the verse consists of making the less accentuated first part, and not (as ordinarily) the last syllable of the 6th foot, rhyme with the last syllable of the 4th. For example:

diju- | rèë na | pasu | leukat || di ram- | bat || na | pasu | saka ||

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1) The feet are separated by the mark | , which is doubled || after the rhyming syllables.

or:

kawan | gata | jikheun | jipòh || meung sa | bòh || han | jikeu- | bah lé ||

The common form in these examples would be for the fifth and sixth feet to run thus *na dirambat* and *han meung sabòh*, as the rhyme would then coincide with the end of the foot.

Among the numerous instances of poetic license we may notice the rhyming of *a* with *euë* or *eu*, *é* with *i* or *è*, *ō* with *u*, *e* and *eu*. Of the final consonants at the end of the rhyming syllables *m* is also regarded as rhyming with *b*, *n* with *ng* and sometimes even *b* and the final guttura[1] denoted by ' as rhyming with one another and with *t*. There is however no definitely accepted rule for such kinds of license; it is a question of individual taste. Poetic license.

The word *janggay* (discordant) is used to indicate the harshness of a slovenly verse or one in which there is too much poetic license. A poem which answers to the canons of taste is called *keunòng* ("hitting the mark").

When at a loss for suitable rhymes poets sometimes resort to the expedient of addressing the reader at the end of a verse with words which rhyme in pairs, as *wahé tèëlan, wahé rakan,* (oh comrade!) *wahé putròë* (oh princess!) *wahé adòë* (oh younger brother or sister!) *wahé raja, wahé sèëdara* etc.

All the poems of the Achehnese, that is to say almost all their literary productions, are declaimed in singsong style (*beuët* = Malay *bacha*).

Both the pantōns and the component parts of ratébs have various different methods of intonation, called sometimes by onomatapaeic names, such as *meuhahala meuhéhélé* and sometimes after the place of their origin (as *jawòë barat* = "the intonation of the Malays of the West Coast"), sometimes from their character (as *rancha'* = "animated").

For the *hikayats* which form the principal part of the literature, two sorts of intonation are specially employed, the *lagèë Acheh* or *Dalam* (Achehnese or Court style) and the *lagèë Pidië* (Pidir style). Both styles are further divided into *lagèë bagaïh* (quick time) and *lagèë jareuëng* (slow time). The reciter of a hikayat employs each of these in turn, in order to relieve the monotony. The *lagèë jareuëng* is preferred for solemn or tragic episodes. The syllables are given a prolonged enunciation, the vowels being lengthened now and then with the help of a nasal "*ng*." Thus in the "slow time" the double foot *puchō' meugisa* becomes *punguchō' meugingisa*. Styles of recitation.

Various kinds of poetry. Pantōns.

Three kinds of poems are composed in the Achehnese metre.

First come the *pantōns*. These have this in common with Malay pantōns, that they generally treat of love, and that each consists of two parts (with the Achehnese of one verse each) of which the first has little or no meaning, or is at all events unconnected in sense with what the poet really wishes to express, and only serves to furnish rhymes to aid the memory. Adepts have only to hear the first line of any favourite pantōn to at once grasp the meaning of the whole.

We have already given some examples of non-erotic pantōns in the formal dialogues connected with marriage ceremonies. The love pantōns are numberless, both the old ones which everyone knows, and new ones to which the young keep continually adding. A single example will here suffice: [1])

Ba' meureuya | didalam paya ‖ puchō' meugisa ‖ ba' mata uròë ‖
Meung na ta'eu | mataku dua ‖ adat ka tabung- ‖ ka ba' reujang tawòë ‖

"A sago palm in the swamp.

"Its crown twists round with the sun.

"Do you still see (i. e. do you still remember) my two eyes,

"Come then, if you are already gone, come quickly back again."

Pantōn meukarang.

Pantōn meukarang, i. e. a series of pantōns, is the name given to dialogues in pantōn form, whether between lovers, or (as for instance at a wedding) between hosts and guests.

A good many pantōns are committed to writing, especially in the versified tales and other works where they are quoted or placed in the mouth of one of the characters. The majority, however, both of the separate pantōns and the *pantōn meukarang* just described, are transmitted orally alone.

Pantōns are employed in love making, in the traditional dialogues on solemn occasions, in sadati-games and cradle-songs. They are also used in dances such as are performed in Pidië by women and boys to the accompaniment of music.

We may remark in passing that there are pantōns in Achehnese which imitate to some extent the form of those of the Malays. These are however exceptional, and are not to be regarded as genuinely Achehnese.

The ratébs. Nasib and kisah.

Sanja' is also used as the vehicle for the most important portions

1) We give here only the divisions between each pair of feet.

(*nasib* and *kisah*) of the recitations in the plays called *ratéb*. An account of these will be given later, in the chapter on games and pastimes.

Hikayats.

Last, but not least, the *hikayats* are composed in *sanja'*, or we might rather say, all that is composed in this metre, except the *pantōns* and *nasibs* and *kisahs* above referred to, is called *hikayat*. This word, which is derived from the Arabic, entirely loses in Achehnese its original signification of "story", which it has retained in Malay. The Achehnese apply the term *hikayat* not only to tales of fiction and religious legends, but also to works of moral instruction and even simple lesson-books, provided that the matter is expressed in verse, as is in fact the case with the great majority of Achehnese literary productions.

Another of the recognized characteristics of a hikayat is that it should commence with certain formulas in praise of Allah and his Apostle, to which are sometimes appended other general views or reflections of the author's own, till finally the actual subject is reached. This transition is almost invariably introduced by the words *ajayéb sōbeuhan Alah* which in the Arabic (عاجبڈب سباحان الله), signify "O wonderful things! Praise be to God" but which in Achehnese literature have grown to be no more than an entirely meaningless introductory phrase. The syllables are usually divided thus *ajayéb sō* | *beuhan alah* ‖ and the fact that *sōbeuhan* is all one word is quite lost sight of.

A new subject or a new subdivision of the main theme is introduced by the poets as a fresh "*kurangan*", which latter word is equivalent to the Malay *karangan* [1]), i. e. literary composition. The usual form is: *ama ba'adu* | *dudöë niba' nyan* ‖ *la'én karangan* ‖ *lōn chalitra* ‖ = "Now I pass on to another subject". But *kurangan* has also preserved in Achehnese the meaning of a writing or essay.

Nalam.

Our remarks on the form of Achehnese literary works would be incomplete without some mention of the *nalam*. This word is the Achehnese pronunciation of the Arabic *naẓm*, meaning poetry. The Achehnese however understand thereby writings composed in a metre imitating one of those employed by the Arabs. I say *imitating*, because the Achehnese language, possessing no settled quantities, does not lend itself to the absolute application of an Arabic metre.

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1) A similar example of the change of *a* or *ĕ* into *u* may be seen in the word *kupala* used to denote a head man of a gampōng appointed by the Dutch government. The good-natured patroness of lovers is sometimes called *Ni Kubayan* (Mal. *Kĕbayan*).

The *nalams* with which I am acquainted are all composed in the metre described below, which is known as *rajaz*, the emphasis of the accent in Achehnese taking the place of the length of the syllable in Arabic.

Each verse consists of 3 or 2 pairs of iambics. Thus we have for instance the trimeter: *ngòn béseumilah | ulōn puphōn | nalam jawòë || ladum Arab | ladum Acheh | lōn hareutòë ||*

and the dimeter:

nyòë karangan | Habib Hadat || that meucheuhu | jeuëb-jeuëb bilat ||

All works composed in *nalam* deal with religious subjects, and many have the character of text-books rather than works of edification.

So much of the form of Achehnese written literature; we shall now proceed to describe its substance, so far as our limited space permits. We shall classify the various works according to the nature of their subjects, placing the few nalams and the still rarer prose works among the hikayats which treat of similar subjects. Where a work is not expressly stated to be composed in nalam or in prose, it may be taken for granted that it is a hikayat, and the reader may supply this title even where we have for brevity's sake omitted to do so.

For facility of reference, we have numbered consecutively with Roman numerals all the Achehnese works referred to.

We shall deal first with those works which are of purely Achehnese origin and shall then go on to describe those derived directly or indirectly from Indian, Arabic or Malay sources.

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§ 2. The Hikayat Ruhé.

The form of hikayat known as *ruhé* need not long occupy our attention. It stands, in respect of its contents and purpose, between the *haba* and the *hikayat* proper. The proper meaning of *ruhé* is to publish abroad a man's private life, his secrets and his follies, to speak evil of a man or make him an object of ridicule. Should it happen that a stranger from some other district takes up his abode in a certain place, and there meets with any noteworthy adventures or excites ridicule or disgust by his acts or omissions, some local wag will often celebrate

his doings in verse (*sanja'*) with the requisite flavour of exaggeration, and the name of *ruhé* is given to such a composition.

The name is however also applied to humorous poems, the object of which is to move the listener to laughter without any evil intent, like John Gilpin's Ride. Such tales are more often transmitted by word of mouth than in writing.

Hikayat guda.

One of the best known *hikayat ruhé* is the *Hikayat guda* (I), "the poem of the horse." This consists of some 30 verses only, and describes in humorous style how some friends slaughtered and divided among them an old horse, and what each of them did with the part that fell to his share. Thus of the tail a *cheumara* or native chignon was made, and one of the ribs became a princely sword, while an old woman excited laughter by her fruitless endeavours to boil soft the portion she had acquired.

Hikayat leumò.

Of a like nature is the *Hikayat leumò* (II), "the poem of the bull," containing what appear to be the disconnected reminiscences of one who was a constant frequenter of the *glanggang* (arena for fights of animals). It consists of a series of laughable anecdotes about famous bulls and their owners and celebrated *juaras*. [1]) These could however have only been properly appreciated by the coevals of the author, whose name is unknown.

Hikayat ureuëng Jawa.

Another very short story is the *Hikayat ureuëng Jawa* (III) which describes the crack-brained dream of a male favourite of a Javanese (or Malay) [2]) *teungku*. The hidden meaning seems to be that the latter had begun to neglect his favourite, who expresses his resentment of the wrong done him.

The *Hikayat Pòdi* [3]) *Amat* (IV) is much more prolix. The hero, a student in the gampōng of Klibeuët, has a dream which predicts him success in whatever he may undertake. Thereupon he goes on a journey to pursue his studies and enjoys the teaching of one Malém Jawa. But Fate has higher things in store for him. The daughter of the king of

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1) *Juara*, in Malay as well as Achehnese means the trainer of fighting cocks or other animals, the master of the ceremonies in the glanggang. The word is also used in Riau and Johor to signify a procuress. Wilkinson, *Mal.-Eng. Dict.* p. 235. *(Translator).*

2) The Achehnese sometimes follow the Arabs in applying the name "Jawa" to the Malays as well as the Javanese. This name is especially used in a contemptuous sense; for instance an Achehnese abusing a Padang man will call him "*Jawa palèh*" = "miserable Malay!"

3) *Pò* means "lord" or "master;" *di* is an abbreviation of the Arab. *sīdi* which also means "gentleman" or "sir."

the Gayòs dreams of him, and the story ends by Pò Amat's winning her hand and becoming the ruler of the Gayòs.

Hikayat Pò Jambòë.

Pò Jambòë (V) is the hero of a *hikayat ruhé* which has not been reduced to writing and which is known to me by name only.

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§ 3. Epic Hikayats.

The heroic poems of the Achehnese, original both in form and subject-matter, stand indisputably higher in all respects than any other part of their literature. It is in the two most ancient of these hikayats that we are especially struck by the poets' calm objectivity, their command of their subject, their keen sense of both the tragic and comic elements in the lives of their fellow-countrymen, and the occasional masterly touches in which they sketch, briefly but accurately, genuine pictures of Achehnese life.

Achehnese epic poetry has without doubt taken time to reach the level at which we find it. The heroic poems with which we are acquainted must have been preceded by others whose loss we deplore, since their place in the estimation of the Achehnese themselves has been taken by works of a lower standard imported from abroad.

We shall now give a resumé of the contents of those which still survive, taking them in their chronological sequence.

Malém Dagang.

The *Hikayat Malém Dagang* (VI). This epic celebrates an episode from among the great achievements of the Achehnese under their most famous ruler Éseukanda (Iskandar) Muda (1607—36), called after his death Meukuta Alam, against the ruling Power in the Malay Peninsula [1]); or it might rather be said to furnish in rhyme and metre a specimen of an Achehnese tradition (now degenerated into unrecognizable forms) of that golden epoch.

Historic basis of the heroic poem.

It is indeed impossible to determine with certainty what the facts really are which are presented to us in so fantastic a form, so widely does the story diverge from reliable historical facts.

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1) The Portuguese; the Achehnese, however, in their confusion of historical facts, wrongly describe this Power as the Dutch.

We know [1]) that Éseukanda Muda conquered, among other littoral Malay States, Johor (1613) and Pahang (1618), thus gaining for Acheh an authority over the Malay Peninsula which was only balanced by that of the Portuguese, who had settled at Malacca a century earlier. It is also known [2]) that the prince in question made several attempts to drive out these rivals of his power from Malacca. For instance, he attacked that port in 1628 with a fleet of gigantic proportions, considered relatively to the development of Acheh. All his efforts were however unsuccessful, though he succeeded in harassing the Portuguese to a considerable extent.

Curious fiction.

That the Achehnese legend should collect the various phases of Meukuta Alam's attack upon Malacca into a single naval expedition of fabulous dimensions, need cause us no surprise. But it sounds more strange that they should definitely describe the chief enemy of the Achehnese as a Dutchman [3]) and allude to him not only as ruler of Malacca, but also occasionally by way of variety as the "ruler of Guha", which latter name refers to Goa the chief settlement of the Portuguese in India. This may possibly be explained by the fact that later on the Portuguese disappeared entirely from the field of vision of the Achehnese, while the Dutch came to be to them the representatives of all danger that threatened them from Europeans. But it would manifestly be an endless task to continue explaining all the details of this legend. Imagination runs riot throughout the whole, but the method of expression is thoroughly Achehnese; the thoughts which the poet puts in the mouths of his characters and the scenes which he has lavishly embroidered on the framework of his story, are all derived from the everyday life of the Achehnese people.

Purely Achehnese character of the poem.

Contents of the epic.

The poem begins with the first tokens of enmity on the part of Si Ujut, a son of the raja of Malacca, against his benefactor Éseukanda

1) F. Valentijn, pp. 7 and 8 of the "Beschrijvinge van Sumatra," which appeared in the 5th Volume of his *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*.

2) See Veth's *Atchin*, p. 74.

3) The Achehnese are not as a matter of fact, like the Javanese for example, accustomed to describe all Europeans as "Dutchmen" (*Ulanda*). They give Europeans the general name of *kaphé* ("unbelievers"), and for closer definition use the names of their nationalities (Inggréh, Peutugéh, Pranséh etc.). The Dutch are honoured with the epithet of "labu-planters" (*Ulanda pula labu*) because, say they, in every country of the Archipelago where the Dutch have established themselves, they have first asked the native ruler for a small piece of ground for the cultivation of *labu* (pumpkins) and subsequently laid claim to all the ground over which this quick-growing plant had spread.

Muda, the powerful ruler of Acheh. We gather, partly from the direct statements of the author, partly from hints and suggestions which occur in the course of the story, that this prince had gone to Acheh with his younger brother Raja Radén [1]), though we are not told the motive of their journey. Éseukanda had received them with honour and assigned to them Ladòng and Kruëng Raya as freehold territory (*wakeuëh, bibeuëh* [2])), and that too although they were not of the Mohammedan faith. The poet (or at least some of the transcribers of his writings), expressly calls them Dutchmen, yet represents them as worshippers of the Sun, according, forsooth, to the teaching of the prophet Moses! [3]).

Between Raja Radén and his royal host there soon grew up such a brotherly feeling, that the former embraced the Mohammedan religion, and gave up his wife, a daughter of the ruler of Pahang to the king of Acheh, taking one of the latter's consorts in exchange.

Not so favourable was the impression that Si Ujut conceived of Acheh. This stubborn kafir met all the kindness he had received with black ingratitude, and suggested to his converted brother that it was time to return to Malacca, where boundless riches stood at their disposal, and to leave for good and all the poverty-stricken country where they had settled. In vain Raja Radén seeks to convince him of the inadvisability of such a step. His elder brother mocks him for being such a fool as to give his nobly-born wife away in exchange for an Achehnese woman "as ugly as an iguana", and reveals to him his scheme for despoiling before their departure the territory given them to hold in fee, and afterwards waging war on a large scale against Acheh.

The first part of this programme was soon carried out by Si Ujut. He attacks and plunders a number of Achehnese fishermen and hangs them on hooks thrust through their faces; thereafter he sets sail for his father's country.

Raja Radén remains loyal to his kingly protector, warns him of Ujut's further designs and declares himself ready to fight with him to the death against his infidel brother. He also advises him to anticipate Si Ujut by himself invading the latter's territory without giving him

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1) The modern Achehnese point out Raja Radén's tomb in the neighbourhood of the peculiar structure called the Gunòngan near the Dalam.

2) See Vol. I, pp. 121 et seq.

3) In other Achehnese works we find Europeans as well as other "kafirs" described as Jews, followers of Moses and Sun-worshippers.

time to take the first step. During their deliberations a tree of fabulous dimensions already fashioned into the framework of a ship, comes drifting from the opposite coast to Kuala Acheh and remains lying there quietly until the Sultan himself, hearing of this marvel, hastens to see it with his own eyes.

The magic tree addresses the king, telling him how he (the tree) was destined by Si Ujut to serve as the foundation of a gigantic war-ship, but that the will of Allah had sent him, a prince of jéns of the true faith, to be used *against* the unbeliever. A ship is then built from this tree, to sail at the head of the war-fleet against Si Ujut, and receives the name of *Chakra Dōnya* (Sphere of the world). Three bells, named respectively Akidatōy Umu (عقيدة الأمور Confirmation of Things) Khòyran Kasiran (خيرا كثيرا Much Good) and Tula' Mara (Dispeller of Evil) are placed on board; their clappers move of themselves and their ringing may be heard three days sail away [1]).

Presently the preparations for the expedition are complete. The king has a tender parting with his Pahang consort, the former wife of Raja Radén. She gives him sundry advice, warning him especially not to land anywhere in the territory of Si Ujut, as its inhabitants are skilled in the exercise of many kinds of witchcraft and black art.

The expedition first sails to the dependencies of Acheh, to call for help to enlarge their equipment. The poet carries us, on board the Chakra Dōnya along the North and East Coasts of Acheh, and displays his geographical knowledge. The first place touched at is Pidië (vulg. Pedir), the panglima of which is handed down to fame as the bravest and most distinguished of generals. Thence the fleet shapes its course for Meureudu, which the poet depicts as a sparsely-populated and almost desert land.

The want of familiarity with the great of the land withheld the people of Meureudu from fulfilling their duty of waiting on the Sultan. The latter awaited their coming for some days in vain; meantime the men of Meureudu betook themselves for counsel to a teacher from Medina who lived among them, called in this narrative Ja Pakèh or Ja Madinah [2]). The latter went to plead the cause of these simple folk,

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1) The great bell which now hangs from a tree near the Governor's house at Kuta Raja is believed by the Achehnese to be one of those of the Chakra Dōnya.

2) *Ja* properly means grandfather or great-grandfather, and *Pakèh* is the Arabic *faqīh* = a teacher of the law. The designation of famous persons by the name of the place of their origin or residence is universal in Acheh.

bearing offerings of the produce of the country as a token of fealty; but the king, through anger at the delay, took no notice of his presence. The pandit, moved to anger in his turn, told him frankly that it was his own fault that the people of Meureudu were lacking in good manners, since he had set no chief over them to instruct them. The king recognized his mistake, declared Meureudu a feudal freehold (*wakeuëh*) and induced Ja Pakèh, not without difficulty, to accompany him in his voyage to Malacca.

According to the popular conception of the Achehnese, a learned *teungku* is supposed to be especially distinguished by his knowledge of sundry *èleumèës* or crafts which enable him to ensure the safety of his friends and to bring destruction on his foes. Thus the issue of a war may often depend on such a one. Our poet is clearly influenced by this idea, for he makes the king of Acheh, from the time of his departure from Meureudu, take the advice of Ja Pakèh on all matters of importance.

Thus for instance in regard to the question as to who is to lead the forces in the field; this honour is at first offered to the Panglima of Pidië mentioned above, but as the latter prefers to hold a subordinate post, the king requests him to name a suitable man to be chief panglima, and he nominates Malém Dagang, [1]) a young man of approved courage, who is also rich and influential.

Just as in modern Acheh all negociations are carried on through intermediaries, so here too we find the like method adopted in discussing the conditions on which Malém Dagang is to assume the command. Ja Pakèh represents his interests with fatherly care, and Meukuta Alam promises him as recompense a handsome share of the revenues of his dominions.

The way in which Malém Dagang enlists on his side the coöperation, so necessary for his task, of the influential members of his own family, forms another genuine Achehnese picture. He offers them, one by one, the office which he has been called upon to fill, and on their refusing

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1) *Malém* means one who is distinguished from the common herd by his knowledge and practise of religion; *dagang* ordinarily signifies a foreigner, and in particular a Kling, or native of Southern India. In Acheh, however, especially in earlier times, a man might gain the title of *malém*, *leubè* etc., even though he followed national customs entirely at variance with the creed of Islam; for instance we sometimes find even the manager of a cock-fight dignified in an Achehnese tale with the title of *leubè!*

reminds them in so many words that it is by their request and not of his own will that he assumes the command over them.

As the expedition proceeds along the North and East Coasts of Sumatra, the poet gives us many details about these parts, putting the information he conveys in the mouth of Ja Pakèh in the form of answers to the questions asked by the inquisitive Sultan. Old traditions and observations on the then existing state of things form the subject of their conversations, and the king takes the opportunity of introducing some necessary reforms in the government of the country.

Finally the fleet attains its full strength, some tens of thousands of vessels, and puts out to open sea. No sooner have they lost sight of the coast than the Sultan loses heart and has to be gradually restored to confidence by the wise man of Medina, who is able to reassure him by reference to his *kutika* or table of lucky days. In various parts of the poem the king is represented, not without some irony, as vacillating and far from heroic.

The first principality of the Malay Peninsula at which the fleet touches is Aseuhan (Asahan), the residence of the pagan Raja Muda.

The consort of Meukuta Alam, Putròë Phang, had warned him before his departure to give a wide berth to that place, as it was dangerous owing to the heathenish witchcraft practised by its people. This advice, however, did not prevent the invaders from attacking, conquering and despoiling Aseuhan; the capital was found deserted save for the young queen, who was brought on board as a captive. She was however liberated, not through the large ransom offered by her husband, but owing to the conversion to Islam of the king of the country and his subjects, and their abandonment of the sun-worship practised by them under the laws of Moses! In the negociations connected with this conversion Malém Dagang plays a very chivalrous part.

They next proceed to Phang (Pahang) the king of which country is overjoyed at meeting his new and his former son-in-law (Meukuta Alam and Raja Radén). He prays for their triumph over Si Ujut, but does not dare to join them openly, since he had some time before been reduced to submission by Si Ujut, who had lately paid him another visit to announce his intention of making war on Acheh.

From Pahang the fleet moves to Johor Lama (Jhō Lama) to which place Si Ujut has also just paid a visit, but whence he has retired to Johor Bali. Here some of the Achehnese invaders establish themselves

without opposition under the direction of their Sultan, who builds fortifications of strength sufficient to withstand an attack by land and sea. Meanwhile the naval commander with the larger portion of the fleet keeps watch at sea for the foe who has threatened an attack on Acheh.

The enemy lets them wait a full year, but in the end a hostile fleet of 50000 sail arrives upon the scene. Malém Dagang, acting on Ja Pakèh's skilful choice of a favourable moment, chooses his time and falls furiously on the infidels.

The Sultan of Acheh, when informed how matters stand, remains inactive on shore and is only induced to go on board the Chakra Dōnya after receiving a reproachful message from Ja Pakèh, who threatens to leave him if he refuses to comply with his advice. After conferring with Raja Radén he razes the fortifications to the ground so as not to furnish the enemy with a safe place of refuge, and joins the fleet.

Meantime Malém Dagang has already slain his tens of thousands, and when the king comes on board he omits not to upbraid him for his inactivity with bitter irony, asking him how many foes he has slain yonder on land.

Si Ujut himself has not yet joined the fleet; he is lingering in Guha (see p. 81 above) not from want of courage, but from exaggerated devotion to his five [1]) consorts, the chief of whom is the daughter of the king of that place [2]). This favourite wife now upbraids his sloth. She tells him that if he does not play the man, it may come to pass that his fleet will soon be defeated and his five beloved ones torn from his arms, and that he will then, like his brother Radén, be obliged to content himself with a hag as ugly as an iguana.

There words strike home. Ujut flies into a passion and speaks with contempt of the warlike preparations of the Achehnese. At the same time he admits that he is loth to be compelled to fight just then, as the conjuncture (*kutika*) is favourable to the Achehnese.

Meantime, before Si Ujut takes command of his fleet, Malém Dagang

1) This number seems to have been purposely chosen as being in excess of the maximum of four wives allowed by the creed of Islam, in order the better to emphasize that fact that Ujut was an unbeliever.

2) Here we have another trait characteristic of the Achehnese poet, who magines that the husband follows the wife in other countries as in Acheh. The fact that the same "kafir" was ruler both of Malacca and of Guha he finds it easiest to explain by supposing that the prince of Malacca was the son-in-law of the king of Guha.

has been busy slaying the infidels; after the arrival of the hostile leader, he renews the battle with redoubled energy.

Malém Dagang and the brave Panglima of Pidië with the other foremost heroes on the Achehnese side bind themselves by an oath of mutual fidelity and make their last dispositions in view of their falling in battle. The Panglima Pidië in particular prepares for such a result, clothing himself entirely in white before he enters the fray. This deceives Ujut, who thinks that he sees in him the famous guru (Ja Pakéh) of the king of the Achehnese. He accordingly singles out for his fiercest attack the devoted panglima who dies a martyr (*shahīd*) to the cause of religion.

This however was the only great advantage gained by Ujut, for his ships were sunk by tens of thousands while the Achehnese fleet remained unscathed. Finally we come to the flight of the small remnant of Ujut's fleet, not including, however, the ship which contained the prince himself. Malém Dagang is so fortunate as to capture his enemy alive, and his own brother Raja Radén finds delight in loading the miscreant with chains.

The fleet now sails to Guha [1]). Here the inquisitive king of Acheh wishes to have a look at the country, but is restrained by Malém Dagang, who reminds him of the perils predicted by his consort, the Pahang princess. Thence they sail to Malacca, the king of which place (the father of Si Ujut and Raja Radén) has fled with all the inhabitants of the coast to the hills in the interior. Here too Meukuta Alam is withheld from landing for the same reason as at Guha.

Finally they touch once more at Aseuhan to acquaint te king, now one of the Faithful, with the joyous tidings of their victory. On this occasion all imaginable efforts are made to convert Si Ujut from his "sun-worship according to the teaching of Moses", but in vain. He is then bound to the prow of the ship below water and thus accompanies them on their return voyage to Acheh.

This "Dutch infidel" was, however, richly provided with mysterious arts and witchcraft.

Although immersed in the sea for more than seven days and covered with ell-long moss and seaweed, he yet lived; and in Acheh not only

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1) The poet appears to have imagined that Guha lay on the way back from Johor or Pahang to Acheh.

saws and various implements of torture, but even fire proved powerless to harm him.

Nor could he be slain until he had himself resolved no longer to resist his fate. When this time came, he informed his enemies that the only way to kill him was to pour molten lead into his nose and mouth.

This was done and so ended the life of the villain who still remains for the Achehnese of to day the type of the wickedness of "kafirs", and especially the *kaphé Ulanda* or "Dutch infidel" [1]).

Pòchut Muhamat.

The *Hikayat Pòchut Muhamat* (VII).

This epic of Prince Muhamat differs in many respects from that we have just described, and a comparison between them is favourable to the later work.

Date of its production.

We venture to call Pòchut Muhamat the later work, although the author and date of the composition of Malém Dagang are unknown, and the entirely legendary character of the traditions with which it deals, points to its having been composed a considerable time after the great naval expedition of Meukuta Alam. At the same time it is unlikely that the celebration in verse of the heroic deeds of Meukuta Alam's general should not have taken place for more than a century after the death of that prince, when his dynasty had already given way to other rulers; and Pòchut Muhamat's warlike ventures are dated just a century after the death of Meukuta Alam.

The poet of the "Pòchut Muhamat" reveals himself at the end of his epic as Teungku Lam Rukam. This title shows him to have been a man distinguished [2]) from the general mass of the people by a certain amount of religious knowledge and devotion, and to have resided in the gampōng of Lam Rukam in the XXV Mukims. Though not himself present at the achievements he celebrates, he has, he tells us, derived all his information from actual eyewitnesses. Thus we cannot be far wrong in assuming that the Teungku composed his poem about the middle of the 18th century.

With him we are thus on historic ground, though the facts are of course reflected through an imaginative medium wholly in keeping

1) In his pamphlet described above (Vol. I, pp. 183 etc.) Teungku Kuta Karang alludes to this widespread tradition, exhorting his countrymen to bear in mind the wicked deeds of Si Ujut, and never to trust the Dutch.

2) See Vol. I, p. 71.

with the national characteristics of Acheh. Marvellous explanations of simple occurrences, true historical facts in the guise of fictitious visions or miracles, these are licences which we cannot blame in any poet, and least of all in an Achehnese poet. With Teungku Lam Rukam, however, human feelings always maintain their place, and history never disappears behind the veil of legend. Nothing inclines the reader to doubt the truth of the main facts, so that the poem, apart from its high literary merit, forms a valuable contribution to the history of Acheh, which the native chroniclers handle in so meagre and dry, and at the same time so confused a manner.

From the work of Veth [1]) we gather that the abolition of the line of female sovereigns which came to an end in 1699, was followed by a continuous series of dynastic wars. The facts there stated, as well as sundry data as to the order of succession of the kings of Acheh, collected by me at Kuta Raja, require correction in view of what we learn from the poem Pòchut Muhamat and also from a Malay history of the kings of Acheh, which I brought back from that country.

The competitors for the throne of Acheh in the first quarter of the 18th century, after the female succession had been abolished, were for the most part sayyids, i. e. persons of high and sacred Arabic descent [2]), though probably born in Acheh, and thus imbued with the peculiarities of the Achehnese. The most remarkable of these sayyids was Jamalul-alam, called by the Achehnese Pòteu (Lord) Jeumalōy. He reigned from 1703—26, and after the latter date continued to contest the throne with his successors of Arabic and non-Arabic origin.

Of these last we need only mention here Mahraja Léla Meulayu, who reigned from 1726—35 under the name of Alaédin Ahmat Shah, and was the founder of the line which continues to hold by inheritance the title of Sultan of Acheh up to the present day, although compelled occasionally to vacate the throne in favour of his Arab rivals. As we have seen, tradition assigns a Bugis origin to this Mahraja Léla.

Alaédin Ahmat Shah, like others was constantly harassed during his reign by Jeumalōy and his adherents. When Ahmat died, Jeumalōy

1) *Atchin* pp. 82—85.

2) As to the high estimation and superstitious dread which the Achehnese entertain for the Sayyids, see Vol. I, pp. 155 et seq.; history shows that this fear has rather increased than diminished during the last century, a fact which is readily explained by the decay of the political institutions of the country.

hastened to the capital to take advantage of the disorder which usually follows on the death of the reigning chief in Acheh. The eldest son and successor of Ahmat Shah is known under the name of *Pòteu Uë'*, but in our epic poem he is more frequently alluded to as Raja Muda, whilst his name after his accession to the throne was Alaédin Juhan Shah. He reigned for a quarter of a century (1735—60), but in the early years after he came to the throne had a hard fight to wage with Jeumalōy, who no more than two days after the death of Pòteu Uë's father established himself in Gampōng Jawa and could reckon, both in Acheh Proper and in Pidië, on the support of certain considerable chiefs.

We might rather say that he *ought* to have maintained the contest, for our epic clearly shows that he failed to do so, and sooner than undergo much trouble and expense, was content to watch Jeumalōy enthroned and playing the king over his adherents not half a march from his palace gates. It was the youngest of the three brothers of the king (Pòchut Kléng, Pòchut Sandang and Pòchut Muhamat) whose activity put an end to this untenable position.

Contents of the epic.

"A country ruled — unhappy land, how shall it stand? — by monarchs twain!" [1]) It was in these words that Pòchut Muhamat gave expression to his indignation; and these words form the introduction to Teungku Lam Rukam's heroic poem.

The first part recounts a dream of Pòchut Muhamat. It is not remarkable for clearness of meaning and is apparently introduced in imitation of earlier models. Suffice it to say that this dream predicted the downfall of Acheh, unless an end should be made of the prevailing disorder. For the space of three days Pòchut Muhamat held counsel with the princes, his elder brothers, and finally announced his fixed intention of withdrawing to Batu Bara, a province on the East Coast of Sumatra, whose inhabitants were the greatest enemies or the most intractable subjects of Jeumalōy, and there making preparations for war, unless his brothers either themselves set their hands to the work or enabled him, the youngest, to do so, by supplying him with the necessary funds.

The eldest of the three, Pòchut Kléng, went to inform the king of this resolve in the name of all. But the indolent monarch was alarmed at the idea, and replied that the young lad must be admonished to

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1) *Hana digòb — na di geutanyòë — saòh nanggròë — dua raja.*

keep quiet, else he, who had no fear of such a froward boy, would bring him to reason by force.

His prohibition was of no effect. The scheme of Pòchut Muhamat remained unaltered, and the other two brothers declared themselves ready to lend the financial coöperation necessary to set it on foot. The king now prepares to go with the soldiers of his bodyguard (*sipahis*, among whom were to be found, according to the poet, both English, French and Dutch) to his young brother's house, to show him that his commands were not to be disobeyed. But Pòchut Muhamat, at the head of his followers, meets him at the gate of the Dalam, and addresses him in so high-handed a manner that the king retires in alarm. Muhamat calls it a a subterfuge on the king's part to shelter himself behind a behest of his dying father, to refrain from fighting against Jeumalōy the descendant of the Prophet, and rather to ally himself with him by marriage.

"What you follow by remaining inactive," says he, "is not our dying father's command, but the faithless advice of certain chiefs who are traitors to you and in their hearts adhere to Jeumalōy."

Shortly afterwards there came to the capital the Panglima of the XXII Mukims, Keuchi' Muda Sa'ti [1]), a man renowned for his bravery, to ask the king for a concession in the mountain district of Seulawaïh for the collection of sulphur. When he heard how matters stood, he ridiculed the king for his inability to bring a boy to reason. The Sultan thereupon gave him full power to use his best endeavours to prevent civil war; but the Panglima soon found that he had spoken too loftily and could do naught against Pòchut Muhamat. Ashamed of his failure and fearing the king's anger, he fled back to his own territory.

Although the young hero had not as yet given any proof of his prowess in action, his determined attitude created so deep an impression in Acheh proper that none of the chiefs opposed him, and he soon collected a following of from two to three hundred men and a considerable sum of money, and proceeded overland to Pidië to enlarge the number of his adherents.

The description of this journey is most graphic. The little army rests for a time in Kuala Batèë and Pòchut Muhamat does all he can to

1) It was this panglima who had previously made war on Jeumalōy and given the chief impetus to his dethronement.

convert this small port to a mart of importance. Both here and at all the other halting-places on his route, the prince receives the chiefs of the surrounding country and urges the adoption of measures [1]) which will tend to make the rice culture more productive and to save the people from falling into poverty through sloth and ignorance. He also distributes money and robes of honour to all that come to wait on him, and by his kindly demeanour succeeds easily in adding hundreds to the ranks of his followers.

In Padang Teuji (Tiji) he remains as long as is necessary for regulating the affairs of the VII Mukims and winning over the people to his cause, and at Reubèë, where he pays all due homage to the saint that lies buried there, he does the same in respect of the V Mukims. So with other places, till Pòchut Muhamat, thanks to his powers of persuasion and the distribution of costly gifts, is able to reckon on almost every part of the old kingdom of Pidië.

There remains but one ulèëbalang of the province, the most powerful of them all, whom he knows he will have great trouble in inducing to forsake the cause of Jeumalöy, to whom he is attached by innumerable bonds of friendship and obligation.

This is the Pangulèë Beunaròë or Meunaròë [2]), the predecessor and it is said forefather of the chiefs who now rule under the title of Bén-tara Keumangan. This title is in fact given in the poem alternatively with that of Pangulèë Beunaròë, and his territory is alluded to as the IX Mukims.

The chiefs of Pidië who have ranged themselves on the side of Pòchut Muhamat are ready to join with him in making war on Pangulèë Beunaròë, though they are not blind to the danger of the undertaking. Pòchut Muhamat is however advised by a discreet ulèëbalang first to write a letter to the chief, who is as powerful as he is courageous,

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1) He especially advises irrigation. As a matter of fact the people of Pidië at the present day utilize the rivers for their wet rice cultivation, instead of depending on the rain as they do in Acheh.

2) This word is the Achehnese form of the Malay *pĕnghulu bĕndahari*, meaning chief treasurer or chief of the royal storehouses. Whatever may have been the original function of the bearer of the title in Acheh, it soon lost its proper significance (compare Vol. I, pp. 98, 126—7), and its bearer became an ulèëbalang, whose descendants and successors were in the lapse of time called Béndara Keumangan, chiefs of the federation of the "VI ulèëbalangs" which was more or less at variance with the federation of the "XII ulèëbalangs", with Teungku Pakèh of Pidië at its head.

and to send the missive by the hand of one Tuan Meugat Pò Mat. The prince follows this advice after some demur; for indeed the attitude of Panguleë Beunaròë is clearly hostile, since he has neglected to wait upon the king's brother though encamped in his immediate neighbourhood. Pò Mat undertakes the mission, and is instructed to declare war against the Panguleë should he answer unbecomingly. It is thus no pleasant task for Pò Mat, who at first avoids mentioning the true object of his mission, whiling away the time with a long conversation on indifferent subjects. His host has just returned a day or two ago from the West Coast of Acheh? What has led him thither? The Panguleë Beunaròë replies that he has been engaged on behalf of Jeumalōy, his master, in waging war against the refractory Rawa's, — the name by which the Malays of the West Coast are known in Acheh [1]). The poet skillfully avails himself of this opportunity to enlighten us as to the political and social status of the West Coast at this period. The chiefs had shaken off the Achehnese yoke and had dared to send to Jeumalōy, on his demanding the annual tribute, a handsome gilded box full of old clothes and worn-out equipments. They were severely punished and reduced to obedience by Panguleë Beunaròë.

Finally the envoy comes to the point, and reveals the fact that he has with him a letter from the prince. The poet throughout represents the Panguleë and all around him as ignorant of the art of reading, a supposition which was no doubt as well justified in regard to many Achehnese chiefs in those days as it now is. But Panguleë Beunaròë could of course easily surmise the nature of the letter, and refused even to receive it. "I look", he said, "for no orders from that direction; I serve another prince".

Pò Mat then announces that war is inevitable, a war in which all Pidië except the IX Mukims will espouse the cause of the prince against Beunaròë. Here again it is a prudent chief who leads matters into the right track; Tuan Sri Reubèë advises Beunaròë at all events to ascertain the contents of the letter in the first place, and to summon an ulama for this purpose.

Accordingly he sends to fetch the learned Teungku Rambayan, who with his hundreds of devoted disciples lives at a remote place in the highlands. The poet depicts for us, in a few graphic verses, an Acheh-

1) See Vol. I, p. 19.

nese religious seminary. The messengers respectfully approach the teacher and apologize for coming to disturb him in his pious labours. Three days later the Teungku comes to the ulèëbalang, attended by a number of his disciples. He commences by propounding a number of abstruse and somewhat indistinct precepts, the connection of which with the matter in hand is by no means clear. In interpreting the contents of the prince's letter, which is in fact couched in a somewhat lofty and reproachful tone, the wise man suppresses "the bitter" and retails only "the sweet", since he thinks it expedient to conceal the truth in order to prevent misfortune. He advises the ulèëbalang simply to go and welcome the prince, and to excuse his prolonged delay in waiting on him on the ground that he had but just returned from a journey.

The Pangulèë Beunaròë follows this advice; he summons a large escort from among his own subjects, and sets out on his journey to the prince's camp. The poet's talent for word-painting appears once more in the description of this journey with its difficulties great and small, and the consequent grumbling in the ranks of the Pangulèë's followers. The meeting with Prince Muhamat is also graphically described. The two principals exchange none but pleasant words, but when the prince discloses the object of his journey, and claims the coöperation of the ulèëbalang, the latter declares that it is impossible. Among other things he narrates how once when he returned from "the war of Glumpang Payōng" covered with wounds and blood-guilt, he was nursed by Jeumalōy's wife as though he had been her own child, while Jeumalōy, as though he were his father, took the load of blood guiltiness upon himself. And now to disown all this and so much more, nay, it was beyond his power!

Long did the chief of the IX Mukims hold out against the reasoning of Pòchut Muhamat, who sought to convince him that he would act more wisely to join his side or at least remain neutral. At last however he yielded to the argument which generally prevails in all negociations of Achehnese *with one another;* it was the rich presents of gold and robes of honour given by Pòchut Muhamat to the Pangulèë and his followers, that caused the latter to waver in his allegiance to Jeumalōy.

Once won over, he will do nothing by halves, but promises unconditional support to his new ally; the concert is sealed by the prince and the ulèëbalang taking the "bullet oath" [1]) of allegiance.

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1) A common form of the oath of fidelity in Acheh especially between warriors, is for

Pòchut Muhamat has first to travel further East, but arranges to return by the next new moon, when he is to find his new ally with an army all ready to follow him.

We need not here dwell on the prince's journey to Pasè (Pasei) and other places along the East Coast. Suffice it to say that it gave him fresh allies and occasion to deliver useful admonitions in regard to rice cultivation, which in this region was carried on in a very slovenly and ill-ordered manner.

Returning to Peukan Tuha, Muhamat awaits Beunaròë. The ulèëbalang prepares for his departure by the payment of hitherto unfulfilled vows for his deliverance from the dangers of warfare, and by the transaction of other business both secular and religious. Finally he charges his aged mother [1]) with the care of his interests during his absence.

Here follows a masterly description of the ulèëbalang's leave-taking of his aged parent. She adjures him not to go. "In Acheh," she says, "war is decided by fortifications and firearms. You, my son, are better acquainted with the manner of fighting here in Pidië, by cut and thrust. Should you become involved in a war here in Pidië, all that I possess is at your service, but follow not the young prince. Is it well of you to forget all the kindness of Jeumalöy for the sake of a handful of gold? And do you forget me your mother also? If I die there will be no child of mine at hand to close my eyes!"

Beunaròë cannot restrain his tears. Amid his sobs he puts forward the lame pretext that although Jeumalöy shall always be to him as a father, still Pòchut Muhamat has now become to him even as a brother. He kisses his mother's knees, and encourages himself by saying with apparent contempt that none but a fool distresses himself about the counsels of women.

In and around the house all are in tears; the prevailing sounds of sorrow recall the mourning for the dead. As the ulèëbalang descends the steps of his house, a cocoanut tree in the enclosure falls and strikes

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those who take the oath to drink together from a vessel of water in which a bullet has been dipped, or to hold the bullet in turn while they invoke the curse, that he who breaks the bond may be destroyed by that bullet. The subjects or allies of a chief also bind themselves to everlasting allegiance to him by drinking water into which he has plunged his *sikin* or *reunchöng*. A similar oath of the Amboinese rebel Captain Jonker and his followers is described by Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indië*, Vol. IV p. 319.

1) The part played by this woman in the epic affords a further example of the importance of women in the social life of Acheh already alluded to above (Vol I, p. 371).

the roof, breaking the ridge-pole and some of the beams. A gloomy omen this!

The army, which has now swelled to proportions seldom seen in Acheh, at length begins to move. Here we learn the character of an Achehnese warlike expedition. Neither chiefs nor subjects make any provision for a suitable commissariat, so that the passage of the troops is a perfect plague to the inhabitants of the districts they traverse. The sugarcane gardens which they pass on the way are plundered to the last section of the last cane, and the stragglers of this hungry and thirsty troop quarrel violently over the refuse.

At Kruëng Raya, a considerable trading centre, they are unable to resist the temptation of looting all the cloth-stuffs in the storehouses of the Kling traders, [1]) and even depriving them of the clothes they wear, leaving them only their nether garments.

With loud lamentations these Klings repair to the capital and make their complaints in the Dalam. The Raja Muda gives them scant consolation. Why, asks the king, do these people come here now with their jabbering complaints, instead of getting their merchandise into safety in good time? They might have known that the troops were on the march, and what they had to expect when they arrived.

Before the arrival of the hostile forces at the capital, Jeumalöy is prepared for great events by a dream, in which he sees his palace and all around it devastated by flood and tempest. He makes all ready to sustain a siege, especially his fortifications in Gampöng Jawa, Peunayöng and Meura'sa, and assigns to each of his four sons a fixed share in the task of defence.

Prince Muhamat makes the necessary vows to secure for his undertaking the favour and support of Allah and visits his brother the king in the Dalam. "It is better," says the latter, "for me to remain here and pray for your success than myself to take part in the hostilities; otherwise who would protect the royal residence?" The hot blooded young prince raises no objection to this proposal.

It was no empty warning that Pangulèë Beunaröë had received from his mother. At the outset the cannon and musketry fire from Jeumalöy's

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1) In vol. I (p. 169) we saw how the contempt of the lives and property of Klings is a byword in Acheh; they are extremely timorous and have no kawöm to take vengeance for their wrongs.

forts caused fearful ravages in the army of Prince Muhamat, which was formed for the most part of Pidië men. Even the prince's courage threatened for a moment to forsake him, and it was his new ally who roused him to action. Beunaròë bound the fold of his garment to that of Muhamat, and constrained him, thus coupled with himself to join in leading the attack.

Gradually Jeumalōy's forts succumbed, and there remained only Gampōng Jawa to be taken. This last stronghold was blockaded, and the means of subsistence began to fail those shut up therein. In one of the combats which relieve the monotony of the blockade, Jeumalōy and his disloyal "son" the Pangulèë Beunaròë come within speaking distance of one another. The king reproaches his recreant ally for his faithless conduct, and though his tone is kind and fatherly, so keen was the irony of his words that every one of them passed like a sword through the soul of the ulèëbalang. At the end of his speech the sayyid takes aim with his musket, not at the renegade, but at a glumpang-tree in the distance. He strikes a branch, which drops, but is borne along by the force of the wind till its shadow falls on the Pangulèës body. The hero falls senseless. There is hardly a sign to show the astonished bystanders that he still lives. His friends press round, curious to know whether he has received a wound, or been seized with sudden illness. The poet answers: Nay, he was smitten by the vengeance of Allah, who will not brook that any man should play the traitor to a descendant of the Prophet.

Pòchut Muhamat gives orders in all haste for the conveyance home to his own country of his unhappy ally, who still lives, but is bereft both of speech and motion. He gives the escort camphor and other things to be used at the burial. Beunaròë breathes his last at the moment when he reaches his home.

The prince was deeply grieved at the loss of his friend, yet did not yield to that gloomy feeling which the poet excites in his readers. At any rate he proceeded with the blockade, and the fate of Gampōng Jawa was soon decided. He wished to spare Jeumalōy, for the latter's high rank and sacred descent withheld him from taking his life. As however it was very doubtful whether his wild fighting men enraged by the losses they had sustained, would pay any heed to such a prohibition, he gladly complied with Jeumalōy's request that he might be allowed to leave the Dalam with his women and in female disguise,

whereupon the besiegers would be admitted. This was done, and then began the plundering of the Dalam, which Jeumalōy's followers had thought impregnable, and in which they had accordingly brought all their valuables. The chief part of the loot was gold and opium. The poet declares that during the sack some looked on inactive, and when asked why they stood aloof, replied that it was forbidden to plunder the goods of fellow-believers as though they were infidels.

Jeumalōy fled successively to Lam Baruëh, Gampōng Meulayu, Kruëng Raba and Kruëng Kala, and after that was pursued no further; but some Achehnese chiefs who connived at his escape had to pay dearly for their adhesion to his cause. The Mukims Buëng, for instance, were ravaged with fire to the very last house.

Thus Pòteu Uë', thanks to the energy and courage of his youngest brother, became almost in his own despite master of all Acheh. When order had been fully restored and trade revived, Pòchut Muhamat received as his reward half the port dues, and a year later married a lady of royal lineage at Gampōng Lham Bhu' [1]).

Our short resumé of this heroic poem is entirely inadequate to enable the reader to appreciate its beauties. Even a complete translation would fall short in this respect, for the Achehnese rhyme and metre are difficult to reproduce, and many a proverb and saying would lose its force in the rendering. The merits of the author would, however, be brought out better in a complete translation, since they consist to a great extent in the graphic pictures which he draws of the details of life, thought and speech in Acheh.

This much will however, I hope, be apparent from my short analysis, that the author, by his grasp of his subject, his arrangement of his materials, his unostentatious and objective treatment of the matter in hand and his skill in word-painting, shows himself to be a man of literary gifts of an unusually high order.

We may add that he is a greater master of form than any other Achehnese poet we know of. The facility with which an Achehnese sentence lends itself to the "sanja'" form is apt to lead to slovenly versification, and in most Achehnese hikayats we find side by side with pieces of fine composition passages which give evidence of the sloth-

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1) Until the coming of the Dutch to Acheh, this was an extensive and flourishing Gampōng, and was included in the Banda Acheh.

fulness or weariness of the poet. In the Pòchut Muhamat, which contains only about 2500 verses, such intermixture is rare, and the style is curt and trenchant throughout. We do not go too far in saying that this heroic poem is a gem of Achehnese, nay of Oriental literature. Moreover, as the reader will have observed, it has a peculiar historic value and furnishes us with a graphic picture of the past of Acheh.

Copies of this epic are very rare. Nothwithstanding my incessant search, I have only succeeded in obtaining the loan of two ill-written and incomplete specimens.

In the text which may be constituted from these two copies the sequence is thus sometimes interrupted, and there are certain peculiarities which defy all attempts at explanation.

As a rule, indeed, good and complete copies of Achehnese writings are rarely to be met with. Many know the most popular hikayats by heart, and when they come to recite them fill up from their own imagination and skill in rhyming the deficiencies of their memory or of the written copies. There are however other special reasons for the rarity of written specimens of the Pòchut Muhamat.

Even at the present day there are to be found in Acheh persons whose good taste is sufficient to make them prefer a recitation of Pòchut Muhamat to one of any of the numerous Malay stories that have been translated into Achehnese verse, tales of fabulous princes who performed all kinds of impossibilities to gain possession of the chosen one of their soul. And yet the epic is seldom recited.

Heroic though the prince who gives the poem its name may be, he wages war against a *sayyid*, who had formerly been the lawful and recognized sovereign of Acheh, and who had also been bereft of the crown by that prince's father. Jeumalōy, whose tomb is still to be seen not far from the principal mosque of Acheh, is universally revered as a saint by the Achehnese. Pòteu Uë', for whose sake his younger brother drove out the sayyid, and that too with the help of subjects turned from their allegiance, is the founder of the present Achehnese dynasty. No wonder then that the scions of the royal house of Acheh will brook no mention of the Hikayat Pòchut Muhamat and regard it as a forbidden thing for anyone of their family to order or listen to its recitation.

This feeling, originating in shame and superstition, makes itself felt even outside the circle of the royal family. Among those who dare to recite the epic, there are many who think it their duty to offer their

excuses to the saints and the "kings now in bliss" by burning incense or giving a kanduri.

Hikayat prang Gōmpeuni.

Hikayat prang Gōmpeuni (VIII).

In Vol I of this work we have already given a brief outline of this latest of Achehnese heroic poems, referring more especially to the political attitude of the poet, — or we might rather say the feeling prevalent among the common people in the lowlands of Acheh, and which pervades this poem throughout.

The poet.



DŌKARIM, THE AUTHOR OF THE "PRANG GŌMPEUNI".

Dōkarim (i. e. Abdulkarim) of Glumpang Dua in the VI Mukims of the XXV is the composer of this hikayat. Writer we may not call him, for he can neither read not write. He went on, as he tells us for five years gradually composing this poem in celebration of the heroic deeds of the Achehnese in their conflict against the Dutch, adding fresh matter from time to time as he gained enlightenment from eye-witnesses. The popularity which he quickly won and which led him to recite the poem constantly for the sake of the handsome presents he received for doing so, saved it from being lost, although for the time being it was preserved in his memory alone.

This does not prevent him from giving himself, at each recitation, license to modify add or omit as he thinks fit or from filling up the

gaps from his really subtle poetic vein, whenever his memory fails him.

We can here witness for ourselves one of the methods by which an Achehnese heroic poem is brought into the world. Some one man, who like most of his fellow countrymen knows by heart the classic descriptions of certain events and situations as expressed in verse by the people of the olden time, but whose knowledge, owing to his training and environment, is somewhat greater than that of others; one who is endowed, besides, with a good memory and enthusiasm for the poesy of his country, puts his powers to the test by celebrating in verse the great events of more recent years.

Just as a literate poet reads his work again and again, and by the free use of his pen makes it conform more and more to the canons of art, so does our bard by means of incessant recitation. The events of which he sings have not yet reached their final development, so he keeps on adding, as occasion arises, fresh episodes to his poem.

So it goes on, till at last some literate amateur writes out the epic at the dictation of its composer. By this means sundry faults and irregularities and overbold flights of imagination come to light, which, though a *listener* might overlook them, are not to be endured in a *written* hikayat. The copyist, with the full concurrence of the poet, gives himself license to make all the necessary corrections, and subsequent copyists or reciters take the like liberty.

The *Hikayat Prang Gōmpeuni* has only just entered on this last phase of development, for until I had it taken down from the poet's lips, there was not a single copy extant in writing; only one single Achehnese chief had caused a few fragments of it to be perpetuated by the pen. Thus it may be noticed here and there, in regard to the language in which the poem is at present couched, that the "latest hand" has not yet left its mark upon it.

There are also other ways in which the form and contents of this hikayat testify to the character of its author. Those who are well disposed towards him honour him with the name of *teungku*, but he has not earned this title either by his learning or by specially devout practice of religious observances. Dōkarim was formerly a director of sadati-performances and other such pastimes condemned by the Mohammedan religion, and master of ceremonies at marriage festivities, which presupposes a high degree of oratorical skill and knowledge of traditional sayings in prose and verse, and of pantōns and ceremonial

formulas. In these particulars he was of course in the habit of conforming to the tastes and requirements of his public.

Dōkarim's great object was to win the approval of his hearers, so that they might set a high value (and that too in the material sense of the word) upon his recitations.

Now his public consisted chiefly, not of the members of the guerilla bands which fought against the Gōmpeuni, nor yet of persons specially trained up in religious ideas, but of the common folk of the gampōngs; and they, as we know, comprise reconcilable as well as fanatical spirits, even though the former may not be for the moment ripe for reconciliation. Thus it has been Dōkarim's endeavour to express, in verses pleasant to the ear, the impressions and feelings of the mean between these two extremes of Achehnese society. Accordingly we meet with him, as elsewhere, that hatred of the infidel which has become a matter of custom, but no deep-seated and unyielding fanaticism. Indeed I feel convinced that a gentle transition might under certain circumstances induce him to recast his poem into a glorification of the Gōmpeuni [1]).

The fact that he tells his tale as an Achehnese and a contemporary of the events of which he sings, of course raises the historical reliability of his epic immeasurably above the nonsensical Malay poem which has been printed at Singapore under the title of "Prang Acheh". This does not prevent some of his facts, seen as they are through Achehnese spectacles, from assuming a wrong perspective. Indeed some of his statements in connection with the origin of the war in Acheh belong entirely to the domain of legendary tradition. Nor is there any lack of intentional romance, introduced in all innocence.

As might be expected, events in which the VI Mukims, the author's own country, were more or less specially concerned, are treated at greater length and with more closeness of detail than any others. To the poet's being a resident of that place is also due the respect he

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1) Since the above was written, but before it was printed, the circumstances hinted at have become a reality. Teuku Uma has surrendered and become a leader under the Dutch government, so we may shortly expect to hear Dōkarim celebrate the exploits of that chief in the service of his former foes. [Dōkarim did actually, since the first publication of this work, sing of the deeds of Teuku Uma in his new capacity. He was put to death by Uma's orders in September 1897 because he had acted as guide to the Dutch troops in their operations after Uma's second defection. Had he lived longer he would without doubt have immortalized in verse the great changes which have come about since Teuku Uma's second desertion and death].

displays for Teuku Uma, who had great influence there, and also the fact that he exhibits more sympathy for Teungku Kutakarang than for his rival Teungku Tirò [1]). To the same cause is to be attributed his constant abuse of the chiefs of Meura'sa (who were as a matter of fact enemies of the ulèëbalang of the VI Mukims) for their speedy reconciliation with the Gõmpeuni; and this though he was neither combative nor a fanatic by nature. We shall now proceed to give a brief summary of the contents of the poem.

Contents of the poem.

Once upon a time the raja of Acheh called in all his ulamas to explain an evil dream which had visited him. None save Teungku Kuta Karang was able to interpret it [2]); he declared that an appalling misfortune was hanging over Acheh, to wit a war with the Dutch.

In this connection the poet takes occasion to extol the meritorious nature of a holy war, but reminds his hearers at the same time that it can only be waged with success when coupled with true conversion and superabundant good works. In this way alone, he says, can the Dutch, who have already had to incur a debt of thirty millions to maintain the war, be driven from the country, and if this be not done we shall be made subject to their insupportable yoke.

Hereupon the author plunges *in medias res* and narrates a legend of the still living Panglima Tibang [3]), which had already gained much popularity in a different form.

This man is a Hindu by birth, who in the days of his youth came over with a troupe of conjurors from his native country to Acheh. His quickness and ingenuity attracted the attention of a chief on the East Coast, and he remained in Acheh, at first in the service of that chief and later on in the suite of the Sultan. He embraced Islam, not so much from conviction as to make his path easier. Since then he has been called Panglima Tibang, after the Gampõng of Tibang, where his conversion took place. He enjoyed the confidence of Sultans Ibrahim and Mahmut and was even made shahbandar of the capital.

The Achehnese quite wrongly ascribe to him pro-Dutch sympathies

1) As to this rivalry see Vol. I, p. 182 et seq.

2) This introduction is intentionally simulated and is an imitation of that of the "Pòchut Muhamat"; the dream being nearly identical with that by which Jeumalõy was prepared for the siege of Gampõng Jawa (p. 96 above). The summoning of the ulamas gives the poet an opportunity to sing the praises of Teungku Kuta Karang, although he is well aware that the latter at that time neither was nor could have been present at the capital.

[3) He died in 1895, after the above was written.]

even before the commencement of the war. This notion finds support in the fact that the Panglima was a member of Achehnese embassies to Riouw and Singapore.

From the time of his surrender to General Van der Heijden, Panglima Tibang showed himself as ready to render faithful service to the Dutch Raja as he had previously been to the two last rajas of Acheh. He has been ever since so loyal in his new partisanship as to incur the hatred of the majority of the Achehnese as a false renegade; and this hatred has furnished the *motif* of sundry stories now in circulation which attribute the fall of the country to this Hindu.

Our poet's story runs as follows. Panglima Tibang purchased a ship in the Sultan's name for 44000 dollars, to convey him to the ports of the dependencies to collect tribute for his master. Whilst on her voyage the vessel fell into the hands of the Dutch, and Panglima Tibang was taken prisoner. He recovered his freedom however and received a handsome money present to boot, in return for a parchment sealed with the *chab sikureuëng* [1]) and a flag, which he gave to the Dutch as tokens of possession of the kingdom of Acheh.

Armed with these false tokens, the Dutch declared to the Powers that Acheh had become theirs by purchase; thus it was that no other Power interfered when the Gōmpeuni came to occupy Acheh by force of arms.

At this time the Achehnese were warned of the approaching end of the world by a *wasiët* (Arab. *waçiyyat* = admonition) of the Prophet [2]), brought by certain hajis from Mecca.

During the month Asan-Usén [3]) of this year of calamity, four of the Gōmpeuni's ships came with a demand for submission. Council was held thereon in the Dalam, the chief speakers being Teuku Kali and an aged woman. The latter's advice, namely to accept the Dutch flag but to keep concealed from the up-country people the significance of its being hoisted [4]), was rejected.

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1) See Vol. I, p. 130.

2) *Waçiyyat* is the name given to the well-known "last admonition of the Prophet" (see my translation in *De Indische Gids* for July 1884). This was intended to excite religious zeal; it is distributed from time to time (with an altered date each time) among the native population of the countries of the E. Indian Archipelago and other distant countries. See also N°. LXXIX below.

3) See Vol. I, p. 194.

4) See Vol. I, p. 145.

Preparations for war were now made; Teuku Kali's followers occupied Meugat. "The Habib" [1]) was absent on a voyage to Constantinople, whither he had gone to seek for help, and the want of his coöperation was greatly felt. Finally they asked for an armistice of three years to come to a determination as regards the demands of the Gōmpeuni; the pretext alleged for this request was the necessity for consulting Panglima Pòlém of the XXII Mukims who was known to be most dilatory in giving ear to the summons of the Court. [2])



TEUKU RADJA ITAM, ULÈÈBALANG OF THE VI MUKIMS SINCE 1896.

The Gōmpeuni would not hear of any delay, and thus the strife began. Foremost in the field was the brave Imeum of Lueng Bata; [3]) Teuku Chè' (i. e. Teuku Lam Nga, the first husband of the daughter of the ulèëbalang of the VI Mukims, afterwards married to Teuku Uma) and Teuku Lam Reuëng also receive honourable mention.

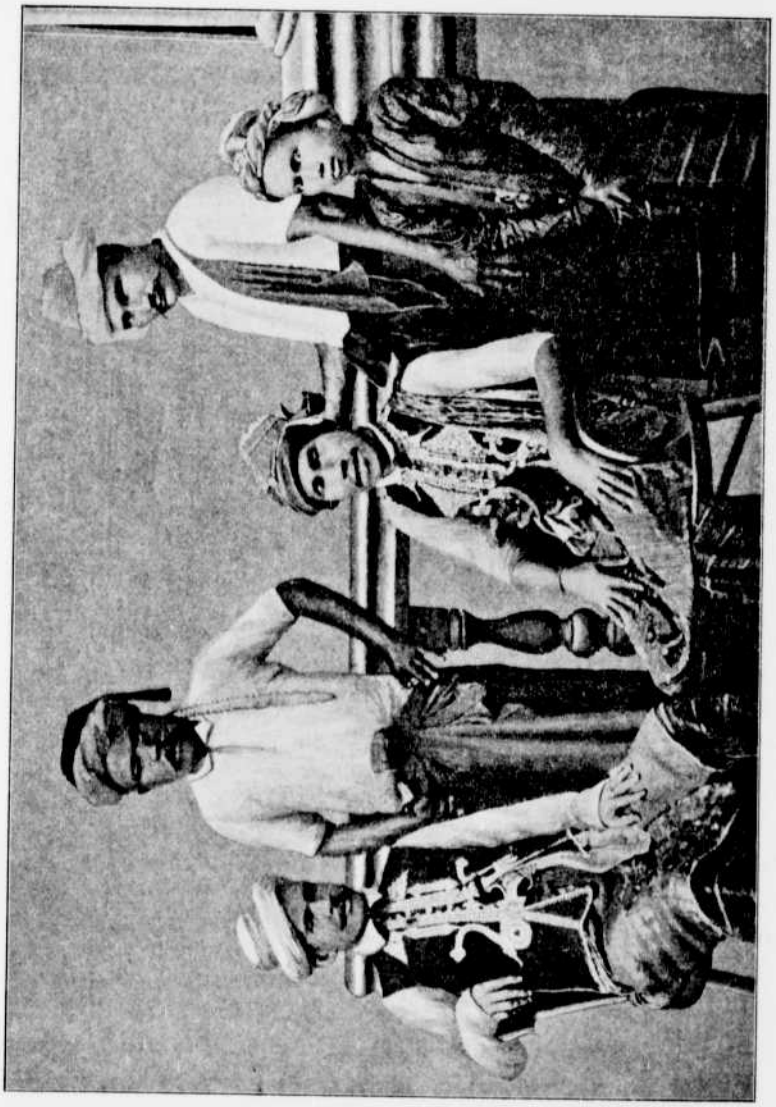
The Sultan soon fled from the Dalam, first to Luëng Bata and afterwards to Lam Teungòh (XXII Mukims), where he surrendered the reins of power with tears to Panglima Pòlém. [4])

The poet does not fail to comment on the "treacherous" action of the people of Meura'sa and certain of their kindred who only made a show of taking part in the

1) See Vol. I, pp. 158 et seq.
2) See Vol I, pp. 134—5.
3) See Vol I, p. 173.
4) This last is pure poetic fiction in imitation of earlier models.

warlike preparations, and surrendered to the Gōmpeuni without striking a blow.

A passionate appeal for help to the saint Teungku Anjōng [1]) was not in vain, and the kafirs were compelled to return home without



SOME DISTINGUISHED ACHEHNESE: ON THE LEFT THE LATE TEUKU KALI MALIKŌN ADÉ; IN THE CENTRE THE IMEUM OF THE LUËNG BATA.

completing their task. The enemy's failure was further due to the fact that before this first fight the people had truly repented of their sins

1) See Vol I, pp. 156, 235 etc.

and turned to Allah; later on, when their religious zeal abated, the fortune of war also turned against them.

The ships which the Dutch left lying off Acheh barred all access to the port. The Gōmpeuni meanwhile enlisted the aid of English, French and Portuguese vessels, and, thus reinforced, resumed the attack after 10 months. The Imeum of Luëng Bata and Teungku Lam Nga fought once more with heroic valour. The Sultan fled a second time, on this occasion to Pagarayé, where he died.

After the conquest of the Dalam the war was waged with varying fortune. [1]) Meantime Habib Abdurrahman returned to the Straits from his journey to the West.

The poet now surveys a period of nearly nine months duration, during which the combatants remained almost inactive, and at the end of which the Mukim Luëng Bata (whose brave imeum was sick at the time) and the Mukim Lhòng (= Lam Ara) were overcome by the Gōmpeuni. Soon after the VI Mukims (the author's country) and the IV Mukims shared the same fate.

The people of the gampōngs who had taken to flight began by degrees to return to the parts occupied by the Gōmpeuni, attracted by the profits arising from the sale of provisions. Teuku Lam Nga tried in vain to hold them back by force.

When "the Habib" set foot once more on Achehnese soil, he assumed a considerable share in the conduct of the war. Establishing himself at Mòn Tasiè', he undertook several expeditions from that place, and among them one to Kruëng Raba. This however led to nothing, for (as the Achehnese later on pretended to have observed) the Habib's investment of the Gōmpeuni's stronghold was not seriously meant. In like manner they now ascribe to the treachery of the Habib the success of the Dutch in defeating and slaying Teuku Lam Nga near Peukan Bada a short time afterwards.

The efforts of the Gōmpeuni to win over the Imeum of Luëng Bata with bribes proved all in vain. In the enemy's onslaught upon the XXVI Mukims he stood firm in the defence along with Teuku Paya the father

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of Teuku Asan, whom we shall have to notice presently. But when the XXVI Mukims had been conquered, and the "one-eyed general" shortly afterwards made victorious progress even through the XXII Mukims, to the amazement of the hitherto braggart inhabitants of the upper country, the Imeum of Luëng Bata thrust his sword into its sheath and withdrew from public life.

Now dawns the period of three years of repose, during which the General strengthened the positions he had won. The "Raja Muda" [1]), Teuku Nya' Muhamat, used all his efforts to advance the prosperity of the capital and of Ulèë Lheuë (Olehleh). He was so far successful that the people who had fled from their villages came pouring back in a continuous stream to the capital and fraternised with the kafirs. Life was a round of festivities, trade flourished, and the leaders of the party of resistance were bereft of their following.

All things conspired to bring homage to the one-eyed King.

The people of the VI Mukims, the poet tells us, had nevertheless much to endure, [2]) since the Raja Muda compelled them to work hard for the Gōmpeuni and himself.

No sooner did the one-eyed King depart, than all this repose was at an end. That brave warrior Teuku Asan, still in the pride of his youth, sought leave of his father in Pidië, whither the latter had fled, to go and do battle with the Gōmpeuni. The desired consent was given, with a father's blessing on his pious purpose. Teuka Asan quickly gathered some panglimas and a small force, and fixed his head-quarters in the neighbourhood of Lam Bada, the place of his birth.

The gampōng-folk were at first disposed to resist his establishing himself in that place, as they viewed with distaste the disturbance of their peace, but Teuku Asan and his followers soon taught them to throw off their equivocal attitude.

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1) Under this title is known that most energetic and reliable chief of Ulèë Lheuë, who with a loyal and upright heart lent his assistance to the establishment of the "Gōmpeuni" in Acheh, and whose example gradually encouraged other Achehnese chiefs to tender their submission.

2) The ulèëbalang of this province (see Vol I p. 126) had fled; his territory had thus for a time once more become attached as of old to that of Teuku Nè', and fallen under the supremacy of the Teuku Nya' Muhamat just mentioned above. The inhabitants thus felt the burden of a double yoke, since they found themselves now subject to the commands of a master who to all intents and purposes was a foreigner.

The *kupalas* [1]) (headmen) soon saw that they had acted rashly in permitting themselves to enjoy the favour of the Gōmpeuni. The latter required of them reliable information as to the movements of the guerilla bands, but whenever they furnished it they were severely punished by Teuku Asan, and the Gōmpeuni gave them little help. Finally an alarming example was set by the execution of the arch-traitor kupala Punteuët, and all the remaining headmen embraced, either openly or in secret, the cause of Teuku Asan.

Thereupon the Raja Muda called on his subjects to purchase firearms to defend themselves against Teuku Asan, so that for them too peace was at an end.

The headman of the Chinese succeeded by a money present in inducing Teuku Asan to refrain from attacking the coolies of his nationality, the more so as they waged no war, but earned their livelihood by labour. At the same time this headman facilitated the visits which the Teuku occasionally made to Kuta Raja for scouting purposes. He used to disguise himself on such occasions as a seller of firewood; his price was so high that no one would ever buy from him, and so as he passed from place to place with his load he was able to gather all the information he required.

The principal panglimas who took up arms under the leadership of Teuku Asan were Nya' Bintang, Teuku Usén of Pagarayé, his brother Teuku Ali, and Teuku Usén of Luëng Bata, brother of the imeum of that Mukim. We are told of their feats of arms — usually attacks upon convoys of provisions. Even at this period (an example is quoted in the IV Mukims) the people of the gampōngs used often to misinform the leaders of the guerilla bands as to the movements of the Gōmpeuni, so as to rid themselves of the presence of both.

Later on a new leader, Teuku Uma (Umar), came up from the West to drive the Dutch out of the IV Mukims. The people joined him the more readily as they were weary of the burdens laid upon them by the Raja Muda. The poet, who himself received many gifts from Teuku Uma's generous hand, details at some length the exploits of this hero till his return to Daya.

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1) This name (most likely purposely corrupted from the Malay *kapala*) is used by the Achehnese to describe the heads of gampōngs established by the Dutch government in place of the keuchi's who took to flight and refused to return. The candidates for such offices were not of course always the most desirable people possible.

The death of Teuku Asan at Ulèë Lheuë occurred under such peculiar circumstances that the Achehnese onlookers gathered therefrom that Allah in his wisdom had determined to take this warrior to himself as a martyr (*shahīd*). There was indeed an unusual want of caution displayed by Teuku Asan on this occasion, when without any previous organisation he marched into the territory of Meura'sa at the head of a few followers. In the gampōngs he passed on his way he enjoined all who had noticed his presence to keep it a secret, promising that he would spare them, as he had come, not to punish the men of Meura'sa for their defection, but to fight with the Dutch. He earnestly besought his followers to abstain from plunder on this occasion.

After a brief engagement he was badly wounded; most Achehnese attribute the fatal shot to the followers of Teuku Nè', though it was really fired by the soldiers who occupied the mosque of Ulèë Lheuë. Teuku Asan was rescued by his comrades, but died on the way home.

The epic now approaches the period of the "concentration" and the appearance on the scene of Teungku Tirò, who first came to Lam Panaïh, his following being composed chiefly of men from Pidië. This ulama gave a great impetus to the holy war. All who came from the Gōmpeuni's territory to join his standard had first to go through the ceremony of re-conversion to the true faith. A spy from Lhō' Nga who was taken prisoner by the Teungku's people was put to death without mercy.

The ulèëbalangs who were on good terms with the Gōmpeuni, now exhibited respect for the Teungku, not unmixed with fear. Thus Teuku Aneu' Paya (ulèëbalang of the IV Mukims, who has a wife in the gampōng of Meureuduati within the "linie") when chosen to act as guide to the Dutch troops on an expedition against Teungku Tirò's folk, secretly informed the ulama of the plans of the Gōmpeuni.

The *kupalas* were now more alarmed than ever and held aloof as much as possible from the Gōmpeuni. Now that the ulama had charge of the holy cause, not only the free lances, but many of the common people as well, took part with zeal in the resistance. Teungku Tirò applied a portion of the contributions which flowed into his coffers to the giving of solemn feasts, which added to the number of his adherents.

Teuku Uma also returned once more from the West Coast and began to give trouble to the Gōmpeuni at Peukan Bada. During this period he had a ceremonious meeting with Teungku Tirò in the IV Mukims,

where a great fortified house was built for the ulama, to provide him with a lodging on his future visits to that district. Teuku Uma declared himself ready to conform in all things to the Teungku's will [1]).

Teungku Tirò now continued his journey to Seubun. Here the poet gives an ironical description of a kanduri or religious feast organized by the ulama on a grand scale, which was unfortunately disturbed by an onset of the Dutch troops. The assembled guests found it hard, even with the bullets whistling about their ears, to tear themselves away from the dainty feast of buffalo-meat just done to a turn, with all the accompanying good cheer.

From Seubun the ulama directed his steps to Aneu Galōng and Indrapuri; in every place along his route he gave the chiefs instructions for the raising of sabil-contributions, to support the garrisons of the forts which the ulama had erected in every direction. He also took the opportunity on this tour to settle questions of religious law etc. in his capacity as the interpreter of the sacred code.

Arriving at Lam Panaïh he went through seven days of seclusion and mortification (*tapa*) and received sundry "converts", comprising certain Chinamen and convicts and also two European non-commissioned officers, who assisted Teungku Tirò's people in the manufacture of gunpowder.

Day by day the Teungku's influence waxed greater, and though the ulèëbalangs appear to have watched his progress with jealous eyes, they neither dared nor indeed were able to oppose him. Teungku Tirò's son Nya' Amin (in full Nya' Mat or Ma' Amin), was placed in command of the forces. The ulama then returned from Lam Panaïh to Aneu' Galōng.

Here the poet introduces a passage regarding Teungku Kuta Karang, telling how he was the first to conceive the idea of placing bombs beneath the rails of the Gōmpeuni's military line. The object of this digression seems to be to give the admirers of Teungku Kuta Karang some compensation for the superabundant praise he pours upon his great rival.

Teungku Tirò now returned from the XXII Mukims to the lowland

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1) Both Teuku Uma and Teungku Tirò were very well aware that this was merely one of those empty promises which Achehnese chiefs make with a view of keeping out of one another's way. Teuku Uma never undertook any matter of importance either at the command or by the counsel of Teungku Tirò.

districts. At the tomb of Teungku di Kuala (Abdōra'ōh [1]) a severe conflict took place with the troops of the Gōmpeuni, and in other places there were numbers of smaller engagements.

Teuku Uma, who had again spent a considerable time on the West Coast, now arrived at Leupuëng, but none of his followers knew of the scheme which he was now fostering. To the amazement of all, he unexpectedly tendered his submission to the Gōmpeuni, who received this powerful leader with open arms. The poet gives a graphic picture of his journey to Ulèë Lheuë and Kuta Raja.

This submission, pursues our bard, was no more nor less than a stratagem to lure on the Gōmpeuni to their destruction. [2])

At Kuta Raja he succeeded in obtaining from a Chinese trader an advance of 12000 dollars against pepper to be delivered later, but which he never did deliver. Subsequently the Gōmpeuni at his request supplied him with a man-of-war to convey him home.

At Lam Beusòë one of the ships boats landed the Teuku and his followers, but as soon as he had withdrawn, his panglimas fell upon the sailors and slew them all except two who escaped to the shore. These two fugitives betook themselves to Teuku Uma, who expressed great indignation at the conduct of his followers, and threatened to put all of them to death.

The measures taken by the Gōmpeuni to avenge this treacherous act, such as for instance the bombardment of Lhō' Glumpang, were of no effect, for Teuku Uma was not a ulèëbalang, and had no territory or property that might be injured. [3])

Subsequently Teuku Uma passed some time at Rigaïh and became master of Kruëng Sabé without striking a blow.

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1) See Vol. I, p. 156 etc.

2) This statement of the matter is incorrect; had Teuku Uma cherished any such intention there would have been no reason for his concealing it from his followers, and even from his stepfather. He was anxious for his own interests to get on terms with the government, and intended to overcome the objections of his people to such a step by confronting them with the *fait accompli*. Various circumstances made him change his mind, and as he found that the impression produced on the people by his surrender was even more unfavourable than he had anticipated, the cunning adventurer devised the plan of representing his subsequent treachery as the carrying out of a previously concerted scheme.

3) In describing the position of T. Uma the poet applies to him the epithet "priman" (freeman) which the Achehnese, following the Javanese, employ in the sense of one without an office. [It is also used in this sense in the Straits settlements, where it is most generally heard in the expression "mata-mata pakei priman" = a policeman in plain clothes *(Translator)*.]

Now follows the story, told at great length, of the cutting out of the Hok Canton [1]) (Ach. Kōntōm) by T. Uma. Here too the narrative is vitiated by the poet's anxiety to represent the whole affair as the outcome of a well concerted plan of T. Uma's for the discomfiture of the kafirs.

The expeditions of the Gōmpeuni against Lhō' Glumpang and Rigaïh were also fruitless. They could not succeed either in overtaking and punishing Teuku Uma, nor in liberating the imprisoned "Nyōnya." The chief Pòchut Mamat with a number of women were indeed brought as captives to Kuta Raja, but the Tuan Beusa (Governor) himself had to admit upon enquiry that these people were wholly free from all blame for what had occurred.

The poet describes the expeditions of T. Uma with the imprisoned nyōnya, and the great concourse of people brought together by curiosity to behold for the first time in their lives an European woman.

The Tuan Beusa was covered with shame, especially when he reflected on the possible criticisms of the English. He took counsel in the first place with the Panglima Meuseugit Raya, a relative of Teuku Uma. The Panglima undertook a mission to negotiate with the latter, but could obtain no better terms for the release of the captive than a ransom of $ 40,000. Recourse was then had to Teuku Ba'ét (ulèëbalang of the VII Mukims of the XXII). His negotiations with T. Uma are described in a jocose vein; they result in the reduction of the sum demanded to $ 25,000.

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1) The Hok Canton was a British-owned steamer belonging to Chinese traders in Penang, trading to Acheh under Dutch colours. Her Captain was a Dane named Hansen, and his wife was with him on board at the time of the attack. On the 14th June 1886 at 9 A.M. as the vessel lay in the roads of Rigas (Rigaïh) on the W. Coast of Acheh, she was attacked by Teuku Uma and his followers, who had been received on board as guests by the captain. During the fight which ensued the chief mate and chief engineer were killed, and the captain seriously wounded; Mrs Hansen also received a slight wound. After plundering the vessel the Achehnese returned to shore taking with them as captives the Captain and his wife, the second engineer (an Englishman named John Fay) and six native seamen. A brig called the "Eagle" was in the roads at the time. Her Captain (Roura) was on shore awaiting Teuku Uma's return from the steamer. Finding that he did not return, he boarded the Hok Canton and took her to Olehleh. Negociations ensued between the English and Dutch governments, the captives being meantime held to ransom by Teuku Uma, who demanded $ 50,000 for their release. They were well treated, but in the absence of proper medical aid the Captain died of his wounds and Mrs Hansen (the nyōnya" of the present story) and the engineer Fay suffered much from sickness. A ransom of 62,500 guilders was eventually paid and they were liberated in the beginning of September 1886. (*Translator*).

The ransom was paid and the nyōnya released. T. Uma distributed the money with a generous hand, — a further proof of the tact with which he kept his people faithful to his cause. Teuku Ba'ét, who conducted the negociations, received 500 dollars, and Teuku Uma's friends and followers all received presents proportioned to their rank.



PANGLIMA MEUSEUGIT RAYA.

The bard gives a humorous description of the sending of a present of 500 dollars of the ransom-money to Teungku Tirò; we mark herein the critical spirit of the worldly Achehnese, who with all his reverence for the great expounder of the law sees beneath the robe of the ulama a heart as little free from the love of gold as his own. When the messengers of Teuku Uma brought this sum of money as a "worthless gift" from their chief to the ulama, the latter first asked for a full explanation as to the source from whence the money was derived. Adat-chiefs, as he knew, are not always overscrupulous as to the means they use to win gold, and no good ulama could touch such a gift were he not assured that it had been acquired in a manner sanctioned by religious law!

The Teungku was told that the money was spoil won from the kafirs and was enlightened as to the manner of its acquisition. Then the pious man smiled, for there was indeed no fault to find, and said that henceforth Teuku Uma might look on him as a father.

Not long after this Teuku Uma came by invitation to share in a

kanduri given by Teungku Tirò. Flattering speeches flowed from the lips of both, but the Teungku took this opportunity earnestly to admonish his friend to hold fast by the true religion and to have no dealings with the infidels. In reply Teuku Uma authorised the ulama to punish with rigour any of his followers who should transgress that prohibition, while he promised that for his part he should never be found false to his creed.

Teungku Tirò's active enterprises against the Gōmpeuni were now varied for a time by progresses through the XXVI Mukims and other parts of the country, for the purpose of instructing and admonishing both chiefs and people [1]).

The masterly tone which he assumed drew upon him the hatred of the ulèëbalangs through whose territories he passed, but they could do nothing to check the influence acquired by the powerful ulama.

During this period of comparative repose the great Teungku was poisoned [2]). From the moment that he began to feel the fatal working of the poison, he ceased not to admonish his followers with all the earnestness of a dying man, and he especially adjured his son Mat Amin to be guided by the wise counsel of the ulamas. But when his father died, Mat Amin and his guerilla bands followed their own devices, caring neither for the laws of God nor man. Thus the great crowd of followers who had gathered round Teungku Tirò soon dispersed and vanished from the scene.

A new centre of operations in the "holy war" was now formed in the IX Mukims; the leader of the movement was the great Teungku Kuta Karang, whose disciples formed the kernel of his army. At his command hand-grenades were laid beneath the rails of the Dutch line, and the trains were attacked and fired upon by his followers. These attacks were generally made on a Friday, since pious deeds done on that day have a special value in the eyes of Allah.

In vain the Gōmpeuni sought to overcome him; the captain of Lam Baruëh (i. e. Lam Jamèë) fell in an attack on Kuta Kandang, and the

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1) The period referred to was that during which the chiefs friendly to the Dutch paid visits to the "court" at Keumala, under the pretext of inducing the pretender to the title of Sultan to come to terms with the Government. Their true intention was to wring money from the Government for themselves and their crownless Sultan. Teungku Tirò who after some hesitation gave his approval to these visits, was of course obliged to relax his activity while they lasted.

2) See Vol. I, pp. 184—85.

Gōmpeuni after this fight were compelled to desist from such enterprises. In the above engagement the followers of Ma' Amin and of Habib Samalanga found themselves fighting shoulder to shoulder with those of Teungku Kuta Karang.

The policy of Teungku Kuta Karang, the poet tells us, differed from that of the other ulamas in this respect, that he permitted his people to have intercourse with those within the "linie" or pale. His object in this was to increase the sabil-contributions, to obtain news of the Gōmpeuni's movements and to give courageous warriors an opportunity of ambuscading the Dutch troops. The Habib of Samalanga punished all who had gone within the "linie" with seven days penitential seclusion (*kaluët*, from the Arab. *chalwat*). It is said that the bodies of any that had the temerity to disregard the Habibs commands became swollen with disease.

After Teungku Tirò's death Habib Samalanga obtained from the Sultan a letter with the royal seal [1]). He made this authorization known to all the ulèëbalangs, and sought to rouse them to action. They pretended to adhere to his cause, but in reality thought of nothing but their own wordly interests.

At the close of the poem (1891) the Gōmpeuni is busy in stopping all imports, to the great discomfort of the people within the "linie". To make this system of exclusion effective they constitute a new corps of soldiery, the *masusé* [2]). These guardians of the frontier are very arrogant and self-important. They show much courage when they meet a few stray Gampōng folk; these they arrest with much unnecessary commotion and hustle over the boundary with kicks and blows. But when they see a band of fighting men they slink away.

As the Dutch are now (1891) going to work, says the poet, they will never be masters of Acheh. The one-eyed General was right!

The above brief abstract should suffice to show the spirit of the poet, that is to say the spirit of his public. Although his work in addition to its being incomplete is far inferior in point of artistic merit to the epic of Teungku Lam Rukam [3]), and also to that of the anonymous

1) Vol. I, p. 182.

2) *Maréchaussée.* It is also sometimes called *badusi* or *majusi*. This last word is well known to all Mohammedans; it occurs in the kitabs and indicates a class of unbelievers standing next to the Christians (Naçrāni) and the Jews (Yahudi) but worse than either in their infidelity. The word really signifies the Magi or Persian fire-worshippers.

3) See p. 88 above.

author of Malém Dagang, it has from its actuality just as much claim on our interest as either of these. At the same time it forms a remarkable example of the preservation of epic literature without the intermediary of writing. I can testify from my own experience that two recitations of this poem delivered by the author himself on two separate occasions, differed from one another as little as any two written copies of any Achehnese book.

Hikayat Raja Sulòyman.

The *Hikayat Raja Sulòyman* (IX) is the production of a poet from the IX Mukims. I have never seen a copy, but from what I can ascertain it celebrates the strife waged by the young prince of that name from his coming of age to his death (1857) against his uncle and guardian *Mansō Shah*. The prince established himself in the VI Mukims, for Teuku Nanta the ulèëbalang of that territory was his chief ally, while his guardian who refused to vacate the throne in his favour, settled in the Dalam at the capital.

Hikayat Teungku di Meuké'.

Hikayat Teungku di Meuké' (X).

This is a short and insignificant heroic poem. The author is one Teungku Malém, a native of Trumon, married to a woman of Peunaga. The poet celebrates the conflict waged in 1893 and 1894 by the chiefs of Meulabōh, friendly to the Dutch, against the party of resistance, whose chief stronghold was Runèng and who were led by the holy Teungku di Meuké'.

The poem is an imitation of the older epics, without any attempt at accuracy or completeness. It ends with the death of Teungku di Meuké'.

It is characteristically Achehnese that the poet, though belonging to the side of the Government, depicts Teungku Meuké' as a holy martyr to the faith and his followers as the representatives of religion. It matters not on what side an Achehnese finds himself, he always regards the enemies of the unbelievers as upholders of the right cause.

§ 4. Original treatises.

We have dealt first with the heroic poems of the Achehnese, because they are purely Achehnese both in form, subject and origin. The few short treatises which we are now about to mention might properly be

regarded as coming under the head of literature of religion or edification. Their genuine Achehnese character however, distinguishes them from other Achehnese works of the same sort, most of which are based on Malay or Arabic originals. For this reason we assign them a separate place.

Teungku Tirò's "lessons".

Teungku Tirò's "lessons on the holy war" (XI) are in the form of small pamphlets. Only two have come into my hands, filling not more than a quire of paper; but there were undoubtedly more besides. These two, however, enjoy a special popularity. They deal all through with one and the same subject, and consist of strong exhortations to sacrifice life and property to the holy cause, which it is said, should for the moment throw all other considerations into the shade in Acheh. These exhortations are enforced with the requisite texts of holy writ showing the *prang sabi* to be a bounden duty and promising to all who take part in it an incomparable reward in the hereafter.

Admonition to laggards.

Taḍkirat ar-rākidīn (XII).

We have already [1]) noticed the pamphlet disseminated by Teungku Kuta Karang, the greatest rival of Teungku Tirò, under the title of "admonition to laggards". It should rather be called a collection of pamphlets repeatedly revised and added to by the author. This compilation is more comprehensive than the two treatises of Teungku Tirò and is also remarkable for certain peculiar ideas which it advances. For instance the author would have the Friday service performed in Achehnese and not, as is now everywhere done, in Arabic.

He suggests fitting out a fleet of war-ships to harass the "kafirs" by sea as was being done with so much success on land. All alike, sultan, chiefs, ulamas and people must throw off their half-heartedness, working together with one consent and overlooking all paltry matters, "louse-questions" as the writer calls them, so that they may assail the "elephant" that stands in their way. The rebuilding of mosques and reforming of morals are indeed most desirable things, but even these must stand aside for a moment, while everyone devotes his zeal, his time and above all, his money to the carrying on of the war. All contributions must be gathered into a single treasury, under the control of some able and trusty leader, as for instance Teungku Kuta Karang himself. Let no one

1) Vol. I, p. 186 et seq.

inveigh against occasional acts of rapine on the part of the fighters in the holy cause, since much is forgiven to those who dedicate themselves to so pious and so hard a task!

Nasihat ureuëng muprang (XIII). Nasihat ureuëng muprang.

The author of this hikayat, which extends to some 2000 verses, himself tells us that he has borrowed most of his materials from a treatise written by the Palembang pandit Abduṣṣamad, who gained a high reputation about a century ago by his theological works [1]). By his Malay translations Abduṣṣamad gave a wide circulation to the works of the revered master of mysticism, al-Ghazâlî; in the sphere of practical mysticism he took lessons at Medina from the mystic teacher Moḥammad as-Sammân (born in A.D. 1720), whom we shall have occasion to mention again hereafter (ch. III, § 3). He also wrote an "Admonition to Muslims" (*naçîḥat al-muslimîn*), which supports by numerous texts from the Qurân and traditions of Mohammad the meritorious character of the holy war against unbelievers.

It was this last treatise which served as a model for the Achehnese "Admonition to those engaged in the war", composed in August 1894 by Nya' Ahmat alias Uri bin Mahmut bin Jalalōdin bin Abdōsalam of the gampōng Chòt Paleuë. It is a fanatical exhortation of all believers and the Achehnese in particular to do battle with all unbelievers and in particular the Dutch. According to Nya' Ahmat this ranks higher than all other religious obligations, and the future recompense for the waging of the holy war is greater than that assigned to any other good deed, even although the purpose (*niët*) of him who fights against the infidel is not free from the taint of worldly motives.

The writer severely censures the inactive section of the people and the ulèëbalangs; they bethink them not, he says, that through their lack of energy the Mohammedan religion runs the danger of being extirpated from Acheh, as has already been done at Batavia, Padang, Singapore, Penang etc.

There are without doubt other treatises of similar tendency in existence, but owing to their authors being of less celebrity they are not so generally known or so widely circulated.

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1) See L. W. C. Van den Berg's *Verslag van eene verzameling Maleische enz. handschriften* (Batavia 1877), bladz. 2, 8, 10. The work employed by our Achehnese poet appears in Van den Berg's Catalogue as N°. 51.

In many manuscripts of which I succeeded in having copies made, I have met with exhortations in verse to zeal in waging the war, prayers for the downfall of the Dutch, and the like. These were inserted to fill up the blank pages, and appeared at the end of works of the most diverse character. They were the fanatic effusions of the copyists, who for the best of reasons, generally belong to the "leubè" class [1]).

Hikayat rantò.

Hikayat rantò (XIV).

This essay is also most characteristically Achehnese, but is of a considerably less warlike nature than the last two. The author is one Leubè Isa (= Jesus) who lived in Pidië, first in gampōng Bambi, after which he is called *Teungku Bambi*, and later at Klibeuët. According to his own "confession" (as we may aptly term it) he passed a portion of his life in the colonies of the pepper planters on the West Coast. These lonesome districts whose desolation is only broken at intervals by a small gampōng, are known as *rantò*, particularly in the phrase "the 12 rantò's" of the West Coast, though this round number has no statistical value.

The writer testifies that no Achehnese who leaves his birth-place to seek his fortune from pepper planting out there, returns unharmed in body and soul. Fevers undermine the health, and all the comforts of life are wanting. Morals in the *rantò* are at the lowest ebb, for the Achehnese neither may nor can transport wife or child thither. Gambling, opium-smoking and paederasty are the chief relaxations of a society composed exclusively of males. When means are lacking for opium-smoking, many supply the deficiency by plundering solitary travellers in the rantòs. Quarrels speedily result in bloodshed. Few give a thought to the families they have left behind. Religion is wholly forgotten.

The Teungku describes in an affecting manner the melancholy lot of the women and children whose husbands and fathers often sojourn in the rantòs for years at a time without sending tidings to those at home. At the annual slaughter which precedes the fasting month and the religious feasts, while the husbands of others "bring meat home" [2]), the deserted ones stand by pale with shame; perchance some pitying fellow-villager gives them a small portion of his own share!

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1) Vol. I, p. 71.
2) Vol. I, p. 243.

This passage is calculated to touch the feelings of the truants and recall them to their duties as fathers of families. On the other hand, however, the author does not wish to let his female readers go unadmonished. Many women, he says, embitter the lives of their husbands by demanding more than they can bestow in the matter of clothing and personal adornments. Thus they have themselves to blame if their spouses, weary of domestic strife, go forth to seek happiness in the rantòs.

§ 5. Fiction.

Character of Achehnese fiction.

We now come to the literature of romance. The materials from whence the tales we are now about to describe are drawn are known to all who are versed in Malayan literature. Princes or princesses, the very manner of whose birth transcends the ordinary course of nature, attain to the splendour to which they are predestined, in spite of the obstacles which the envy of men and the cunning of demons set in their path. Heroes, driven by dreams and omens to wander through the world, encounter at every step seemingly invincible monsters, unsolvable enigmas and unapproachable princesses; but they also meet with well-disposed déwas, sages or beasts who enable them to fulfil their heroic part without an effort. Each romance contains sundry love-stories, in which the hero after a brief period of bliss is separated from the objects of his passion, but at the final catastroph beholds his princesses (from one to four in number) and generally their parents as well, all happily united round him while the enemies of his happiness either undergo the punishment they deserve or are spared by his clemency.

The inevitable combats are decided less by the prowess or generalship of the heroes than by their invulnerability, and the secret lore and charms obtained by them from hermits, spirits or giants of the wilds. They call into being, whenever they require them, flourishing towns and glittering palaces from a magic box; in like manner by smiting on the ground or on some part of their own bodies or by the utterance of a magic word they bring to light armies of jéns and men, who fight on their behalf with supernatural weapons.

Connection between Achehnese and Malay fiction.

A large majority of Achehnese romances show unmistakeable traces of the same origin as those of the Malays; indeed a great number of them are expressly imitated from Malay models. To decide in any

given case whether an Achehnese work has been borrowed from a Malay one or is derived from the same source as the latter would require an acquaintance with the whole range of Malay literature both past and present. We may in any case certainly regard as the birth-place of the great majority of romances in both tongues that portion of South India which is also the source whence are derived the popular mysticism and the popular religious legends of the Mohammedan peoples of the E. Indian Archipelago.

Their Indian origin.

The appearance of the déwas, raksasas and other denizens of the skies, the air, the forest and the sea are often portrayed in somewhat pagan fashion. At the same time their character is as a rule so modified that there is no difficulty in classifying them among either the Moslim or the infidel jéns, while all their acts and omissions alike testify to the power and wisdom of Allah. Not only are the names of Indian gods and heroes presented in an altered form, but the poets have also given themselves liberty to add new characters to those they found and to place personalities from Persian and Arabian myth and legend on the same stage with those of Indian origin. It may be, perhaps, that this degeneration and admixture took place to a considerable extent in South Indian popular romances, but this could only be decided by a thorough study of the latter. At present we are unable even to fix the portion of South-India where the threads meet which unite that country with the mental life of the Indonesians.

In addition to Indian names the Achehnese romances contain distinguished Persian ones, which appertain to the mythic or historic heroes of the Shāhnāme (such as Qubād, Jamshīd, Bahrāmshāh). We must not however expect to find reproduced here one single particular of the actual traditions respecting these princes of Iran. The fact of the introduction of Islam into Hindustan has caused the language, literature and traditions of Persia to be known to all civilized persons in the former country. It was of course impossible that the lower classes of the people should be equally affected by this influence, but they made their own the strange names from Persian myth and history and attached to these names popular tales which were most likely already in existence. It was some of these last that found their way to the East Indies, and *not* the traditional history or finer classical works of the Persian nation. In these tales it is as impossible to detect a nucleus of history or tradition as in the romance of Amīr Hamzah which came hither from

Persia by way of India. Here too fuller data are required for a more exact analysis of the relation of Achehnese fiction with its sources; what we have just said may simply serve to prevent anyone from being misled by the sight of well known Persian names, into speaking of the "influence of Persia on the Achehnese".

Certain works which have been known in Acheh within the memory of men way probably have been borrowed directly from the common South Indian source, without the intervention of Malay. At present we may safely say that it is Malay literature alone that supplies the Achehnese market with fresh material. This is indeed what might have been expected; the mental intercourse of Acheh with more distant countries was bound to decrease when the trade relations, once so flourishing, were reduced to a minimum.

The better educated of the Achehnese, who are not scholars in the strict sense, read Malay hikayats which are either entirely new or not formerly known in Acheh. Such as suit their taste are disseminated as *haba* [1]) until some poet or rhymster thinks it worth while to make of them an Achehnese hikayat. And so lacking in refinement of taste have the modern Achehnese become, as for the most part to find more pleasure in these flavourless impossibilities than in their own historical epics.

Tales of foreign origin are however, not only dressed in the attire of the Achehnese *sanja*, but so modified and added to as to suit the comprehension of their Achehnese readers. Wherever the opportunity has occurred, the compilers have given to social and political relations an Achehnese colouring.

Belief in the reality of the stories.

To comprehend the significance of these romances in the mental life of the Achehnese, we must remember one thing which is too often forgotten in discussing Native literature. Although the readers and hearers are not all blind to the fact that composers and editors occasionally modify their materials a little to suit their own taste, still they are in the main firmly convinced of the *truth* of the stories told them. Nothing short of absolute conflict with the teachings of religion makes them doubt the genuineness of a poet's representations; and in any case, all these heroes flying and striding through air, sky, sea and forest, with their miraculous palaces and magic armies, are for the Achehnese actual persons of an actual past.

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1) See pp. 88—9 above.

Our separation of heroic poems from romances would thus have no *raison d'être* in their eyes. All that they could see in it would be a distinction between hikayats which chronicle past events in Acheh, and those which tell in verse the history of the people of other lands or of the skies, the country of the jéns and the like.

The scene laid in Acheh.

Several even of those romances which are most closely akin to Malay works or resemble them in all respects, have the scene laid in Acheh. Similarly we find the Javanese translating to their own country a number of the personages of the Indian mythology.

The hikayat of Malém Diwa for instance, is composed of the same materials as a well-known Malay tale which is also current among the Bataks. This does not prevent the Achehnese from representing their hero as being born, growing up and performing most of his exploits in Acheh, or from imagining that he still exists, wandering about in the highlands of the North and East Coasts. They are convinced that anyone who has practised the science of invulnerability with success may enjoy the privilege of a meeting with this invincible immortal [1]). They point out in more than one locality the traces of Malém Diwa's activity, just as they show on the West Coast the former haunts of Banta Beuransah, and see in the romances of Éseukanda Ali and Nun Parisi a fragment of the history of *Timu* ("the East", the name they give to the North and East Coasts of Acheh).

Achehnese method of arrangement of the hikayats.

Did we wish to conform to Achehnese ideas, we should have to assign Malém Diwa a place above Malém Dagang in the chronologically arranged list of Achehnese heroic poems. So long as the scene of a narrative lies outside Acheh, the Achehnese are entirely indifferent to accurate definitions of place and time. The only chronological rule to which they occasionally adhere, is that stories in which the heroes soar and fly carry us back to an ante-Mohammedan period, for ever since the appearance of the Seal of the Prophets the art of flying has been denied to human beings [2]).

All the works which we have placed under the head of 'fiction' are composed in *sanja'*, and thus bear the name of *hikayat*, like the fourteen we have already described. Their contents furnish us with no basis for arrangement; but apart from this their comparatively small number

1) See p. 36 above.

2) This rule however is in conflict with the contents of some stories dealing with the Mohammedan period, and that too even where they are composed in Achehnese.

renders it easy to pass them in review. We rest content with giving the first place to those hikayats the principal scene of which is laid by the Achehnese within the limits of their own country.

Malém Diwa (XV).

Hikayat Malém Diwa.

Malém Diwa was the son of Raja Tampō', a prince who ruled in the gampōng of Piadah on the kruëng (river) of Pasè, commonly known as Pasei. His mother was Putròë Sahbawa. He was at first called Malém Diman, but the teacher to whom he was sent to school in his 7th year, changed his name to Diwa. Dalikha [1]), the daughter of this pandit, was his destined bride, for when the marriages both of Raja Tampō' and of the pandit had long remained unblessed with issue, the prince had made a vow that if children were vouchsafed to them both, they should if possible be united in wedlock with one another. But when the boy came to her father's house, Dalikha greeted him as "younger brother". This was considered as rendering marriage impossible, and Dalikha, who in after years married a certain Malém Panjang, continued to watch over Malém Diwa as a faithful elder sister. As soon as the hero has completed his schooling he begins his wanderings, which are destined to bring him into contact with three princesses in succession, *Putròë Bungsu* in the firmament, *Putròë Alōïh* in Nata (= Natal) and *Putròë Meureundam Diwi* in Lhō' Sinibōng on the river of Jambō Ayé.

It was a dream which gave the impetus to his quest of the first; it seemed to him that while bathing he came across a princess's hair. The princess of the skyey realm, the youngest daughter of Raja Din, dreamed at the same time that she was encircled by a snake. Not long after, Malém Diwa, changed for the moment into a fish, swam about in the water where Putròë Bungsu with her sisters and their attendants were bathing. He stole her upper garment and thus she lost the power to fly back with her companions to her father's aërial kingdom [2]). Hero and heroine are brought together by the agency of Ni Keubayan, a well-known figure in Malay tales, and soon the lovers are joined in wedlock.

They settle in Malém Jawa, the abode of Malém Diwa's mother, close to Piadah. Here a son named Ahmat is born to them. As this child

1) The Achehnese form of *Zuleikha*, the name of Potiphar's wife.

2) As to such "flying garments" see G. K. Niemann in *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut* for 1866, note to p. 257.

grows up he develops vicious tendencies. He strikes his grandmother and by this act causes a rupture between her and her daughter-in-law. One day whilst at play Ahmat brings to light his mother's upper garment, which his father had carefully hidden. Putròë Bungsu takes it from him, and, weary of domestic strife, flies away with her child to the airy realms.

Malém Diwa, who spent nearly all his time in the cock-fighting arenas, was not at home when this took place, but a little later he saw his wife soaring in the air with her child and had just time to receive her last admonition at the "gate that leads to the skies". "After three rice-harvests", she said, "you must come and fetch me, else I shall become another's wife". Meanwhile go to Nata (Natal) and there you shall wed the princess Alōïh; but beware lest you fall victim to a passion for the Putròe Meureundam Diwi.

Malém Diwa undertook the journey to Nata with the aid of Dalikha and her heroic spouse Malém Panyang. Peuduka Lila, the king of that region, was compelled to succumb to the courage and magic power of the three. But Putròë Alōïh remained still unconquered. Over against the window of her chamber there stood an areca-palm of fabulous height, on the top of which hung two betelnuts, one of gold and the other of suasa [1]). The hand of the princess was the destined reward of him who should succeed in plucking these fruits. Already no less than ninety-nine princes had made the attempt at the cost of their lives; for no sooner had they climbed to a level with the princess's window and beheld her, than they swooned at the sight of her marvellous beauty, and so fell down and were killed. Malém Diwa, however, was assisted in his task by a squirrel (*tupè*), a number of white ants (*kamuë*), a swarm of *walang sangit* [2]) (geusòng) and a kite (*kleuëng*), all of which creatures he had taken with him by the advice of Putròë Bungsu. Dalikha also spread a bed of tree-cotton at the fort of the areca-palm by way of precaution.

So Malém Diwa wins his princess and spends happy days at Nata. He is however warned in a dream that Putròë Bungsu is in danger. Mounted on a *bura'* [3]) which awaits him, he ascends into the upper air, and betakes himself disguised as a beggar to the kingdom of the sky. Here he becomes acquainted with Ahmat (his own son) who informs

1) An amalgam of gold and copper. (*Translator*).

2) A kind of grasshopper (Mal. bĕlalang) with an offensive smell.

3) A fabulous creature, a namesake of the *Burâq* on which the Prophet ascended to heaven.

him that his mother is soon about to be forced to marry the Raja Muda. Malém Diwa and Ahmat now make war upon Raja Din and his son the Raja Muda, with the result that Putròë Bungsu is shortly re-united with her lawful consort. The joy of the pair is however once more disturbed by a dream. It is now the Putròë Alōïh that is in danger. The king of China has waged a successful war against Nata and carried off the beautiful lady in a crystal chest.

Malém Diwa descends on the bura' to the sublunary world; he alights at Pasè (vulg. Pasei), whence he traverses various places on the East Coast of Acheh and finally arrives at Lhō' Sinibōng the domain of Raja Angkasa. The whole kingdom has been laid waste and its inhabitants devoured by the geureuda (= garuda [1]); the beautiful princess Meureundam Diwi alone, hidden in a beam of timber [2]) by her unhappy father, awaited the coming of her deliverer. As a matter of course Malém Diwa slays the geureuda and weds the princess.

Another vision, warning him of impending danger, causes Malém Diwa to determine on fortifying his abode in this place. Sure enough the Raja Jawa soon comes to assail his third experience of wedded bliss. By magic arts he succeeds in rendering Malém Diwa as helpless as an inanimate corpse, after which he carries off the princess in a crystal chest. Meureundam Diwi, however, has instructed a helpful bird (*bayeuën*) to rouse Malém Diwa after her departure by fomentations of rose-water, and then to fly both to Nata and Dalikha's country, and to bear to the latter and to the Putròë Bungsu news of what has occurred.

Restored to life once more, Malém Diwa sails for China, but during a sea-fight he is thrown into the sea by the Chinese and swallowed by a whale.

This monster dies at sea and drifts to Java where he is cast on shore. The carrion attracts the notice of one Malé Kaya [3]), a relative of the king of Java, who is walking on the sea-shore with his childless wife. In the whale's carcase they find Malém Diwa, who has assumed the form of a little boy, adopt him joyfully as their child and give him the name of Malém Muda.

When Malém Muda had grown up, the Raja Muda wished to provide

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1) A fabulous monster of the griffin order. (*Translator*).
2) According to a variant, in a drum (*geundrang*) cf. p. 145 below.
3) I. e. "wealthy but childless".

him with a wife, but he stoutly declared that he would marry none other than Meureundam Diwi. Hence arose a quarrel that led to war. Dalikha and the princess Bungsu having in the meantime arrived with their fleets, took an active part in the contest. The Raja Jawa was overcome and slain, and Meureundam Diwi set free. A war against China was crowned with the like success and the Putròë Alōïh rescued from her crystal prison. They now all returned to Nata and from thence each went back to his own country. Ahmat became a sub-king of the airy realm and married Janagaru the daughter of the Raja Muda of that kingdom.

A copy of the Menangkabau "Malim Diman" preserved in the library of the Batavian Association, gives an account of the adventures of this hero with Putri Bungsu, which while varying in some details from Malém Diwa, harmonizes with it in its main outline, but is much more prolix. No mention is made of Dalikha or the two other objects of Malém Diwa's love, and what we are told of Malém Diwa's early life is quite different from the Achehnese hikayat. The Batak story of Malin Deman [1]) has only isolated points of resemblance with either of the above.

Of Malém Diwa's immortality and his wanderings in the wilderness of the North and East Coasts of Acheh we have already spoken in our introductory remarks.

[In June 1898 an illiterate man of Gayō origin succeeded in rousing a tumult among the people of the East and North Coasts of Acheh by giving out that he was invulnerable and that he had the power of rendering harmless the weapons of the unbelievers. He was known as Teungku Tapa, but the majority of the people regarded him as Malém Diwa returned to life, or at least as one clothed with Malém Diwa's authority; most of the Achehnese with whom I spoke of him regarded his pretensions as far from preposterous. Teungku Tapa and his followers were defeated by the Dutch troops, after which he disappeared for a time. In 1899, however, he again renewed his activity, this time with a band of followers from the Gayō country. This second effort was suppressed still more promptly than the former. In 1900 Teungku Tapa was slain in the neighbourhood of Piadah].

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1) See G. K. Niemann's review of the contents of this story in *Bijdragen Kon. Instituut* for 1866, p. 255 et seq.

Eseukanda Ali or *Suganda Ali* (XVI).

In times of old Sultan Ali held sway in the kingdom of Chamtalira [1]), by which the Achehnese mean the same that is called Sumatra [2]) in the writings of Marco Polo and Ibn Baṭuṭah. In this kingdom was a merchant of great wealth named Didi, who sent forth his son Ali Juhari with ships to trade. This he did first in Pasè, but when the market there declined, his father had a ship fitted out to send on a voyage of enquiry as to where his son might find a fruitful field for his enterprises. The ship's company found out that the best plan was to make the young man a sugarcane planter in Keureutòë (Kĕrti). With this in view they purchased land from Ahli, king of Keureutòë and built a sumptuous residence which was called Indra Siluka. When all was ready, Ali Juhari was fetched thither.

Ra'na Jamin, the daughter of the sovereign of Keureutòë had woven a cloth of which all the merchants had till now in vain endeavoured to gain possession, for it might only be purchased by him who should succeed in opening the chest in which it lay. On his arrival in the country Ali Juhari learns of this, and succeeds in opening the chest. He carries off the cloth to Indra Siluka and there hoists it as a flag in the hope that its maker will some day come to him through curiosity as to the meaning of this decoration.

His wish is fulfilled, and in a twinkling Cupid welds together the hearts of both. The princess however tells him that her hand has been promised by her father to Sulutan Sulòyman (Suleiman) of Salbian. She is meanwhile ready to live in a secret union with Ali Juhari and to visit him each day at nightfall.

On three successive evenings she comes to him at an appointed hour; but each time Allah lays on him so deep a sleep that she is fain to depart leaving a letter as token of her faith to the tryst. The unhappy lover on the third night cuts open his finger and rubs red pepper into the wound to drive away slumber; yet he sleeps notwithstanding and cannot be awakened. The third letter is the last he receives; the princess becomes disheartened and discontinues her visits.

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1) The name of this country is sometimes written in Achehnese thus شمظليرا, sometimes thus شمطريرا.

2) The holy Abdurra'uf speaks in one of his Malay treatises of the Malay language of Sumatra اللغة الجاوية السمطرائية.

In deep distress Ali Juhari now sends all his people back to Chamtalira and himself enters on a series of objectless wanderings.

While thus engaged he meets in a garden in the midst of the wilderness a hermit, Dahét (زاهد) Amin, who imparts to him sundry useful knowledge, gives him certain objects endowed with miraculous power and changes his name to Eseukanda (Achehnese form of Alexander) Ali.

Resuming his journey, he has soon reason to be thankful for these charms, which enable him to make a conquest of the giant Mala'öy Rimba on the plain of Indra Chahya. The latter had just returned to his forest haunt from Keureutòë, bringing with him from thence the dead body of a girl whom he had slain at a punishment for pelting him with stones. When the giant had discovered that Eseukanda Ali was his master in all magic arts, they became friends, and the giant told him as the latest news from Keureutòë, that the espousal of the princess to Sulòyman was on the eve of being celebrated.

They then consulted together as to how best to frustrate the marriage. Eseukanda Ali was to assume the form of the girl Siti Ubat who has been slain by the giant and thus disguised to go to her mistress the flower-seller Sami'un, and pretend to have been carried off into the forest by a jén, but to have had the good luck to escape.

The strategem succeeds, and Eseukanda Ali, in the female form he has assumed, not only succeeds in meeting his beloved, but actually becomes her servant. Thus after secretly revealing to her his true shape, he manages to escape with her upon the wedding-day.

Two pahlawans (warriors) pursue him, but lose their senses by Éseukanda Ali's magic art. Through a number of occurrences described in a humorous vein, the lovers become separated from one another, and the princess barely succeeds in escaping from two assailants of her honour; one is a Kringgi sweet meat-seller, the other a one-legged man named Si Pantōng.

Disguised as a man she finally finds a resting-place in the kingdom of Tahtanun, whose king Ahmat was at that very time seeking a husband for his daughter Keumala Hayati; only he who could beat the Princess in a horse-race, was esteemed worthy to obtain her hand. Ra'na Jamin achieves this feat and weds the princess, whereupon her father-in-law hands over the throne to her.

This assumption of government by a woman in disguise is to be met with again in the tale of Qamar Az-zaman in the Thousand and One

Nights, which has also been rendered into Achehnese and enjoys much popularity [1]). The sequel puts one in mind of the *dénouements* of many of the Malay hikayats.

The "king" has a golden statue of himself placed at the entrance to the capital under strict guard and with instructions to bring to the court all such passers-by as are seen to gaze at it with emotion. Thus there come in succession the Kringgi, Si Puntōng (both of whom are thrown into prison) and Eseukanda Ali, on whose arrival Ra'na Jamin reveals her sex.

The wanderer, happy once more, marries both princesses together, and becomes king of Tahtanun. The Kringgi and Si Puntōng are set at liberty.

When the rumour of these tings spreads abroad, Sulòyman prepares for war, but is of course defeated, and Sulutan Ahli who had pretended to take his part through fear, is soon reconciled to his daughter's marriage. All now return to Keureutòë.

Some time after, Eseukanda Ali is reminded of his father in a dream and leaving both his wives behind starts off to pay him a visit. Raja Hadan of Hidian avails himself of his absence to make war on Keureutòë in revenge for the death of his relative Sulòyman. Eseukanda's two wives send letters asking aid of the old king of Tahtanun; he comes, quickly followed by Eseukanda Ali himself, who, informed by a dream of what is taking place, has hastened back again. By their united forces this last disturber of Eseukanda's happiness is also overthrown.

Nun Parisi (XVII).

Hikayat Nun Parisi.

Nun Parisi was the son of Raja Sarah, the ruler of Chamtalira (a corruption of Sumatra). His companions from early youth were Lidam, son of a mantri or state official, and ᶜArian, son of a professional singer. The poet also brings on the scene three young girls, daughters of three advisers of Raja Sarah, thus at once prefiguring the romance that lies in store for the three young men.

While the boys are playing one day, a golden *panta* [2]) belonging to Nun Parisi finds its way into the pocket of one of his companions without his noticing it. He finds it later on, but keeps his discovery of

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1) See N⁰. XXXII below.

2) The nature of the *bòh panta* is explained below chap. III, § 1.

the toy concealed from shame, as there has been a long and fruitless search made for it. The matter is enquired into by the king and his three gurus without result, but in the end one of the three young damsels solves the riddle to the satisfaction of all concerned, and the occurrence gives rise to the three betrothals to which the reader has been looking forward.

The three young men now declare their intention of going on a journey to pursue their studies; the difficulties suggested by the queen Dabiah are overcome by Nun Parisi's talking bayeuën-bird.

They prooceed to Aseuhan, the territory of the powerful prince Bahrun Diwa, who has married ninety-nine wives one after another and beheld them all disappear in an inexplicable manner immediately after he has wedded them. No king will any longer venture to give him his daughter in marriage, so he remains childless and is thus overjoyed at the arrival of the three youths, whom he adopts as his sons.

After taking counsel with them the king puts his fortune to the test once more, and marries the daughter of a mantri. On the night of the marriage the three students keep watch armed to the teeth and repeating exorcising formulas of known efficacy. A violent storm arises which causes all but the three young men to swoon. Under cover of the storm comes the wicked *naga* (dragon) which has destroyed the happiness of the king, but this time he is slain by the young heroes before he can carry off the new queen, Sambang Deureuma Subra.

Their noble deed nearly cost them their lives, for the young queen accused them of attempts upon her honour. Bahrun Diwa had already after taking counsel with the teacher Banu ᶜUbat, resolved to put them to death, when they came before him and each recited a tale the moral of which was that hasty actions lead to repentance. The king made a searching enquiry which established the innocence of the heroes, whereupon he divorced his wife and married Deulima Rawan, daughter of the Raja of Langkat and had children by her.

Some years after they had thus secured the wedded bliss of the king of Aseuhan, the young men proceed to the country of Kabu (Gayò?) to study under the renowned teacher ᶜUrupiah.

Meantime mischief was brewing in Chamtalira. The powerful wazir Keujruën had great influence over the king, and his son Sa'it Burian had become the special favourite of the queen. In company with Si Reusam, known from his immoral life as the 'gampōng-dog', he abused

the royal favour to the utmost, forming an intrigue with the betrothed of Nun Parisi, which was, however betrayed to the latter by the talking bird.

Nun Parisi and his three companions, after three years of study, returned home to Chamtalira. On the way one of them wedded a daughter of Raja Bahrun, and that prince escorted them on their homeward journey. Nun Parisi, who had received from his teacher the name of Paréh Sulutan, wedded both his own betrothed and that of his comrade who had married in Aseuhan. Sa'it Burian continued his adulterous intercourse with the bride, and succeeded in getting the better of Paréh Sulutan in gaming by the aid of the latter's own talisman, which the false wife secretly conveyed to her lover. Later on, however, the prince got back his magic mango-stone, and was invincible as before.

A series of evil deeds committed by Sa'it Burian and Si Reusam resulted at last in open hostility between the king and his family on the one hand and Keujruën Kandang on the other. They waged war on one another for six years with varying fortune. Then the talking bird Tiu Wareuchit went to bear the news to the prince of Aseuhan and his son-in-law and to implore their help.

A man of Aseuhan called Paréh Suri repairs to the camp of Keujruën Kandang representing himself as a son of a relative of his, the king of Bangka Ulu. He gains time by deceiving him as to the intentions of the raja of Aseuhan, who in the meantime raises a large army and goes to the assistance of the father of Paréh Sulutan. Finally Sa'it Burian, ashamed of his misdeeds, flies to Meuruda and thence to the West Coast. The king of Chamtalira pardons Keujruën Kandang and appoints the latter's nephew Matang Silanga alias Gajah Pungò (the "Mad Elephant") to succeed him as wazir.

On Raja Sarah's death Paréh Sulutan succeeds him on the throne and reigns in peace and prosperity; his playmate Lidam who married the princess of Aseuhan, succeeds his father-in-law as ruler of that country. The widow of Raja Sarah goes with some followers of rank on a pilgrimage to Mekka, where she remains till her death.

Parég Sulutan, or as he was at first called, Nun Parisi, is blessed with a son and heir, to whom he gives the name of Useuman Aréh.

Hikayat Banta Beuransah.

Banta Beuransah (XVIII).

Jamishah [1]), king of Aramiah, had three sons; Banta Beusiah [2]) and Keureutaïh by his first, Banta Barausah or Beuransah [3]) by his second wife.

He dreams of a beautiful princess Ruhōn Apenlah [4]) who possesses a miraculous bird called Mala'ōn Dirin and dwells in the land of Gulita Ebeuram, of which her father Malé' Sarah is ruler. Jamishah sends his three sons forth to seek this princess of his dream and her magic belongings.

Presently the sons come to a place where three ways meet. Those whom they question describe the two side roads as easy but leading nowhere in particular, the middle one as fraught with danger but rich in promise. The two eldest choose each one of the easy paths, while Beuransah defies the difficulties of the middle one, keeping his eyes fixed on the future.

The two elder brothers are soon reduced to beggary; one falls into the hands of gamblers, the other is despoiled by thieves.

Banta Beuransah at the beginning of his journey encounters many strange things all of which have a symbolic meaning, which is later on explained to him by an *èëlia* (holy man or saint). He sees a tree full of fruits each one of which beseeches him to pluck it, as being the best of all; three barrels of water the middle one of which is empty, the other two full; men eagerly employed in collecting wood-shavings, an unborn goat which bleats in its mother's womb; a great tree in which there is a small hole, whence issues to view a mosquito which gradually increases in size until it is as big as a mountain; people carrying loads of wood, who when they find their burden too heavy, keep on adding to, in place of lightening it; two hind quarters of a slaughtered buffalo fighting with one another; and a number of men gathering the leaves of trees.

The saint, who expounds to him the meaning of all these symbols,

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1) This name جميشه is a corrupt form of جمشيد Jamshīd, but as has been already noticed, the bearer of this name has nothing to do with the mythical king of the Persians. In various catalogues of the Fathul Kareem Press at Bombay there is to be found among the cheap and popular works an Afghan قصه شاه بهرام (Kesah or story of Shah Bahram); probably this is one of the popular Indian legends whence the Achehnese one is directly or indirectly borrowed.

2) بوسيح.

3) From Bahrāmshāh; very often written thus بهرامشه, برامشه or the like. For the meaning of Banta see Vol. I, p. 92. In stories it is generally used in the sense of "prince".

4) روح الافلاح.

imparts to him at the same time much useful knowledge, and advises him to pursue his journey towards the East.

On the far side of a river which he crosses, he finds a deserted town, where he makes the acquaintance of Ni Keumaya [1]), the mother of a *gògasi* (gĕrgasi), a giant of the forest, who devours both men and beasts. Fortunately the giant is at the moment out hunting, and Banta Beuransah wins the favour of his mother to such an extent that she hides him, and after her son's return draws from the latter all the secret lore that is likely to aid our traveller in attaining his object. According to the giant seven hairs from his head will provide an infallible charm against the dangers of the road. While the gògasi sleeps, the woman cuts off the hairs and gives them to Beuransah who pursues his journey.

On a mountain he finds the soul of the gògasi in the form of a bird, guarded by two princesses. He makes himself master of this soul; the gògasi feels this and hastens to the place where his soul is kept, but is here slain by Beuransah. Beuransah leaves the princesses behind him on the mountain, intending to fetch them away on his return journey.

He now attaches to himself a *grureuda* (garuda = griffin) which has had 98 of its young devoured by a gluttonous naza; our hero kills this dragon and thus saves the last two survivors of its brood. The geureuda in gratitude carries him safely over the sea of fire which separates him from the land of his vision, and awaits his further disposal.

Presently he arrives at the court of Gulita Ebeuram and gains possession of both the princess and her bird.

For the present he takes the bird only and journeys home, fetching en passant the princesses who guarded the giant's soul. On his way he meets his two brothers, now reduced to poverty. He gives them rich presents but they, moved by envy, plot against him and cast him into a well. Then they take the bird and the princesses to their father and pretend that it is they who have reached the object of the quest, while their younger brother has disappeared. Soon however their evil conscience drives them into the forest, where they gradually grow hairy like the beasts of the field.

Beuransah is discovered by a rich travelling merchant, delivered from his perilous position and adopted as a son. After the death of his bene-

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1) Possibly a variant of the Malay Kĕbayan; this old woman often re-appears in Achehnese tales as Ni Kubayan or simply Keubayan.

factor he inherits his wealth including a bird called Blanta in whose stomach is a magic stone (*malakat*) whence may be raised seven serviceable lords of jéns. A Jewish pandit endeavours to deprive him of the bird by trickery but as this miscarries for the time being, he joins Beuransah as a fellow-traveller. They go together to Gulita Ebeuram, and Beuransah who enters the place as the meanest of beggars is soon the happy consort of the princess as he succeeds by the aid of his *malakat* in fulfilling her every wish.

The Jew, who has established himself here as a teacher of magic art, succeeds at length in gaining possession of the malakat and causes Beuransah to be cast into the sea. Swallowed by a fish he comes, now in the likeness of a little child [1]), into the hands of a fisherman, who brings him up. By the help of a mouse, a cat and a dog, all of which belong to this fisherman, Beuransah succeeds in recovering the malakat and has himself conveyed back to his wife by the seven lords of jéns. Thereafter these kindly-disposed spirits transport the whole family, palace and all, to Beuransah's native country.

Here there takes place a general meeting and reconciliation; Beuransah restores his bestialized brothers to their former state and gives them to wife the princesses who guarded the giant's soul. This would form a very suitable ending to the story, and it does as a matter of fact look very much as though the sequel was an addition from the hand of later copyists.

Beuransah succeeds his father and begets a son, Sanggila, and a daughter Ruhōy Akeuba [2]); his brother Keureutaïh has a daughter Ruhōy A'la [3]). The last is, by Beuransah's wish, to be given in marriage to Ahmat, son of Indrapatra, and ruler of the aërial kingdom.

Ahmat descends to the world beneath to carry off his bride, but on the way has to do battle with sundry evil powers, such as the Putròë Pari on the mountain of Indra, who has boiled 99 kings in her caldron but now herself suffers the same fate at Ahmat's hands; also a couple of gògasis, man and wife.

Not long after all these difficulties have been overcome and the marriage with the celestial prince has been concluded, the king of China

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1) Just like Malém Diwa in Java; see p. 127.

2) روح الا دبر.

3) روح الاعلى.

tries to kidnap Beuransah's wife and after a destructive war, succeeds in carrying her off to his own kingdom in a crystal chest [1]).

A very prolix account of the war which Beuransah then wages against China and from which he at length returns home victorious, forms the end of the tedious sequel of this hikayat the earlier part of which is composed with care and skill.

Certain places on the West Coast are indicated by oral tradition as the scene of Beuransah's deeds. In the edition with which I am acquainted no such localization appears, except in the episode of the war waged by the king of China. His expedition by sea is described at length. The poet makes him touch successively at almost all the harbours of the East, West and North Coasts of Acheh and its dependencies, and finally arrive in Aramiah "at the source of the river of Singké (Singkel)".

Malém Diwanda' (XIX). Hikayat Malém Diwanda'.

The adventures of Malém Diwanda', son of Sulutan Rōih (Sultan Rus) of Panjalarah, are just like those of the majority of hikayat heroes. Having won his wife Siti Chahya after overcoming many obstacles and enjoyed a brief period of wedded bless, he finds her guilty of adultery and has her trampled to death by horses. A well-disposed *buliadari* (= bidadari) named Mandé Rubiah [2]) restores her to life without the knowledge of Diwanda' and gives her a palace with all its accessories in the midst of the forest; here bring already with child by Diwanda', she bears a son who is named Malém or Banta [3]) Sidi.

M. Diwanda', mad with grief after the execution of the sentence goes forth as a wanderer, and is re-united to his wife and child after sundry adventures. Not till after a protracted conflict with Raja Sara who tries to rob him of Siti, does he possess her undisturbed; he establishes himself with her in the country of Shahkubat [4]) whom he succeeds on the throne after his death.

Eager to behold his native land once more, he sets out on a journey thither. On the way he cures of a sickness the princess Santan Meu-

1) Compare the episode in Malém Diwa, p. 127 above.

2) The same name is borne, in the story of Malém Diwa quoted above, by the woman who plays therein the part of Ni Keubayan.

3) See Vol. I, p. 92.

4) See below N°. XXVII.

taupi, daughter of the celestial king Raja Din, and afterwards marries her. For her sake also he is obliged to wage war with a disappointed lover, the prince Sa'ti Indra Suara. He slays him and takes possession of his country.

The son of Sa'ti Indra Suara makes war upon Malém Diwanda' to avenge his father, but he too loses his life.

Santan Meuteupi dies of a wound inflicted by an arrow of Brahma shot against her by the son of Sa'ti Indra Suara in his eagerness for vengeance. The description of her death is a most favourite passage, and its recital draws tears from many an Achehnese audience. As she dies she advises Malém Diwanda' to return to the world below and warns him of a number of dangers which threaten him on the journey.

With the help of a flying garment and a *malakat* or magic stone given him by the dying princess, he overcomes all difficulties. He assists a raja of Mohammedan jéns of the sea to conquer his infidel kindred, marries the daughter of this prince (who appears to be a vassal of Shahkubat [1]) and begets by her a son, Indra Peukasa, who reigns in his grandfather's stead.

Malém Diwanda' returns to his son and brings about a marriage between him and the princess Julusōy Asikin, daughter of Abdōy Mò'min. But his old enemy Raja Sara had already sought this lady's hand in vain for his son, and now casts about for some means of disturbing Sidi's wedded happiness.

After the honeymoon, Banta Sidi went on a journey as a merchant and arrived in due time at an island ruled by the giant Jén Indra Diu Keureuma, a man-eater having the shape of a horse. Ibu Nahya, the wife of this giant, saved the life of Sidi by a stratagem, and caused Djén Indra to adopt him as his child. This friendship was of great service to Sidi in his struggle with Banta Sa'ti, the son of Raja Sara, who had in the meantime succeeded in entering his palace in the guise of a dancing girl, had poisoned his parents-in-law and was now living in adulterous intercourse with Julusōy Asikin. Here follows a tedious description of the war waged by Banta Sidi with the help of his adopted father after he has been told in a dream of his wife's treachery.

In the end he gains the day and resolves to put his faithless spouse to death, just as his father did before with Siti Chahya. Diu Keureuma,

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1) See below N°. XXVII.

the prince of the giants, is however so benevolent as to charm up before him an image which resembles his wife in all respects. This shadow undergoes the death sentence; and when afterwards Banta Sidi makes acquaintance with a beautiful young widow of royal lineage under the name of Keumalahari and espouses her, he never suspects that this marriage is no more than a re-union with his now repentant wife. A son, Diu Ka'indran is born to them.

A dream leads Banta Sidi to go and visit his father, and all his household accompanies him. Finally Malém Diwanda' vacates the throne in his favour, while his son Diu Ka'indran becomes the successor of the man-eater Diu Keureuma.

Gajah tujōh ulèë (XX). Hikayat Gajah tujōh ulèë.

In this story of the "seven-headed elephant" it is Sa'dōymanan, son of Tō Sulòyman, Raja of Teuleukin, that wins his four princesses in succession.

The first of these fair ladies is made known to him in a dream. She is called Meureudum Bunga and owing to a careless vow of her father, Sulutan Sab, she has to be sacrificed to a seven-headed elephant, which roams solitary in the forest. Seated among these seven heads she awaits her deliverer. After a protracted combat, in the course of which Sa'dōymanan is once killed, but having been restored to life again through the benevolence of an ascetic pair of *eungkòngs* (cocoanut monkeys) the prince slays the elephant.

But then his own pahlawan plays him false; having cut off his master's hands and feet, he bears to his father the tale that he is dead, hoping thereby to win for himself the princess' hand.

Sa'dōy, however, recovers his hands and feet through the aid of the eungkòngs and marries the celestial (*adara*) princess Meulu China. The king of China comes with a great army to take the princess from him, but Sa'dōy and his allies entirely frustrate his designs. Habib Nada the daughter of the king of China is the sole survivor of her father's defeat, and takes the third place in Sa'dōy's affections.

By the aid of the aged Ni, a lonely widow, the prince on returning to his native land, recovers his first love.

After all these adventures Sa'dōy completes the tale of four by a marriage with princess Malòyri. Finally the poet makes these princesses entertain their lord with five witty tales.

Hikayat gumba' Meuïh.

Gumba' Meuïh (XXI).

Gumba' Meuïh (goldenhead) is the daughter of king Hamsōykasa, who rules in the country of Gulitan Sagōb (in Sumatra, according to the Achehnese). His first two wives gave him no children; the third on the other hand, a woman of humble origin, after 12 months of pregnancy gave birth on one and the same day to ninety-nine boys and one girl whose hair was of pure gold and diamonds. The barren wives, full of envy, had all these children thrown into the water in a chest. They then exhibited to their spouse all manner of ordure as being that which was born of their rival, and so worked on him that he had her imprisoned as a witch.

The hundred children fell into the hands of a pair of *gògasi* (gĕrgasi), man and wife, who tended and brought them up. Goldenhead is subsequently enlightened by a celestial bird as to the true descent of herself and her brothers, and after an adventurous journey she and they succeed in reaching their father, who thereupon restores his imprisoned consort to honour and banishes the other two.

Goldenhead, long urged in vain to marry, finds at length in the celestial (*adara*) prince Lila Bangguna the man whose piety makes him worthy of her hand. With him she goes to the aërial realm, but is there tormented by Bangguna's sister and the second wife whom he has married by this sister's advice. In the end however these envious ones are unmasked. In her conflict with them Goldenhead is assisted by her ninety-nine brothers. She returns with her husband to the world below, and the latter succeeds his step-father on the throne.

The wedded happiness of this heroine, as of so many others in Achehnese hikayats is assailed by the king of China [1]), whom Lila Bangguna defeats after a protracted struggle.

The son whom Goldenhead in due time brings into the world is called Mira' Diwangga. He marries a princess from the kingdom of Atrah (the territory of Shah Kubat; see N°. XXVII) named Cheureupu Intan (Diamond Sandal); the correspondence which results in this marriage is conveyed to and fro by a well-disposed bayeuën bird.

The hostile role played by the king of China against Goldenhead is fulfilled in the case of her daughter-in-law by the raja of Siam, who

1) In this hikayat, as also in that of Banta Beuransah, the king of China has a brother who plays a most prominent part in the conflict and bears the genuinely Achehnese name of *Eumpïëng Beusöë*.

meets with the same ill-success as his predecessor, for the king of Atrah with all his vassals tenders his help to Goldenhead and her husband, ninety-nine brothers and son.

Of the marriage of Mira' Diwangga is born a daughter, Gènggòng [1]) Intan, who marries prince Kaharōlah of Silan (Ceylon).

Cham Nadiman (XXII).

Prince Cham Nadiman [2]), the son of Meunua Jhō [3]), king of Irandamin (i. e. Irân zemîn), loses his way in the chase while vainly pursuing the miraculous goat Krukha. Coming to a deserted palace he there finds an inscription which tells him that the beautiful princess Paridōh awaits him in China. He journeys thither; on the way he slays the man-eater Si Madōn-dangki and becomes king of Kawadamin (a corruption of Chwârizm), whose sovereign has just died.

Further on his journey he conquers a magic stronghold in which Paridat [4]), the sister of Pridōh [5]) is imprisoned, and brings her back to her father the king of China.

Here he is at first received with open arms, but afterwards, having forced his way into Paridōh's villa, he is imprisoned by his royal host. Cham Nadiman is released by a lady named Kamarah who has conceived a passion for him, but his intrigue with her causes him to forfeit Paridōh's favour for a time. Yet soon after, Paridōh follows him on his new series of wanderings; they live together for some time concealed in a Brahman's cell and wed one another.

At the demand of the king of China Cham Nadiman restores him his daughter, but succeeds in maintaining his intercourse with her till at last the king shuts her up in the house of a wazir and announces to the world that she is dead. In the wazir's house a new betrothal takes place, to wit between Kamareutaïh the son of this courtier, and Paridat, who pays occasional visits to her sister Paridōh.

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1) *Gènggòng* is the name of a plaything made of iron used by children. They place it in their mouths and produce a musical note by drawing the lips over it.

2) Sometimes pronounced Sam Nadiman شم نريمن. This name is really an incorrect reading of the Persian سم نريمن the name of Rustam's father. The tale of which a resumé is here given is also probably of Indian origin, for we find among the popular Urdu literature in the catalogues of the Fathul Kareem Press at Bombay a book entitled مثنوی شام ونريمان.

3) A curious proper name formed from the Malay *bĕnua Johor* "the country of Johor".

4) Pers. Parîzâd.

5) Pers. Parîdocht.

Cham Nadiman and Kamareutaïh have no peaceful enjoyment of their loves till after a war with their father-in-law, in which the latter loses his life. Finally they all go away to Irandamin, the country of the hero's birth.

Hikayat Banta Ahmat.

Banta Ahmat or *Amat* (XXIII).

Banta Ahmat came into the world shortly after the death of his father Ansari, king of the country of Nabati. He began his life in deep poverty, for his uncle Tapeuhi kept the whole inheritance for himself leaving to the widow Rila and her son nothing but the house they lived in and an old broken *parang* or chopping-knife.

When Ahmat grew up he went and cleared forest with this parang, but the rice he planted was carried off by floods the first time and each later crop devoured by a bayeuën-bird. A young dragon, which Ahmat rears, teaches him how to catch this bird; after some time the bayeuën turns out to be a princess in disguise, Putròë Indra or Rihan, and Ahmat weds her.

By degrees the dragon becomes too big for the river in which Ahmat had placed it, and desires once more to behold its parents in the sea. Ahmat accompanies it on this journey during which there is no lack of adventurous *rencontres* and fighting. The parents of his "naga" give Ahmat sundry instructions and the requisite magic charms (*malakat*). Armed with these he returns to his mother and then sets off disguised as a beggar for his father's kingdom.

On the way he finds the opportinity of becoming secretly betrothed to the princess Chahya in Iran Supah. The marriage is not consummated till Ahmat has made war upon and defeated his godless uncle Tapeuhi.

The infidel (*kaphé*) king of Pira' in vain endeavours to wrest the beauteous Chahya from her husband. Ahmat's elder wife presents him with a successor to the throne, who is called Lila Kaha.

Hikayat Putróë Barén.

Putròë Barén (XXIV).

Banta Sulutan is the son, and Putròë Barén (Bahrén) Miga the daughter of Raja Barén Nasi, king of Bōreudat (Baghdad).

At his sister's request the Banta goes forth to wrest from its four guardian jéns a silver tree which she wants to use in building a palace. While this palace is being erected, the king of Yaman comes to carry off the beautiful princess. He is however driven back by the Banta who

pursues him to Yaman and converts the people of that country to Islam.

Peutròë Barén's mother died during a period of religious seclusion (*tapa*), which she had imposed upon herself. The daughter, who in a previous existence before her birth had made a study of sacred things wished to accompany her mother to the tomb, but the latter assured her that before she died she must live through nine great events.

These events are then detailed. They resemble in essentials the adventures of the chaste Johar Manikam in the Malay tale of this name [1]). Thus Putròë Barén, while her father is on a pilgrimage to Mecca, is seduced by the kali and afterwards killed by her brother, but restored to life again by Jébraï (Gabriel) and brought to a forest where she makes acquaintance with king Abdōlah of Cham (or Sham) and becomes his wife. She is again seduced on her journey over the sea by a *meuntròë* (mantri); and is subsequently troubled with the attentions of a *jén pari* and of an Abeusi [2]). Finally she assumes male shape and becomes Raja muda of Meulabari (Malabar). Thence she journeys to Mecca where the happy reunion of the chief characters of the story and its dénouement take place.

Banta Ali or *Banta Peureudan* (XXV).

This tale celebrates the adventures of Banta Peureudan, son of Banta Ali, king of Bòytay Jami [3]).

At the age of seven Peureudan and his younger sister Bungsu Juhari, are taken into the forest by their father, who has given ear to the false predictions of certain wicked soothsayers who had announced to him that evil would result from their presence in the palace.

A hermit in the forest adopts the girl and brings her up, and imparts to Peureudan divers hidden knowledge. The two children as well as a prince named Maharaja Sinha and the wazir of the latter are transformed by the magic skill of their teacher into a kind of ape (*himbèë*). In this shape Peureudan gains sovereignty over the beasts of the forest.

Peureudan then goes forth to win the lovely princess Sahbandi [4]),

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1) Published by Dr de Hollander, Breda, 1845. Compare also Spitta-Bey's *Contes arabes modernes*, Leiden 1883, p. 80, N°. VI "Story of the virtuous maid".

2) Abyssinian, applied in Acheh to all persons of negro blood, like *habshi* in Malay. (*Translator*).

3) بيت الجميل. It is also pronounced *Bòytōn Jami*.

4) Sometimes written Nakeusōy Keubandi, which appears to be formed from Naqshibandi, the name of a well known mystic order.

daughter of king Kisōy Kaseumi, for whose hand there are already ninety-nine suitors, and whose six elder sisters are all married to kings. He makes war upon her father, whom he defeats and compels to give him his daughter's hand.

His father-in-law while lying on his death-bed is seized with a desire for a deer with golden horns, which roams the depths of the forest. The seven sons-in-law seek for it, each in his own way. By the help of his old teacher, Peureudan gains possession of the deer. The other six meet him in the forest without recognizing him, as he has once more assumed his human form. They ask his help to fulfil their father's wish, and he gives them what is in fact a duplicate of his deer, in exchange for which they are obliged to declare themselves his slaves and as token thereof he sets his seal upon their thighs.

Their joy was shortlived for on the way home, hunger compelled them to slaughter the animal, and all they could offer their father was a fragment of its putrefying flesh.

Peureudan having reverted to the form of an ape brings his deer home in safety, which is in itself sufficient to indicate him as the successor of his dying father. He now finally assumes his human form and thus shows his astonished brethren-in-law that it is he whose slaves they have become. Thereupon they leave the country to seek for allies and gain a knowledge of magic.

After the old kings death Peureudan, who succeeds him on the throne, fetches his sister from the forest and gives her in marriage to prince Kachah [1]) Peureudan, son of the king of Tambōn Parisi, and appoints his son-in-law his chief minister of state.

The six brethren-in-law, supported by ninety-nine princes as allies, make war on Peureudan, but suffer a defeat.

Banta Ali and his wife have been all this time pursued by misfortune. At last they go forth to seek for their lost children, and find them in Darōy Aman as that land was called of which Peureudan's father-in-law once was king. After living here happily with his children for a time, Banta Ali dies. Banta Peureudan begets a son, Chambō Ali, and his sister bears a daughter; these cousins are eventually married to one another.

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1) Sometimes written كاشف sometimes كاچه, the latter being the Achehnese way of pronouncing كاشف.

My attention has been drawn by Dr. Brandes to the fact that some of the special features of this story reappear in popular tales of Hindustan. In the story of *Prince Ape* we find a beautiful prince, who originally appears as an ape; and in that of the *Boy with a moon on his forehead and a star on his chin*, we meet with six brethren-in-law who are constrained to let themselves be branded in the forest by the lover of one of the seven princesses. Both these appear in the collection of Maive Stokes [1]).

A similar story of branding is to be met with in the Hikayat Indra Bangsawan (XXVI) and another in the *Contes Kabyles* of A. Mouliéras, "les Fourberies de Si Jeh'a", p. 152 et seq. (N° L).

Indra Bangsawan (XXVI).

Hikayat Indra Bangsawan.

This story is a fairly faithful reproduction of the Malay one of the same name, of which there are three copies at Batavia [2]) and one at Berlin [3]). In respect both of its style and subject it may be classed among the more entertaining kind of native fiction.

Indra Bungsu king of Chahrilah after praying and waiting for issue for years, at last begets twin sons. The first born Chahpari comes into the world with an arrow, the second, Indra Bangsawan, with a sword. The question is, which of the two is to be the Crown Prince? The king dreams of a magic musical instrument (*bulōh meurindu*) and decides that whichever of the two procures him this, shall succeed him on the throne [4]).

The brothers go on their travels together, but are soon separated by a storm.

Chahpari comes to a city whose inhabitants have all been eaten up

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1) See pp. 39 vv. and 124 vv. of the Dutch translation which was published at the Hague in 1881 under the name of *Indische Sprookjes* by the Brothers van Cleef. Compare also Spitta Bey's *Contes arabes modernes*, Leiden, 1883, p. 153 et seq. N°. XII, Histoire du prince et de son cheval.

2) Nos 160—162 of the collection of Von de Wall; but in Van den Bergs *Verslag* (p. 30) there is no account of their contents. Van den Berg himself appears not to have examined the manuscripts; otherwise how could it have escaped his notice that folios 39—45 of n° 161 contain the Hikayat Raja Jumjum? A lithographed edition of the Malay version of Indra Bangsawan was published in the month of Muharram A. H. 1310 by Haji Muhamad Tayib at Singapore.

3) Königl Bibliothek, Collection Schumann. V, 21.

4) These circumstances reappear to some extent in the Malay tale called Indra Kajangan, which appears as n° 57 of the Raffles Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society. See the paper of Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk in *Essays relating to Indo-China*, Second Series, II, p. 36.

by a *geureuda* (griffin) with the exception of a princess who has escaped by hiding in a drum, and her eight maids of honour who have concealed themselves in a box. He slays the geureuda and weds the princess [1]).

Indra Bangsawan meets in the forest a well disposed *ra'sasa* (giant) who tells him of princess Sangirah daughter of king Gumbiran. A monster called Bura'sa with seven eyes and noses demands her, and her father sees no way of avoiding the difficulty other than to propose to her suitors (nine princes up till then) as the condition for aspiring to her hand, that they should bring him Beura'sa's eyes and noses.

The ra'sasa gives Indra Bangsawan a charm which enables him to change to any shape he pleases; whereupon he makes himself into a little forest mannikin with a mangy skin, and goes to offer his services to Raja Gumbiran [2]).

The king gives the little fellow as a plaything to his daughter. He receives the name of Si Uneun [3]) and the princess gives him a pair of goats to look after. Soon, in spite of his ludicrous exterior he wins her favour and receives from her the new name of Si Gamba (Gambar). She tells him her story, and how it has been revealed to her from books that one Indra Bangsawan is destined to be her deliverer.

The princess gets a disease of the eyes, which the physicians declare can only be cured by the application of tigress's milk. Indra Bangsawan procures this from his ra'sasa. The nine princes also go in quest of this milk, and Indra Bangsawan, in his true form, deceives them by giving them goat's-milk in return for which they are obliged to brand themselves as his slaves. [4])

Maimed by the branding the nine return to the palace with their goat's milk and are there put to shame by Si Gamba, whose tigress's milk works the cure.

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1) These towns devastated by geureudas appear in many hikayats; see for example the Hikayat Malém Diwa p. 127 above.

2) We are reminded of the story of Banyakchatra prince of Pajajaran, who gained admission to the presence of the princess Chiptarasa, with whom he was in love, in the form of an ape and under the name of Lutung Késarung. This story appears e. g. in Babad Pasir, translated by J. Knebel, Batavia 1898, pp 61 et seq. [*Lutung* or *lutong* is the name of a large black monkey common in Malaya. *Translator.*]

3) This form is derived from the more characteristic Malay name Si Utan. Uneun means "to the right".

4) In the story of Banta Ali Peureudan (XXV) we find a like occurrence, while, as we noted in connection with that story, the incident of branding recurs in Indian children's tales.

The princess is now borne off by Bura'sa. The nine suitors besiege his stronghold in vain, but Indra Bangsawan, thanks to the instructions of his ra'sasa, succeeds in slaying the monster, and handing over to Gumbiran the wished for fourteen members. Still in the form of Si Gamba, Indra Bangsawan espouses the princess.

The nine now make war on Gumbiran, but Indra Bangsawan in his princely shape turns the tide of battle, and the princess finally succeeds in removing the roughness of his skin. The marriage ceremony is repeated with much display, and Indra Bangsawan acts as regent in his step-father's kingdom.

By the ra'sasa's help he obtains possession of the *bulōh meurindu*; his brother finds him out, and they go together to their father, who joyfully recognizes Indra Bangsawan as his successor.

Chah Kubat (XXVII).

Hikayat Chah(=Shah) Kubat.

The adventurous expeditions of Chah Kubat were originally undertaken because this young hero could not endure the ignominy of a heavy tribute which his father Chah Peurasat Indra La'sana, king of Atrah [1]), had yearly to pay to Blia Indra, king of the apes.

Chah Kubat belonged by origin to the realm of Indra where his grandfather Beureuma Sa'ti still occupied the throne. In olden days this grandfather had made war against Blia Dikra, the father of Blia Indra. When the latter died it was only due to the friendly mediation of the prophet Sulòyman (Salomon) that the kingdom of the apes was not entirely laid waste. But Chah Kubat's father had been compelled to bow before the king of the apes who had at his command whole armies of wild beasts.

Chah Kubat was urged to his undertaking by a man in Arab dress who appeared to him in a dream. The poet describes at great length his journeyings throughout all lands. By the aid of his grandfather whom he first visits, he overcomes all manner of supernatural difficulties and dangers.

The main incidents are his complete conquest of the kingdom of apes, and his union before this war with the two princesses Jamani Ra'na Diwi and Suganda Kumala. After the war is over he gradually fills

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1) Arab. *Aṭrāf* = "extremities." According to our hikayat this country lay close to the mountain Kah (Arab. Qāf) and marched with the territory of the jéns.

up the tale of four by the addition of the princesses Chahya Hirani and Keumala Deureuja.

This hikayat appears to have been composed after a Malay original as may be deduced from the short abstract of the contents of the Malay romance of the same name by Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk [1]).

Indrapatra (XXVIII).

This romance is a very free imitation of its Malay namesake. [2]) In it most of the proper names of the Malay hikayat recur, as do also various features of the actual story, but the bulk of the narrative is entirely different.

Prince Indrapatra, son of the celestial prince Bakrama, urged by a dream, undertakes a wandering journey through the world. His first halting place of importance is a charmed pond in which there is a *naga* with a diamond flower on its head; close by is a garden watched by Ni Kubayan (elsewhere Ni Keubayan; see p. 135 above), together with a palace in which is the portrait of a princess guarded by various monsters. The original of this portrait, the princess Jamjama Ra'na Diwi, is destined to become the wife of him who succeeds in taking the flower from the naga, but ninety-nine princes who have hitherto undertaken this quest have paid for it with their lives. Indrapatra succeeds, marries the princess and becomes king in her father's stead.

His subsequent wanderings form a concatenation of marvellous adventures, which the author or compiler uses to illustrate the boundless power of God.

One of his latest deeds is the restoration to life of a prince, who, enticed by the bayeuën bird of princess Chandralila to go and demand her hand in marriage, had met his death on the stair of her palace through want of magic power.

Hikayat Diwa Sangsaréh.

Diwa Sangsaréh (XXIX).

Prince Diwa Sangsaréh was the son of the king of Meusé, Useuman

1) See his epitome of the Royal Asiatic Society's Mss. (n° 31) in "*Essays relating to Indo China*", Second Series, Vol. II, p. 22—3 (London, 1887).

2) Copies of this are to be found in the Mss. of the Royal Asiatic Society (see *Essays relating to Indo-China*, Second Series, Vol. II, p. 10); Nos 9, 37, 55; at Leiden library Nos 1690 and 1933 (Catalogue of Dr. H. H. Juynboll, pp. 121—125); at Batavia in n° 168 of the Catalogue of Mr. Van den Berg (p. 31), and at Berlin in the Schumann collection of the Hof-Bibliothek, V, 9.

Saréh [1]), and was born at the same instant as Aminōlah, the son of the wazir of that country.

In his father's palace was a portrait of the celestial princess Badi'ōy Jami of the land of Iram. The prince was so smitten with its charms that he could not rest till he had found the original. This he succeeds in doing after a long journey throughout the world, on which he is attended by Aminōlah, and after fierce conflicts with all manner of fabled monsters, such as geureudas, nagas, milōns and other spirits of the forest, which threaten his life. Occasionally too he meets with kindness, as in the case of Hanuman, who introduces him to the king of the apes, and of the princess Nurōy Asikin who slightly resembles the portrait, yet is not she for whom he seeks. She helps Sangsaréh on his way and afterwards becomes the wife of his follower Aminōlah.

Even after Sangsaréh has for the moment attained his object and his celestial princess has come down to him in Silan (Ceylon) sundry new difficulties arise, and it is only by the help of her father, Sa'it Bimaran Indra, that he succeeds in subduing the hostile milōns once for all.

In the end the two brave wayfarers are happily wedded and return to Meusé, where Sangsaréh now mounts the throne of his forefathers under the name of Sulutan Alam Chahya Nurōlah.

Chintabuhan (XXX). Hikayat Chintabuhan.

Chintabuhan is the Malay Kén Tambuhan or Tabuhan; the Achehnese romance corresponds in the main with Klinkert's edition [2]) of the Malay poem of that name.

In the Achehnese hikayat the princess's country is called Tanjōng Puri and she is not borne away to the forest by supernatural force as in the Malay tale, but carried off by Radén Meuntröë's own father who makes war on her sire for refusing to pay him tribute.

The Achehnese composer has also given to the whole a slightly Mohammadan tinge. The diwas, it is true, play a weighty part and work all manner of marvels, but not till Allah has expressly charged them so to do; and people in distress invoke the aid, not of the all-administering diwas, but of the almighty Creator.

1) The written forms of these names, which are here given according to their Achehnese pronunciation, are سغ شريف, مصر (Egypt) and عثمان شريف.

2) *Drie Maleische gedichten* ("Three Malay poems") Leiden 1886, pp. 1—151.

Hikayat Diu Plinggam.

Diu Plinggam (XXXI).

This knight-errant was the younger of two sons whom his wife Putròë Hina bore to Raja Muda Sa'ti. His mother owed her name to the dislike cherished against her by her six fellow consorts. Putròë Hina was actually put to death by the other six during her first pregnancy, but was restored to life by the celestial nymph Sitōn Glima.

A celestial princess named Putròë Nilawanti changed rings with Diu Plinggam whilst the latter slept. When he awoke, he beheld the princess hovering over his head in the air, and it was this that first gave the impetus to his wanderings. The journeyings of his brother Budiman Sa'ti Indra also fill a considerable portion of the hikayat. As however the conclusion is missing in the only copy of the story which I possess, I shall only mention that Diu Plinggam carries off another princess called Indra Kayangan and weds her after overcoming her father in battle.

Hikayat Kamarōdaman.

Kamarōdaman (XXXII).

In the hikayat Kamarōdaman we have the Achehnese rendering of one of the Thousand and One Nights. [1]). The composer has not followed his original very closely. He has added many incidents of the kind which Achehnese audiences usually expect to meet in hikayats, omitted many others and altered nearly all the names except those of the hero (Arab. Qamar-az-zamān) and the heroine Badu (Arab. Badur) [2]).

I have only been able to obtain an incomplete copy, in which the narrative breaks off after the marriage of Badu, who adopted male dress and was exalted to the throne under the name of Raja Muda Dō. The story up to this point, however, follows the Arabic version so closely in all essentials, that we may safely assume the sequel does so too.

We should not be surprised to find that this story was taken from a Malay version, for the only Achehnese who know enough Arabic to read the language are the pandits and theologians, who never translate romances of this description.

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1) In the Cairene edition of the the Thousand and One Nights of A. H. 1297 we find this tale in Vol. I, p. 568 et seq. There was also a separate lithographed edition of the story published at Cairo in A. H. 1299.

2) Thus the country of Kamarōdaman is called Kōseutantiniah, the brother of Badu Muhamat Saman, while in place of the land of Abanus we here have Baghdad, etc.

Meudeuha' (XXXIII).

Hikayat Meudeuha'.

The history of Meudeuha', the keen witted and just, is really more a collection of choice anecdotes than a romance. The Achehnese, and especially their chiefs, regard it as a short epitome of all statesmanship. It is a fairly faithful rendering of the Malay story of Mashudu'l-haqq, of which there are two copies in the collection of the Batavian Association [1]) and of which a portion has been published by A. F. Von de Wall. The names only are changed to some extent — that of the leading character is, as we see, abbreviated — and the Achehnese composer has omitted some anecdotes, but has on the other hand added a few trifles to the original.

Meudeuha' grows up under the protection of his father Buka Sa'ti, a wise and wealthy man, whose village lies not far from Watu, the residence of the king Wadihirah. Even in his early youth he displays so much knowledge and cleverness that he is called in as arbitrator in all manner of disputes; see for instance the "three sentences of Meudeuha'" published by Van Langen in the Reader of his "Practical Manual of the Achehnese language", pp. 66—83.

Rumours of his infallible wisdom reach the king, who would at once have given Meudeuha' a position of honour at the court, had not the four royal "teachers", moved by envy, done their best to hinder the promotion of their rival. They lay before him numberless riddles and problems for solution, they persecute him with cunning artifices and false accusations; but he, supported by the wisdom of his wife Putròë Chindu Kaseumi, the daughter of the Brahman Diu Sa'ti, rises superior to all and catches his persecutors in the nets that they themselves have spread.

Finally Meudeuha' is made supreme judge. Even in this high position he is exposed to the assaults of his crafty enemies, but all they succeed in doing is to thrust on him the conduct of a war which Jiran king of Panjalarah levies against the ruler of Watu and a hundred other princes.

Both in actual strategic art and in his interview and dispute with Jiran's teacher, Brahman Kayuti, Meudeuha' continues to show himself

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1) Nos 180 and 181 in the collection of H. Von de Wall; see p. 33 of Mr. Van den Berg's Catalogue.

2) *Hikayat Mashudu'l-hak diikhtisarkën* Batavia, G. A. Kolff, 1882.

complete master of the situation. Thanks to his advice, king Wadihirah proves invincible, and finally marries Jiran's daughter, and has by her a son Juhan Pahlawan [1]), who succeeds him on the throne.

The attractiveness of this book lies not so much in the occurrences it narrates as in the ingenious solution of the various riddles and problems propounded.

Pha Suasa.

Pha [2]) *Suasa* (XXXIV).

Raja Ahmat, the king of Baghdad (Böreudat) has seven wives. It is foretold him in a dream that he will have a son with silver and a daughter with golden (or rather "suasa" [3]) thighs. One day as the king is walking on the bank of a stream, he finds a fig, which he picks up and throws away in sport. Again and again, as he hurls it from him, it comes back to him of its own accord. He takes this marvellous fruit home and gives it to his wives, in the hope that she who eats it will become the mother of the promised children. Only one of the seven, Jaliman, has the courage to taste the fig. She thus becomes the mother of Prince Silver-thigh and Princess Golden-thigh (*Pha Suasa*); the other six, consumed with envy immediately plot against the life of the twins. Shortly after their birth, the children are changed into flowers and Jaliman to save them from harm, gives them in charge to a cock. The latter, owing to the cunning devices of the envious wives, finds himself compelled to entrust them to the protection of a goat, and in like manner they are thus passed on to a bull, a buffalo and an elephant, and finally to a tiger.

One day this tiger resolves to devour them but while crossing a river in pursuit of the children he is slain by a crocodile. The infants are found by Pawang Kuala on the river-bank; he takes them up and tends them till they are adopted by the childless Raja of Parisi. Princess Pha Suasa, the admiration of all who behold her, makes acquaintance with a prince of the aerial kingdom, the son of Raja Diu, who is doing *tapa* (penance) upon earth in the guise of a bird; she secretly promises him her hand.

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1) It is perhaps from this hikayat-prince that Teuku Uma has borrowed the new name, under which he pretended to serve the Gömpeuni as a military leader from 1893 to 1896.

2) "Pha" = the Malay *paha*, "a thigh". (Translator).

3) *Suasa* is really an amalgam of gold and copper; but golden ornaments of European manufacture are also spoken of as "suasa" by the natives of the Archipelago.

Meantime Raja Ahmat has thrust her mother whom he suspects of having made away with the two children, in a filthy dungeon. Presently the princess Pha Suasa is seized with longing to return to her home and behold her mother once more; accompanied by her brother and a crowd of attendants she embarks for Baghdad. The secret is now disclosed, Jaliman is liberated from prison, and the other six consorts of the king fly to the forest. Raja Ahmat journeys with his wife and their son and daughter to Parisi where a number of princes seek the latter's hand in marriage. She however stoutly refuses all suitors, till her betrothed, Raja Intan, who has meantime changed from the shape of a bird to that of a man comes to claim her hand. They are married, and after the wedding the prince goes back to the aerial kingdom to fetch his father Diu, who descends with his son to earth to visit his daughter-in-law.

The young husband is soon compelled to wage war against the king of Habeusah (Abyssinia) who lays claim to the hand of his bride. A colossal conflict supervenes, ending in the conquest of the raja of Habeusah and his conversion to Islam.

The king of Siam, who has been driven from his territory by the raja of China, flies to Parisi, where he embraces Islam and invokes the help of Pha Suasa's army. This alliance, however, results on an attack upon Parisi by various infidel kings; one after another Eumpiëng Beusöë, the English, Portuguese and Dutch are beaten off. Pha Suasa is equally successful in a war with the Batak king Kabeulat, and she then subdues once more the kingdom of Habeusi Raya ("Great Abyssinia").

This last undertaking seems to have no proper connection with the Story of Pha Suasa, but the concluding portion of the copy I possess contains a further narrative still more foreign to the subject. This is an account of a war waged by the kings of Cham (= Syria), Röm (Turkey), Meusé (Egypt) etc. against a certain pagan Raja Akeuram, who demands in marriage the princess called Putröë Röm, the daughter of the Raja of Cham. Pha Suasa takes no part whatever in this enterprise.

Sulutan Böseutaman (XXXV).

Sulutan Böseutaman.

Although this tale introduces itself under the name Böseutaman, it does not appear that the name belongs to any of the characters of the story; the principal royal personage is called Yahya, his minister

Meuntrôë Apeulaïh, and his country Samteurani. On the death of Yahya's father, the throne is disputed between him and his elder brother Ami Suja'. The latter worsted in the conflict, the scene of which is a dependency called Dameuchah [1]), flies into the forest with his wife and establishes himself on the borders of Samteurani; where a daughter, the princess Saleumah or Salamiah is born to him.

One day Sulutan Yahya goes forth to hunt the deer. Finding that he is late in returning, the queen sends out her brother Ami Bahut with an elephant to bring him food. The animal succumbs under the load, and Ami Bahut, who has by this time arrived at the abode of Ami Suja', mercilessly compels him and his wife to bear the burden, leaving their daughter behind alone. Meantime king Yahya, who knows nothing of all this sends one of his attendants to seek for water; this man discovers the forsaken princess Saleumah, and the adventure ends in her marriage with Sulutan Yahya.

The king's first wife is seized with jealousy and plots to get rid of her rival; during the absence of Yahya she sells her to Malém Malabari who carries her off in his ship. On her lord's return home she tells him that Saleumah has gone off to seek her lost parents. The latter after many sufferings, had returned to their home in the forest and have now gone forth once more to search for their missing daughter.

Saleumah's presence on board the ship makes the voyage a most unlucky one; so Malém Malabari puts her on shore. After wandering for a time in the forest she gives birth to a son; just about the same time a princess is born of her jealous rival in the royal palace.

The minister Apeulaïh is sent forth by Sulutan Yahya to seek for Saleumah; he first finds her parents whom he joins in their search, and after many wanderings they discover their daughter and her child hidden in the aerial roots of a rambōng-tree. They all go together to the palace of the king, where everything is cleared up; the king throws his first wife and her brother Ami Bahut into prison and puts to death the maids of honour, who lent themselves to the sale of Saleumah to the master of the strange ship. After the lapse of some years the sons of the queen and of Saleumah named respectively Meureuhōm Shah and Ahmat Charéh determine to beg forgiveness for the imprisoned

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1) This name دامشك is probably derived from دمشق (Damascus).

lady and for Ami Bahut. King Yahya complies with their request and the story ends with a general reconciliation.

Chut Gambang China (XXVI).

Meureudan Hiali, king of Parisi while on a hunting expedition lost his way and strayed into the country of the Jén Diu. Here he obtained the hand of a princess who bore him a son, Banta Ahmat, and a daughter, Keumala Intan; later on she had by him another son called Indra Jōhari. Banta Ahmat grew up and was sent to receive instruction in the spirit-land of his mother. Here he was equipped with a number of magic charms, which enabled him at will to call into existence an army, a palace, an ocean, etc., and was also given a miraculous bird (*bayeuën*) which was able to carry him through the air and to do his bidding in the remotest parts of the earth.

By the intermediary of this bird Banta Ahmat made the acquaintance of the princess Chut Gambang China of the kingdom of Kawa Mandari. After an adventurous journey through the world, in the course of which both giants and the beasts of the forests yielded to the hero's magic power, he won this princess and made her his wife.

Thereafter he was compelled to wage a great war against the country of Da'irōn Banun, the king of which, Kubat Jōhari was betrothed to the princess Chut Gambang. In the end he was completely victorious and not only remained in undisturbed possession of his beloved consort, but also took to wife the beautiful Sangila, a daughter of Kubat.

Accompanied by his two wives and a train of men and animals, Banta Ahmat now returns to Parisi, slaying sundry troublesome giants on the way. With him also came his sister Keumala Intan, whom he had found in a lonely wood; she had been unjustly banished on a charge of unchastity through the intrigues of her father's chief minister, Peudana Meuntròë. On arriving in Parisi, Banta Ahmat vindicates his sister's honour and causes the false minister to be put to death. Finally Keumala Intan is wedded to Budiman Cham, king of Andara, who reaches Parisi in safety after a victorious progress through the world with an invincible cock endowed with miraculous powers.

Diwa Akaïh Chahya (XXXVII).

The hero of this tale is the son of a royal pair of celestial origin, Diwa La'sana and Mandu Diwi, king and queen of Neureuta Gangsa.

Before his birth it is foretold of him that his fame will fill the world. He must however, in the first place do battle with certain hostile powers whose baneful influence begins to be felt while he is still in his mother's womb.

Diwi Seundari, a princess of the race of ra'sasas has conceived a passion for Diwa La'sana; one day while Mandu Diwi is in her bathing chamber, the other succeeds in assuming her form and taking her place. The true Mandu Diwi on finding out what has happened, withdraws without a protest to the house of Mangkubumi, the chief minister of the kingdom, whom she forbids to reveal the secret. While thus hidden in his house she gives birth to Diwa Akaïh Chahya Meungindra.

As soon as Diwa Akaïh has grown up and learned what has taken place in his father's court, he takes leave of his mother and starts on his journey through the world. In the forest he meets the aged queen Diwi Peureuba Nanta, who before her death presents him with a magic sword. He also subdues a tree-spirit who provides him with a charm whereby he can call into existence fortresses, palaces and seas. He obtains similar gifts from the prince Peura'na Lila, after he has convinced him of his superiority. He meets another prince who is related to his mother, and who advises him to go and seek instruction from the Brahman Diwa Sa'ti, in order to prepare himself for his great conflict with the ra'sasas. Here Diwa Akaïh excites the jealousy of his ninety seven royal fellow-pupils.

By the advice of his teacher he demands the hand of the princess Ra'na Keumala of Nagarapuri. It is not till after he has waged a protracted conflict with his rivals and also with the father of the princess, that the latter at length consents to accept him as a son-in-law.

His next enemy is a powerful young prince named Keureuma Wanda. The latter comes one day to Nagarapuri flying through the air in his magic car, and alights in a garden, where he catches sight of Ra'na Keumala, and from that moment can think of nothing but carrying her off by force from her husband's arms.

Thus is kindled a long and fierce conflict, in which all the friends whom Diwa Akaïh made on his journeys join one by one. The king of the ra'sasas, Keureuma Wanda's most powerful ally, finally succeeds in casting Diwa Akaïh into the belly of the king of the dragons, but he is liberated thence by his teacher Diwa Sa'ti, and the dragon-king presents him with a new charm. The war goes on till Keureuma Wanda

is slain by Diwa Akaïh, and the king of the ra'sasas by Diwa Sa'ti. After having thus subdued all his enemies, Diwa Akaïh returns to his native land. He meets his pretended mother who on seeing him resumes her true shape as a ra'sasa, and is slain by him. He then reunites with his father his true mother who is still living with Mangkubumi, and all is well once more. The marriages of certain of the friends of Diwa Akaïh are celebrated with much rejoicing.

Diwa Akaïh's spouse Ra'na Keumala presents him with a son, and he succeeds to the throne of Meureuta Gangsa and rules in peace and prosperity.

Names of some other tales.

I have gradually obtained possession of more or less complete copies of all the tales above described. There remain others which are only known to me by name and by incomplete oral information as to their contents.

The titles of some at once suggest Malay works with similar names, but we are not in a position to say if the resemblance goes further. The names of these hikayats are as follows: *Juha Ma'nikam* (XXXVIII), a rendering of the Malay tale quoted above on p. 143, (published by Dr. de Hollander), *Raja Buda'* (XXXIX [1]), *Buda' Meuseukin* (XL [2]), *Abdōmulō'* (XLI [3]), *Abu Nawaïh* (XLII [4]), *Siri* (= Sri) *Rama* (XLIII) whose war with Rawana is localized in Acheh by the popular tradition, *Peureuléng* [5]) (XLIV), *Blantasina* or *Plantasina* (XLV), *Lutōng* (XLVI), *Sépu Alam* (XLVII), *Putròë Bunga Jeumpa* (XLVIII), *Siti Dabidah* (XLIX), *Banta Ra'na* (L), *Jugi Tapa or Milōn* [6]) (LI), *Indra Peutawi* (LII).

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1) Compare Nos 153 and 154 of Mr. L. C. W. van den Berg's *Verslag van eene verzameling Maleische etc. handschriften*, Batavia 1877.

2) Compare Dr. J. J. de Hollander's *Handleiding bij de beoefening der Maleische taalen letterkunde*, 5th Edition, N° 48, p. 344.

3) Cf. Van den Berg, opere citato, n° 257.

4) Cf. Van den Berg, opere citato, n° 124*a*. The Malay work however consists not so much of anecdotes from the life of "the Arab poet" Abu Nawās, as of a collection of popular tales respecting an imaginary court-fool, who has much in common with the German Eulenspiegel, and to whom the name of this poet has been given. Compare also the *Contes Kabyles* of A. Mouliéras, Introduction: *les Fourberies de Si Jeh'a*, p. 12 (Bou Na'as) and M. Hartmann's *Schwänke und Schnurren*, S. 55 and 61—62 (Zeitschrift für Volkskunde, 1895).

5) Name of a small black bird.

6) This *Jugi*, who is undergoing penance, and whose soul in the shape of a bird is guarded by one or more princesses, turns to stone all who approach him. Banta Amat puts an end to this by gaining possession of the bird and slaying him, and then restoring to life all those who had been turned to stone.

§ 6. Fables relating to Animals.

Although animals occasionally play an important part in the Achehnese romances, none of the latter can properly be classed among fables of this order, for as a rule the beasts who take part in the action of the story are human beings or jéns (diwas etc.) who have adopted the shape of animals.

The two collections which we are now about to describe, comprise, as we shall see, genuine fables relating to animals borrowed both from indigenous folklore and from foreign (Indian) books of fables. Most Achehnese listeners are as convinced of the truth of these tales as they are of that of the romances. The sacred tradition that the prophet-king Sulòyman (Solomon) understood the language of animals is changed in the popular imagination into a belief that in Solomon's time beasts were gifted with speech and reason.

Thus stories in which genuine animals are made to think and speak are regarded as accounts of what actually took place in those times.

Plandō' kanchi [1]) (LIII).

We know how popular stories about the crafty mouse-deer are among a great proportion of the Indonesians; yet it is only very occasionally that we find a collection of these tales forming part of their written literature [2]). But in Acheh such is the case; an unknown author has collected a number of them and formed them into a hikayat which he divides into 26 sections or *bhaïh* [3]). Copies of this are rare [4]); I was able to obtain possession of one only, and this lacks the last part of the 26th bhaïh.

Anxiety to offer more to his readers has perhaps induced the com-

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1) *Kanché* means in Achehnese not a variety of mouse-deer, as in other Malayan languages, but is an adjective meaning "crafty", "wicked", which is often applied to human beings. In Bimanese *kanchi* = "craft", "cunning". (See the dictionary of Dr. J. Jonker).

2) See Dr. J. Brandes *Dwerghert-verhalen* in Vol. XXXVII of the Journal of the Batavian Association (*Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*) pp. 27 et seq.

3) Achehnese form of the Arabic baḥth (بحث) = "enquiry", "subject".

4) Numbers of Achehnese came and begged me to let them transcribe my copy of the Hikayat Plandō', but I was obliged to refuse, having bound myself by a promise to the original owner not to lend the book to any of his fellow-countrymen!

piler to give the mouse-deer a place in popular tales of a different description, and thus to include them in his hikayat.

This is true for example of the story in bhaïh 10, where the plandō' fulfils the *rôle* of judge, which properly appertains to a human being; for no mention is to be found of the mouse-deer in the European and Javanese [1]) versions of this story.

On the other hand the author has omitted other tales which well deserved to be included both on account of their characteristic qualities and their popularity in Acheh.

Thus for instance he leaves out the race with the snails which appears in the Javanese kanchil series [2]), but is also universally known in Acheh.

More data than we possess would be of course required to enable us in each case of striking agreement of one of these Achehnese stories with a Malay, Sundanese, or Javanese version, to decide whether it is the common inheritance of the race or has been imported from elsewhere through some foreign channel of literature.

We now append a short list of the contents of the 26 sections.

Bhaïh 1. The plandō', the frog, the gardener and the dog (just as in Jav.). In a Sundanese "*dongeng* of the ape and the tortoise", which I got transcribed at Bantĕn, the ape plays the part here assigned to the frog and the dog, while the tortoise takes the place of the mouse-deer. The sequel of this dongeng corresponds with that which is here found in *Bhaïh* 5. It much more nearly resembles the contents of our *Bhaïhs* 1 and 5 than the version published in Sundanese by A. W. Holle in 1851, and those composed by A. F. Von de Wall (Batavia, Kolff 1885) in Batavian Malay, and by K. F. Holle (Batavia, Kolff 1885) in Dutch.

Bhaïh 2. The plandō', the otter, the night-owl, the gatheuë' (a sort of land prawn?) the land crab, the snail, the biëng phō (a small sort of prawn?) and the prawn.

This fable is akin to that of "*the otter and the crab*" published in

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1) A story the main features of which are the same, is to be found in *De vermakelijke lotgevallen van Tijl Uilenspiegel* (the delightful adventures of Tijl Uilenspiegel) pub. by J. Vlieger, Amsterdam, p. 66. A similar one was written down by me at the dictation of a Javanese dongèng-reciter at Jogjakarta.

2) We refer here to *Het boek van den kantjil* (the book of the kanchil) published by the *Koninklijk Instituut* at the Hague, 1889, and the *Sĕrat kanchil* pub. at Samarang, 1879. In our epitome of the contents we refer to these two versions, for the sake of brevity, by the contraction *Jav.*

Sundanese by Dr. Engelmann [1]), but the details are entirely different. In the Achehnese the plandō' poses both as the murderer and as the assessor of king Solomon who helps the latter to decide the issue of the interminable lawsuit. In this respect the Achehnese version much more closely resembles the Batak tale of "*the otter and the roebuck*" (see the Batak Reader of H. N. van der Tuuk, part 4, pp. 86 et seq.).

Bhaïh 3. The man, the crocodile, the pestle, the rice-mortar, the winnowing basket and the plandō' (Ingratitude the reward of kindness). A similar fable appears in the Javanese Kanchil [2]).

Bhaïh 4. The plandō' and the elephant out fishing; the elephant slain by men.

Bhaïh 5. The tiger cheated by the plandō', who palms off on him buffalo's dung as Raja Slimeum's [3]) food, a lhan-snake as his head-cloth, a wasp's nest as his gōng, and two trees grating against one another as his violin. Part of this is the same in Jav.; the deceit with the wasp's nest, which is wanting in the Javanese versions, appears in another form in H. C. Klinkert's *Bloemlezing* (Leiden 1890), pp. 50—54. The Sundanese dongeng which I mentioned under *Bhaïh* 1, puts the ape in the tiger's place, and the tortoise in that of the mouse-deer. The dung in there represented as the boreh [4]) of Batara Guru and the snake as his girdle, and in the conclusion the ape misled by the voice of the tortoise becomes so enraged against his own person that he mutilates himself and dies. According to another version he did not die but the result of his violence was that his descendants were born emasculate [5]).

Bhaïh 6. The heritage of steel and salt, the king, the plandō' and the burning sea. This is a variant of what we find in the Kalila dan Damina ed. Gonggrijp, p. 128 et seq., but the Achehnese version is prettier.

Bhaïh 7. The plandō', the ram, the tiger and the bear. The tiger is

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1) In the *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Ned. Ind. Instituut*, 3d Series, Vol. II, p. 348 et seq.

2) See Dr. J. Brandes' notes in *Notulen Batav. Genootschap* Vol. XXXI, p. 78 et seq.

3) The prophet king Solomon is elsewhere always called Sulòyman by the Achehnese, even in this hikayat where the mouse-deer appears as his assessor; but in this one fable the form Slimeum is invariably used.

4) A yellow cosmetic with which the skin is smeared on certain ceremonial occasions.

5) With this may be now also compared the tales numbered II*b* and II*f* in Dr. N. Adriani's *Sangireesche teksten (Bijdragen Kon. Inst. voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* for the year 1893, p. 321 et seq.). As we see, the tale of the wasps' nest is not, as the above-mentioned author supposed, a Sangirese innovation.

by a stratagem rendered innocuous to the sheep, but not in the same way as in Mal. and Jav.

Bhaïh 8. The plandō', the frog, the iguana, the carrion, the dog, the tiger, the two buffaloes, the two tigers, the elephant and the human beings.

Bhaïh 9. The plandō', the smith, the sikin (Achehnese long knife or sword), the fisherman and the eel (*leujeu*).

Bhaïh 10. Lawsuit between the rich and the poor as to the price of the savours of the former's kitchen, in which suit the plandō' gives judgment. This tale is one of those spoken of on p. 159 above, which do not-really belong to the mouse-deer series.

Bhaïh 11. The cultivator who goes a-fishing. The imprisoned snake, the plandō', the whale, the cocoanut monkeys and their king. Part similar to Jav.

Bhaïh 12. The té'-té' birds (Batavia: *këjit*), Sulòyman (Solomon), the plandō', the herd of oxen and the black bull.

Bhaïh 13. The plandō', the dogs, and the bakòh-bird.

Bhaïh 14. (Continuation of 13). The plandō', the kuë'-bird, the fishes known as the *meudabah* and the *thō'*.

Bhaïh 15. The plandō', the turtle and the tiger.

Bhaïh 16. The plandō' and the bridge of crocodiles. (Similar in Jav.).

Bhaïh 17. The plandō', the two oxen, the tiger and the crocodiles.

Bhaïh 18. (Continuation of 17). The two oxen, the tiger and his dream. Sulòyman, the plandō' and his dream, the sugar-mill.

Bhaïh 19. Alliance of all the beasts under the tiger as king and the plandō' as his deputy. The tiger deceived by the plandō'. This resembles in its main features the story we have numbered 7 in the Kisah Hiweuën or Nasruan adé (LIV).

Bhaïh 20. The elephant in the well (quite different from its namesake in Jav.); he is afterwards devoured by crocodiles in the river.

Bhaïh 21. All the animals fish with seines under direction of the plandō', the himbèës (a kind of ape) serve as sentries.

Bhaïh 22. Continuation of 21. The geureuda or griffin (which here plays the part of the buta or gĕrgasi in Jav. and Mal.), the tiger, the bear, the elephant and the plandō' (the same in Jav. and Mal.).

Bhaïh 23. All the beasts converted to Islam by the plandō', gathered together in the mosque and cheated by him.

Bhaïh 24. The plandō' cheats Nabi Sulòyman (Solomon) over the chopping of wood.

Bhaïh 25. The plandō', the jackfruit and the oil-seller; the gardener who plants dried peas, and the deer.

Bhaïh 26. Contest between the plandō' and a jén (Arab. jinn) as to who can keep awake the longest. (The conclusion of this fable is lacking in the only copy I have seen).

In the Javanese *Book of the Kanchil* we find a similar contest in wakefulness between a wild cat and a night-bird. A Javanese dongeng makes this night-bird (*chaba'*), which according to popular belief flies and cries in its sleep, hold a contest in keeping awake with the *sikatan* (wagtail). The latter abandons the duel as his opponent keeps on making a noise. In the above-quoted *Sangireesche teksten* of Dr. N. Adriani we find a similar contest between an ape and a heron (IV*a*) and two samples of such contests between an ape and a sheitan (IV*b* and VI).

In the Achehnese just as in the Javanese kanchil-tales, the mouse-deer appears as the assessor (waki [1])) of the prophet-king Sulòyman or Solomon.

His title is thus always *Teungku Waki*, and he also bears the names or nicknames *Si Anin*, *Tuan Chut* (Master Little one), *Waki Saba* (after Saba the kingdom of the queen who had relations with Solomon), *Waki Buyōng* ("mannikin").

The style of the hikayat is somewhat defective. The author is no master of the sanja'; he treats his readers over and over again to the same rhyming words and thus finds himself constantly obliged to alter the syllables which rhyme.

Not only in the orally transmitted, but also in the written literature of the Achehnese, the plandō' appears in various other stories which are not included in this hikayat.

Hikayat Nasruan adé.

Hikayat Nasruan Adé or *Kisah Hizeuën* (LIV).

Under these names [2]) is circulated the Achehnese version of that

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1) He thus stands to the prophet-king in the same relation as the *waki* of an Achehnese gampōng (see Vol. I. p. 67) to his keuchi'.

2) Nasruan is the Ach. form of the Persian royal name Anōsharwān, with the epithet adé ('ādil) i. e. the just. The other name is the Achehnese pronunciation of the Arab. words aiççah ḥaiwan, stories about beasts, but the meaning of these words is understood by none in Acheh save the pandits.

collection of fables known in their Malay form [1]) as Kalila dan Damina and Panjatandĕran [2]).

The sole example that I have been able to obtain appears to be incomplete at the conclusion, but I am not certain of this, as the whole composition is slovenly and confused. It has not been taken direct from any known Malay version, and indeed it is possible that it has been rendered into Achehnese verse from an imperfect recollection of a not over-accurate recitation of the Malay work.

Certain inconsistencies and additions, however, seem to indicate a different origin.

1. The Brahman Badrawiah (Barzōyeh) is here sent on behalf of Nasruan [3]) king of Hindustan, and the goal of his mission is also Hindustan. This identity of the names of the countries is probably due to a mistake of the compiler or copyist. Kuja Buzurjmihr [4]) Hakim composes the panegyric on Badrawiah. Then the compiler gives the following tales or comparisons, of which I shall notice those which more or less agree with the Malay Kalila dan Damina [5]).
2. The world as a mad camel . . . . . Ms. 18
3. The thief cheated. . . . . G. 17
4. The dog and the bone . . . . . „ 23
5. Dream of the raja of Hindustan, told by Badrawiah at the request of Nasruan. In place of the Brahman *and* Hilar the Achehnese text has Brahmana Hilal; it also makes no mention of the water of life . . . . . „ 327
6. The jackal, the deundang-bird, the snake and the man. The fable of the heron and crab is here wanting . . . „ 66

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1) As to the nature of these compositions see the essay of Dr. J. Brandes in the *Feestbundel* (dedicated to Prof. de Goeje), Leiden 1891, pp. 79 et seq.

2) This is also the name of a well known Tamil version, possibly the original of both the Malay and the Achehnese *(Translator)*.

3) In the Malay versions he who sends forth the Brahman on his mission is a son of this prince named Harman or Horman (هورمن). This name is based on a wrong reading of هورمز which is formed from هورمزد = Hormizd.

4) Ach. Bada Jameuhé or بزرمهر جمهير.

5) By the letter G. I refer to Gonggrijp's edition (Leiden, Kolff 1876). Portions marked Ms. are those which do not appear in this edition but are to be found in the Manuscript of Dr. de Hollander which is now in my possession (See Dr. Brandes' notes in *Tijdschrift Batav. Gen.* Vol. XXXVI, p. 394 et seq.). The numerals indicate the page.

7. The keureukōih (explained as being the plandō') slays the tiger [1]). . . . . G. 78
8. The crows and the owls . . . . . „ 194
9. The plandō' as ambassador of the moon. . . . . „ 208
10. The cat as judge between the plandō' and the murōng-bird. „ 215
11. The utōih (tradesman) of Silan and his adulterous wife . „ 222
12. The marriage proposals of the mouse. . . . . „ 228
13. The snake and the frogs . . . . . „ 260
14. The ape and the turtle. . . . . „ 265
15. The jackal, the tiger and the ass . . . . . „ 274
16. The peuteurah-bird [2]) and the king. . . . . „ 292
17. The tiger as pupil of the jackal . . . . . „ 301
18. The jackal judge among the tigers that hunt the deer . „ 321
19. The night-owl, the apes and the toadstool . . . . . „ 122
20. The ape and the wedge — and here, but not in the Malay versions, — the rice-bird and the horses . . . . . „ 34
21. The goldsmith, the snake, the ape and the tiger (a fable of gratitude) . . . . . „ 340
22. The bull, the ass and the cock (this story is not to be found in Mal.; we meet it in the Thousand and One Nights, ed. Cairo, 1297 Heg., Vol. I, pp. 5—6).
23. The musang [3]), the tiger and the man (not in Mal.).
24. The bull [4]) and the lion . . . . . „ 28
25. The dervish and the king (not in Mal.).
26. The dahét [5]) (hermit), the king and the thief; the two huntsmen and the jackal; the poison blown back in the giver's face; the amputated nose . . . . . „ 53
27. Damina's stratagem against the bull . . . . . „ 114
28. Admonitions of the queen mother to the lion. . . . . „ 131

Their heroic poems, their romances and their fables (but especially their romances), supply both recreation and instruction to old and young, high and low of both sexes in Acheh. Thence they draw a

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1) The contents are the same as those of *bhaïh* 10 of the Hikayat Plandō'.

2) The Achehnese reading is ڤتروه; in the Malay versions we find ڤبرو and ڤنرو.

3) A kind of pole-cat common in the Malay archipelago.

4) This is called Sitĕrubuh in the Malay version, and in Achehnese Sinadeubah (سيندبه). The word as written in Arabic letters is almost the same.

5) زاهد.

considerable portion of their knowledge of the world and of life, and almost all that they know of what has happened in the past, or what goes on outside their own country. Whoever wishes to understand the spirit of the Achehnese must not fail to bear in mind the nature of this, their mental *pabulum*; and should anyone desire to try to lead the civilization of Acheh along a new channel, it would be undoubtedly worth his while to make his innovations palatable to them by presenting them in 'hikayat' form.

§ 7. Religious Works.

a. *Legends relating to the Pre-Mohammedan period.*

The three kinds of Achehnese works which it still remains for us to describe, have in common with one another a religious character. The great majority are composed in hikayat form; some (only the third variety) are to be found in *nalam* and in prose.

Origin of the religious legends of the Achehnese.

The channels through which religious stories and legends reached the Achehnese are in the main the same as those by which they received their romantic literature. The fabric of sacred history woven by the popular mind in Mohammadan India, partly with materials derived from the common and unlearned tradition of Persia, partly from pure fiction, reached the far East, including Acheh, before the catholic tradition of which the more or less canonical Arabic works testify. And in spite of the still surviving opposition of the pandits, these quasi-religious romances, largely coloured with the Shi'ite and other heresies, enjoyed and still continue to enjoy a considerable popularity.

The South-Indian Islam, the oldest form in which Mohammedanism came to this Archipelago still survives in these works, not without a large admixture of native superstition. With its semi-pantheistic mysticism, its prayers and mysterious formularies, its popular works on sacred history which we have just alluded to, it will long bid defiance to the orthodoxy of Mecca and Hadramaut, which is seeking to supplant it, and which has in theory driven it entirely from the field.

The materials of these popular works may have been imported into Acheh partly direct from South India and partly by way of the Malayan Countries. They are in either case undoubtedly foreign wares, which

the Achehnese have greatly adulterated or improved, however we choose to express it.

Hikayat Asay padé.

Hikayat asay padé (LV).

The aim of this poem is to explain the origin of rice and of some of the customs and superstitions connected with its culture.

When Adam and Hawa (Eve) were driven from paradise, and after they had wandered apart over the earth and met once more near the mountain of Rahmat, Jébra'i (Gabriel) gave Adam lessons in agriculture and brought him the necessary seeds from paradise.

When he had ploughed and sown all his fields, Adam's seed supply ran short. By God's command he slew his son, who bore the four names Umahmani, Nurani, Acheuki and Seureujani. The members of his body were turned into rice-grains of various kinds wherewith Adam sowed his last field.

Hawa on learning of this, went to the padifield and begged her son who had been turned into seed, not to remain away too long. He answered that he would come home once a year — the yearly harvest.

Custom of some Achehnese in connection with rice culture.

Hawa took with her seven blades; in imitation hereof it is customary [1]) for the Achehnese women, on the day before the harvest begins, to pluck from the neighbourhood of the *inòng padé* [2]) of the field seven blades, which they call the *ulèë padé* (head or beginning of rice).

At the sowing of the rice an abundant crop is assured by the utterance of the four names of the son of Adam who was changed into seed.

From this it may be concluded that the tilling of the soil is a sacred and prophetic task which brings both a blessing in this world and a recompense hereafter [3]).

The rainbow.

The writer, who tells us that he is a native of the gampōng of Lam Teumèn and that he wrote the book in the month Haji 1206 (1792) also appends to his story an explanation of the significance of the Rainbow (*beuneung raja timòh*). He warns his readers against a pagan conception of that phenomenon prevalent among the ancient Arabs, and explains it in connection with the history of Nòh (Noah) as a token of storm and rain, of overflowing and prosperity.

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1) This and other customs alluded to in this story are still practised here and there, but by no means universally.

2) See Vol. I, p. 265.

3) "Agriculture is the prince of all breadwinning" — see Vol. I, p. 175.

Hikayat masa jeuët dōnya.

The *Hikayat masa jeuët dōnya* (LVI), i. e. history of the origin of the world, contains a collection of absurdities such as are to be occasionally met with in Arabic works about the primeval world. We find sundry information about the worlds that preceded our own, the beasts that sustain the earth, the primeval Adam and Muhammad's mysterious first principle for whose sake all that exists was created. The story lays claim to authenticity, for it is no less a one than Allah himself that satisfies the curiosity of Moses by giving him this representation of the order of things.

Hikayat Nabi Usōh.

Nabi Usōh (LVII).

This Achehnese version of the story of Yusuf and Zuleikha varies in a marked degree not only from the Bible and Qurān stories of Joseph, but also from the legends which in the Malay and Arabic books known as the *Kitab Anbia*, are moulded on the XII[th] chapter of the Qurān.

The man who buys Usōh is a nahuda or seafaring merchant, who was prepared beforehand by a dream for his meeting with the beautiful boy. After the purchase the nahuda encounters a storm at sea, which can only be exorcised by the loosening of Usōh's chains. They land at Baghdad (or Bitay Mukadih = Jerusalem). Here the king is converted to the true faith by Usōh, and the latter becomes such a favourite that in the end he has to fly with his master for fear of being forcibly withheld from further journeyings.

Arrived at the land of Tambasan, they meet king Timus (طيموس), whose daughter Dalikha (= Zuleikha) dreams that Usōh, the son of a king is destined to be her lord. Afterward she journeys to Meusé (= Miçr, Egypt) to seek for him, but there she meets Adid [1]) the king and becomes his wife. Then Usōh comes to Egypt, and Adid offers to buy him for his weight in gold; but the scale does not turn till Dalikha throws into it her golden head-ornament.

One day Adid goes out to witness a cockfight(!), but forgets one of his weapons and sends Usōh home to fetch it. On this occasion the seduction takes place. A child but 40 days old witnesses it and after-

1) This name is borrowed from the epithet in the Qurān 'Azīz' Miçr "the magnate of Egypt", applied to Potiphar. In the Achehnese story Adid is used as a proper name, and its bearer is made king of Egypt.

wards gives the lie to Dalikha's preposterous explanation of the matter. Usōh is imprisoned, not as a suspect, but because he turns the heads of all women.

In the years of famine Usōh's brethren [1]) journey over the sea to Meusé. In the end, after Adid's death, Usōh weds Dalikha and becomes king. He begets a son, who is named Ahmat.

The meeting of Usōh with his father takes place in the plain of Hunòynèn [2]).

Hikayat Pra'un.

Pra'un (LVIII).

This hikayat, which comes as a sequel to the last, gives with much wealth of detail the history of king Pra'un (Pharaoh) and the prophet Musa (Moses). It resembles in the main the same story in the Malay version of the history of the prophets, but exhibits many variations and additions. It would be impossible without a detailed review of its contents which would occupy far too much space, to give a correct idea of the nature and extent of these differences.

We shall however notice one which though not perhaps of Achehnese origin, particularly accords with the taste of the people, who have a great admiration for craftiness. In the long conflict between the heathen Pra'un and Musa, the line of conduct of this divine messenger is of course dictated by Allah. After sundry moral and miraculous victories Musa observes that Pra'un has not yet lost all his power. Allah discloses to him the reason of this; Pra'un has three virtues — he gives much in alms, lets his beard grow [3]), and rises betimes in the morning [4]). From these three habits, says God to his prophet, you must break him off, for as long as he continues to perform these good

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1) One of the brethren was called Seuma'un (= Simeon), and another Raja Lahat. This last name occurs in other native stories as that of an enemy of Muhammad. It is taken from the name of the mountain Uhud or from the name of Muhammads uncle Abu Lahab.

2) This name seems to be a corruption of Ḥunain, a valley in Arabia, which was the scene of one of Muhammad's battles.

3) The Moslim law looks with disfavour on the shaving of the beard. In Acheh, as also in Java, such shaving is however very customary and thus the wearing of a beard (whiskers are rarely given to the natives by nature) is regarded as a token of piety. As we have seen above (Vol. I, p. 163) people in Acheh call the wearing of the beard *the sunat* (custom) of the Prophet.

4) The Achehnese, except such as are keen on the performance of their morning religious exercises are incorrigible sluggards.

works he cannot be wholly overthrown! And Musa faithfully follows this diabolical advice of Allah.

Raja Jōmjōmah (LIX).

Hikayat Raja Jōmjōmah.

The story of *King Skull*, whose skull speaks to Jesus, and who is restored to a new and sanctified life by that prophet, exists in Achehnese in hikayat form. I have never seen a copy of it, but it may well be assumed that its contents do not differ greatly from the Malay version of the story [1]).

From the *Orientalische Bibliographie* (VI : 2119 and VII : 1571) it appears that this legend is also to be found in the Persian and the Georgian. An Afghan version (قصه جماجمه پادشاه) is mentioned in the catalogues of the Fathul Kareem Press at Bombay.

Hikayat Tamlikha or *Èëlia tujōh* (LX).

Hikayat Tamlikha.

The story of the seven sleepers is dealt with in the 18th chapter of the Qurān. The Moslim tradition calls one of them *Jamlichā* = Jamlichus, from which the Achehnese have formed Tamlikha.

The names of the other six are still more corrupted. The names of these "seven saints" and that of their dog are regarded in Acheh as *ajeumats* or charms which avert all evil things and bring a blessing.

Besides the legend about the seven saints and their dog, this hikayat furnishes the story of the three devout men in the cave, which has been made up by the commentators on the Qurān on the strength of a text from the sacred book (ch. 18, verse 8). In addition to the alteration of the names the Achehnese version presents two other notable peculiarities.

In the first place the story is put in the mouth of Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, who tells it at the request of a Jew who has just been converted to Islam, after the solution by Ali of a number of theological catch-questions which he has propounded, and which Omar to his shame has proved unable to answer.

Secondly the "quarrel" spoken of in chapter 18 verse 20 of the Qurān is explained as a war between a Mohammedan prince who desires to erect a mosque close by the cave where the seven saints repose, and

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1) See Van den Berg's *Verslag* etc., Nos 106*b*, 109 and 161. It has escaped that writer's notice that there is also a copy of Raja Jumjum" in N° 161 of the Batavian Collection.

a Christian King who wishes to sanctify the same spot with a temple containing an idolatrous image!

Hikayat Putròë Peureukisōn.

Putròë Peureukisōn (LXI).

Peureukisōn or Peureukòysōn is the name of a princess, daughter of king Nahi (نَحِيل) of Neujeuran (Najrân in Southern Arabia).

Though brought up in an atmosphere of paganism and immorality, she has deep religious instincts which impel her to seek after the true God. A golden dove [1]) from Paradise comes to teach her the creed of Islam. Her singing of the praises of Allah casts forth the Devil from the greatest of her father's idols, but kindles the latter's wrath against his daughter for despising the worship of her ancestors. Her efforts to convert the king are unavailing; enraged at her apostasy he causes her hands to be smitten off and banishes her to the mountains. Here this martyr to her faith lives in a cave and gives herself up to religious devotions.

Abdōlah, king of Éntakiah (Antioch) loses his way while out hunting and comes by chance to the dwelling-place of Peureukisōn. He falls in love with the princess, is converted by her to the faith of Islam and brings her home as his wife. They live happily for a time, but the king's former favourites deem themselves neglected and are filled with jealousy. One day Abdōlah was compelled to go on a journey. Before his departure he committed his young wife to the care of his mother. During the king's absence the enemies of Peureukisōn caused to be delivered to the mother two forged letters purporting to come from Abdōlah, wherein the king charged his mother to drive forth his young spouse into the forest as being the enemy of the religion of his fathers. The mother was deeply grieved, but showed the letters to her daughter-in-law, who thereupon went forth into the wilds of her own accord with her new-born child. The child was suckled by a female mouse-deer, but one day as they were crossing a river in flood, the infant fell into the water and was drowned.

The golden dove appeared once more and taught the princess the power of prayer. Then she besought Allah to restore her hands and to give her back her child, and the prayer was heard and her wish accomplished. Mother and child continued their journey along with the

1) In this tale the dove is always called by its Arabic name *(ḥamâmah)*.

plandō', till they came to a spot where Allah had created for her a pavilion with a well of water and a pomegranate tree beside it. There she took up her abode and led a life of prayer.

Meantime Abdōlah had returned from his journey and on arriving at Éntakiah he heard of the strategem which had robbed him of his wife.

He sallied forth through the world to seek for Peureukisōn accompanied by a whole army of followers, who gradually dwindled down to five. Finally the two are united once more by the intervention of the sacred dove. The long-suffering Peureukisōn restrained her husband from wreaking vengeance on his former favourites who had caused all their woes. He sent back his five companions to Éntakiah with the news that he had forsaken his royal state for good and all. Accompanied by his wife and child, he sought out a quiet abode where he could surrender himself entirely to godly exercises, prayer and fasting. When the pious pair died, the whole creation mourned and Allah took them up to Paradise.

This didactic tale, in which both the princess and the dove constantly give long disquisitions on the Mohammedan teaching, is said to be a tradition handed down by Ka'b al-Aḥbar, an ancient to whom are ascribed many of the Jewish stories in the oldest Mohammedan literature.

§ 8. Religious Works.

b. *Legends relating to the Mohammedan period.*

The foregoing hikayats have given us some notion of the popular conceptions in Acheh in regard to pre-Mohammedan sacred history, while those that follow relate to the earlier period of the Mohammedan era itself.

From what we have already said, it may be gathered that these writings differ in details, but not in subject and essence, from the legends of the same kind which enjoy popularity among the Malays and Javanese.

Hikayat nubuët or *Nubuët nabi* (LXII). Hikayat nubuët.

The first hikayat of this series deals principally with the miracles connected with the birth of Mohammad, and his life up to his being called forth as the Apostle of God.

By *nubuët* the Achehnese understand that eternal principle of the whole creation, which (like the Word in the 4th Gospel) was before all things, for whose sake all the rest were created, and which is specially conceived of as the principle of prophecy dwelling in all the Apostles of God. This divine essence is properly called *Nûr Muḥammad* ("The Light of Muḥammad") or *Nûr an-nubuwwah* ("The Light of Prophecy"). Ignorance of the meaning of the words however, has brought into use such names as *nubuët* (in Achehnese) or *nurbuwat* (in Sundanese) for the Logos of Islam.

Most of the histories of the Prophets begin with a description of this primary mystic principle. Sometimes this is followed by the history of the principal prophets, sometimes only by that of Muhammad; there are also treatises to be met with which confine themselves entirely to the description of the Nur Muhammad.

It is in any case quite possible that our copy, which deals with the life of Muhammad up to his 40th year, is incomplete, and ought properly to be continued up to the time of his death.

To those who are not wholly unacquainted with the subject, the relation of the contents of this hikayat to history, or to the orthodox Mohammedan legend, will be fully apparent from the examples given below.

A certain woman named Fatimah Chami (from Shām = Syria) learns that the spirit of prophecy has descended on Abdallah (who afterwards becomes the father of Muhammad). Providing herself with the most costly presents, she journeys to Mecca to ask the hand of this favoured mortal so that she may become the mother of the last of the prophets. But at the moment of her arrival Abdallah slept with his wife and she became with child by him. He thus lost the visible token of "Muhammad's light".

In his tender youth Muhammad with the help of forty companions, waged a long war against Abu Jhay (Abu Jahl) who is represented as king of Mecca and who deemed himself slighted by the young lad. In his childhood too Muhammad more than once performed the miracle of feeding a multitude with a few loaves of bread.

When he wrought the famous miracle of the cleaving of the moon, and at the request of the king of the Arabians restored to an unmutilated state a girl without hands, feet or eyes, the people were converted by tens of thousands.

Raja Bada (LXIII).

Hikayat Raja Bada.

The Malays (probably on the authority of South-Indian teachers) have personified the village of Badr, in the neighbourhood of which Muhammad gained his first victory, as a beautiful prince named Badar. The *khandaq* or canal which the Prophet had dug round Medina to defend himself against the attack of the men of Mekka, they have converted into the father of that prince, under the names Hondok, Handak, Hèndèk and so on. He is represented as a powerful infidel king ruling over men and jinns.

So is it also in the Achehnese version. Raja Handa' or Keunda' with his son Bada make war upon the Prophet and his followers. The battles fought in this war were entirely after the manner of those of the dewas and jinns.

Ali is generally made Muhammad's commander-in-chief in such romances. Indeed in South India the popular conception of Islam is Shi'ite, covered over with a veneer of orthodoxy. The entire part played by Ali and the members of his family in the sacred tradition there prevalent, is such as no Shi'ite could object to, but occasionally we find the Prophet appearing surrounded by his *four* companions (the first four Khalifas). Handa' and his son Bada suffer defeat and death though Ali's bravery in fighting for the true faith.

The penman of the copy which has come into my possession has been unable to resist adding to his transcription some lines of malediction on the Dutch with the prayer that Acheh may soon shake herself free of these dogs of kafirs.

Hikayat prang Raja Khiba.

Under the name *Hikayat prang Raja Khiba* (LXIV) there is said to exist in Achehnese a variation of a legend familiarly known from the Malay versions. This legend originated outside Arabia from the tradition of Muhammad's expedition against the Jews of Khaibar. I have never seen a copy of the Achehnese version.

Seuma'un (LXV) [1]).

Hikayat Seuma'un.

There is, so far as I can ascertain, not a single peg in the accredited sacred tradition of Islam on which to fix the name of the hero of this narrative; it seems in fact to have fallen from the sky. Only in the

1) This is the Arabo-Achehnese form of the Scripture name Simeon.

second part of the hikayat do we meet a very garbled allusion to the tradition according to which the Prophet received as a gift from the then ruler of Egypt a beautiful concubine, Mariah al-Qibtiyyah (the Egyptian or Koptic).

The author of the story of Sama'un has not however borrowed much more from this tradition than the name.

In the collection of Von de Wall [1]) at Batavia, we find, in addition to a Malay copy of this story [2]) translated from the Javanese, another copy which is written in Arabic. We must not however jump to the conclusion that the original was either the work of an Arab or even known at all in Arabia. The language of this Arabic copy clearly betrays the hand of a foreigner, nor are there lacking other like hybrid-Arabic products in the religious literature of the Eastern Archipelago.

The Achehnese version differs in details only from the Malay [3]). Seuma'un is the son of Halét (خالد), a mantri (minister of state) of Abu Jhay (Abu Jahl), who here also appears as king of Mecca. While yet an unweaned infant Seuma'un speaks and converts his parents to Islam. He slays a hero named Patian (فتيان) whose help Abu Jhay had invoked against the Prophet; he defeats an army of Abu Jhay that was brought against him to take vengeance for Patian's death; he converts a woman whom Abu Jhay had sent to decoy him, and gains possession of Abu Jhay's daughter who is there and then converted and becomes the wife of Seuma'un.

Mariah, daughter of king Kōbeuti [4]) who was established in the land of Sa'ri, dreamed a dream in which she saw herself the destined bride of the Prophet. She secretly had these tidings conveyed to Muhammad, who thereupon asked her hand in marriage. The haughty refusal of this request by Kōbeuti gave rise to a war, in which Seuma'un took the field as a general. The war ended with the conversion to Islam of most of the inhabitants of Sa'ri, and Mariah was carried off to Medina.

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1) See Mr. L. W. C. van den Berg's *Verslag* pp. 15—16.

2) In the Hofbibliothek at Berlin there are three copies (numbered Schumann V, 18, 19 and 20) of the story of Sama'un in Malay, which similarly show clear tokens of a Javanese origin.

3) Dr. Van der Tuuk has given a short account of its contents in the *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut* for the year 1866, pp. 357 et seq.

4) Thus the word Qibti or Qubti is better preserved here than in the Malay version, which makes it into Ba'ti.

Nabi meuchukō or *cheumukō* (LXVI).

Hikayat Nabi meuchukō.

This edifying story is, according to its compiler, composed after a Malay original. It relates how once on a time Muhammad was shaven by Gabriel and received from that archangel a cap made of a leaf of one of the trees of paradise, and how the *buliadari* (celestial nymphs) almost fought with one another for the hairs, so that not one reached the ground. There are various different versions of this shaving story in Malay, Javanese and Sundanese. It is customary to have them recited by way of sacred reading on the occasion of various occurrences in domestic life, especially when they entail watching at night.

Mè'reuët (LXVII).

Hikayat mè'reuët.

The Achehnese version of the sacred tradition of Muhammad's nocturnal journey to heaven (Arab. *miᶜrāj*, pronounced in Ach. *mèᶜreuët*) is probably derived from a Malay compilation from an Arabic original, so far at least as the subject is concerned. The style, however, of all these hikayats is purely Achehnese.

Printaïh Salam (LXVIII).

Hikayat Printaïh Salam.

Tales in which the Prophet enlarges upon the duties of the wife towards her husband are very numerous in popular Native literature. The best known is that in which Muhammad instructs his own daughter Fatimah [1]). There are also, however, numerous copies of a story in which the Prophet at the request of a woman named Islam, Salam or Salamah, sets forth all that a woman has to do or refrain from in respect to her husband and the recompense that awaits her in the hereafter for the practice of wifely virtues [2]).

In copies of the Achehnese version of this work we find before the

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1) Compare *Tambih* 8 of the *Tambih tujōh blaïh* (N° LXXXV below) in which appears an Achehnese version of that story. A Turkish version of the "Admonition of the Apostle of God to Fatimah" is mentioned in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* LI: 38.

2) In addition to the Malay copies mentioned by Dr. Van der Tuuk (in *Essays relating to Indo-China*, 2d series, II, p. 32—33), I know of two in particular which are to be found in the Hofbibliothek at Berlin under the numbers Schumann V, 24 and 44, which bear the title of فوتري in place of the previous one فرتنا, فرتن or فردان which occur in other versions. The Malay text is printed as an appendix to an edition (apparently lithographed at Bombay) of the Malay rendering of as-Shaᶜrānī's *al-Yawaqīt wal-jawāhir* by Muhammad Ali of Sumbawa, written by him at Mekka in 1243 Heg. The woman is therein called فرت السلام.

name of Salamah a word which is written قرتن or فرتنا; but the Achehnese always *speak* of Printaïh Salam and understand thereby the work or duties of Salam, printaïh having in Achehnese the meaning of "work, management".

Hikayat peudeuëng.

Hikayat peudeuëng (LXIX).

Fatimah, the daughter of Muhammad was once suspected of unchastity by her husband Ali, for one day as he sat in the front balcony of his house he heard her as he supposed conversing with a man within.

Inquiry however brought it to light that the chaste woman had but addressed her husband's famous sword (*peudeuëng*) Dōypaka (Dul-faqār) asking it how many infidels it had helped to rid of their heads by Ali's hand. The sword had replied than these slain infidels were past counting.

The occasion of the husband's suspicion and enquiry gives the opportunity for sundry profitable admonitions to women, though not couched in the form in which are conceived the Prophet's well-known lessons to Fatimah.

The two next stories we find sometimes united as one, sometimes attached as an appendix to the history of the life of Muhammad. The same is the case with the Malay versions.

Hikayat Sòydina Usén

Hikayat sòydina Usén or *tuanteu* [1]) *Usén* (LXX).

The martyrdom of Hasan and Husain the two grandsons of Muhammad, is certainly nowhere more curiously told than in this hikayat.

Asan was king at Medina; the infidel Yadib (Ach. pronunciation of Yazid) in Meusé (Egypt). Lila-majan [2]), one of the two wives of Asan jet herself be persuaded by Yadib to poison her husband.

Usén succeeded his brother on the throne, but was soon warned by Meuruan (Marwān) of the designs of Yadib and thereupon set off with an army of 70000 men for Kupah. He met Yadib in the plain of Akabala (Kerbela), and there Usén and most of the members of his

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1) Tuanteu = "Our Lord" is the Achehnese translation of the Arab. *Sayyidunā*, which the Achehnese pronounce as sòydina.

2) This name is evidently compounded of Laila and her lover Majnun for whom she had a desperate passion. Both Majnun and Laila are represented in the processions of the Hasan-Husain feast in South India. See Herklots *Qanoon-e-islam*, 2d edition p. 126—7.

family died for the faith. Yadib won his chief object by carrying oft Sharibanun [1]), Usén's wife, with whom he was madly in love.

The murderer of Usén was Sama La'in [2]). The hands were severed from the body by a certain Hindu called Salitan.

Muhamat Napiah (LXXI). Hikayat Napiah.

Muhamat Napiah the son of Ali, ruled in Buniara, a subdivision of the kingdom of Medina [3]). He was indicated by a dream as the avenger of the blood of Asan and Usén, and so assembled his hosts in the plain of Akabala (Kerbela). Yadib and his allies, among whom were the kings of China, Abyssinia, etc., also brought their armies thither.

Napiah gained the victory though he lost his two principal panglimas; Yadib was slain. A small remnant of Yadib's followers took refuge in a cave. Muhamat Napiah followed them in on horseback and slew them all. At this moment the cave closed of its own accord, and the holy man and his horse are still there, awaiting patiently the day appointed for their resurrection. The horse feeds on kōmkōma- (= saffron-) grass.

Tamim Ansa (LXXII). Hikayat Tamim Ansa.

According to the Arabic tradition, [4]) Tamīm ad-Dārī was a Christian, who seven years after the Hijrah became a Moslim; he then resided at Medina, transferring his abode to Jerusalem after the death of the third caliph. It is said that he was the first who "told stories". In the sacred traditions [5]) we are told how the Prophet quoted a story which he had heard from Tamīm in confirmation of what he had already taught the faithful with regard to Antichrist etc. Tamīm is represented as having narrated how once, before his conversion, he and a number of his comrades chanced to land upon an island, where they found

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1) In the work of Herklots p. 110, the wife of Ḥusain is called Shahr-bano.

2) سمر لعين, properly = "Sama the accursed". The Arab. name is Shamir. In South India it seems to be pronounced Shumar; see Qanoon-e-islam p. 110.

3) This Mohammad, called Ibnul-Ḥanafiyyah after his mother, borrowed his reputation almost in his own despite from an unsuccessful Shi'ite rebellion and afterwards became the patron saint of some branches of the Shī'ah.

This corrupt tradition also comes from India. Among the Urdu books mentioned in the catalogues of the Fathul Kareem Press at Bombay we find both جنگنامه محمد حنيف and محمد حنيف وسفيد ديو.

4) See the article on Tamīm in the *Tahḍīb* of Nawawī, ed. Wüstenfeld.

5) See the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Moslim ed. Būlāq 1290 H. Vol. II, pp. 379 et seq.

Antichrist and another monster (Jassāsah) waiting to break oose at the approaching end of the world.

This more than apocryphal tradition [1]) is the basis of a story hitherto known only in its Malay form, and in which all the data of the ancient Moslim history are turned topsy-turvy and even made a mockery of. We are told that Tamīm was kidnapped by an infidel jén while bathing at Medina, and thereafter forcibly borne away on a highly adventurous expedition through the upper and lower worlds, in the course of which he was withheld far from Medina for one hundred years.

Among the many encounters which he had we are told of that with Daddjāl (Antichrist), the believing and infidel jéns that made war on one another, and the prophet Chidhr.

Meanwhile Tamīm's wife was divorced from her husband seven years after his disappearance, by the caliph Omar (for to this period the story belongs), and joined in marriage with another husband. Before the consummation of the marriage, Tamīm was brought back by good spirits, and his wife found him at the well; but he was covered with long hair and quite unrecognisable. After the necessary change of shape they were re-united, and Tamīm at Umar's command related to the faithful all that he had beheld and experienced in other worlds invisible to man.

This Malay story [2]) has been translated into Achehnese with much foreshortening and license. In the Achehnese poem Tamīm has been wrongly called a "helper" [3]) of the prophet; he is given three children (two too many), while his wife bears a name thas does not belong to her.

The narration of the occurrences is as insipid as can be, and would only please an audience which likes the absurd for its own sake. With

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1) Probably this tissue of impossibilities originated in South India and was brought thence to the Eastern Archipelago. In W. Geiger's *Balucische Texte mit Uebersetzung* (Zeitschrift d. deutschen morgenländ. Gesellschaft Bd. XLVII S. 440 ff.) we find on pp. 444—45 a story about a nameless infidel merchant in the time of Mohammad, whose adventures in the main recall those of the Tamīm of the Malay and Achehnese legend, though the details are very different. In the catalogues of the Fathul Kareem Press at Bombay there appear versions of the story of Tamim Ançari in Urdu and Afghan.

2) This may be found in the collection of Von de Wall (Batav. Genootschap) under N° 101. See p. 17 of Van den Berg's *Verslag* and Van der Tuuks notes in "*Essays relating to Indo-China*", 2d series, p. 34, in which mention is made of the copies preserved elsewhere and of a lithographed edition.

3) This is the proper meaning of Ansa, which is a corruption of the Arabic Ançār.

regard to style also the work belongs to the poorest part of the Achehnese literature.

Abu Samaïh (LXXIII).

Hikayat Abu Samaih.

Abu Shaḥmah was the name of a son of the second caliph Umar. It is told of him that the Prefect of Egypt under the latter scourged him for using wine; when he returned to Medina Umar had him scourged a second time and he died shortly afterwards [1]).

In the Achehnese legend which is embroidered on this framework, Abu Samaïh is said to have been an excellent reciter of the Qurān, but to have become a prey to self-conceit. As a means to cure himself of this fault, he let himself be over-persuaded by a Jew to take strong drink, and in his cups he had an intrigue with this Jew's daughter. When the child born of this intercourse was shown to Umar, he had his son scourged to death in spite of the prayers of the faithful and the tears of the celestial nymphs.

Hikayat Sòydina Amdah or *Tambihōnisa* (LXXIV).

Hikayat Sòydina Amdah.

This little poem borrows its name, not from its actual theme but from its opening verses. It begins with a versified list of holy places, especially at Mekka and Medina, but elsewhere as well, set down without any regard to order. Every couplet in this list is followed by another containing a prayer for welfare and blessing. The first place mentioned is the grave of Mohammads' uncle Hamzah (Ach. Amdah) on the mountain of Uhud (Ach. Ahat) [2]).

Women are in the habit of chanting (*meuchakri*) this poem when they join in holding a *ratéb Saman*. It is to this custom that the poem owes its second name of *Tambihōnisa* (تنبيه النساء) i. e. "Admonition of women".

Another hikayat which is often chanted in the womens' ratébs, whence Ratèb inóng.

1) See Nawawī's *Tahḏīb al-Asmā* ed. Wüstenfeld p. 385.

2) The legendary story of Hamzah's deeds, so popular in these countries, may with satisfactory certainty be said to have been composed from a Persian original. (See *De Roman van Amir Hamza* by Dr. Ph. S. van Ronkel, Leiden 1895). So far as I have been able to ascertain, it is very well known in Acheh, but only in the Malay rendering. The *subject* of this romance is very popular in the form of *haba*, or stories transmitted by word of mouth. Persian, Afghan and Urdu versions are mentioned in the catalogues of the Fathul Kareem Press at Bombay.

it is called *Seulaweuët* or *Ratéb inòng* (LXXV), contains a mystic commentary on the somewhat obscure verse of the Qurān 24 : 35. This versified treatise deals in brief with sundry celestial and primeval matters, its doctrines being derived from those circles of pantheistic mystics, who were once represented in Acheh by the heretic Hamzah Pansuri and who won over to their teaching of the unity of God and the world a large majority of the people throughout the whole Indian Archipelago.

The three succeeding poems chiefly serve the purpose of recommending certain definite Arabic prayers. All manner of blessings, it is said, will fall upon the head of him who recites or wears them as an amulet upon his person.

Hikayat Ōteubahōy Rōlam.

Ōteubahōy rōlam [1]) (LXXVI) appeared after his death in a state of complete bliss to a man in a dream, and told him that he owed his salvation to the continual recitation of a certain Arabic formulary.

Hikayat Êdeurih Khōlani.

It was revealed to *Êdeurih Khōlani* [2]) (LXXVII) by Mohammed in a vision, that the prophet Khòylé (Ach. pronunciation of *Khidhir*, from the Arab. *Khidhr*) owed his long life and to some extent even his salvation to the multiplied repetition of certain passages from the Qurān.

Hikayat Hayaké Tujōh.

The Hayaké (عياكل) *tujōh* (LXXVIII) or seven haikals are given by Mohammad to his companions as an infallible charm, which is inscribed upon the throne of Allah, and which guards its possessors against all evils, brings them every blessing and enables them to hurl their enemies to destruction.

Hikayat Palilat uròë Achura.

Palilat uròë Achura (LXXIX).

This poem illustrates in some 125 verses the surpassing merit (*palilat*, Arab. فضيلة) of the day Achura, the 10th of the month Muḥarram, by a recapitulation of various important events in the lives of certain prophets (Adam, Ibrahim, Ya'ḳub, Musa, Isa (Jesus), Ayyub, Yusuf, Dawôt (David), Sulòyman and Junus) which are stated to have occurred

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1) عتبة الغلام i. e. ᶜUtbah the youth.

2) ادريس خولاني.

on this day. The faithful are therefore advised to take a ceremonial bath and to fast on the day Achura.

Hikayat Dari (LXXX). Hikayat Dari.

Dari (written *Dahri* [1])) is the name of an impious, ungodly heretic, who silenced all the Moslim teachers by his unequalled powers of reasoning, so that the creed was in danger. Happily there still remained one great teacher to withstand him, named Ahmat [2]). A disciple of the latter, Imeum Hanapi (i. e. Abu Hanīfah, after whom one of the four orthodox schools is named), though no more than a child, begs his master to let him measure his strength in open discussion with this enemy of God. Should he fail, Ahmad could then be appealed to.

Imeum Hanapi succeeded in making such brilliant replies to the two catch-questions given him that Dari was covered with shame and compelled to retire for good from the theological arena. The two questions were: "How can God exist without occupying space?", and "What is God doing at this present moment?"

The *Kisah Abdōlah Hadat* (LXXXI) of Chèh Marahaban can hardly be regarded as a biography of Sayyid Abdallah al-Ḥaddād, the great saint of Ḥadramaut. The learned author, who also translated for the Achehnese a poetical version of the teaching of al-Ḥaddād, has confined himself to drawing attention to the excellences of that wali (saint), and the rich blessings given forth by him while yet alive and even after his death from his grave at Trīm (Ḥadramaut). Kisah Abdōlah Hadat.

Surat kriman (LXXXII). Surat kriman.

The inhabitants of the meanest class in the sacred cities are in the habit of occasionally distributing among unsophisticated pilgrims the "Last Admonitions [3]) of the Prophet to his people". The purport is

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1) *Dahri* in Arabic means materialist or atheist, but is used as a proper name in this story. It is even added that Dahri belonged to the sect of the *Mujassimah* or anthropomorphists; but the class of people in Acheh who amuse themselves with stories such as this, are more ready to regard this mysterious name as a family appellation rather than that of an heretical sect.

2) The teacher of Abu Ḥanifah was in fact called Ḥammād.

3) The usual title which also appears in native versions is *Waçiyyat*, "admonition", and we find this name at the end of the Achehnese version, but its popular title is *Surat Kriman* (from the Mal. *Kiriman*) i. e. letter or epistle.

always the same, namely that a little while before, the Prophet has appeared to some devout man (generally called Abdallah or Çâliḥ) and revealed to him that the patience of Allah is exhausted by the ever-increasing sins of the Moslims; that great calamities are soon to come upon the world as a foreshadowing of the day of Judgment, but that the Lord has granted to Mohammad a period of respite in order that he may make some last efforts for the conversion of this people.

If all believers will now show themselves zealous of good works, if they will prepare themselves by fasting and almsgiving and break off all communion with those who refuse to believe in this vision and remain backward in the fulfilment of their duties, there still remains for them a chance of salvation.

A chief object of these waçiyyats, which are usually composed in the most slovenly style, appears to be to assure certain profits to those who distribute them, for they contain repeated and emphatic injunctions to hearers or readers to recompense the bearers of the tidings.

It is especially in the more distant parts of the Mohammedan world, such as West Africa and the East Indies, that the waçiyyat, in spite of its re-appearance at stated intervals, finds most widespread belief. Its dissemination always results in scattered Mohammedan revivals, coupled with religious intolerance.

In the *Indische Gids* of July 1884 I published a translation, with notes, of such an "admonition". It appeared in 1880 and was circulated during that year throughout the Indian Archipelago, and its consequences excited a good deal of attention. Since that time various Malay, Javanese and Sundanese editions of the *wasiat nabi*, as the natives call it, have come into my possession. They show different dates, extending over a period of about 200 years.

I discovered also that these treatises are in fact current at Medina [1]) but do not attract the serious attention of the public in the holy cities. We learn from Louis Rinn [2]) that they enjoy a great reputation in West Africa.

About 1891 there descended again upon the East Indian Archipelago

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1) In 1884, when I first obtained a copy, having then no data to guide me, I felt some doubt as to their being genuine Medina publications, owing to their clumsiness of arrangement and defects of style. But these phenomena are fully explained by the low social position of their editors.

2) *Marabouts et Khouan* (Algiers 1884) p. 130. ff.

a perfect shower of copies of a new edition. It was printed and reprinted in Malay at Singapore, Palembang etc., and led orthodox pandits both in Hindustan and at Batavia to publish polemical treatises in which the *wasiat* was branded as a lying vision.

As may well be supposed, all these publications find their way in some form or other to Acheh; but I know of only two Achehnese versions in hikayat form. One is old; according to this the vision appeared on the 12th Rabiᶜ al-awwal 1217 Heg. (A.D. 1798), and the calamities predicted as being about to visit the world if the admonition were neglected, are announced for 1222 Heg. (A.D. 1807—8).

The seer of the vision is here called Çaliḥ (Ach. Salèh), and the compiler has given as Achehnese a complexion as possible to his subject. There is a curious prohibition against the slaughter of fat rams, with an injunction to eat fish only.

The other vision appeared to Sheikh Aḥmad (Ach. Amat) in Ḍu'lqaᶜdah 1287 (February 1871); in this version specific Achehnese vices, such as the increasing tendency to thieving as a result of opium-smoking, are quoted as among the causes of the approaching judgment.

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§ 9. Religious works.

c. *Books of instruction and edification.*

The works which we have just dealt with might be called edifying legends from which the reader could draw sundry lessons. Those which follow (some in hikayat form, some in nalam and some in prose) contain edifying instruction on religious matters, with an occasional story by way of illustration.

In so far as they are free from heretical or corrupt traditions, they are capable of being of service to the student or the pandit, but they are more strictly intended for persons who have had no schooling to guide them to a knowledge of the Law, of religious teaching or of sacred history. To such they supply some compensation for this deficiency, and that too in the most agreeable form which appeals most to the multitude, and without any severity of discipline.

Some of these works are compiled from the Arabic. This I have

noted where ascertained, but it may be true of one or two of the others as well.

Tujōh kisah.

Tujōh kisah [1]) (LXXXIII).

These "seven stories" stand more or less on the boundary line which separates this class from the last; in fact the first two comprise the same sort of material as the Hikayat nubuët (N° LXII). The following is a table of their contents:

Kisah 1. On the Nur Mohammad (the Mohammadan "logos").
Kisah 2. The creation of Adam.
Kisah 3. On death.
Kisah 4. The signs of the approach of the resurrection.
Kisah 5. The resurrection.
Kisah 6. Hell.
Kisah 7. Paradise.

Tambihōy insan.

Tambihōy insan [2]) (LXXXIV).

This "Admonition to man" contains a variegated but ill assorted collection of sacred legends interspersed with religious lessons of various kinds.

The writer first gives a long series of stories from the sacred history, both Mohammadan and pre-Mohammadan. Among them we find Karōn = the Korah of the Bible, Namrōt = Nimrod, Jōmjōmah = the skull raised to life (see LIX), and Ébeunu Adham = Ibrahim b. Adham. The main purpose of these legends is to draw the attention of mankind to the vanity of riches, fame, power and all that is of this world. Certain things are described as the counterpoise of man's apparent greatness, such as Allah's throne (*araih*), the fish which supports the earth and so on. After mention has been made of sundry events in the life of the Prophet, there follows by way of conclusion, just as in the preceding hikayat, a lengthy description of life in the next world.

Tambih tujōh blaïh.

Tambih tujōh blaïh (LXXXV).

We give below a list of the contents of these "seventeen admonitions". No introductory remarks are required.

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1) قصة Arab. = history, story, but in Ach. also = chapter.
2) تنبيه الانسان.

Tambih 1. On belief. 2. On piety. 3. On apostasy. 4. The high significance of the religious obligations. 5. The high rank of pandits among the faithful. 6. Duties towards parents. 7. How to behave towards one's teacher. 8. Duties of the wife towards the husband. This contains the teaching given by the Prophet to his daughter Fatimah [1]). 9. On bathing. 10. Our duty towards our neighbour. 11. The excellence of charity. 12. Usury. 13. Ritual religious exercises. 14. Irregularity in the performances of these exercises. 15. Story of a certain believer named Jadid bin Ata, who owing to the similarity of names was carried off by the angel of death by mistake in place of an infidel named Jadid bin Paré'. He was subsequently restored to life, so that he could narrate from actual experience the terrible doom that awaits kafirs after death. The history of Raja Jōmjōmah is also passingly alluded to. 16. On the punishments inflicted in the tomb. 17. The recompense for invoking a blessing (seulaweuët) on the Prophet.

Tambihōy Rapilin.

Tambihōy Rapilin [2]) (LXXXVI).

In this bulky "Admonition to the thoughtless" we find some of the subjects which are dealt with in the seventeen admonitions, and many others besides. It was translated from the Arabic by the learned kali [3]) of the XXVI Mukims, who lived in the first half of this century and derived the name of Teungku di Lam Gut from the gampōng of his wife. He completed his hikayat in Jumada l'akhīr 1242 = January 1827. His son and successor was father-in-law to the well-known Chèh Marahaban [4]), of whom mention has been made as an ulama and kali raja and subsequently as ulama of the Government.

A comprehensive table of contents of the Arabic original, the author of which, Abul-laith as-Samarqandī lived in the 4th century of the Hijrah, is to be found in Dr. O. Loth's Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts of the library of India Office (London 1877) p. 34, under N° 147.

The Achehnese rendering, which is somewhat free in regard to form, exhibits only a few trifling differences from the Arabic original as

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1) See p. 175 above.

2) تنبيه الغافلين.

3) See Vol. I, p. 101 and Vol. II, p. 28.

4) See Vol. I, pp. 101, 187.

regards its division into chapters. It has 95 chapters, thus one more than the edition noticed by Loth.

A few years ago this work was printed at the lithographing establishment of Haji Tirmīdi in Singapore, but in a most slovenly manner. Even the last figure of the date is undecipherable. Probably this is the only Achehnese book that has up to the present appeared in print.

Mènhajōy abidin.

Mènhajōy abidin (LXXXVII).

The Minhāj al-ʿAbidin of the celebrated Ghazālī († 1111), belongs to the same class as the worke we have just dealt with. It is a collection of sundry matters bearing on religious law, doctrinal teaching and even mysticism likely to be of use to the devout layman. The author of the much abbreviated Achehnese version is Chèh Marahaban [1]).

Hikayat ma'ripat (LXXXVIII).

This mystic disquisition introduces itself as a *kasidah* (qaçīdah), but the word seems to have been selected merely for purposes of rhyme, for there is nothing either in the form or contents of the hikayat that recalls an Arabic ḳasidah. The name given to the work above refers to its contents, for the first and most important part is devoted to the knowledge (Ma'ripat) of the nature of mankind.

In this work, as in so many similar mystic writings popular among the Malays, Javanese and Sundanese, man's knowledge of himself is so conceived that every item in the description of his nature, his characteristics etc., corresponds to something in the nature and qualities of God. Man and the whole world are revelations of the Godhead, and reveal its image; this concept prepares the way for the second theme which is developed by our poet under the title of *tawḥīd* (pronounced *tèèhit* by the Achehnese), i. e. the unity of God, which embraces all things and in which man and the world are thus included as forms of its manifestation.

Finally the ḍikr (Ach. *liké*) is described at great length as the best mean for advancing oneself in this knowledge of self which is at the same time knowledge of God, and so to weld together the doctrine of unity with existence proper that the *little* Ego may be merged in the *great*. The peculiar method of this recital of the confession of faith which is recommended to his readers by the poet, is, as he himself expressly

1) See Vol. I. pp. 101, 187 and Vol. II, p. 28.

says, borrowed from the Malay work *Umdat al-muḥtājīn* written by the great Achehnese saint *Abdurra'uf* (*Abdōra'ōh*), alias Teungku di Kuala [1]).

Besides this latter famous mystic work our author also quotes the Achehnese version of the *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn* [2]).

Though it does not appertain to the heretical form of mysticism, this Hikayat ma'ripat is a stumbling-block to those who have been brought up in the school of theology and religious learning which is at present winning its way more and more in Acheh. It belongs to the posthumous products of a period in which Mohammedanism in this Archipelago exhibited an Indian character; under the Arabic influences which are continually gaining ground in our age the ideas which it upholds could only pass current among the less developed or in the remoter districts of the country.

Habib Hadat.

Hikayat Habib Hadat (LXXXIX).

A didactic poem of the great Ḥadhramaut saint Sayyid Abdallah al-Haddād, is clothed in Achehnese dress by the same pandit, who also gives a biography of the author in verse [3]). The World, Death, Paradise and Hell are the four themes of which he treats.

Hikayat Meunajat.

The *Meunajat* [4]) (XC) i. e. "intimate converse" (especially with God), is also the work of Chèh Marahaban's pen. It is a prayer in verse which the author recommends the pious to recite during the last four hours of the night. It is thus similar in character to the three hymns mentioned above (p. 180) but in this last the narrative form is entirely absent, as the poet takes all the praise of his formularies to his own credit.

Of the following works, still more than of the foregoing, is it true that they take the place of "kitabs" or books of instruction for those who do not know enough Malay or Arabic to read the kitabs. It is from them that children and illiterate men and women gain a knowledge of the prime requirements of religion. Their chief contents are explanations of the attributes of God, of the angels and the prophets and some description of the laws as to purification and ritual prayers (*seumayang*).

1) See above p. 17.
2) See above pp. 185 and 186.
3) See p. 181.
4) Arab. مناجاة.

The twenty attributes of God (*sipheuët dua plōh*) have supplied the names of three works which however deal also with other kindred subjects.

Sipheuët dua plōh.

Sipheuët dua plōh (XCI).

This subject is dealt with in prose by a pious authoress called Teungku Lam Bhu' after the name of her gampōng. She was the wife of the learned Malay Abduççamad Patani, and composed this treatise for the benefit of her own disciples.

Nalam sipheuët dua plōh.

Nalam sipheuët dua plōh (XCII).

This is a somewhat prolix poem on the same subject by an unknown author, composed in *nalam*, the Achehnese imitation of the Arabic rajaz metre.

Second Nalam sipheuët dua plōh.

Nalam sipheuët dua plōh (XCIII).

The same subject has also been cast in *nalam* form by a third writer Teungku Ba' Jeuleupè, so called from his gampōng in Daya. He was a disciple of Chèh Marahaban and died fully 30 years ago. His version is much briefer and more terse than the last.

Beukeumeunan (prose).

Beukeumeunan (XCIV).

This is a treatise much used for elementary teaching. It is composed in prose by an unknown author and deals with the same subject as the last and also those of ritual purification and prayer (*seumayang*.) Its name is a genuine Achehnese expletive. *Beukeumeunan* means "If this be the case", and the Achehnese when at fault for any other introduction, are wont to begin their sentences (in the colloquial only) with this word or one of its synonyms [1]). The writer of this little book wishes in this as in all other respects to be a good Achehnese, so he introduces every fresh paragraph with *beukeumeunan*, whence the name.

With the exception of the above-mentioned treatise of the lady Teungku Lam Bhu', this is the only prose work of the Achehnese with which I am acquainted.

Abda'u (nalam).

Abda'u or *Nalam Chèh Marduki* (XCV).

This is the Achehnese version of "a catechism for laymen" (Aqîdat

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1) The Malays often use "kalau bëgitu" in the same way. (*Translator*.)

al^{c}awāmm) in verse written by the Arabic pandit Abu'l-Fauz al-Marzûḳî [1]). It takes its name from the (Arabic) word with which the original begins [2]).

Among the Malays also this didactic poem, which is largely recited in elementary schools, is known as *Abda'u*; and like the Malays the Achehnese are in the habit of repeating after each Arabic verse recited, its translation in nalam or an imitation of the rajaz-metre.

Akeubarō karim [3]) (XCVI). Akeubarō karim.

This somewhat lengthy work bears the peculiar title of "Tales of the Generous". It contains, in its ten chapters (*pasay*), the principle truths of the catechism, together with the laws of purification and prayer. It is composed, not in nalam, but in the Achehnese *sanja'* and has thus the form of a hikayat.

Nalam Jawòë (XCVII). Nalam Jawòë.

Chèh Marahaban's *Nalam Jawòë* is more particularly devoted to the component parts of the *seumayang* or five daily prayers.

Although the name signifies "Malay didactic poem", the work is for the most part composed in Achehnese; but, as the author himself announces in his introduction, there is an occasional intermixture of Arabic and Malay.

Hikayat Basa Jawòë (XCVIII. Hikayat Basa Jawòë.

To complete our list we should mention the little work called *Hikayat basa jawòë* (Poem on the Malay language), in which without a semblance of method, a number of Malay words are given with their Achehnese equivalents. It is intended to serve as some sort of preparation for the reading of Malay books to those who are practically ignorant of Malay.

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1) It was lithographed by Ḥasan at-Tōchī at Cairo (1301 H.) in the Majmu^{c} Laṭīf which contains sundry Maulid's and prayers. There is another edition with a commentary by Mohammad Nawawi the pandit of Banten.

2) The first half-verse runs thus: "I begin (*abda'u*) with the name of Allah and of the Merciful".

3) اخبار الكريم.

CHAPTER III.

GAMES AND PASTIMES.

§ 1. Various games of young and old.

Childrens' toys.

Over the cradles of little children in Acheh are hung sundry objects cut out of paper which charm the infant by their colour and movement and as it were hypnotise him. These are called *keumbay bundi*. A like purpose is served by boiled eggs coloured red and transfixed with a small piece of stick, with paper ornaments fastened on the top.

In Java they use rattles called *klontongan* [1]) with membranes of paper and a little string on either side to which is attached some hard object. When the wooden handle passing through the drum of the rattle is smartly twisted round, these pellets strike the membrane in quick succession. In Acheh these are known under the name of *tèngtòng* or *geundrang changgue'* (frogs' drum), as the noise they make bears some resemblance to the croaking of frogs.

Boys play a good deal with tops (*gaséng*). [2]) A kind of humming-top is made from the *kumukōih*-fruit by thrusting a stick through it by way of axis, and making a hole in the side. The wooden tops resemble our own [3]).

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1) Mal. *kĕlĕntong (Translator)*.

2) The Malay word is identical with the Achehnese *(gaseng)*. Among the Malays both old and young delight in spinning tops. Skeat mentions *(Malay Magic* p. 485) a bamboo humming top, said however to have been borrowed from the Chinese. *(Translator)*.

3) Those for children the wood of which is brought to a point are called "female" tops *(gaséng inòng)*; those with round iron spindles *gaséng bulat*, those with a chisel-shaped point *gaséng pheuët*. There is a certain game with this last in which there are two parties, as a rule from different gampōngs, and the conquerors are allowed to "hack" the tops of the losers. (I have seen a game very like this played by school-boys with similar "peg. tops" in the North of Ireland). *(Translator)*.

The flying of kites [1]) *(pupò glayang)* is a favourite recreation of both old and young. Children play with a simple kind of kite which may also be often seen in Java; in Achehnese they are called *glayang tukòng*. Grown-up people fly large, but very pretty and more compli-



NATIVE HOUSE; IN THE FOREGROUND A KITE (GLAYANG).

cated kites which are called *glayang kleuëng* from their resemblance to the kite (the bird). A representation of one of these may be seen in the photograph. Their owners have matches, sometimes for money, as to who can get his kite to rise highest, the cords being of equal length.

Kicking the cocoanut.

Meurimbang [2]) is the name of a game usually played by two boys one against the other. Each is provided with the top half of a cocoanut shell. Both are set on the ground at a certain distance from one another. One of the opponents kicks his own shell backwards and if he hits that of his opponent a certain number of times he has the privilege

1) Mal. *layang-layang* (in Penang *wau*). See Skeat's *Malay Magic* pp. 484—485. *(Translator).*
2) The Malays have a game called *porok* somewhat similar to this *(Translator).*

of giving his vanquished adversary a rub over the hand with the rough exterior of his shell.

Advantage of winning.

The winner's advantage in many of the native games consists in the right to inflict slight bodily tortures like the above. It is thus too for instance with the *meusimbang* [1]), a kind of knuckle-bone game with little stones, usually played by girls. Each stakes a like number of stones, which are thrown up, caught, or lifted off the ground while in motion by all the players in turn according to certain rules. Should any player become "dead", each of the others may smite the back of her hand seven times with the backs of theirs held loosely. The slaps are counted aloud up to seven with the same ceremonious delivery as in the exercise of certain charms [2]).

Knuckle-bones.

Girls often imitate in play the employments which await them later on as mothers and housekeepers. They sift sand in a piece of the spathe (*seutuë'*) of the betel-nut, pretending that it is rice or rice-flour. Or else the mother makes for her daughter a warp for weaving from the fine innermost coating (*seuludang*) of this spathe by drawing off alternate strips where it is longest. The daughter is then set to weave this *neudòng* as it is called, across from left to right with similar stripes. After each insertion the woof is driven home with a slip of wood which serves as *peunò'* ("weaver's rod" = Mal. *bĕlīra*). They also weave mats from plantain-leaves. The task of stitching edgings in the mirah-pati pattern ⊠⊠⊠⊠ stands on the borderland between play and earnest for little girls. The triangular spaces are covered with patches of various colours in imitation of the larger borders used for cushions and curtains.

Dolls.

Dolls (*patōng*) are made from the *seulumpuë' pisang* (plantain-stem). These puppets, on which the little ones lavish their motherly care, are not untastefully dressed up in sundry bright-coloured shreds and patches.

Playing at soldiers.

Boys are given imitation weapons as playthings, swords and reunchōngs made of the midrib of the cocoanut leaf, guns from the midribs of the leaves of other palms, and so on. Teungku Kuta Karang in his political pamphlet [3]) notices as a characteristic trait of Achehnese children that little boys when howling lustily can be quieted by nothing so well as the sight of a flashing weapon.

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1) The general meaning of *simbang* is to throw something up and catch it on the open palm or in the closed hand. (This game is also played among the Malay and by them known as *main sĕremban*). *(Translator).*

2) See Vol. I, p. 307.

3) See Vol. I, p. 186.

It was a custom formerly more common than it now is for young lads, generally of different gampōngs, to have wrestling combats (*meulhò*) with one another. To start the game a quarrel is picked on purpose [1]), and there have sometimes been bones broken and blood spilt in these mimic battles. Playing at war.

The game, called *meusòmsòm* ("covering up") is played with a ring made of rope. One of the players conceals this beneath a heap of sand, and the others must in turn prod for it with a stick. If the stick is found not to have been stuck inside the ring, the first "hider" may hide it again, on which a third player "prods". The winner, i. e. he who succeeds in thrusting his stick within the circumference of the ring, has the privilege of hiding it until another wins. Hiding the ring.

A favourite game of ball is the *meu'awō*. The ball is made by plaiting the young leaves of the cocoanut so as to form a sphere, and filling the interior with some hard material such as clay. Two parties of equal number take up their stand at a suitable interval from one another. The side which opens the game (*é*, lit. = "to come up") stands near a small stick or rib of the arèn-leaf (*puréh*) which in the game is known as *bu* (rice) [2]). From this position one of the players throws the ball backwards over his head in the direction of the opposing side; if they catch it, the first player is "dead". If they fail, the opposite party has now to endeavour to hit the *bu* with the ball and overthrow it. Should they succeed in doing so, the first player is then dead. Should he survive, he has another turn, but each turn only gives the right to have a single throw. When the whole side is dead, it is succeeded by another. Game of ball.

There are two other games played with balls, on which there is no winning (*meunang*) or losing (*talō*), but which only give an opportunity for the display of bodily strength and skill (*meuteuga-teuga*). These are football (*sipa' raga*) which is also such a favourite pastime amongst the Malays [3]), and *meulagi*. In this last the ball (*raga*, made of plaited

1) For instance A lays a leaf on his head and then throws it on the ground with a challenging air; B one of the opposite party tramples or spits upon it, after which the war begins.

2) In sundry games an object which is, as it were, guarded by one side or by one player is called *bu*; the comparison being the care with which men tend the staff of life.

3) The Malay game of *sepak raga* resembles the *meulagi* as here described, except that the ball is kept going with the foot and not with the hand. The Malays sometimes attain extraordinary skill in this game. I have seen a party of 10 Province Wellesley Malays

rattan) is thrown into the air by one of the players, after which it is kept going by a smart blow with the hand, all the players doing their best to keep it flying by fresh buffets.

There is another game of *meulagi* in which a ball (*bòh*) is thrown up and driven off with a sort of bat (*gò*) by one side, and then struck back by the other. A variety of this in which a stick about $^3/_4$ of a yard long serves as *gò* and a shorter stick as *bòh*, is known as *meusinggam*.

The Achehnese have a combination of our hide and seek [1]) and prisoners-base in their *mupét-pét* or *meukō-kō* [2]), which both girls and boys play together. Two sides of equal number are formed. The first go and hide in different places, while meantime the second keep their eyes shut or their backs turned. One player of the hiding side, however, stays and keeps watch at the *bu*, for which a tree or some similar object is selected. When the hiders call *kō*, the seeking begins. The hidden ones however keep leaving their hiding places to "go and eat rice" (*pajōh bu*), that is to say they run with all possible speed to the tree, when they are safe from being touched by their opponents. If one of the latter succeeds in touching the body of any of the adverse side, or in taking possession of the tree (*bu*) at a moment when it is left unguarded, the players then change places, and the former seekers must go and hide in their turn.

A guessing game.

Meuraja-raja bisé (or *lisé* or *sisé*) is another game played by the children of both sexes. Between two sides of equal number stands a neutral *raja*, sometimes supported by a couple of *meuntròës* (mantris or ministers) to prevent unfairness on his part.

Each side has also a *nang* ("mother" or leader) who directs the game rather than takes part in it.

Those on one side choose by agreement which of their fellows is to be pushed into the midst by the *nang*; and this is secretly communicated to the raja.

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keep the ball up 120 times without once allowing it to drop. They kick it upwards with the ball of the foot, and skilful players in so doing often bring the foot up level with the breast, a feat quite impossible to the ordinary European, who can make nothing of the game. The Chinese play a similar game with large shuttlecocks. (*Translator*).

1) The Malay game of hide and seek is called *sorok-sorok*, see Skeat's *Malay Magic*, p. 500. (*Translator*).

2) The first name has reference to the shutting of their eyes by the one party, whilst the other hides; the second to the call "*kō*", when they have all hidden themselves ["kō" reminds us of "cosey", the cry in the English game of hide and seek]. (*Translator*).

A player on the other side now tries to guess the name of the one thus chosen. If he guesses wrong, then a new choice must be made by his own side, but if he guesses correctly, the child in question must go over as "dead" to the other side. The side which are all killed with the exception of the *nang*, loses the game, which then begins afresh.

The cock on board ship.

A variation of the above is to be found in the *mumanò'-manò' kapay* or *meukapay-kapay* ("the cock on board ship" or "ship game"). In this also two sides, each under a nang, take their stand opposite one another. Between them is a mat, on which sits one of the children with his face covered with a kerchief. The *nang* of the other side comes up to her opponent and asks "what ship is that"? She replies, say, "English". "What is the cargo". "Cocoanut shells". "What else"? "A blind cock". "Let him crow then"! Now the child crows three times as requested, and then the *nang* of the opposite side must guess who it is. The game then proceeds in the same way as the *meuraja-raja bisè'*.

Game of child-stealing

Meusugōt-sugōt [1]) or *meuchò'-chò' aneu'* (child-stealing) is played by girls and also by little boys [2]).

All the players but one stand in a row one behind the other, each holding on to the back of the garment of the one in front of her. The foremost is called the *nang* and must try and prevent the children from being "stolen" by the one who is not in the row and who plays the part of thief. The enemy however always succeeds in the end, in spite of the efforts of the "mother" in touching the children one by one and so compelling them to quit the line as being "dead".

Games with kemiri-nuts.

Kemiri-nuts (*bòh krèh*) are used in various games in Acheh as well as in neighbouring countries [3]). Two sides contend, usually for a wager as to who will first split the other's nut with his (*pupò' bòh krèh*) [4]). There is also a kind of marble-game (Ach. *mupadō'*), in which the *bòh krèh* is used.

The most favourite pastime however both with young and old is

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1) This word properly means, "combing each other", and is applied to this game simply because the children who play in it take their places one behind the other, as women are wont to do when combing each other's hair.

2) *Main sesel* or *kachau kueh* (vide Skeat, Malay Magic, p. 494) appears to be the Malay equivalent. (*Translator*).

3) Schoolboys in some parts of Great Britain and Ireland play a similar "hacking" game with horse-chestnuts. (*Translator*).

4) See the *Tijdschrift Teysmannia* for 1893, p. 786 et seq.

the game called *meugatò'* or *mupanta* [1]), mention of which is to be found in many hikayats. The number of players is not limited, but it can if necessary be played by two. Each player has a *bòh gatò'* or *bòh panta*, i. e. a betel-nut or a small hemisphere of horn or ivory. Some small holes are made in the ground in a straight line at intervals of from 7 to 9 feet. The players begin by each jerking his *bòh panta* from the first hole into the third. They shoot the missile by squeezing it hard between the fore finger of the right hand and the middle finger of the left, the elastic pressure of the fingers causing it to spring forward. Whoever succeeds in getting his *bòh panta* into or nearest of all to the third hole, gets a shot at the others to send them further away from that hole, and so on. The object of the game is to get the bòh panta into all the holes in the row a fixed number of times in the following order; 3, 2, 1, 2, 3, 2, 1 etc. At each shot the player endeavours either to attain the hole next in the sequence, or to knock away his opponent's *bòh* further from it.

Doing the latter has the double advantage of driving the adversary further from his goal, and of giving the player another shot at the hole, which is much easier than the first as he is now closer up to it.

The first who has got into all the holes in the row the required number of times is called the *raja*, but those who come after him are also esteemed winners. The last is the only loser and has to stand at the first hole and hold out his ankle (*gatò'*) as a target for the winners (*theun gatò'*). Each of them gets a shot at it from the third hole, not only with his own *bòh* but also those of all his fellow-players. The luckless member not infrequently becomes quite swollen in consequence of this operation, and it is in any case painful.

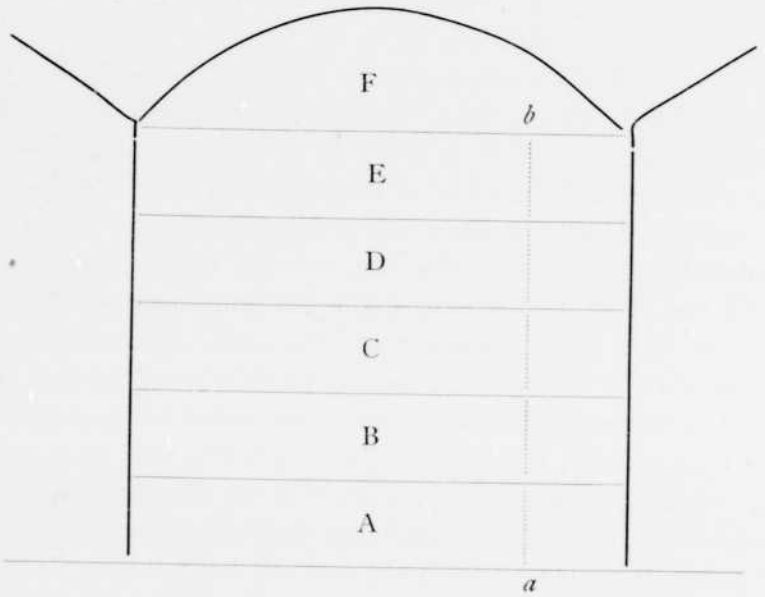
The "hopping-game" (hop-scotch; Ach. *meu'ingkhé* or *meungkhé*) is played in a good many different ways as regards details; we give here a single example.

A figure is first marked out like that represented on the next page on a small scale. The lines enclosing it are called *euë* (boundary of land). The four lines drawn from the extremities of the boundary at top and bottom

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1) This game is also common among the Malays who play it with marbles. It is very much the same as what is called in Ireland "three-hole span". The Malay name is *main guli*; it is played as here described, except as regards the penalty imposed on the loser, who is compelled to place his bare knuckles level with the rim of one hole, while all the winners take shots at them in turn from the next. *(Translator).*

are known as *misè* (strings); the spaces A—F as *rumòh* (houses). Each player (there are usually only two) has a fruit of the *lumbé* or *leumbé*[1]) as a ball to play the game with (*bòh*). The first player begins by throwing his ball into *rumòh* A, and then hops up to it without touching



the line (*euë*) and kicks it back with his free foot. Then he hops back within the boundary close to which he stops, plants his feet together and leaps over it, taking care to land with one of his feet covering the bòh. Should the player in the course of any of these operations come into contact with the *euë* or the *misè*, or should he hop badly, or fall or fail to alight on his *bòh* when he leaps, then he is dead, and the opposite side plays.

If the first turn is successful the same is done with *rumòh* B and so on till all the spaces have been visited. In kicking back the bòh out of the spaces B—F, it is not counted as a fault if the *bòh* lands in another *rumòh* and not beyond the boundaries, always provided that no boundary is touched.

The winning side sometimes refuses to give the losers their revenge except on the condition of the latter's playing their *bòh* up through the

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1) We have noticed this tree above Vol. I, pp. 411—412 as the dread abode of jéns, who cause goitre and other diseases.

smaller *rumòhs* on the right of the dotted live *ab*, which of course gives them a much worse chance.

Playing at fighting.

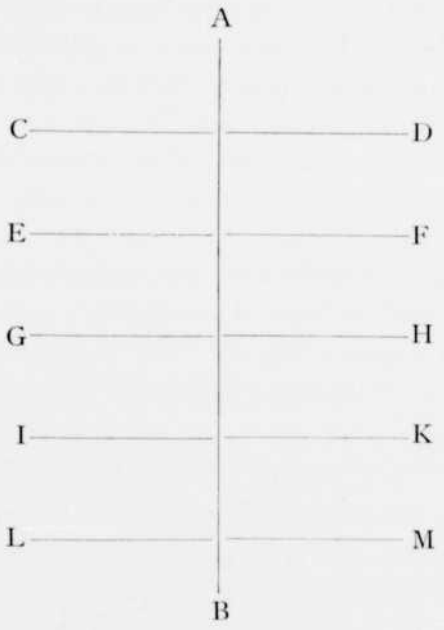
A more serious variation of the wrestling bouts which lads of different gampōngs hold with each other, is to be found in the *meuta'-tham* ("pushing and resisting"). This is also called *meukruëng-kruëng* "the river-game", as it is often played on the banks of rivers or creeks. In Pidië it is called *meugeudeu-geudeu*. It is played by full-grown youths, generally of sides chosen from two different gampōngs, and preferably in the evenings or at night at the time of the full moon.

The two sides are composed of an equal number of champions who meet on some wide open space, often in the presence of a great crowd of onlookers. One side (whose task is *tham* = "to withstand" and *dròb* = "to catch") is drawn up in line and keeps watch on their opponents. The latter endeavour to give each of their adversaries a push and then to run away at the top of their speed so as if possible to reach a boundary line far in their rear, before being overtaken by one of their enemies. Should one of them succeed in gaining the boundary unopposed after pushing an opponent, then he who received the thrust is reckoned dead; but the latter and his fellows (for more than one may pursue the fugitive) do their best to catch the assailant before he reaches the refuge. He for his part resists his capture with might and main, and none of his own side are allowed to help him. Thus sanguinary battles often occur; when once taken captive the fugitive is dead, whilst he whom he pushed remains alive. As soon as the whole side is dead, the order of the game is reversed.

Keuchi's, elders or panglimas are in the habit of attending these fighting games to prevent all serious violence. A prisoner who continues to resist through rage against his fate, they admonish to surrender; and they remind players who indulge in revengeful language through annoyance at a blow or push, that they have joined in the game of their own free will and have no right in any case to cherish revengeful feelings such as might display themselves in earnest when the game was over.

As we see, games savouring of war are very popular in Acheh. But we must not forget that it was necessary for the police to intervene before the *main pukulan* at Batavia and the *prang desa* in other parts of Java could be brought within bounds and rendered as harmless as they now are.

A more peaceful variation is the *meuta'-tham euë galah* [1]). A main line is drawn, called *euë galah* [2]) (A B in the figure). This is supposed to be produced indefinitely at both ends. Crossing this at right angles are a number of other lines (*euë linteuëng*) CD, EF etc., of equal length and separated by equal intervals. Their number depends on the number of players; thus 12 players require 5 *euë linteuëng*, 14 players 6, and so on. Each *euë* is guarded by one player, and these guards (6 in number in the figure below) form one side in the game. The other side has to try to make their way from in front of the line L M across all the euës till they get behind the line C D.



On their way they are exposed to the danger of being touched by the guards, in which case they become "dead". The guards of the cross lines must only strike in the direction from which the assailants advance; that of the main line can strike in every direction. In trying to hit his adversary no guard must move further from his line than he can jump with his feet touching. Otherwise his blow does not count.

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1) A variation of this game is played by the Malays of the Peninsula under the name *galah panjang (Translator)*.

2) The name *galah* given to the principal *euë* or boundary is taken from *galah* the pole with which prahōs or other vessels are propelled up a river.

Should one of the attacking party be touched then all are dead, and the players change places, but if once two of them succeed in passing backwards and forwards unopposed over the space between the lines LM and CD, this is called *bilōn* and they are the winners.

Rice-mortar game.

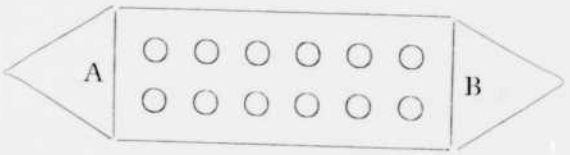
At the time of the full moon a number of grown girls or young women often assemble to *tòb alèë eumpiëng* [1]), literally = "to pound with eumpiëng-pounders". Each holds in her hand the mid-rib of an arèn-leaf, and with these implements they pound all together in the rice-mortar (*leusōng*) to the accompaniment of a singsong chant the effect of which is often pleasing to the ear.

Knuckle-bone game.

Girls are fond of a sort of knuckle-bone game, played with *keupula* (pips of the small fruit known in Java as native *sawo*). This game is called *meugeuti, meuguti,* or, in some places, *mupachih inòng* [2]), and is almost identical with that called *kubu'* in Java.

Chatō.

Another game which is much played by women and children, resembles in principle the Javanese *dakon* and is played with *peukula* or *geutuë* seeds or pebbles. Wooden boards are sometimes used for it, but as a rule the required holes are simply made in the ground, the whole being called the *uruë'* or holes of the game.



The little round holes are called *rumòh,* the big ones A and B *geudōng* or *chōh* and the pips *aneu'*. The game itself is known in different places under the names *chatō* [3]), *chuka'* and *jungka'*. There are four different ways of playing it in Achèh with which I am acquainted, called respectively *meusuëb, meuta', meuchōh, meuliëh.* Let us here describe the *meusuëb* as a specimen. [4])

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1) *Eumpiëng* is a sweetmeat made of grains of rice dried by tossing and then pounded in a mortar and sieved. It is eaten with a kind of jujube or some other titbit.

2) The game of *pachih* which we shall describe presently is only played by men; thus *meugeuti* though in no way resembling the other, is called the womens' *pachih.*

3) *Chatō* (chatur) is also the name for the ordinary game of chess, which is only played by the greater chiefs. In some places it is used to signify one of the forms of the tiger-game (*meurimuëng-rimuëng*).

4) I have seen this game of *chatō* as here described played by Kling (Tamil) immigrants in Province Wellesley. The Malays call it *main chongkak.* It is described by Skeat, *Malay Magic,* p. 486. (*Translator*).

The two players put 4 *aneu's* in each of six small holes. Then they commence to play, each in his turn taking the pips from any one hole selected at hap-hazard and distributing them among the other holes, dropping one in each they pass.

The direction followed is from left to right for the six holes next the player, and from right to left in the opposite ones. The player takes the contents of the hole he reaches with his last pip, and goes on playing. Should he reach an empty hole with his last pip he is dead.

Should it happen that when the player reaches the last hole which his store of pips enables him to gain, he finds 3 pips therein, he has *suëb* as it is called, that is to say he may add these 3 to the one he has still remaining and put these 4 as winnings in his *geudōng*. He can then go on playing with the pips in the next hole (*adòë suëb* = the "younger brother" of the *suëb*); but if this next hole be empty he may retain the winnings but the turn passes to his opponent.

Thus they go on until there are too few pips left outside the two *geudōngs* to play round with. Then each of the players takes one turn with one of the pips which remains over on his own side of the board. If he is compelled to put his pip in one of the holes on the opposite side, he loses it and when all the pips are thus lost the game is finished.

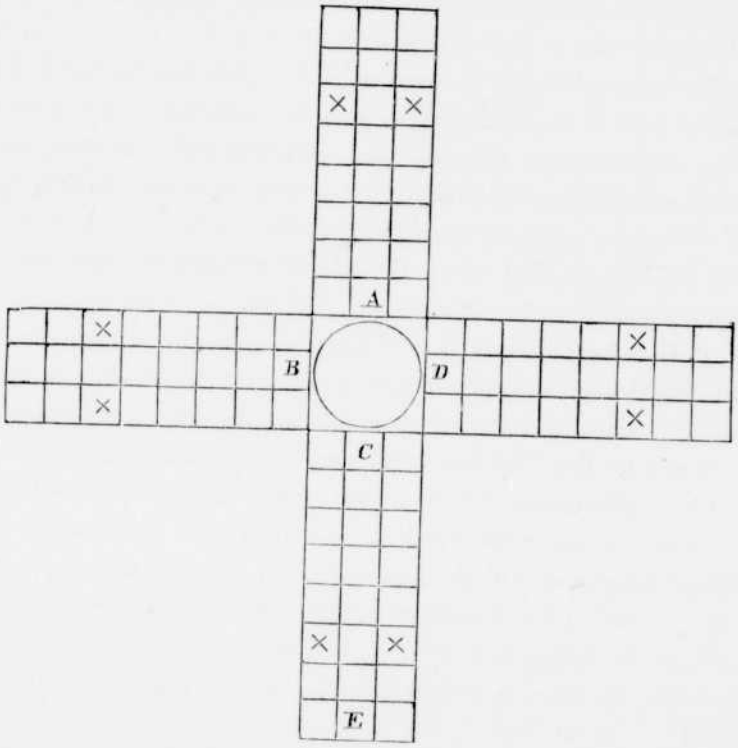
Pachih.

Pachih is a favourite game among the men in Acheh. They are well aware that it has been introduced by Klings and other natives of Hindustan. It has been adopted with but slight modifications and even such as there are may also possibly be of foreign origin, for the description of *pachisi* [1]) (= *pachih*) to be found in G. A. Herklots *Qanoon-e-islam*, Appx. pp. LVIII—LIX and Plate VII, Fig. 2, differs from the system of play adopted by the Klings now in Acheh, so that it would appear that there are varieties of this game in India also.

Pachih is played with two, three or four persons. Each player sits at one extremity of the cross-shaped pachih-board (*papeuën pachih*) or pachih-cloth (*ruja pachih*). Ornamental cloths are sometimes made for this game, with the squares handsomely embroidered. The starting points for the players are the squares A, B, C and D; in these each places

1) The name is derived from *pacchīs* the Hindustani for 25 that being one of the highest (according to Herklots' description *the* highest) throw of the game.

his 4 little conical *pawōïh* which are made of wood, of betelnuts or the like. The players now make throws by turns with seven cowries



which they cast with the hand. These shells must fall either with the opening upwards (*meulinteuëng*) or downward (*teugòm*). The value of the different throws is as follows:

7 shells opening upwards = 14; this throw is called *barah*
6 " " " = 30; " " " " *tih*
5 " " " = 25; " " " " *pachih*
4 " " " = 4;
3 " " " = 3;
2 " " " = 2;
1 " " " = 10;
7 " " downwards = 7; " " " *chòkah* or *chòka*.

After each throw the player may move one of his *pawōïhs* over a number of squares equal to the number of his throw. The direction followed is: from the starting-point, say C, down the middle line of squares to the player, then away from him up the right hand outer

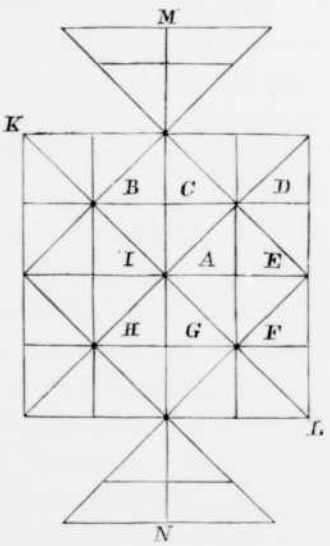
line of squares, then continuing along all the outside squares, until he returns to E; thence up the middle squares to the round central space. He who first brings his 4 pawōïhs into the central (*dalam* or *bungòng rayeu'*) is the winner.

The four throws to which distinctive names are given have, as it is called, a "younger brother" (*adòë*); that is to say they give the privilege of a fresh throw, but a player may not throw more than three times in succession, and after a throw that has no name the turn passes at once to the next player.

After each throw the player may choose which of his four pieces he will advance. The chief obstacle on the way to the central space consists in this, that when one player's *pawōïh* reaches a square on which another's is already standing, the latter must retreat to his starting-point (A, B, C or D); it is only in the squares marked thus × which are called *bungòng* (flower) that several *pawōïhs* are allowed to stand at once and take their chance.

The tiger game.

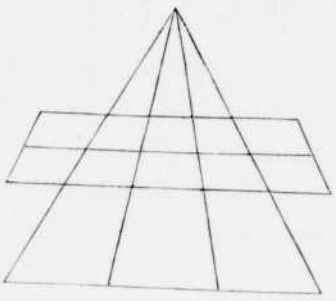
Certain other games which enjoy a great popularity in Java also under the name of *machanan* or the "tiger-game" and some varieties of which resemble our draughts, are known in Acheh under the generic name of *meu-rimuëng-rimuëng* ("tiger-game"). Although the actual origin of this game is no longer known, there can be no doubt of its having been introduced from India as is shown by the description in the *Qanoon-e-islam* of Herklots Appx. pp. LVIII and LIX, Plate VII, Fig. 3 of two games commonly played in Southern India. Indeed the figure on which according to Herklots the Mogul and Pathan [1]) game as it is called in South India, is played, is precisely the same as that on which the Achehnese play the tiger-game we shall first describe and the Javanese another variety of the same. Herklots also mentions another game called Madranggam [2]), played on the same board or figure, and which he calls "four tigers and sixteen sheep".



1) *Mogol-Putt'hān.* 2) *Mudranggam.*

The rules of the Achehnese tiger-game are as follows. The two tigers are placed at A, and the eight sheep at B, C, etc. to I, while the player keeps fifteen more sheep one of which he puts on the board whenever one of those in play is killed.

Each moves in turn along the lines of the figure. The tiger may take a sheep each time in any direction or even 3, 5 or 7 from one side of the figure to the other, as for example from K to L or from M. to N.



The game is played on the second figure here represented with 5 tigers and fifteen sheep. A tiger and a sheep are first placed on the board wherever the player likes. Fresh sheep are added one at a time after each move, so long as the supply lasts.

The game ends either when all the sheep are killed, or the tigers hemmed in so as to be unable to move; hence it is called *meurimuëng-rimuëng-dò'* in contradistinction to the next game. The word *dò'* [1]) which belongs originally to the verbiage of mysticism and betokens the state ot religious ecstasy arrived at in the howling recitations, has in Achehnese the general meaning of "swooning, falling into a faint". So it is applied to the tiger when hemmed in and unable to move.

The third game is called "*meurimuëng-rimuëng peuët plōh*" ("tiger-game played with forty") as each player puts forty pieces on the board and the *pusat* (navel) A remains unoccupied. The players may move and take in every direction and so eventually win, though no one is obliged to take if another move appears more advantageous.

As the two sides are exactly equal in number and in privileges, this sort of game of draughts can only in a figurative sense be said to belong to the tiger-games. It is called in Java *dam-daman*, from the Dutch *dam* = draughts.

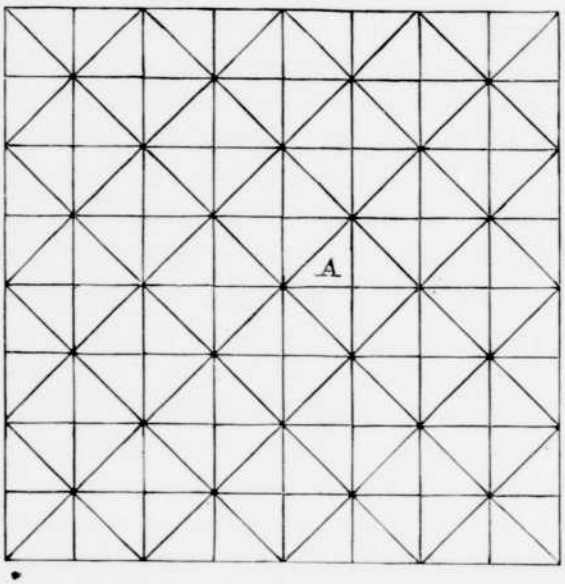
The figures for all these games are usually drawn on the ground, and small stones or the kernels of fruits serve as pieces. Where neces-

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1) From the Arabic *ḍauq* (ذوق) = savour or taste in general, and in particular the savour of the divine things of the mystics which sometimes causes a temporary loss of consciousness.

2) The Malays play all three under the name of *main rimau* or *main rimau kambing* ("tiger-game" or "tiger and goat-game".) *(Translator).*

sary (as in the case of tigers and sheep for instance) these are of different sizes and colours.



From examples such as that of these tiger-games which have long since acquired a genuine popularity far out among the islands of the Indian Archipelago in spite of their foreign origin, we may see how wide is the spread of such pastimes throughout the world even where civilization is still most primitive and the means of communion and intercourse with other nations few and far between.

Interchange of games between different peoples.

In like manner we find the Dutch word *knikker* (marble) widely diffused in the interior of Java miles beyond any place where European children have ever played.

What is true of childrens' games is without doubt still more applicable to human institutions. This is a fact that should impress on the science of ethnography the necessity for caution in drawing conclusions.

Undoubtedly the ethnography of later times has at its disposal innumerable data which point to the most remarkable results scarcely conceivable in former times, arising from the uniformity of the human organism — results which appear even in the details of man's mental life.

Manners and customs which the superficial enquirer might classify among the most peculiar characteristics of individual races, appear on closer observation to be in reality characteristics of a definite stage of

civilization in every region of the globe. The same is true of legends, theories regarding nature and the universe, proverbs etc.

But — the tiger-games and the marbles warn us of it — the fact that games such as these have been so widely spread by borrowing must prevent us too hastily excluding every form of indirect contact or interchange, even between peoples entirely strange to one another.

The examination of apparently insignificant pastimes has a value long since recognized in comparative ethnography and gives us at the same time an insight into the method of training the young practised by different peoples. More than this, in the games of children there survive dead or dying customs and superstitions of their ancestors, so that they form a little museum of the ethnography of the past.

Ni Towong in Java.

Of this we find a beautiful example in the Ni Towong in Java. In some districts in that island a figure is composed of a creel or basket with brooms for arms, a cocoanut-shell for head and eyes of chalk and soot, dressed in a garment purposely stolen for the occasion and otherwise rigged out so as to give it something of the human shape. This is placed in a cemetery by old women on the evening before Friday amid the burning of incense, and an hour or two later it is carried away to the humming of verses of incantation, the popular belief being that it is inspired with life by *Ni Towong* during the above process. Some women hold a mirror before the figure thus artificially endowed with a soul, and after beholding itself there in it is supposed to move of its own accord and to answer by gestures the questions put to it by the surrounding crowd, telling the maiden of her destined bridegroom, pointing out to the sick the tree whose leaf will cure his ailment, and so on.

Children who have often been present and beheld this apparation of Ni Towong, imitate it in their play, and continue to do so even when other superstitions or Mohammedan orthodoxy have relegated the original to obscurity, as is the case in many districts of Java and also at Batavia.

Thus too in all probability ancestral superstitions and disused customs survives in certain other pastimes of the young in Sumatra as well as in Java. They might be described as games of suggestion. We find an example among the Sundanese in Java, who in their *momonyetan*, *mĕmĕrakan* and similar games impart to their comrades the characteristics of the ape, the peacock or some other animal. The boy who submits

to be the subject of the game is placed under a cloth. He is sometimes made dizzy with incense and shaken to and fro by his companions, tapped on the head and subjected to various other stupefying manipulations. Meantime they chant incessantly round him in chorus a sort of rhyming incantation the meaning of which it is impossible fully to comprehend, but in which the animal typified is mentioned by name, and attention drawn to some of its characteristics.

After a while, if the charm succeeds the boy jumps up, climbs cocoanut and other fruit trees with the activity and gestures of an ape, and devours hard unripe fruits with greediness; or else, perhaps, he struts like a peacock, imitating its spreading tail with the gestures of his hands and its cries with his voice till at last his human consciousness returns to him.

When the actual "suggestion" does not take place, it becomes a game pure and simple. The "charmed" boy, when he thinks the proper time has come, merely makes some idiotic jumps and grimaces and perhaps climbs a tree or two or pursues his comrades in a threatening manner.

The children in Acheh also play these games, and it is especially the common ape (*buë*), the cocoanut monkey (*eungkòng*) and the elephant whose nature is supposed to be imparted to the boys by means of suggestion [1]).

At the time of the full moon young lads sometimes disguise themselves to give their comrades of the same gampōng a fright. Those who make their faces unrecognizable by means of a mask and their bodies by unwonted garments are known as *Si Dalupa*; where they imitate the forms of animals, they takes their appellation from that which they copy e. g. *meugajah-gajah* = to play the elephant.

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1) For the "ape-suggestion" they sing the following verse: *chhò' kalichhè'*, *kalichhò'*, *kanji rumi*, *meuteumeung kayèë cheukò'*, *jigò'-gò' lé si banggi*, i. e. "Chhò', the paste of Stambul is already slippery, already slippery, he finds a crooked tree. Opium smoker (nickname of the eungkòng, owing to his constant yawning) shakes him". The verse containing the elephant suggestion is almost entirely untranslateable.

§ 2. Games of Chance.

Amongst the games so far described there are several which are played for love or for money according to preference. There are also, however, a large number of purely gambling games, the issue of which is quite independent of the player's skill, and the object of which is to fleece the opponent of his money.

The passion for gambling betrays itself even among young lads who have no money to stake. Boys whom their fathers send out to cut grass for the cattle often play the „hurling-game" (*meutië'*) which is won by whoever can knock down or cut in twain a grass-stalk set up at a distance by throwing his grass-knife (*sadeuëb*) at it. The players wager on the result equal quantities of the grass they have cut; so it often happens that one of the party has no grass left when it is time to go home. Then he hastens to fill up his sack with leaves and rubbish, putting a little grass in on top to cover the deficiency, but should his father detect this fraud the fun of the *meutië'* is often succeeded by the pain of a sound thrashing at home.

Pitch and toss

As might naturally be expected, there are sundry gambling games which correspond with our "pitch and toss" [1]). For instance *meu'itam-puteh* (black or white") so called owing to the Achehnese leaden coins originally used for this game having been whitened with chalk on one side and blackened with soot on the other. The name is still in use, though the two sides of the Dutch or English coins now employed are called respectively *raja* or *patōng* ("king" or "doll") and *geudōng* (store house). In "tossing" (*mupèh*) one player takes two coins placed close together with their like sides touching each other, between his thumb and forefinger and knocks them against a stone or a piece of wood letting them go as he does so. Should both fall on the same side the person who tossed the coins wins; otherwise his opponent is the victor [2]).

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1) The Malay pitch and toss is called *main bunga kepala*, as the copper coins in use have all a head (kepala) on one side and some conventional ornamentation (bunga) on the other.

2) Among te Malays, one of the commonest gambling games played with coins is that known as *tuju lubang* (= "aim-at-the-hole"). It is mentioned but not described by both Newbold and Skeat; the former erroneously calls it tujoh lubang (= "sevenholes"). It is played as follows: a hole is made in the ground and each of the two players puts up a certain number of coins, say five a-piece. The first player stands at a prescribed distance

There are three sorts of games which may be called banking games, in all of which one of the players or an impartial outsider acts as banker.

1° *Meusréng* ("twirling"). The banker places a coin on the board on its edge and twirls it. Before it ceases to revolve he puts a cocoanut shell over it. Each player puts his stake on one of two spaces marked on the ground, one of which is called *puteh* (white) or *geudōng* and the other *itam* (black) or *patōng*. Then the banker lifts the cocoanut-shell, and sweeps in the stakes of the losing parties while he doubles those of the winners [1]).

2° *Meuché'*. In this game the banker takes a handful from a heap of copper money, and counts it to see whether it consists of an odd or even number of coins. The players are divided into sides who stake against each other on the odd or even. The banker often sits opposite the rest and joins in the game as a player without an opponent, or else he takes no part in the game and takes a commission from the rest as recompense for his bankership.

3° *Mupiteh*. The banker (*ureuëng mat piteh*) has in his control 120 pieces of money or fiches (from *piteh* = *pitis*, Chinese coins) and takes a handful from this store. Meanwhile the players stake on the numbers one, two, three and four. The handful taken by the banker is now divided by four, and all win who have staked on the figure which corresponds with the remainder left over, o counting as 4. The banker pays the winners twice their stake and rakes in the stakes on the other three numbers as his own profit [2]).

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and tries to throw all the coins into the hole. Should he fail to get any in, his opponent selects one as they lie and the first player has a shot at it with a spare coin. Should he hit it he has another turn; otherwise the turn passes to his opponent. Should the first player get all the coins into the hole, they all become his property; where some fall in and some remain outside, he gets a shot at one of the latter selected by the adversary, and if he can hit it without touching another (*bacha*) he wins them all; otherwise he only wins such as fall into the hole. In Malacca this game is known as *main kôba*. (*Translator*).

1) This resembles the Chinese game of *poh*, which is however slightly more complicated, as the players are allowed to bet on the lines separating the spaces, somewhat as in roulette. Instead of a coin the Chinese spin a little heavy brass box with a lid fitting over it, containing a die coloured red and white. The box which has a slightly rounded bottom is spun in the centre of the table. The lid is drawn off when the revolutions cease and the winners are those to whose side the red inclines. (*Translator*).

2) This game is practically identical with the Chinese *fantan*, the most popular of all gambling games in China. Counters are generally used by the Chinese in place of coins, and the handful is carefully divided into fours with a small bamboo wand. (*Translator*).

Card games.

The games with cards are of European origin. *Meusikupan*[1]) (literally "spade game" from the Dutch "schoppen" = "spades") is played with a pack of 52 cards, from which an even number of players receive 5 apiece. Each plays in turn, following not suit but colour; whoever first gets rid of all his cards wins the stake. *Meutrōb* ("trump game" from the Dutch "troef" = trumps) is played with a pack of 32 which is dealt among 4 players. Each in turn makes his own trumps. Those who sit opposite one another are partners, and the side that gains most tricks wins the game.

Islam and games of chance.

As we are aware, every kind of game of chance is most rigorously forbidden by Islam. In Achèh only the leubès and not even all these concern themselves about this prohibition. Most of the chiefs and the great majority of the people consider no festivity complete without a gamble. It is carried so far that even those headmen of gampōngs who as a rule are opposed to gaming in public, shut their eyes to transgressions of this kind on the two great religious feasts which form the holiest days of all the year. Nay more, they actually allow the meunasah, a public building originally dedicated to religion, to be used as a common gaming-house.

Tax on gambling.

In former days the ulèëbalangs utilized this prohibition of religious law simply as a means of increasing their revenues. To transgress an order of prohibition within their territory, it was necessary, they reasoned, to obtain their permission. Such licence they granted on payment of 1% on the amount staked. This source of income was called *upat*.

Fights of animals.

Under the general name of gambling (*meujudi*) the Achehnese include the various sorts of fights between animals which form with them so favourite and universal a pastime. As a matter of fact it is very exceptional to find such contests carried on simply for the honour and glory of victory.

Nurture of fighting animals.

Many chiefs and other prominent personages spend the greater part of their time in rearing their fighting animals.

The fighting bull or buffalo and the fighting ram are placed in a separate stall which is always kept scrupulously clean. They are only occasionally taken out, led by a rope, for a walk or to measure their strength momentarily against another by way of trial. They are most

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1) Malay *sakopong*. For an account of the Malay card games, see Skeat's *Malay Magic* pp. 487—493. *(Translator).*

carefully dieted and treated with shampooing and medicaments. When they are being made ready for an approaching fight, a constant watch is kept over them, and the chiefs, lazy as they are at other times, will get up several times in a night to see whether their servants are attending properly to the animals. Rams are taken for quick runs by way of exercise, and are exposed from time to time to the heat of a wood fire which is supposed to rid them of their superfluous fat.

Not a whit less care does the Achehnese noble bestow on his fighting cocks. In the day time they are fastened with cords to the posts underneath the house; but at night they are brought into the front verandah. They too rob their owners of a good deal of their night's rest. The neighbours of these amateurs are often waked at night by the cackling set up by the cocks while they are being bathed and having their bodies shampooed to make them supple; occasionally too they are allowed to fly at one another so that they may not forget their exalted destiny.

The other fighting birds, such as the *leuë'* and the *meureubō'* (both varieties of the dove, called by the Malays *tĕkukur* and *kĕtitiran*) [1]) the *puyōh* (a kind of quail) and the *chémpala* are kept in cages; with many princes and ulèëbalangs a leisurely promenade past their prisons takes the place of their devotional exercises in the morning. The *daruëts* (crickets) are kept in bamboo tubes (*bulōh daruët*).

No Achehnese devotes a measure of care to the cleanliness, the feeding, the repose and the pleasure of his own child in any way comparable to that he bestows on his scrupulous training of these fighting animals.

The great and formal tournaments of animals are held in *glanggangs* (enclosures) for which wide open spaces are selected. The arena is either marked off with posts or else simply indicated by the crowd of spectators who group themselves around it in an oval circle or square. Certain fixed days of the week on which fights regularly take place in a *glanggang*, are called *gantòë* (succession or turn).

All who desire to enter their animals in a contest against each other in the arena must first obtain the consent of the ulèëbalang in whose territory the glanggang is situated, whereupon they enter into the

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1) The Malays in the N. of the Straits call them *mĕrĕbō'* the identical word used by the Achehnese, making allowance for the difference in pronunciation. *(Translator).*

necessary agreements with one another. All this takes place several days before hand. At the making of the contract each party produces his fighting animal and exhibits it to his opponent in the presence of witnesses. When the stakes have been agreed upon, the two animals are symbolically dedicated to enmity against one another in the future by being allowed for a moment to charge each other with their heads down, or (in case of birds) to peck at each other. [1]) The animals are, after this ceremony, said to be "betrothed" (*meutunang or lam tunang*), while the owners are said to have "made this stake" (*ka meutarōh*).

The stake of each pair of opponents is called *tarōh ba'* = principal stake, and is handed over to an *ulèëbalang* or *keuchi'* (who usually deducts a commission for his trouble) to be delivered to the winner after the fight is over. Outsiders may in the meantime, both before and during the fight, lay wagers with one another on its issue; the amounts bet are called *tarōh chabeuëng* or additional stakes. Thus even in the midst of the struggle the betting men may be seen moving about through the crowd, while their cries "two to one, three to two!" and so on, alternate with the tide of battle within the glanggang [2]).

Final preparations.

The final preparation of the animals for the fight savours a good deal of superstition. Not only is the choice of strengthening and other medicines controlled by superstition, but *ajeumats* (charms) are employed by the owner to make his animal proof against the arts of witchcraft by which the opponent is sure to endeavour to weaken and rob it of its courage. The *kutikas* or tables of lucky times and seasons are resorted to in order to decide at what hour of the appointed day it will be best to start for the scene of the combat, and in what direction the animal shall issue from its stall.

Juara.

The animals are in the charge of their masters who however usually

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1) In the case of bullocks this symbolical challenge is called *pupò'* (the same name as is given to the combat proper); that of rams is known as *peusigòng*, and of birds *peututò'*, *peuchutò'*, *peuchatò'* or *peuchōh*.

2) Fights between animals, though now prohibited by law in the Colony of the Straits Settlements and discouraged by the Government of the Federated Malay States, have till recently and still are in the outlying districts, as popular among the Malays of the Peninsula as in Acheh. Skeat. (*Malay Magic* pp. 468—483) has collected and given in full the information furnished with regard to these pastimes by Newbold (*Malacca* vol. II, pp. 179—183 etc.) and Clifford (*In Court and Kampong* pp. 48—61 etc.). Cockfighting is especially dear to the Malay; the birds are generally armed with an artificial spur in the shape of a sharp steel blade (*taji*) which inflicts most deadly wounds, and the combats are thus usually *à l'outrance. (Translator).*



COCKFIGHTING.

employ one or two servants to look after them under the supervision of an expert *(juara)*.

These bring the animals to the scene of the encounter armed with all sorts of strengthening and invigorating appliances so as to render them service both before the fight and between the rounds.

To guard against the possibility of the adversary having buried some hostile talisman under the earth of the fighting-ring, the servants of each party go diligently over the ground every here and there with *ajeumats* which they pull over the surface by strings so as to drive away evil influences.

Fighting-birds are held in the hand by their *juaras* while both parties indulge in one or two sham attacks pending the time for the real onslaught the signal for which is given by the cry "*Ka asi*": "it is off". So long as this cry has not been heard, either party may hold back his bird to repair some real or fancied omission.

The first release of the birds is a critical moment, and each side tries to get its bird worked up to the proper pitch for it.

Errors in supervision, committed by one party and ascribed by the other to wilful malice, have led to sanguinary encounters and even to manslaughter.

Another stimulus to quarrels over the sport lies in the cries of applause (*sura'*) of the side whose cock seems to be winning. Should its opponents imagine that they see something insulting in the words used, or should the language be derogatory to the dignity of the owner of the losing bird, *reunchongs* and *sikins* will be promptly drawn.

Should one of the rival birds become exhausted, its *juara* and his helpers make every conceivable effort to instil new life into it by speaking to it, by spitting on it, by rubbing it, and so on. If the bird continues to lie helpless and breathless, or should it shun its foe and seek to escape from the fighting-ring, then the combat is decided against it.

To a European spectator there is something ridiculous in the different ways in which the *juaras* and others urge on their fighting-cocks. One sees greybeards dance madly round a yielding cock and hurl the bitterest insults at it: "dog of a cock! is this the way you repay all the trouble and care spent on you! Ha! that's better! So's that! Peck him on the head!" and so on. In reality however, these doings are no sillier than the excitement which racehorses and jockeys seem capable of arousing in a certain section of the European public.

If both the combatants decline to renew the fight after several rounds are over, the fight is said to be *sri;* in other words it is drawn.

The fights between *chémpalas, meureubō^{e}s* and *puyōhs* rank as belonging to a lower plane of sport than those of bulls, buffaloes, rams, cocks and *leue^{e}s,* while combats between crickets are officially regarded as an amusement for children [1]). For all that, older people are said not to disdain this childish sport; indeed it was said of the Pretender-Sultan that he was a great patron of fights between *daruët kléng* [2]), and often staked large sums upon the sport. According to what people say, it was due to this propensity that gambling was permitted within the house, since the young and lively *tuanku* would have been put to shame before his old guardian, Tuanku Asém, if he openly indulged in such unlawful pleasures at a time when stress was being laid on the abandonment of the godless Achehnese adats [3]).

Even when free from wagers and matches these pleasures are forbidden by Islam; how much more then when the two sins are inseparably intertwined! Under the war-created hegemony of the *Teungkus,* fights between animals are becoming rarer and rarer, to the great disgust of many chiefs and of most of the common people. These last fancy that it it is sufficient if these fights are held outside the limits of consecrated ground and on days other than the Friday.

In former times there seem to have been individuals who besides taking part in the ritual of divine service, had no compunction about actively sharing in these sports. At least in the historical hikayats we now and then come across persons bearing the appellation of *leube juara,* a combination which from an orthodox standpoint seems irreconcilable.

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1) To allow oxen, rams and buffaloes to fight is called *pupò^{e}* (the actual fighting is *mupò^{e}*); in the case of birds the terms are *peulōt* and *meulōt*; in the case of crickets *peukab* and *meukab.*

2) Only so called — "the Kling cricket" — from its dark colour; it is much used for fights.

3) These lines were written in 1893.

§ 3. Ratébs.

Character of the Achehnese ratébs.

To those well versed in the lore of Islam and not trained up to Achehnese prejudices and customs, the ratébs of the Achehnese present the appearance of a kind of parody on certain form of worship.

In the connection in which we here employ it, the word *ratéb* (Arab. *rātib*) [1]) signifies a form of prayer consisting of the repeated chanting in chorus [2]) of certain religious formulas, such as the confession of faith, a number of different epithets applied to God, or praises of Allah and his Apostle. These *ratébs* are not strictly enjoined by the religious law, but some of them are recommended to all believers by the sacred tradition, while others appertain to the systems established by the founders of certain tarīqahs or schools of mysticism.

The rātib Sammān in the Eastern Archipelago.

One *rātib*, which was introduced at Medina in the first half of the eighteenth century by a teacher of mysticism called *Sammān* whom the people revered as a saint, enjoys a high degree of popularity in the Eastern Archipelago. The same holy city was also the sphere of the teaching of another saint, *Aḥmad Qushāshī*, who flourished full half a century early (A. D. 1661), and whose Malay and Javanese disciples were the means of spreading so widely in the far East a certain form of the Shaṭṭārite tarīqah or form of mysticism. [3]) The latter teacher's influence was more extensive and had a greater effect on the religious life of the individual. The teaching conveyed by this *Satariah* to the majority of its votaries is indeed confined to the repetition of certain formulas at fixed seasons, generally after the performance of the prescribed prayers (*sĕmbahyang*); but many derive from it also a peculiar mystic lore with a colour of pantheism, which satisfies their cravings for the esoteric and abstruse.

Muḥammad Sammān and Aḥmad Qushāshī.

It was not the intention of Muḥammad Sammān any more than of Aḥmad Qushāshī to introduce any really new element into the sphere

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1) The root meaning of the word in Arabic is "standing firm"; it is applied to persons with a fixed as opposed to a temporary employment, and to things which are firmly fixed or settled.

2) The distinction between the *rātib* as a *ḍikir* chanted in chorus by a number of persons and a *ḍikir* which can be chanted by a single person, is entirely local. In Arabia every *ḍikr*, whether recited alone or in chorus at fixed seasons, is called *rātib*.

3) For further details respecting this teacher and his pupil Abdurra'uf, also revered as a saint in Acheh, see p. 17 et seq. above.

of mysticism; their object was rather to attract greater attention to, and win fresh votaries for, the methods of the earlier masters which they taught and practised. The results of the labours of the two, as evidenced in Indonesia, are of a very different nature. The writings or oral traditions of the spiritual descendants of Qushāshī in these countries are restricted to brief treatises on mystic bliss or more extended works on the training of mankind to a consciousness of their unity with God, while the outward manifestation of this Satariah is confined to the observance of certain simple and insignificant seasons of devotion.

The Samaniah was productive of votaries rather than of actual adepts, but wherever the former are, their presence makes itself at once felt. In the evenings and especially that which precedes Friday, the day of prayer, they assemble in the chapel of the gampōng or some other suitable place and there prolong far into the night the *ḍikrs* known as *rātib*, chanting the praises of Allah with voices that increase gradually in volume till they rise to a shout, and from a shout to a bellow. The young lads of the gampōng begin by attending this performance as onlookers; later they commence to imitate their elders and finally after due instruction join in the chorus themselves.

Noisy character of the rātib Sammān

Shaikh Sammān, the originator of this rātib, both composed the words and laid down rules as to the movements of the body and the postures which were to accompany them. There can be no question but that this teacher of mysticism held noise and motion to be powerful agents for producing the desired state of mystic transport. In this he differred from some of his brother teachers, who made quiet and repose the conditions for the proper performance of their ḍikrs. His disciples, however, have in later times gone very much further than their master in this respect, and such is especially the case with the votaries of the rātib Sammān in the Malayan Archipelago.

All orthodox teachers, even though they may be indulgent in the matter of noisiness in the celebration of the rātib and excessive gymnastic exercise of the members of the body as an accompaniment thereto, require of all who perform rātib or ḍikr, that they pronounce clearly and distinctly the words of the confession of faith and the names and designations of God; wanton breaches of this rule are even regarded by many as a token of unbelief. But in the East Indian Archipelago the performers of the rātib Sammān have strayed far from the right path. In place of the words of the shahādah, of the names or pronouns

(such as *Hu* i. e. He) used to designate Allah, senseless sounds are introduced which bear scarcely any resemblance to their originals. The votaries first sit in a half-kneeling posture, which they subsequently change for a standing one; they twist their bodies into all kinds of contortions, shaking their heads too and fro till they become giddy, and shouting a medley of such sounds as *Allahu éhé lahu sihihihihi* etc. This goes on till their bodies become bathed with perspiration, and they often attain to a state of unnatural excitement, which is by no means diminished by the custom observed in some places of extinguishing the lights.

Nasîb.

The different divisions of these most exhausting performances are separated from one another by intervals during which one of those present recites what is called a *nasib*. The proper meaning of this Arabic word is "love-poem". In the mystic teaching it is customary to represent the fellowship of the faithful with the Creator through the image of earthly love; these poems are composed in this spirit which combine the sexual with the mystic, or else love-poems are employed the original intention of which is purely worldly but which are adopted in a mystic sense and recited without any modification.

The *nasib* in Indonesia has wandered still further from its original prototype than is the case in Arabia. In place of Arabic verses we find here pantuns in Malay or other native languages, tales or dialogues in prose or verse, which have little or nothing to do with religion. Such a piece is recited by one or two of those present in succession, and the rest join in with a refrain or vary the performance by yelling in chorus the meaningless sounds above referred to.

Hikayat Sammān.

Histories of the life and doings of the saint Sammān are also very popular in the Archipelago. These tales are composed in Arabic, Malay and other native languages and contain an account of all the wonders that he wrought, and the virtues by which he was distinguished. They are generally known as *Hikāyat* or *Manāqib Sammān* ("Story" or "Excellences" of Sammān). They are valued not merely for their contents; their recitation in regarded as a meritorious task both for reader and listeners, and vows are often made in cases of sickness or mishap, to have the hikayat Sammān recited if the peril should be averted. The idea is that the saint whose story is the object of the vow, will through his intercession bring about the desired end [1]).

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1) A number of other sacred tales are employed in the same way in the Archipelago

The raték Saman in Acheh.

In Acheh, as in the neighbouring countries, the *raték Saman* is one of the devout recreations in which a religiously inclined public takes part in spite of the criticism of the more strict expounders of the law. The Achehnese would certainly deny us the right to classify *this* raték under the head of games and amusements nor should we include it in this category were it not that a description of this raték is requisite as an introduction to our account of those others, which even the Achehnese regard as corruptions of the true raték Saman, without any religious significance. They also declare that while the real raték Saman may be the subject of a vow, neither of those secular ratébs which we are now about to describe can properly become so.

In Acheh, as in other Mohammedan countries [1]), what is called the "true" raték Saman is noisy to an extreme degree; the *meunasah*, which is the usual scene of its performance, sometimes threatens to collapse, and the whole gampōng resounds with the shouting and stamping of the devotees. The youth of the gampōng often seize the opportunity to punish an unpopular comrade by thrusting him into the midst of the throng or else squeezing him against one of the posts of the meunasah with a violence that he remembers for days to come. There are no lights so that it is very difficult to detect the offenders, and in any case the latter can plead their state of holy ecstasy as an excuse!

The composition which does duty as *nasib* (= *nasīb*, see p. 218 above) is to outward appearance devoted to religious subjects, but on closer examination proves to be nothing but droll doggerel, in which appear some words from the parlance of mysticism and certain names from sacred history.

Women's raték.

The women have a raték Saman of their own, differing somewhat in details from that of the men, but identical with it in the main.

The part of the performance called *meunasib* ("recitation of *nasīb*") among the men is in the women's raték designated by the verb *meuchakri* or *meuhadi*. The mother in her cradlesong prays that her daughter may excel in this art.

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as for instance that of the shaving of Muhammad's head, the Biography of Sheikh Abdulqādir Jailānī, called in West-Java *Hikayat Sèh* (Shaikh) etc., etc.

1) In certain Malayan countries the planting and threshing of padi are performed by the whole of a neighbourhood in coöperation (*bĕrdrao*). This system recalls the "bees" of the United States of America. At the threshing a sort of noisy ratib is performed, varied by the occasional distribution of cocoanuts and sugarcane to the threshers. This custom is dying out in Province Wellesley, but is still to be met with in Perak. (*Translator*).

Specimens of the ratéb Saman.

We may here give a small specimen of each of these interludes to the ratébs. Like almost every composition in the Achehnese language they are made in the common metre known as *sanja'*. The following is a sample of *nasib* from a men's ratéb [1]):

"The holy mosque (i. e. that at Mekka), Alahu, Alahu, in the holy mosque are three persons: one of them is our Prophet, the other two his companions. He sends a letter to the land of Shām (Syria), with a command that all Dutchmen shall become Moslems. These Jewish infidels [2]) will not adopt the true faith, their religion is in a state of everlasting decay".

The following is a sample of chakri from a women's ratéb [3]):

"In Paradise how glorious is the light, lamps hang all round; the lamps hang by no cord, but are suspended of themselves by the grace of the Lord."

There is one variety of the ratéb Saman which far surpasses the ordinary sort in noisiness. This is performed more especially in the fasting month at the *meudaröih*, when the recital of the Qurān in the meunasah is finished. The assembled devotees recite their ḍikr first sitting down, then standing and finally leaping madly; from two to four of those present act as leaders and cry *leu ileuheu*, the rest responding *ilalah*; the words: *hu, hu, ḥayyun, hu ḥayat* also form part of the chorus.

Ratéb Mènsa.

This ratéb is called *kuluhét* but more commonly *mènsa* by the Achehnese, who do not however know the real meaning of either word. *Mènsa* is, as a matter of fact, the Achehnese pronunciation of the arabic *minshār* = "saw". In the primbons or manuals of Java we actually find constant mention made of the *ḍikr al-minshārī* i. e. the "saw-dikr"; this is described in detail, and one explanation given of the name is that the performer should cause his voice on its outward course to penetrate through "the plank of his heart" as a carpenter saws through a wooden board. These descriptions are indeed borrowed from a manual of the Shaṭṭarite ṭarīqah [4]), but

1) *Meuseujidéharam Alahu Alahu, Meuseujidéharam na ureuëng dua dröë — nabiteu sidröë sabatneu dua. Neupeu'ét surat keudéh nanggröë Cham — geuyuë masõ' éseulam bandum blanda. Kaphé Yahudi han jitém masõ' — dalam suntõ' runtõh agama.*

2) As we saw above (p. 82 note 3) the popular tradition of the Achehnese is prone to regard the European infidels as followers of the prophet Musa (Moses) and worshippers of the sun.

3) *Dalam Cheuruga bukòn peungeuïh lé — meugantung kandé ban siseun lingka. Kandé meugantung hana ngòn talöë — meugantung keudröë Tuhan karõnya.*

4) This book is called *al-Jawāhir al-khamsah*. See Loth's *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts of the library of the India Office* (London 1877) p. 185—87.

the idea is of course applicable to any ṭarīqah, and the Achehnese have applied the "saw" notion as an ornamental epithet of the ratéb Saman.

The ratéb sadati.

The *ratéb sadati* is the most characteristic and at the same time the most favourite caricature of the religious ratéb met with in Acheh [1]). It is performed by companies of from 15 to 20 men accompanied by a pretty little boy in female dress who has been specially trained for the purpose. The men composing each company always come from the same gampōng; they are called the *daléms, aduëns* or *abangs* i. e. "elder brothers" of the boy, while the latter shares with the ratéb itself the name of *sadati.*

Each company has its *chèh* (Arab. *shaich*) who is also called *ulèë ratèb* (chief of the ratéb) or *pangkay* or *ba'* (director or foreman) and one or two persons called *radat* [2]), skilled in the melody of the chant (*lagèë*) and the recitation of *nasib* or *kisahs.*

Training of the boys.

The boys who are trained for these performances, are some of them the best-looking children of Nias slaves, while others are the offspring of poor Achehnese in the highlands. It is said that these last used sometimes to be stolen by the daléms, but they were more generally obtained by a transaction with the parents, not far removed from an actual purchase. The latter were induced by the payment of a sum of money to hand over to his intended "elder brethren" the most promising of their boys as regards voice and personal beauty. The parents satisfy their consciences with the reflection that the boy will be always finely dressed and tended with the utmost care, and that as he grows up he will learn how to provide for himself in the future.

Origin of the name sadati.

The following is the most probable origin of the name *sadati.* In Arabic love-poems, both those which are properly so called and those which are employed as a vehicle for mysticism, the languishing lover often makes his lament to his audience whom he addresses with the words *yā sadātī* (Arabic for "Oh, my masters!"). Such expressions, much corrupted like all that the Achehnese have borrowed from abroad, also appear in the sadati poetry. Hence no doubt the name of sadati came to be applied both to the ratéb itself, and later on to the boy who takes the leading part therein.

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1) This caricature of râtib is unknown among the Malays. *(Translator).*

2) Probably the Arab. *raddād*, which properly means "repeater" or "answerer", a name which is used in reference to the performers in other ḍikrs as well as these.

The sadati poetry.

A considerable portion of the poetry recited by the sadatis and their *daléms* is erotic and even paederastic in character; while the sadati himself in his female garb forms a special centre of attraction to the onlookers. But it is a mistake to suppose that the profession of sadati implies his being devoted to immoral purposes.

The morals of the sadatis.

The view taken by the daléms is that both the voice and the personal charms of their charge would quickly deteriorate if he were given over to vicious life. They have devoted much time to his training and much money to his wardrobe, and they take good care that they are not deprived prematurely of the interest on that capital, in the shape of the remuneration they receive from those who employ them as players.

The sadati-performance a contest.

The *ratéb sadati* always takes the form of a contest; two companies from different gampōngs, each with their sadatis, are always engaged and perform in turns, each trying to win the palm from the other.

The passion of the Achehnese for these exhibitions may be judged from the fact that a single performance lasts from about eight p. m. till noon of the following day, and is followed with unflagging interest by a great crowd of spectators.

We shall now proceed to give a brief description of a ratéb sadati. To avoid misconception of the subject we should here observe, that a ratéb of this description witnessed in Acheh by Mr. L. W. C. van den Berg in 1881, was entirely misunderstood by him [1]).

First of all, this performance was given at the request of a European in an unusual place, and thus fell short in many respects of the ordinary native representation; and in the next place Van den Berg only saw the beginning of the *ratéb duë'*, and those who furnished the entertainment found means to cut it short by telling him, in entire conflict with the truth, that the rest was all the same. Nor were these the only errors into which he fell. In the pious formulas recited by the *chèh* or leader by way of prologue, the names of all famous mystic teachers, (and among them that of Naqshiband) are extolled. Hearing this name he rushed to the conclusion that this was a mystic performance of the Naqshibandiyyah. The first Achehnese he met could have corrected this illusion had he enquired of him; and had the person questioned had some knowledge of the Naqshibandiyyah form of worship (which,

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1) *Tijdschr. van het Batav. genootschap*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 158 et seq. This contribution adds nothing to the knowledge of the matter indicated by its title.

by the way, is little known in Acheh) he would have added this further explanation that this mystic order is strongly opposed to that noisy recitation which is just the special characteristic of the *ratéb Saman* and of the *radéb sadati* which is a corruption of the latter.

Mounting of the performance.

In the enclosure where the performance is to take place, a simple shed is erected with bamboo or wooden posts and the ordinary thatch of sagopalm leaves. In this the two parties take up their position on opposite sides. The *daléms* or *abangs* of one party form a line, in the middle of which is the leader (*chèh* = Arab *shaich*, *ulèë*, *pangkay* or *ba'*). Behind them sit one or more of those who act as *radats*. Still further in the background is the *sadati*, already clothed in all his finery; he generally lies down and sleeps through the first portion of the performance, as he is not called upon to play his part till after midnight.

The sitting ratéb.

The prelude is called *ratéb duë'* or "sitting ratéb", since the *daléms* adopt therein the half-sitting, half-kneeling position assumed by a Moslim worshipper after a prostration, in the performance of ritual prayers (*sëmbahyang*).

One party leads off, while the other joins in the chorus, carefully following the tune and exactly imitating the gestures of their opponents.

The earlier stage of the recitation consists of an absolutely meaningless string of words, which the listeners take to be a medley of Arabic and Achehnese. Some of these pieces are in fact imitations of Arabic songs of praise, but so corrupted that it is difficult to trace the original. The names of the lagèës or "tunes" to which the pieces are recited, are also in some instances corrupted from Arabic words.

Task of the radat.

At the beginning of each division of the recitation, the *radat* of the leading party sets the tune, chanting somewhat as follows; — *ih ha la ilaha la ilahi* etc.; the others take their cue from him, or if they forget the words, are prompted by their *chèh* and all join in.

As to this stage of the proceedings we need only say that the first party chants a number of lagèës (usually five) in succession, and that in connection with many of these chants there is a series of rythmic gestures (also called *lagèë*) performed partly with the head and hands and partly with the aid of kerchiefs. The following are the names of a group of lagèës in common use:



REHEARSAL OF SADATI-PLAYERS, (RATÉB DUÉ').

1°. *Lagèë asòë idan* [1]), without any special gestures.

2°. *Lagèë sakinin*, accompanied by the *lagèë jaròë* ("hand tune"), i. e. an elegant series of movements of the hands performed by all in perfect time and unison, punctuated by the snapping of the fingers.

3°. *Lagèë ba'dō salam* [2]), accompanied by the *lagèë ija bungkōïh* ("tune of the folded kerchiefs"), in which each performer has before him a twisted kerchief which he gracefully manoeuvres in time with the chanting of his comrades.

4°. *Lagèë minidarwin*, accompanied by the *lagèë ija lhō'* ("tune of interwoven kerchiefs"). Each performer interlaces his kerchief with that of his neighbour; sometimes a chain of kerchiefs is thus formed. Later on they are disunited again and spread out in front of their several owners.

5°. *Lagèë salala* [3]), accompanied by the *lagèë ija ba' takuë* (tune of the kerchiefs on the neck). Here the kerchiefs are repeatedly drawn over the shoulders and round the throat.

Lagèës of the sitting ratéb.

These five examples will suffice to give some notion of how much of the real *ratéb* there is in this performance; it will be seen that we did not go too far in characterizing the latter as a caricature of the true *ratéb*, which is a chant in praise of God and his apostle. The "nonsense verses" to which these *lagèës* form the accompaniment are repeated over and over again, time after time, until the leading party has exhausted all the gymnastic exercises at its command in respect of that particular tune.

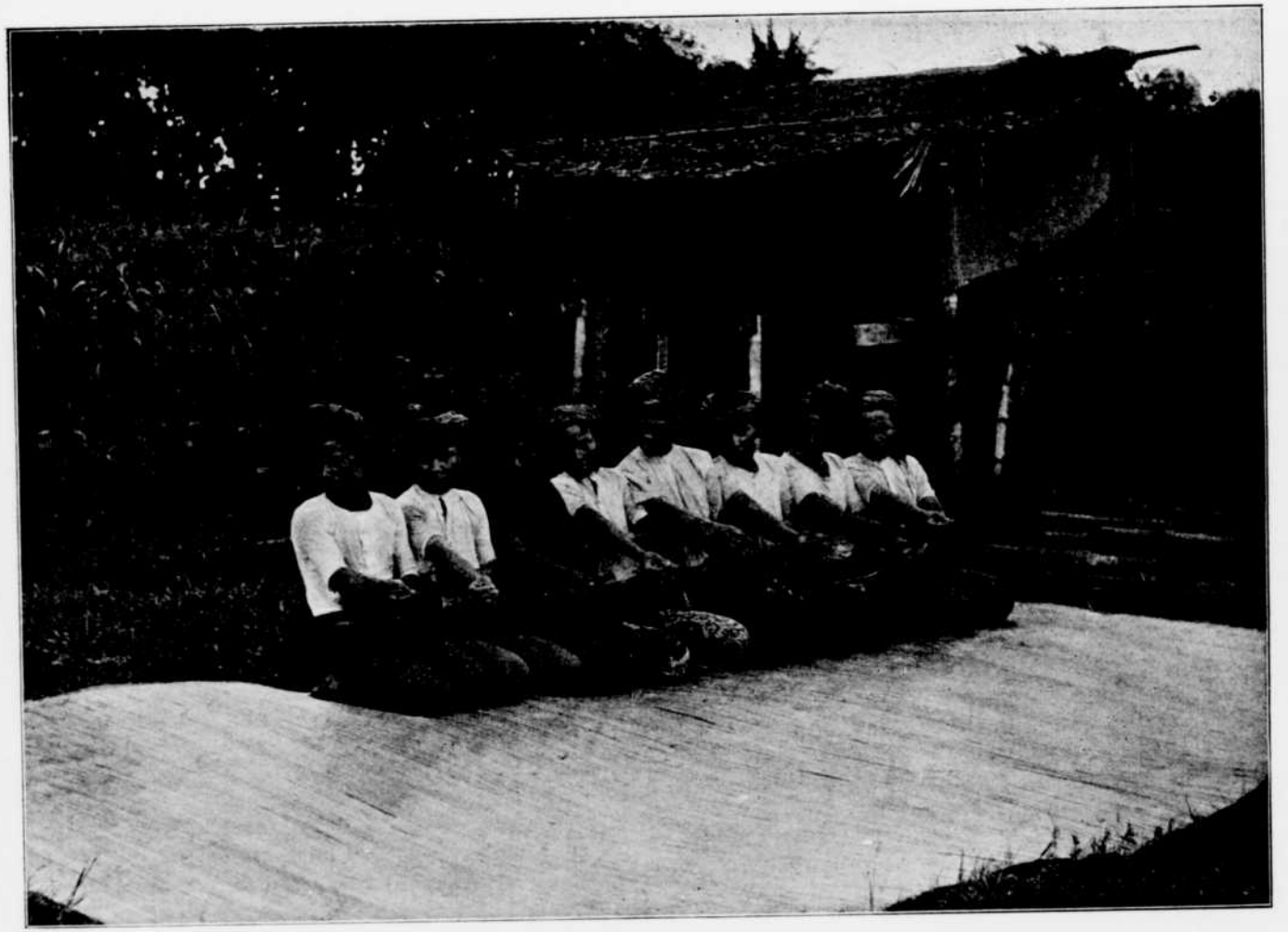
As soon as the first *ratéb duë'* is finished an expert of the same party which has hitherto taken the lead in the performance, commences to "*meunasib*". The nasib of the *ratéb sadati* consists of a dialogue between the two parties, beginning with mutual greetings, after which it takes the form of question and answer. The questions are in outward appearance of a religious or philosophical nature, but as a matter of fact the *nasib* is as much a caricature of a learned discussion as the whole ratéb is a travesty of a service of prayer and praise. The players, however, as well as most of the audience, who have but little knowledge

Nasib of this ratéb.

1) This appears to be a corruption of the Arabic *ja sayyidanā*, "Oh, our Lord!"

2) Arab. *ba'da 's-salām* i. e. "after the benediction".

3) From *çalī' Allāh*, the beginning of the well known prayer for a blessing upon the Prophet.



REHEARSAL OF SADATI-PLAYERS, (RATÉB DUÉ')

of the intricacies of Mohammedan law, regard the performance as actual earnest, and the former endeavour to injure their opponents by paltry invective, by difficult questions and unexpected rejoinders.

Kisah in conclusion of the nasib.

After each *nasib*, that is to say after each of these dialogues consisting of a preliminary greeting followed by question and answer, the leading party gives what is called *kisah ujōng nasib* or story in conclusion of the *nasib*. An expert story-teller chants his tale by half-verses at a time, each half-verse being taken up and repeated by the rest of his company. In this respect it resembles certain of the ḍikrs which are recited in chorus.

Specimen of nasib with the accompanying kisah.

We append a specimen of one of these dialogues of salutation, and of the question and answer which follow, together with the kisahs which appertain thereto; observing at the same time that this part of the performance is often considerably prolonged. It also frequently happens that one party plays out its part to the end before the other intervenes, after which the first one does not again enter the lists until after the conclusion of the whole *nasib*.

Salutation.

Salutation of the party A. God save you all, oh teungkus, I wish to convey my salutation to all of you. I would gladly offer you sirih, but I have not my sirih-bag with me; I have come all the way from my gampōng, which lies far away. I wished to offer you sirih, but I have no betel-bowl; I cannot return (to fetch it), it is now too late in the day. In place of giving you sirih then, oh worshipful masters, I lay both my hands upon my head (in token of respect). My ten fingers on my head, to crave forgiveness of you all, oh teungkus. Ten fingers, five I uplift as flowers [1]) upon my head.

Kisah.

Kisah in conclusion of this nasib. Near the Meuseugit Raya there is a mounted warrior of great bravery who there performed *tapa* (penance with seclusion). He did tapa there in the olden days when our country (Acheh) began its existence; of late he has come to life again. For many ages he has slumbered, but since the infidel has come to wage war against us, he has waked from his long sleep. Seek not to know this warriors real name; men call him Nari Tareugi. The white of his eyes is even as (black) bayam-seed, their pupils are (red) like saga-seeds. In his hand he holdeth a squared iron club; there is no man in the

1) The meaning is "I lay your commands upon my head (in token of obedience) as though they were flowers".

world who can resist his might. The place where he takes his stand becomes a sea; a storm ariseth there like unto the rainstorms of the *keunòng sa* [1]). The water around him ebbs and flows again. Thus shall you know the demon of the Meuseugit Raya. — In the Daröy river is a terrible *sanè* [2]); let no man suffer his shadow to fall on him, lest evil overtake him. — In the Raja Umòng [3]) is the *sanè* Ché'bré' [4]), over whom no human being however great his strength, can prevail.

Answering salutation.

Answering salutation of the party B. Hail to you, oh noble teungkus! I lay my hands upon my head.

Here followeth the salutation ordained by the sunat for the use of all Moslims towards a new-comer, come he from where he may [5]).

I wish to salute you in token of respect, I stretch forth my hands as a mark of my esteem. I make three steps backwards in token of self-abasement, for such is the custom of the gently bred. My teacher has instructed me, teungkus, first to make salutation and then to welcome the new-comer. After the salutation I clasp your hands; last follows the offering of sirih.

Kisah.

Kisah in conclusion of this nasib. Hear me, my friends, I celebrate the name of Raja Beureuhat. A marvellous hero is this Raja Beureuhat, unsurpassed throughout the whole world. When he moves his feet the ground shakes; when he raises up his hands there is an earthquake. On the sea he has ships, and steeds upon the land. Now I turn to wondrous deeds [6]). In Gampöng Jawa the heavens are greatly overcast; storms of rain and thunder and lightning come up. Cocoanut trees are cleft in twain; think upon it, my friends who stand without. But I would remind you that if you will not enter the lists with us, it is better to wait. If there are any among you teungkus, that are ready to match themselves against us let them marshal their ranks. If their ranks are not in proper order, then will I have no relationship with you (i. e.

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1) See Vol. I, p. 256.

2) See Vol. I, p. 409.

3) This is the name of the great expanse of cultivated land lying on the borders of the Dalam (royal residence and fortified enclosure) of Acheh.

4) Ché'bré' or *chibré'* is the name of a tree known as *juar* in Java, where it is extensively used as a shade-tree on the roadsides.

5) The words "Here followeth" to "where he may" are in very corrupt Arabic pronounced in the Achehnese fashion.

6) Here the speaker, while apparently alluding to the miraculous deeds of Raja Beureuhat is really referring to the wondrous performance by which he and his party mean to drive their opponents from the field. The sequel is a more or less contemptuous challenge.

you are not worthy opponents). Ask them (the rival party; here the speaker appears to address the audience) whether they indeed dare to do battle with us; if so let them get ready their weapons and put their fortifications in a state of defence. Their fort must be strong, and their guns must carry far, for here with us we have bombs of the *Tuan beusa* [1]).

Nasib in the form of a doctrinal question.

Nasib of the party A in the form of a question. There was once a man who slept and dreamed that he had committed adultery; afterwards he went down from his house and went to the well but found no bucket there. Thence he went to the mosque (to fetch a bucket); how then did he express the *niët* (= "intention", the Arab. *niyyat*, which every Mohammedan has to formulate as the introduction to a ritual act, and so as in the present case to the taking of a bath of purification)? How many be the conditions, oh teungkus of such a ritual ablution? In this jar are all kinds of water [2]). Let not the jar be broken, let not its covering (say of leaves or cotton) be open; what, oh teungkus are the conditions of a valid ritual ablution?

The same party A now follows with a short story, a *kisah ujōng nasib*; for brevity's sake we shall pass this over and go on to the answer of the opposite party.

Nasib in reply to the question.

Nasib of the party B in the form of an answer. If Allah so will [3]), I shall now answer your question. Set me no learned questions; I cannot solve them, I am no doctor of the law [4]). Answer me first, oh teungku, and answer me correctly, how many conditions there be to the setting of a question. Without conditions and all that depends on these conditions, your questioning is in vain. Not till the conditions and that which depends on them is known, has the asking of questions any meaning. Grammar (is taught) at Lam Nyòng, the learning of the law

1) As to the impression produced in Acheh by this Malay name for the Governor of that country, see Vol. I, p. 171.

2) After first putting a question as to the forms prescribed by the law for ritual ablutions, the speaker now compares his mind to a water-jar, in which is to be found all manner of water (i. e. knowledge).

3) As to the common use and misuse of this formula by the Achehnese, see Vol. I, p. 311, footnote.

4) This is of course meant ironically, for directly afterwards the opposite party is represented as unfitted even to propound questions.

at Lam Puchō'; elsewhere there are no famous teachers; come, sound our depth! Logic is taught at Lam Paya, dogma at Kruëng Kalé; your questions are put without consideration. On the mountains there are sala-trees, on the shore there are arōn-trees; the waves come in and pile up the sand. Take some rice (provision for the travelling student) and come and learn from me even though I teach you but one single little line. At Kruëng Kalé there are many teachers, Teungku Meusé [1]) is as the lamp of the world. They (these great teachers) have never yet entered into a contest with any man with learned questions; to do so is a token of conceit, ambition, pride and vain-glory [2]). Conceit and ambition, pride and vain glory, by these sins have many been brought to destruction. People who are well brought up are never made a prey to shame; those who trust in God are never overtaken by misfortune. Others have propounded many learned questions, oh my master, but never such foolish ones as thou. With a single kupang (one-eighth of a dollar) in thy purse, thou dost desire to take all the land in the world in pledge [3]); others possess store of diamonds and set no such value on their wealth as thou.

The second sitting ratéb.

Hereupon follows the *kisah* of the party B, and after this or after the nasib has been pursued still further in the same manner, it becomes the turn of the party B to take the leading part. Immediately after the latter has recited their last *kisah*, it begins its *ratéb duë'*, and now the party A which previously took the lead must exhibit its skill in following quickly and without mistakes the tunes, gestures and gymnastic play with hands and kerchiefs, which their opponents have previously rehearsed and can thus perform with ease.

The ratéb thus runs again exactly the same course as that we have just described, only with a change of rôles, and with certain variations which do not affect the essence of the performance.

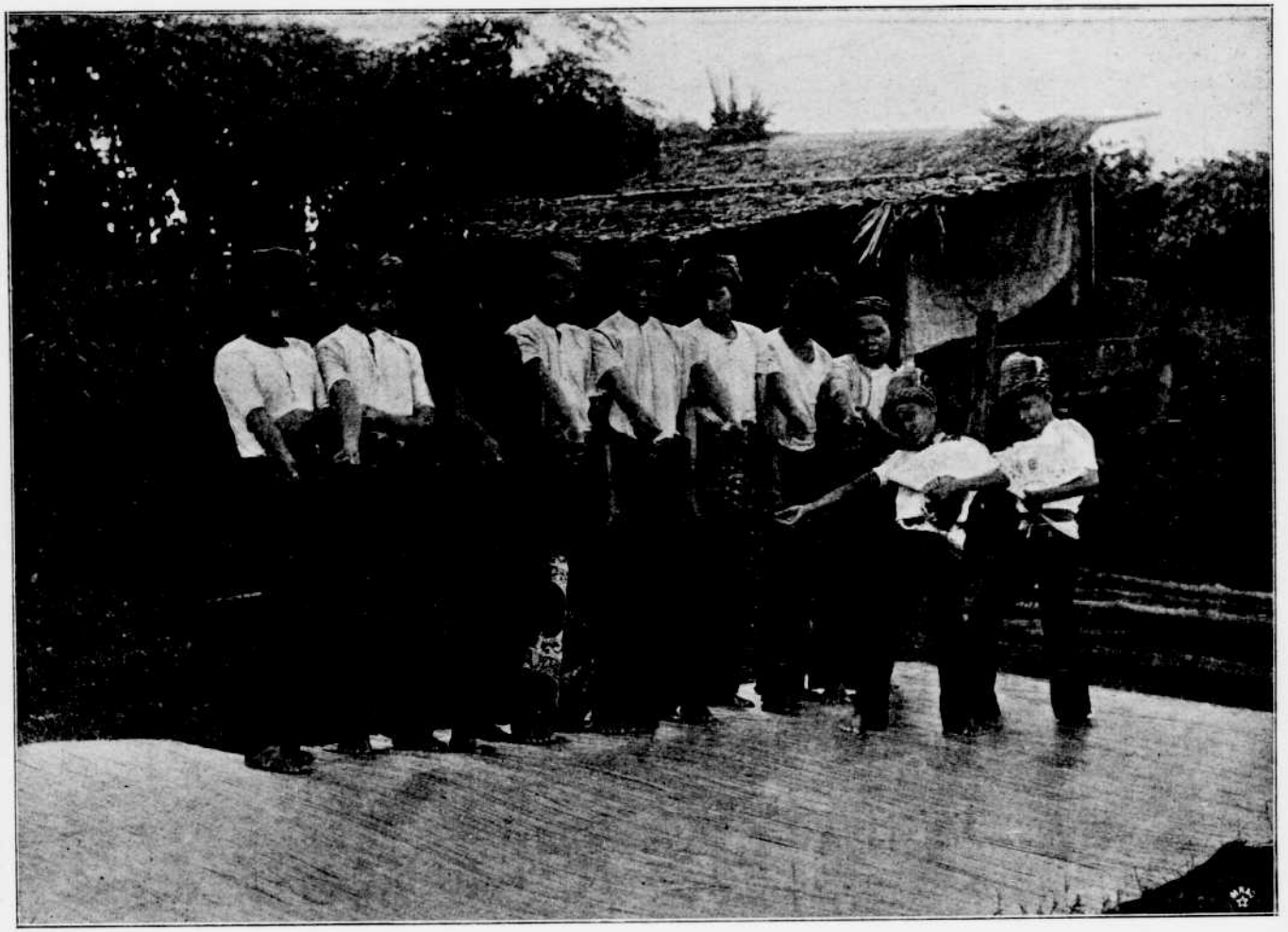
The standing ratéb. Commencement of the sadatis' performance.

As soon as this is all finished, the *ratéb duë'* is succeeded by the *ratéb dòng* or "standing *ratéb*". This generally occurs somewhat after midnight, about the first cock-crow. The sadati of party A comes forward, and his *daléms* ("elder brothers") stand behind him; party B continues sitting, no longer in the half-kneeling posture of one who

1) See p. 27 above.

2) These four sins are frequently grouped together, especially in mystic works.

3) I. e. "with your pennyworth of learning you dare to take your stand in the great arena of theological controversy".



REHEARSAL OF SADATI-PLAYERS, (RATÉB DÒNG).

performs a ritual prayer, but squatting as a native always does in polite society. It sometimes happens that one party produces two or three sadatis, but the only difference in such a case is that there are two or three voices in the chorus in place of one.

The sadati (for convenience sake we adopt the singular) begins by saluting each member of the opposite party by taking the right hand between both of his and letting it slide between his palms. The others return the greeting by momentarily covering the sadati's right hand with both of theirs.

Dress of the sadati.

The sadati takes up his position facing his daléms, but from time to time while speaking or reciting he shifts round so as not to keep his back continually turned to any portion of the audience. He wears on his head a *kupiah* or cap with a golden crown (*tampō'*), a coat with many gold buttons and trousers of costly material, but no loin-cloth. He is covered with feminine ornaments, such as anklets, bracelets, rings, a chain round the neck and a silver girdle round the waist. Over his shoulders hang a kerchief (*bungkōih bura'*) such as women are wont to wear as a covering for the head, of a red colour and embroidered with peacocks in gold thread. In one hand he holds a fan.

His daléms start him off on the first tune by chanting in chorus some nonsense words such as *héhé lam heum a.* This tune to which the sadati now sings is a long-drawn chant of the kind known as *lagèë jareuëng* [1]). The daléms chime in now and then with a refrain of meaningless words [2]).

There is not much coherency in the sadati's recital; it consists of pantōns strung together of moralizings upon the pleasure and pain of love or on recent events, of anecdotes from universally known Achehnese poems (*hikayats*), all introduced by the superfluous request for room to be made for him (the sadati) to perform in.

Introduction of the sadati.

Sadati A: Elder brothers! (here he addresses those of the opposite side) make room in order that the sadati may enter (i. e. into the space in the middle); I will give flowers to master sadati (i. e. his colleague on the opposite side), a *tungkōy* [3]) of flowers, among which are three nosegays of jeumpa-flowers. These I shall go and buy at Keutapang

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1) See p. 75 above.

2) The singing of such a refrain is called *meuchakrum.*

3) A *talòë* or *karang* consists of ten flowers tied together; ten *talòë* form one *tungkōy.*

Dua. The market lies up-stream, the gampōng Jeumpét down stream. — I send flowers to master sadati. Bunòt-trees in rows, a straight unindented coast, a lofty mountain with a holy tomb. There is little paper left, the ink fails; the land is at war, and my heart is perturbed [1]).

During the succeeding part of the performance the daléms set the tune from time to time and chime in with their refrain, but most of these tunes, with the exception of that employed for the introduction, are *lagèë bagaïh*, or quick time, not slow intonations.

Continuation of the sadati's recitation.

The sadati proceeds. At Chòt Sinibōng on the shore of Peulari, there is the gampōng of the mother of Meureundam Diwi. Alas! this poor little girl shut up in the drum [2]), the mother of the child is dead, devoured by the geureuda-bird. Teungku Malém (i. e. Malém Diwa) climbs up into the palace and fetches the princess down from the garret.

Elder brothers, I have here a (question) in grammar, wherein I was instructed at Klibeuët at the home of Teungku Muda. I first studied the book of inflections; I began with the fourteen forms of inflection (i. e. the fourteen forms which in every tense of the verb serve to distinguish person, number and gender). What are the pronouns which appertain to the perfect tense of the verb? Tell me quickly, oh sadati (of the opposite side).

The kisah of the sadati.

The above will give the reader some notion of the sort of fragmentary songs with which the sadati commences his performance. These continue for a time till a new item of the programme, the kisahs of the sadati, is reached.

Most of these kisahs consist in dialogues between the sadati and his daléms, but even where a continuous tale is recounted, the daléms take turns with their sadati in his recital.

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1) Here the sadati repeats the complaint with which many Achehnese authors or copyists preface their works.

2) Here the sadati recalls the episode, in the well-known Hikayat Malém Diwa, of the town which was entirely laid waste by the geureuda, the only person saved being the beautiful princess Meureundam Diwi, who was concealed by her father in a drum. See pp. 127, 146 above.

When the daléms are speaking, the sadati always remains silent; but the intonation of the latter is invariably accompanied by the *chakrum* of the former; this consists in a sort of dull murmur of the sounds *hélahōhō*, varied by occasional clapping of the hands. Let us begin with a translation of a kisah-dialogue, which also comprises a sort of Achehnese encyclopaedia of geography and politics. We denote the sadati by the letter S and his daléms by D.

Specimen of a kisah-dialogue.

Although the daléms sing in chorus and are addressed collectively by their sadati, they generally speak of themselves in the first person singular; and it is not generally apparent from what the sadati says, whether he is addressing them in the singular or the plural. We shall thus as a rule employ the singular in our translation, using the plural only in some of the many cases which admit of the possibility of its use.

Dialogue-kisah.

D. Wilt thou, oh little brother, go forth to try thy fortune and engage in trade in some place or other?

S. What sea-coast has a just king, on what river-mouth lies the busiest mart?

D. Well, little brother, little diamond, the land of Kluang has a thriving mart.

S. I will not go to the land of Kluang, Nakhoda Nya' Agam no longer reigns there.

D. Be not disturbed in mind because he is no longer king; Raja Udah is his successor.

S. What matters whether Raja Udah is there or not, since he hath no acquaintance with you!

D. If this contents thee not, I take you farther still; go to Glé Putōih (in Daya) to plant pepper.

S. I will not go to Glé Putōih, for the men of Daya are at enmity with (us) Achehnese.

D. If that please thee not, oh younger brother, go to Lambeusòë (Lambèsi) under the Keujruën Kuala.

S. I go not to the country of Lambeusòë, for it is at strife with Kuala Unga.

D. Be not disturbed that the country is at war; I appoint thee a panglima (leader of fighting men) there.

S. How can you make me a leader in war, who am not yet fully grown?

D. Where should I let thee go and fight, my heart, my star, the light of mine eyes?

S. If you let me not go and fight then, by my body, I shall not be a panglima.

D. If that place suits thee not, go as panglima to the kuta (fortress) of Chutli.

S. I will not establish myself in Chutli; it is too close to the shore, on the border of the estuary.

D. If that please thee not, little brother, little heart, I will set thee at Babah Awé (above Kuala Unga).

S. I will not establish myself at Babah Awé, for I fear to die there with not one to care for me (i. e. for my burial).

D. It that please thee not, blessed little brother, I will settle thee in the 12 Rantòs [1]).

S. I will not live in the 12 Rantòs, brother; tell me, what mean you by this proposal?

D. Our intention was, blessed little brother, to take thee there to the house of the Raja Muda (of Trumòn).

S. We can have naught to do now with the Raja of Trumòn, for he is in the pay of the Tuan Beusa [2]).

D. Where didst thou learn that, blessed little brother? Tell me I pray.

S. I know it but too well, brother, I have but just returned from there, the day before yesterday as it were.

D. As you pass along the rantòs of the West Coast, little brother, how many places are subject to the Dutch?

S. Beginning at Padang right up to Singkel, all tribute is raised for the King of Holland.

D. When you come, little brother of mine, to the bay of Tapa' Tuan (vulg. Tĕmpat Tuan), who is king there?

S. The king there is indeed a Moslim, but the flag is that of the Dutch.

D. When you get to Labōh Haji (vulg. Labuan Haji), who is king there?

S. The ulèëbalang of that place is a woman [3]), she keeps us all in her protection.

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1) See p. 120 above.

2) As to the meaning of this Malayan title (Tuan Bĕsar) see Vol. I, p. 171.

3) A woman named Chut Nya' Patimah was in fact ulèëbalang of this place for a number of years.

D. While on thy travels, little brother teungku, hast thou been also to the land of Batu?

S. Early in the morning, brother, at Kuala Batu, by rice-time (about 9 a. m., see Vol. I, p. 199) one comes to Lama Muda.

D. Dear little brother, thou deservest punishment, I am going to banish thee to the mountain of Seulawaïh = Gold-(mountain).

S. To banish me now! Why did you not think of this before, when first you begged me from my brothers?

D. When I asked for thee, I thought that it would be for a long time, little brother, little heart, that thou wouldst become my brother.

S. Where could life be hard for a sadati (in other words, "I am not vexed at this banishment"); he can find everywhere foot-gear to adorn himself withal.

D. Why should I set much store by thee, sadati, who wert given to me but art not good?

S. Wilt thou banish me to the mountains yonder that I may die, that tigers may devour me?

D. I am going to banish thee, little brother, to a far country, so that thou canst not return to morrow or the day after.

S. Should you banish me, brothers, beware lest on the morrow or the day after you long not to have me back again.

D. We have had a clear insight into the matter during the time that thou hast been among us in this land; mayst thou not return either on the morrow or the day after.

S. It will be better to sell me than to banish me, so that you may at least recover my value in money.

D. I will hang no burden round my neck; I have had expense and trouble enough on thy account.

S. Allah, allah, oh elder brothers who are my superiors, I lay my hands upon my head (in token of compliance).

D. I take my chance, whatever be my fate; I shall now come clear through danger at least.

S. If one has good fortune, brothers, one wins renown; should the former fail, we must be content with the past.

D. Shouldst thou have good fortune [1]), oh lamp and light, then shalt thou go forth with an umbrella and return on horseback.

1) The meaning is: "shouldst thou be successful in this sadati contest, no marks of honour are too great for thee".

S. Should good luck be the lot of you and me in this contest, then you must fulfil a vow after you return home from this place.

D. Should I win my way through these engulfing waves, I shall have thee bathed in perfume [1]).

S. We have ere now, brothers, been delivered from seven dangers (i. e. come successfully through seven contests), but of a surety this evening's is the greatest of all.

D. Yes, it is very different from the former ones, of another kind from (our contests in) the past.

S. My vow, brothers, is an offering of seven bunches of flowers for Teungku Anjōng [2]) in Gampōng Jawa.

D. This evening there will perhaps be a mighty contest; whom shall I appoint to be panglima?

S. Brothers, make me your leader in the fight; you shall see how I shall shake the earth till it trembles again.

D. I fear, little brother, that it will not be as thou sayest, and that you will mayhap flee out yonder when the contest begins.

S. It is assured, brothers, that I should not flee, I who am a son of the upper reaches of the river [3]), and skilled in fight.

D. Wherefore so boastful and conceited, little brother? I fear that thou wilt lose this courage and burst into tears.

S. This is no boastfulness nor high words of mine, brothers; you will see that I give proofs of valour, one against many.

D. Little brother, we remind thee of one thing only; thou must thyself endure the result, be it good or ill.

S. Brothers, I only ask you to stand fast behind me and to spread forth your hands in prayer (for our success).

D. I have told thee of seven lands, little brother; I now go to study for three years.

S. I know it well, brother, my teungku; you have been sought for in all lands.

D. What is thy wish, little brother, tell us thy desire.

S. I wish to take the *geudubang* (a sort of *sikin*) and to go forth and make war, I being panglima.

D. How canst thou, little brother go forth to war? Thou seest

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1) Here we have the daléms' vow.

2) See Vol. I, p. 156.

3) See Vol. I, p. 34.

that thy brothers are without the means required for such a purpose.

S. Be not dismayed, my brothers, by lack of the necessary means, go and tender your services for hire to the Emperor of China.

D. This king of the unbelievers is my friend who forges artillery, the Emperor of China.

S. Of a truth, brothers, you are speaking foolishly! You have never travelled even as far as Lam Weuëng (in the XII Mukims).

D. In the mountain range of Lam Weuëng is the peak of the Seulawaïh, in Lampanaïh is a lilla (small cannon) with a bell [1]).

S. If we go to the country of Acheh, brothers, what find we to be the greatest tokens of the power of the king?

D. Speak not to me of the tokens of his power; he has artillery posted in every direction.

S. The Meuseugit Raya had fallen into disrepair; it was the Habib (i. e. Habib Abdurrahman) that first took it in hand after his arrival [2]).

D. That is indeed just as thou sayest, little brother; tell me now what is the form of the summit of the Gunòngan [3]).

S. Its summit is of a truth exceeding beautiful; the king goes thither on horseback.

D. Little brother, thou hast already told us of the country of Acheh, let us now get us hence and go elsewhere.

S. Whither will you go, oh brothers, my teungkus? take your little brother with you, dear brothers, panglimas.

D. Let us remain no longer in Acheh, little brother; let us go yonder to Teungku Pakèh (the king of Pidië).

S. Nay, I will not go to Teungku Pakèh, brothers, that is so close to Acheh, and it would take so short a time to return home.

D. If that please thee not, little grain of an ear of padi, I will take thee to Kuala Gigiëng.

S. I will not live at Kuala Gigiëng, brothers; were I to die (in that place), there is none that would look after my dead body. I have no brothers there.

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1) Here commences another geographical disquisition, which takes us from Acheh to the North and East Coasts.

2) See Vol. I, p. 163.

3) This curious erection in the neighbourhood of the Dalam, now incorrectly named Kotta Pechut (Kuta Pòchut) by Europeans, is said by the Achehnese to have been constructed by a former king of Acheh in the form of a mountain to relieve the home-sickness of his consort a native of the highlands of the interior.

D. Dear little brother, to cut the matter short, I shall take thee to Kuala Ië Leubeuë (vulg. Ayer Labu).

S. I will not live at Kuala Ië Leubeuë, for in the fresh-water creek at that place there are many crocodiles.

D. If that suits thee not, brave brotherkin, let us go and dwell at Eunjōng in the house of the La'seumana.

S. Brothers, I will not dwell at Eunjōng, the gampōng there is full of holes (and thus muddy) and there are too many bangka-trees.

D. If that please thee not, little brother, I shall take thee to the land of Meureudu.

S. Brothers, I will not live at Meureudu; the whole country is in tumult and war prevails.

D. Dear little brother, blessed little brother, I shall go and establish thee at Samalanga.

S. At Samalanga also there are strange doings; Keuchi' Ali [1]) has been driven into the forest.

D. Little brother, if that please thee not, let us go to the country of Peusangan in Glumpang Dua.

S. In the country of Peusangan there are also strange doings; Teuku Bén (= Béntara) is dead, and no successor has yet been appointed.

D. If that will not do, blessed little brother, I shall take thee to Samōti.

S. Brothers, I will not live at Samōti; the prince of that place, the Keujruën Kuala [2]), is not to be depended on.

D. If that please thee not, I shall carry thee to Awé Geutah.

S. Brothers, I will not live at Awé Geutah, for I fear that Teungku Chut Muda would forbid me (i. e. forbid my performance as a sadati, to which all ulamas are averse).

D. If that will not do, little brother sadati, let us go down to Meunasah Dua.

S. I am not very well known at Meunasah Dua brother; Teungku Chèh Deuruïh (a teacher established there) is still but a young man.

D. If that will not do, little brother teungku, I will take thee to Panté Paku.

S. I will not go to Panté Paku, for I cannot twist rope of cocoanut fibre (there is here a play on the word "paku").

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1) This ulèëbalang, father of the present chief, was actually driven out of house and home by his enemies from Meureudu.

2) Title given to the chiefs (*kĕjuruan*) of settlements at the mouths of rivers.

D. Dear little brother, I am going to bring thee to Lhō' Seumawè, to (the gampōng of) Sawang Keupula.

S. I will not live at Sawang Keupula, for I fear lest the Mahraja (of Lhō' Seumawé) may carry me off.

D. If that please thee not, blessed little brother, I shall take thee to the country of Piadah.

S. Brothers, I will not live in the country of Piadah; I will go further off; I will start now.

D. If that please thee not, my heart, go and stay at Jambu Ayé.

S. I will not stop at Jambu Ayé; I fear that I may perish if a flood comes.

D. If that suit thee not, little brother sadati, go yonder to Idi (vulg. Edi) that great mart.

S. I will not live at Idi, brothers; Teuku Nya' Paya [1]) is a raja who cannot be trusted.

D. If that will not suit, little brother, my teungku, I shall place thee on the island of Sampòë [2]) (near Teumiëng, vulg. Tamiang).

S. We can now no longer live on the island by Sampòë; it has been taken by the infidel, the King of Holland.

D. If this please thee not, blessed little brother, tell us whither thou dost wish to go.

S. My desire, brothers, is to go to Pulò Pinang [3]) that I may indulge my passions in the "long house" [4]).

D. Little brother, go not to Pulò Pinang, one requires much money to visit the long house.

S. Trouble not yourselves on the score of money; I can always hold horses and drive for hire.

D. Little brother, if thou dost go and work for hire, it will be a reproach to thine elder brethren.

S. Let me have my wish, brothers, my teungkus; so long as I stay not here, I care not.

D. Do you hear, my masters (this to the audience) how strong in dispute my darling here is?

S. Do your hear, my masters? I am said to be strong in dispute.

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1) This was a chief subject to Teungku di Bukét, as to whom see Vol. I, p. 156.

2) This island formed part of the sphere of influence of the well-known Tuanku Asém (ob. 1897), the guardian of the young pretender to the sultanate.

3) Pinang represents for the Achehnese "the world" in all its aspects both good and evil.

4) Mal. *rumah panjang* = house of ill-fame. *(Translator)*

D. Never yet ere now has my darling wrangled with his teacher; this sin is enough to make him fuel for hell.

S. God forbid that I should wrangle with my teacher; I know that I shall in any case go to hell (on account of my godless occupation of sadati).

D. I speak one way and he answers in another! thou art indeed clever in making remarks and propounding questions.

S. It is not fitting, brothers, to speak like this; I am indeed by nature as clever as a *leuë' bangguna* [1]).

D. I have slept for a moment and have had a dream, but I know not how to interpret my dream.

S. What have you dreamed, brother, my teungku? Tell your little brother, that I may explain the meaning thereof.

D. I dreamed, little brother, that I went on pilgrimage (the haj), that I went to purify myself in the glorious city (of Mekka).

S. When you go on the pilgrimage, teungku, pray take the sadati with you, that he may crave forgiveness for his sins.

D. Let us not go this year, dear little heart, thy brother has no money at all.

S. Then sell your garden and your rice-field, brother, to furnish funds for the journey of your little brother, who wishes to depart at once.

D. Rice-field and garden dare I not sell; I fear that the chiefs will find means to make their own of them [2]).

S. Kiss the knees of the ulèëbalang, do obeisance (seumbah) at his feet, so that he may leave you at least as much money as you require.

D. Ah dear little brother, blessed little brother, what can I do to get money? The times are bad.

S. Allah, Allah, blessed brother, go and pawn the (golden) crown of my cap.

D. I dare not pawn the crown of thy cap, it is thy ornament (which thou requirest) when you are bidden to play.

S. If that suffice not, my brother, my teungku, go and pawn my bracelets.

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1) This sort of *leuë'* (see p. 211 above) continually emits short broken sounds, and is regarded as excelling in tameness and skill in fighting. The word *ragòë*, which we have translated *clever*, also means *tame*.

2) As to the greed with which the ulèëbalangs appropriate the rice-fields of their subjects under fictations pretexts, see Vol. I, p. 115.

D. How canst thou wish to have thy bracelets pawned? That would look badly in the eyes of the people, and bring shame upon us.

S. If that suffice not, brother, go and pawn my anklets.

D. How canst thou wish to have they anklets pawned? That too looks not well in the eyes of the world.

S. Go thyself, teungku, and let me also go; I desire so to travel.

D. Here now is some money, for which thou didst ask just now; but take me I pray thee among thy followers.

S. Rather accompany me not, my brother, my teungku. I shall come back quickly and rejoin you.

D. In what ship art thou going to travel? Tell me this now, little brother.

B. I go, brothers, in the ship of Banan [1]). In that ship I shall set sail.

D. Go not, little brother, in Banan's ship; it is well known to be expensive.

S. Be not alarmed as to heavy expense; I shall work for the nakhoda (captain) for wages.

D. If thou receivest wages, little brother, it gives thy elder brothers a bad name.

S. Never mind that, if only I can reach the holy land.

D. When dost thou go on board, little brother? tell me when dost thou depart.

S. Sunday evening — Monday morning, on this morning my departure is fixed.

D. When thou goest, little brother, my teungku, take me with thee.

S. Come thou not with me, my master; I shall of a surety come back in a year.

D. If that be so, blessed little brother, I fetter thy steps no longer, start on thy journey.

S. Convey my salutations to my father, (say to him:) "Your darling is gone, his journey has begun".

D. What shall I give to thy mother as thy parting gift?

S. Brother, dear brother, my teungku, spread out your hands and pray for me (i. e. let your prayer take the place of such parting gift).

D. In the four seasons of the day [2]) and in the four seasons of the night, the palms of my hands shall be turned upwards in prayer.

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1) A sailing ship once famous in Acheh, belonging to an Arab named Ali Bannān, which took many pilgrims to Arabia.

2) See Vol. I p. 199.

S. Should I die upon my pilgrimage, brother, wilt thou give kanduris (religious feasts) and pray for me?

D. May they journey be prosperous, may sharks devour thee and may whales swallow thee!

S. Allah, Allah, brother, my teungku, this is of a truth a fine prayer in which thou liftest up thy hands.

D. Whence could I find the money, little brother, for the kanduri's which thou wishest to have held? I have already exhausted my means in gifts to thee, whilst thou wert still but young.

Second kisah not in dialogue.

We append a brief specimen of another kind of kisah which is recited in slow time intonation (*lagèë jareuëng*) and is not in the form of a dialogue; the daléms first intone each verse (*ajat*), and the sadati repeats it after them. The tune is called *jamilén* and is introduced by the daléms with the following *chakrum*: *alah hayōlah adòë eu jamilén leungò lōnkisah* („Alah, hayōlah, little brother, jamilén, hear my story") these words being likewise repeated by the sadati. The remainder of the recital is as follows:

The Land of Pidië forms a square; four ulèëbalangs hold the balance (i. e. the power) in their hands.

The X Mukims are subject to Béntara Keumangan [2]); Teungku Sama Indra is he who rules the VIII Mukims.

The La'seumana (the Chief of Eunjōng) is a fatherless child; he rules the XXII Mukims.

The V Mukims are under the control of (him that is mighty as) midday thunder, Teungku Ujōng Rimba.

Teungku Pakèh has a single mukim; he has watch-towers built at the four corners of his stronghold.

The entrance of its gate is very beautiful; there is a prison there built by Chinese.

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1) The popular representation of Acheh as a triangle (*ſhèë sagòë*) finds here its counterpart in that of Pidië as a square, the divisions of the latter being in like manner named from the numbers of mukims which make them up.

2) In the Hikayat Pòchut Muhamat (see pp. 92—93 etc. above), the territory of Béntara Keumangan (Pangulèë Beunaròë) is called the IX Mukims which appellation it still retains.

The VII Mukims belong to Acheh; they are the property of Panglima Pòlém (the panglima of the XXII Mukims of Acheh).

In Bramòë is Pòchut Siti [1]), along the sea-board is Teungku Siah Kuala [2]).

On the banks of the salt-water creek is established one who is said to be invincible; he is known as Teuku Nè' of Meurasa.

In Pidië they have Teungku Pakèh, in Acheh we have our lord the King.

The XXVI Mukims (of Acheh are subject to) Panglima Chut Ōh [3]) the XXV to Siah Ulama.

The XXII under Panglima Pòlém; they are subject to our lord the King.

Distribution of rôles.

There is no fixed rule as to the number of kisahs to be recited in succession by one party; this is left to the performers' own choice and gives rise to no differences of opinion between the two sides. When one party gets tired, the other is always ready to take its turn, but as long as they like to do so they may continue. Ordinarily speaking, however, the first party plays its ratéb dòng right through before allowing the other to commence its recital; and the ratéb dòng of the one side will often last until five o'clock in the morning (*'òh tōt sambang*, "after the falling of the morning shot"). Before the opposing side begins, the first performers add some further *nasib* such as that of which we have already given examples in our description of the *ratéb duë'*.

The opposite party then take the stage and follow essentially the same programme as that which we have just described — fragments of verse, covert allusions, quasi-learned questions, little sneering gibes at the rival party — all sung by the sadati and accompanied by the *chakrum* or refrain of his daléms.

Brief description of the contents of some kisahs.

I shall give but a brief abstract of some few more kisahs in common use in sadati performances, which I took down from the lips of a skilled reciter; they differ too little in character from those given above to lay claim to reproduction in full.

In one of these, which is in dialogue form, the insatiable desire of

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1) The "*burōng*" worshipped as a saint, see Vol. I p. 379.

2) Abdora'ōh (see Vol. I p. 156, and above pps 17 etc.) formerly the greatest saint of Acheh, now the second after Teungku Anjōng.

3) Cf. Vol. I footnote to p. 138. The details of this geographical kisah, as the reader may have observed, belong to an earlier period.

the sadati for travel again constitutes the main subject; he is himself uncertain whither he will go, and whether he will travel for study or for trade, but of this he is sure, that in life or death he will remain faithful and attached to his daléms. Passing mention is made of a number of seats of religious learning.

Another kisah which is sung by the daléms and repeated by the sadati verse by verse, comprises some remarks on the method of calculating the proper hour for commencing a contest (with special reference to the sadati-contest), a prayer of the sadati for strength to enable him to gain the victory, and certain geographical particulars with regard to the environs of the capital of Acheh.

Another, which is recited in the same way as the last, contains, besides some disconnected allusions, a fragment from the story of Diwa Sangsaréh, which forms the subject of a popular hikayat [1]).

A fourth, which is intoned partly by the sadati (with an accompaniment) and partly by the daléms, consists of one or two metaphors (for instance, one regarding the heavenly recompense for ritual prayers), one or two riddles, and finally a challenge addressed to the opposite party.

A fifth, which is sung by the sadati to a slow tune (*lagèë jareuëng*) and accompanied by the daléms, consist simply of such challenges.

A sixth contains similar challenges recited by the daléms, in succession to a riddle intoned by the sadati.

So the performance goes on during the course of the morning; the second party laying itself out to give mocking or jesting answers to the questions put by the first, and to repay all their sneers two-fold.

The end of the contest.

One or two hours before midday the party which has been sitting down and resting stands up once more, and now both sides recite together, each its own kisah in its own way, to that it is impossible to understand what they are saying, especially as each side tries to shout their opponents down.

The sadatis approach closer and closer to one another, and would often come to blows, were it not that the authorities of the gampōngs engaged interfere and put an end to the contest about midday. The initiative to the closing of the performance is given by the master of the house, who has meanwhile caused rice and its accessories to be got ready for the players. At his request two elders one from each gam-

1) See p. 148 above.

pōng, "separate" (*publa*, the ordinary word for the separation of fighters) the sadatis and give out that the time for departure has arrived. Each of the elders makes obeisance to the opposite side, and beseeches them for forgiveness for all shortcomings or disagreeable expressions which may have caused them offence. As may be imagined the players, quite worn out with 16 hours of excitement and tension, hurry home to seek repose after partaking of the meal which concluded the performance.

Gradual decay of the sadati performances.

Like all forbidden amusements, the sadati performances have fallen off very much in Acheh during the last twenty years.

Within the "linie" and in other parts where the effects of the war have made themselves most felt, the people lack the energy necessary for getting up these contests; while outside these limits the teungkus and ulamas have been preaching reform with all their might, as without repentance, they say, it will never be possible to prevail against the kafirs. Should they show a more complacent spirit towards these popular wickednesses, they would soon lose their prestige and would behold the influence which the war has given them gradually dwindle away.

It is, however, far from being the case that this asceticism, though in theory universally acknowledged as right, and now in practise enforced in the most disaffected parts of the country, is able to meet with general acceptance. A holy war in Java would certainly bring with it the prohibition of gamĕlan and wayang performances, but it is equally certain that it would take more than twenty years to entirely uproot these popular amusements. Even though the gamĕlans were silenced and the wayang-poppets consigned to the dust heap, a moment's respite would suffice to bring them to light again. So is it also with the sadati performances. They continue to exist in spite of the teungkus, and when the power of the latter is once broken, these ratébs will without doubt revive and flourish once more.

The sadati performances and morality.

The manner of dress and appearance on the stage of the sadatis must be admitted to have some connection with the general prevalence in Acheh of immorality of the worst kind; but as has been already pointed out (p. 222 above) it cannot be said that such immorality is directly ministered to by these performances.

The sadati performance and the Javanese wayang.

There are other ways besides in which the significance of the Achehnese sadati performances in regard to the life of the people may be best compared with that of the Javanese wayangs though in actual details the two are entirely different from one another. In the former,

as in the latter, the play holds the audience because it deals with all in the way of national tradition, science, religion and art that has grown to be the property of the mass of the people. In both alike, the material handed down by tradition is interwoven with sallies which contain allusions to living persons or those who have but lately passed away, to present events or those in the recent past. Love and war supply both with inexhaustible themes.

The sadati performance has, besides, all the attractions of a trial of skill, even though there is no stake, and though victory and defeat depend on the fiat of the audience alone.

Final issue of the contest of the sadatis.

This decision is almost always unanimous. That party which displays in the *ratéb duë'* the most graceful and best studied movements, which intones most correctly and can most successfully imitate its rivals when it comes to their turn to play, is said to "gain the victory in the ratéb" (*meunang ba' ratéb*); while that which puts the neatest questions to its opponents, scores the wittiest hits against them, and has command of the greatest variety of kisahs, "gains the victory in the nasib" (*meunang ba' nasib*). It seldom happens that either audience or players have any doubt as to who deserves the palm.

The ratéb pulèt.

Another equally popular variation of the travesty of the true ratéb is the *ratéb pulèt* [1]), also known as *ratéb chuë'* [2]) or *ratèb bruë'* [3]). The performance takes it name from its special feature, namely playing in rhythmic unison with a number of wooden rings known as *bòh pulèt* or *bruë' pulèt*. The upper circumference of these rings has a greater diameter than the lower, so that they may be compared to the rim of a funnel cut off horizontally.

Nature of the performance.

This ratéb is also of the nature of a contest; two parties, chosen if possible from different gampōngs, take up their position opposite each other in the *seuëng* (booth) or meunasah. Each party consists of from 8 to 20 players; behind each company sit one or two reciters called

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1) *Pulèt* properly means "to turn a thing inside out"; the ratéb is so called because the rings used therein are continually twisted by the movements of the player.

2) *Chuë'* is an earthenware bowl or platter used as a receptacle for children's food or for sambals (relishes eaten with curry) etc. The shape of the bowl is like that of the *bòh pulèt* except that the latter has no bottom.

3) *Bruë'* properly means cocoanut-shell, and is also used for other hemispherical objects.

radat, as in the ordinary ratéb. There is also a tambourine orchestra which accompanies the songs and gestures of the players. These tambourines are called *rapana* (compare the Malay *rĕbana*) or else *rapa'i*, from the religious performance in which they are much used.

The musicians proper play on large tambourines; the members of the company often have small ones set before them on which they play their own accompaniment in certain portions of the performance.

This ratéb is played entirely in a sitting posture (*ratéb duë'*) and resembles the *ratéb sadati* in essentials except that the *sadatis* are missing.

Task of the radat.

The *radats* of the party which commences the recitation set the tunes and intone four *ajats* to every tune; after this the "companions" (*rakan*) follow suit. Like the dalém of the sadati performance they accompany their intoning with rhythmic gestures, such as movements of the arms, snapping of the fingers, manoeuvring of kerchiefs and especially with the *bòh* or *bruë' pulèt*. While all this is going on, the opposite side must join in and keep time, which is made as difficult for them as possible by their opponents.

Nasib and kisah.

As soon as one party has intoned a number of lagèës, there is here also (as in the ratéb sadati) an interval which is filled up by a *nasìb* similarly rounded off with a *kisah*. The nasib is started by the radats of the leading party, and the members of this party only chime in with the recitation; nor is there any gesticulation or play with kerchiefs etc. in this part of the performance.

At the beginning of the ratéb pulèt the performers recite certain lines in imitation of a real ratéb or dikr, and which give an impression as though the task on hand were a work ordained of the Prophet and the saints — e. g.

"In the name of Allah I now commence, following the fashion handed down from the very beginning. We borrow our tradition from the Prophet; respond, my masters all!"

For the rest the recitation consists mainly of ordinary pantöns, by far the most of which celebrate the joys and sorrows of love.

The ratéb pulèt has not, any more than the ratéb sadati, a religious character.

The ulamas regard it as a forbidden amusement, but are somewhat less severe in their condemnation of the ratéb pulèt than of the ratéb sadati, since the former does not include boys in female dress among its performers.

The *rapa'i* performance may be classed among the ratébs; it bears a religious character in the estimation of the Achehnese public, and can therefore become the subject of a vow. Thus we find people undertaking to give rapa'i performances in their enclosures, should they escape some threatening danger, or should one of their relations recover from his illness, etc. Such performances are also sometimes given on the occasion of a family feast, whether in accordance with a vow or not, and persons of wealth and rank occasionally organize them without any special reason. The rapa'i performance.

The great saint of the mystics, Aḥmad Rifā'ī (ob. 1182), a younger contemporary of the equally celebrated Abdulqādir Jīlānī [1]) (ob. 1166), who was held in high honour in Acheh as well as in other parts of the Mohammedan world, was the founder of a wide-spread order (the Rifā'iyyah), which afterwards split up into a number of subdivisions. If we read the story of his life [2]) we find an abundant record of his piety and wisdom, and also of the miracles (karāmāt) which he worked through God's grace, but nothing which bridges over the gulf which separates him from the all but juggling performances which bear his name. Aḥmad Rifā'ī.

Yet the connection may be traced. Not only in the Rifā'ite but also in other mystic orders cases are quoted from their own tradition where members of the fraternity who have attained a high degree of perfection in mysticism, have through divine grace suffered no hurt from acts which in ordinary circumstances result in sickness or in death; the eating of fragments of glass, biting off the heads of snakes, wounding themselves with knives, throwing themselves beneath the feet of horses, all these and other like acts have proved harmless to the successors of the founders of these orders, and they too have been given the power to endow their true disciples with temporary invulnerability. The stories current about such matters in the mystic tradition must certainly be set down to some extent to pious fiction, but there are also instances where the condition of high-strung transport into which the dervishes work themselves by wakeful nights, by fasting and exhausting exercises, do actually result in temporary or local insensibility to pain. Miracles of certain orders of dervishes.

1) See Vol. I, pp. 130, 165, 191.

2) For instance in the *Tiryāq al-muḥibbīn* of Abdarraḥmān al-Wasīṭī, printed in Cairo in A. H. 1304. In the works of Ibn Khallikân we however find reference to the methods of the Rifā'ites, and to the animadversion which they aroused in certain theological circles.

No matter what explanation science [1]) may offer of these matters, or what learned terms (such as mesmerism, paroxysm etc.) our savants may employ to conceal their ignorance with respect to these phenomena of the human consciousness, the fact remains that what the most sober and sceptical witnesses have seen of these dervish-miracles in various Mohammedan countries would cause a European public unprepared for such revelations, to shrug their shoulders in unbelieving amazement.

Deterioration of these miracles into jugglery.

For centuries past certain sections of these orders who possessed such mystic powers, have made a sort of trade out of the practice of these arts. The brethren of the craft assemble together at fixed times, and under the guidance of their teacher give themselves up to the recitation of dikirs accompanied by movements of the body which tend to produce giddiness, and thus finally fall into the ecstasy which causes them to perform without fear the dangerous tricks which we have just spoken of. Should one of them fall a victim to his hardihood, it is ascribed to the weakness of his faith; should he wound himself slightly, a little spittle from his teacher's mouth, with an invocation of the name of the founder of the order, suffices to ensure his recovery.

Where these gatherings of dervishes take place in public, and especially at religious feasts, it not unfrequently happens that some of the onlookers are infected with the frenzy of the performers and becoming as it were possessed, voluntarily join in the hazardous game; this also is ascribed to the mystic influence of the founder of the order.

These public performances are apt to degenerate into mere theatrical representations, in fact into mere conjuring, where nothing but the name and a few formalities recall its connection with mysticism. Indeed the most celebrated of these orders have become thus corrupted. The orthodox conception is that while it is wrong to cast any doubt on the possibility of the existence of such phenomena, and while certain chosen mystics have indeed shown by such means how close was their walk with God, these modern performances although bearing sanctified names are really empty if not profane counterfeits.

The general Mohammedan world however does not participate in

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1) See the interesting treatise of M. Quedenfelt, *Aberglaube und halbreligiose Bruderschaften bei den Marokkanern*, in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* for the year 1886, N°. VI, and especially pp. 686 etc.

this censure; superstition and the tendency towards excessive veneration for persons with a reputation for sanctity cause them to accept the appearance for the reality and to be even ready to defend this standpoint with true fanaticism against its assailants. This makes the orthodox teachers somewhat backward in expressing their condemnation of such practices.

Among the performances cloaked in the ceremonial of Rifā'ī, and which are based partly on hysteria and mesmerism, and partly on legerdemain, voluntary self-infliction of wounds takes a leading place [1]). They are (though to a less degree than formerly) universally practised throughout the Eastern Archipelago under the name of *dabus-* [2]), *dĕbus-* or *gĕdĕbus*-performances [3]), from the Arabic *dabbus*, an iron awl, which serves as the chief instrument for the infliction of the wounds. The Achehnese also speak of *dabōïh* (the weapon) and *meudabōïh* (its use) or else call the performance *rapa'i* (from Rifa'ī) which word also serves to designate the tambourine which is used in this as well as other dikirs etc.

The meudabōïh.

The prevailing opinion among the natives as to these *dabōïh*-performances is as follows. They should take place under the leadership of a true *khalifah*, i. e. a spiritual successor of the founder of the order, whose spiritual genealogical tree brings him into connection with Aḥmad Rifā'ī, and who has obtained license (*ijāzah*) from his guru to conduct these otherwise dangerous exercises. When the brotherhood assembles, this khalifah should, after receiving and returning their respectful salutations, recite certain texts. This he sometimes does alone, but occasionally the brethren chime in in chorus. The recitation prescribed by the master of the order is supposed to excite holy visions in the minds of the brethren who are favoured by God's grace, and by degrees they and even perhaps some of the bystanders as well, attain to the ecstatic condition to which is attached the quality of invulnerability. Then by turning their weapons upon their own bodies

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1) See for instance Lane's *Manners and customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 5th edit. Vol. I p. 305; Vol. II pp. 93, 216.

2) Such self wounding is but little resorted to by the Malays, though it is rife among the Klings or Tamil Mohammedans residing in the Peninsula. Wilkinson (Mal. Dict. Vol. I p. 282) gives *dabus* as the name of the peculiar puncher or awl with a short spike (so as only to inflict a superficial wound) used for this voluntary infliction of wounds. (*Translator*).

3) In Menangkabau *dabuïh*. This word has been wrongly rendered by Van der Toorn.

they show forth to mankind the power of God and the excellence of the master of their order.

It is however acknowledged that the *salasilahs* ("chains" of tradition i. e. spiritual genealogical trees) of those who now-a-days assume the rôle of khalīfahs of the Rifā'iyyah, are of very dubious validity, and that their exercise of the functions of leader cannot therefore be regarded as confirmed by the authority of the master of the order or of one of his rightful successors.

These *ripa'i* or *rapa'i* exhibitions, where not prohibited by the Dutch local authorities, generally serve as an embellishment to a feast. The 'kalipah' or leader of the company, although ever eager to keep up the pretence of performing a pious work for Allah's sake, nevertheless greedily accepts for himself and the brethren the customary recompense for the performance.

Both in players and on-lookers we may generally discern a curious mixture of belief, self-deception and roguishness. Belief in the possibility of the actual infliction of wounds without danger [1]), through the blessed influence of Aḥmad Rifā'ī, a belief which sometimes impels those who take part in the performance to inflict on themselves serious and often fatal hurts; self-deception in respect to certain skilful performers, who are really no more than conjurers; and roguishness on the part of players who pretend to deal themselves heavy blows but who really only momentarily press the point of the awl or dagger against some hard portion of the skin.

The rapa'i performance in Acheh.

Such is the case in Acheh as well as in other Mohammedan countries. The great mass of the people classifies the performance as an example of the *eleumèë keubay* [2]) or science of invulnerability. They are not aware that the name *rapā'ī* is a corruption of that of the saint of yore, and only connect the word with the tambourines used by the players, although the name of the master of mysticism, as well as that of his holy contemporary Abdulqādir Jīlānī and of various others [3]) is actually invoked in the ratéb.

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1) It happened quite recently in West Java for example that a firm believer had himself initiated by a khalifah into the devotion of Rifā'ī, and subsequently fell a victim to the serious wounds which he inflicted on himself at his very first performance.

2) See p. 34 above.

3) As for example Naqshiband, the allusion to whom in the sadati performance so misled Van den Berg.

In some districts the brethren perform every Friday evening for their own practice and edification, as well as on other occasions by special invitation.

The brethren divide into two equal sides, which take up their position opposite one another in several parallel rows. At the top, between the two parties, sits the guru, who is respectfully saluted by all present. He begins by reciting the *fātiḥah*, the Mohammedan Lord's Prayer, and other passages from the holy writ; then he leads off the ratéb, which is intoned to the Achehnese and Malabar tunes, as they are called, alternately slow (*jareuëng*) and quick (*bagaïh*) tune. It consists of Achehnese verses, two at a time being sung to each tune, mixed with corrupt Arabic expressions the meaning of which is unknown to the hearers.

The leader sings alone three successive times the words: *ya hō alah, ya mèëlòë* [1]); then all intone in chorus after him, "*o sòydilah* [2]), oh my lord Amat! (i. e. Aḥmad Rifā'ī)". Thereupon commence the verses, the recitation of which is accompanied by an orchestra of great *rapa'i's*, while the actual performers occasionally strike smaller tambourines or wave them in the air with graceful motions. We append a translation of some of the verses.

Oh my Lord, we pray thee help us — against the point of the *reunchōng* (the ordinary Achehnese dagger) whose blade is exceeding sharp?

O *sòydilah*, O Abdulqādir — the prophet Chidhr lives in the great sea.
His abode is in the waters, yet does his body never become wet — through the favour of the Lord and Master, oh our Lord!

O iron, iron *bélah* [3])! wherefore art thou refractory?

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1) Oh He, Allah, Oh my Lord! *Mèëlòë* is corrupted from the Arabic maulāy = maulāya "my Lord."

2) This word is a corruption of the Arabic *shaï' lillāh* "something done for the sake of God" which is frequently found in ḍikirs, and which is used to introduce a fatihah recited in honour of a prophet or saint. As it is here entirely out of place, I have left it untranslated.

3) This word is a corruption of *billāhi*, i. e. "By God! for God's sake!", but it conveys no meaning to the ordinary Achehnese.

Now do I exorcise thee with thy own incantation [1]). Blunt be the iron, sharp the incantation!

White is the flower of the confession of faith — the limitless sea is the kingdom of my Lord.

Twenty attributes (hath God), name of God's majesty! — My body is of a truth the possession of my Lord.

A drop of water in the palm of the hand — who knoweth the art of bathing himself in the glitter thereof?

It is my Lord alone who may thus bathe; — none other may bathe himself in the glitter thereof [2]).

O *sòydilah* [3]), O Abdulqādir — may all (red-hot) chains be affected by the incantation!

May they be as cold as water, may they be powdered like dust — through the blessed influence of our noble teacher!

Ya hō alah; ya hō mèëlòë [4]) — o iron! thou art under the influence of exorcism.

O Allah! There is a conflict in the cause of Allah! [5]) O for help in the conflict in the cause of Allah!

The sibōn-bōn bush, its flowers are withered — they lie disconsolately round the stalk.

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1) It is a great secret of all formulæ of exorcism against objects or beings injurious to man, to throw in their teeth their own names, their origin or a description of their nature, or resist them with an incantation in some way derived from that against which it is used.

2) Both these verses contain allusions of a profoundly mystic nature.

3) See page 253. 4) See page 253.

5) The common expression for the holy war.

It is unheard of, that a disciple should set himself against his teacher — the lot of such an one shall be hell!

O *sòydilah* [1]) Chèh Nurōdin [2]) — may all sikins be blunt of blade!

May their points be turned and their blades curl up — smitten by the blessed influence of a whole walletful of incantations (which the guru has at his command).

It became known that Banta Beuransah [3]) had returned — with the princess, whom he brought along with him.

He brought the princess home from the clouds — jéns and pari's bore her palace behind her.

O (red-hot) chains, may you quickly grow cool! — O glowing charcoal, lay aside your glow!

May you be cool as water, (pliable) as lead — through the blessed influence of the (confession of faith) "there is no God but Allah".

Stand up, (ye with the) iron awls, let us beat the rapa'i! — let us in imagination pass in procession round the tomb of the Prophet!

Stand up, ye with the awls, may your hearts be pure — so does the Lord grant forgiveness of sins.

Besides these verses, which are more or less applicable to the task of the performers, they also recite others, chiefly of a religious nature, some of which convey wise lessons while others contain extracts from the sacred history; as for example:

In the name of Allah I commence my dikir — perchance I shall not be able to recite my prayer.

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1) See p. 253.

2) Here is invoked the name of the most distinguished teacher of the law in Acheh during the flourishing period of the kingdom. See pp. 12 etc., above.

3) See the very popular hikayat regarding this hero p. 134 above.

The godless are without reflection — where is the religion of those that know not God?

Abu Jahl, how deeply is he accursed — what shall be his punishment for his resistance to Muḥammad?

When Muḥammad had flung him to the clouds, he appeared to the eye like a tiny beetle.

In the land of Egypt there are firearms set with precious stones; — in the land of Mekka there are firearms ornamented with suasa (a compound of gold and copper).

In Gampōng Jawa there are lamps in a row; — let us make processions round the tomb of the Prophet.

Hamzah perished near the mountain Uḥud, a little distance (from Medina).

When Hamzah was slain, the Prophet resolved to remove his body, — the mountains wept and accompanied him.

The following couplet is properly speaking a salutation at departure, but it is also occasionally repeated during the course of the performance:

O teungkus, go not home yet — sit down opposite the guru and lift up your voices in prayer.

Spread forth both hands (in prayer) — repeat the fatiḥah and a prayer.

The recital grows louder and quicker, and between this and the clashing of the tambourines and the constant motion of head and limbs the desired state of transport is at last reached. Then those possessed with the *efflatus* rise from the ranks of their fellows and after a respectful salutation to their teacher, receive at his hands the weapon or instrument which he selects. In Acheh the *dabōih* [1]) is used, the weapon

1) See p. 251 above.

specially appertaining to this performance, but most of the common weapons of the country (*rinchōng*, *sikin* and *gliwang*) are also employed. The performer begins by making various half-dancing movements in unison with the time of the recitation, which continues without a pause; meanwhile he draws his weapon, which he regards from time to time with tender looks and even kisses, in sundry different directions along his hands and arms.

Presently he begins to stab and smite these extremities with (to all appearance) a certain amount of force, and finally attacks other portions of his body, maintaining all the time the same rhythmic movements. The skilful tricksters among the brethren draw a little blood perhaps but generally confine themselves to causing deep depressions in their skin with point or blade, apparently using great force, and so giving the impression that their skin is impenetrable. But actual believers not unfrequently go so far as to inflict deep wounds on their arms, hands or stomachs, to knock holes in their heads or to cut pieces off their tongues.

A rapa'i representation which includes the *sawa' ranté* i. e. "throwing (red-hot) chains round the shoulders [1])" is regarded as particularly complete. The performers seldom escape without burns, but even in this case there appears to be no lack of artificial devices which increase the efficacy of the incantations. Such for instance is the preliminary moistening of the body with lime-juice. The red-hot chains.

§ 4. Music.

In connection with those pastimes with which we have been dealing so far we have only met with very simple musical instruments such as the rude tambourines known as *rapa'i*. We must now turn our attention to Achehnese music properly so called [2]).

We need only give a passing notice to the instruments used by

1) This also is not customary among the Malays through not uncommonly practised by Mohammedan Klings. *(Translator).*

2) It will be seen that Van Langen's remarks on Achehnese music in his article in the *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, longer articles, 2nd series, Part V, p. 468 require correction and expansion.

children, such as the whistle (*wa*) made from the padi-stalk [1]); the little "german flutes" made from the spathe (*peuleupeuë*) of the betel-nut tree, and used to imitate the cries of birds; the red earthenware whistles (*pib-pib*) introduced by the Klings; the plaything called *gèng-gòng*, which consists of a thin plate of iron to which is fastened at one side a little iron rod. This latter is held in the mouth and a sort of buzzing noise produced by twisting it to and fro.

Full-grown people also sometimes amuse themselves by blowing on the *wa*, as for instance to while away the time when watching in a hut (*jambō*) in the padi-fields to drive away noxious animals. With adults, however, a more favourite instrument is the *bangsi* [2]), a sort of flageolet made of bambu (*bulōh*) with seven round holes on top and one underneath, and a square hole (also on top) not far below the mouth-piece. With this instrument an adept player can produce all the tunes he fancies, both those to which pantōns are set and those employed in sadati performances etc. In the evenings and nights especially the votaries of this instrument are wont to defer with its strains the hour of sleep for themselves and their companions.

The bangsi.

The *suléng* is of finer finish than the *bangsi*; it is really a sort of flute, and has no mouth-piece, being open at the upper end, and closed below by the division of the bamboo. It has 6 small holes and one somewhat bigger one close to the opening; the performer holds the instrument horizontally in front of his mouth and blows into the larger hole.

The suléng.

The suléng is made of a thinner and finer kind of bambu known as *igeuë*. It is usually adorned with handsome silver or copper bands encircling the instrument above and below each hole, and the closed end is similarly mounted.

The suléng is played for amusement like the bangsi, but it is more often used in combination with a *tambu* [3]) (our ordinary hand-drum)

Suléng orchestra.

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1) It is in fact a kind of jew's-harp. The Malay instrument of the same name is made of bamboo. A short section is selected and so cut as to leave three or four long prongs projecting from the solid end which is gripped in the mouth. These prongs are made to vibrate by the trituration of the string and produce a musical sound by their reverberation. I learn from the author that a similar instrument is used in Java; it is known as *pōpō* among the Gayō people and as *karinding* or *rinding* in W. Java. *(Translator).*

2) The Malay *bangsi* is the same as the instrument here described. It has a *danting* or chiselled mouth-piece like a penny whistle; another instrument similar in all respects except that it has a straight mouth-piece is called *nabat* by the Malays. *(Translator).*

3) The drum used in the mosques to announce the time of prayer and which is called

and two *chanangs*, copper discs played with a muffled stick. This orchestra is used as a prelude to fights of animals or contests with kites, in processions with *alangans* (which we shall presently describe), in mimic battles with crackers which the boys from different gampōngs organize on festive occasions, and at certain *piasans* etc.

The tambu and chanangs are sometimes employed at ram-fights, but as a rule without the *suléng*.

The *srunè* [1]) is a sort of clarionet with eight holes above and one below; the player of this instrument is always supported by two *geundrangs* [2]), drums slung in front and struck with the hand on the left side and on the right with a drum-stick with a curved end. Properly speaking the above should be accompanied by another and smaller drum long and narrow in shape, the *geundrang ana'* or *peungana'*.

This music is to be heard almost daily since it not alone serves to enhance the rejoicing at various feasts but also adds *éclat* to the fulfilment of vows.

Fulfilment of vows with music.

A very common form of the expression of a vow, whether it be made on account of an illness or in view of some coming event of importance in the family, is as follows: the maker of the vow promises that as soon as the sick one recovers, or a certain wish is fulfilled or a certain momentous epoch (such as the circumcision or boring of the ears of children) has arrived, he or she will fulfil their vow at the tomb of Teungku N. [3]). By this it is understood, without any further words of explanation, that the person who makes the vow will cause to be brought to the holy tomb indicated an idang of yellow glutinous rice with its accessories (such as tumpòë-cakes etc.), some flowers, and some white cotton cloth to decorate the tombstones. The rice is intended for the parasites who nearly always haunt these tombs; if it is desired to have a special feast there, a separate provision of viands is made for this. The fresh flowers are placed on the tomb, and the

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bĕdug in Java and *tabuh* in other parts of Sumatra, is also known as *tambu* in Acheh, or is called *tambu raya* for the sake of distinction. [The Malays call it *gĕndang raya*]. *(Translator).*

1) The Malay *sĕrunai* is identical with the instrument here described. The word is of Persian origin. Its bell-shaped mouth is called *krongsong*. *(Translator).*

2) The geundrang as here described appears to correspond to the Malay *tabuh*, a two-ended drum of slightly oval shape. The Malay gĕndang is also two-ended, but one end is smaller than the other, and the sides are straight. *(Translator).*

3) Cf. Vol. I pp. 390 and 393.

visitors take with them "for the sake of the blessing" some of those which have lain and withered there. The new white cotton is wound round the tombstones, and torn fragments of previous coverings are taken away in exchange and fastened round wrist or ankle as charms to bring good luck. Then the visitors to the tomb wash with water from the sacred place the head of the subject of the vow.

The geundrang orchestra.

Whoever can afford the luxury adds to such a general vow the qualification "*ngòn geundrang*", meaning thereby that his party (consisting as a rule of both men and women) shall be preceded on its expedition to the holy tomb by three or four musicians, one with the *srunè*, two with *geundrangs* and sometimes another with a *geundrang ana'*. It is indeed characteristic of the popular conception of Islam, that the saints are honoured with musical performances, which are most rigorously prohibited by the religious law.

The *geundrang* orchestra is also employed in the *alangan* processions, wherein it conflicts with the *suléng* and its accessories and fills the air with a discordant noise; it is also used in what are known as *piasans*, and at family-feasts — in this last case usually in fulfilment of a vow.

Hareubab orchestra.

There is a peculiar Achehnese orchestra composed of the following instruments:

1°. A *hareubab* [1]), i. e. a native violin. The sounding-board (*bruë'*) is of nangka-wood covered with membrane from the stomach of the buffalo, the strings are of twisted silk and the bowstring of fibres of the aerial roots of the *sriphië*-tree, stretched on a bow of rattan. A leaden bridge (*chapéng*) keeps the strings apart, they are strung from a little bow of rattan called *guda*, and tuned by keys called *gaséng*.

2°. Two or more *geudumba's* [2]) i. e. kettle-drums. The body of the drum is roughly hewn from a single block of nangka-wood, and is almost cylindrical in shape but tapers towards the bottom, then widens again and forms the foot; this last is shaped like an octagonal pyramid with the top cut off, or a truncated cone. The whole is about 27

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1) The Malay *rëbah*. It somewhat resembles a guitar and is much used in Malay *mayongs (Translator)*.

2) This instrument derives its name from its resemblance (in the imagination of the Achehnese) to the *gumba'* or topknot of hair worn by the people of the interior. The shape of the *gumba'* is suggested by the narrowness of the portion between the body and the foot of the drum.

centimetres in height; the cover is made of goat-skin, is about 13 centimetres in diameter, and is fastened to the body of the drum with



HAREUBAB-ORCHESTRA WITH A DANCING BOY; ON THE LEFT A FIGHTING RAM.

bands of rattan. These bands are stretched by means of a small wooden wedge.

This orchestra serves to accompany the recitation of Achehnese pantōns. Meunari and pantōn recitation.

These performances are especially popular in Pidië. A woman sings at the same time executes certain dances, which consist more in movements of the upper parts of the body than of the feet. These dances are called *meutari* in Achehnese or more commonly *meunari*, in imitation of the Malay word *mĕnari*. Beside the singer is a buffoon who amuses the audience by his grimaces, jests and *doubles entendres*. The musicians do not always confine themselves to playing their in-

struments, but also chime in and now and then relieve the dancing-girl of her singing part [1]).

In the neighbourhood of the capital these performances are only known by the rare visits of travelling companies. They are also to be met with in certain other parts, especially in the coast districts of the XXV Mukims, but with this modification, that the place of the singing woman is taken by a young boy in female attire.

It so chanced that during my residence in Acheh such a company came from the XXV Mukims to the capital. In the illustration on p. 261 will be a representation of such an orchestra with a boy in dancing posture. I took down from the lips of the dirty, opium-smoking musicians a great portion of their répertoire of pantōns. These people were less concerned for the voice of their *adòë* ("younger brother") than the sadati players. I attended a performance one night, and found that as a matter of fact the task of the boy was principally limited to dancing. He joined to some extent in the choruses but the recitation was mainly performed by the four musicians, and especially the violinist, who officiated as conductor of the orchestra. This appears to be frequently the case, and sometimes they dispense with the boy altogether, whereby a great "rock of offence" is removed.

The pantōns are in the form of dialogues between an older and a younger brother; the first represents the lover, the second his beloved.

In many of these pantōns it is not clear whether the object of the love is male or female, or whether the passion is lawful or unchaste; the expressions used are metaphorical or general, so that the hearer can apply them as suits his fancy. Occasionally however the language used is characteristic of a shameless intrigue, as in the following example where I denote the *aduën, abang* or *dalém* by the letter D and the

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1) In Pidië there is now [1892] a women named Si Buntò' who enjoys a great reputation as a singer, especially owing to her skill in improvising pantōns containing covert allusions to the private history of the ulèëbalangs. Her husband Pang Pasi figures as her buffoon. I have been told that this couple had given successful performances at the "Court" at Keumala.

The performance here described has its counterpart in the *mayong* of the Malays. The orchestra for this is 2 tabuhs or oval drums played with the hand, 2 gongs, 1 sërunai, a resonant metal bar, and 1 rëbab. The female actress is called *putri* (princess) and the buffoon, who weard a hideous long-nosed red mask, *përan*. There is also an actor called *pa'yong* = prince. The woman wears long artificial finger-nails of silver, and often varies her performance by acrobatic feats, such as bending over backwards and picking up a coin from the ground with her lips! *(Translator)*.

adòë by A. After pressing solicitations on the part of D, to which A returns evasive answers through fear of discovery, the "elder brother" says:

D. My masters, who cut reeds! They (the reeds) must lie three nights before they can be set up for plaiting into mats.

If you can yield to my wish, I shall find means to conceal it, so that you may give yourself to me to-morrow and the day after.

A. Go to the mountains and cut rangginòë-wood and bring us back a piece to make a pillar for a fly-wheel.

If thou, oh brother, canst walk beneath the ground, I shall hide you from my husband and give myself to thee.

D. The ricinus-plant is broken at the top; the people make fast a noose to the end of the suganda-plant.

I cannot approach your house; your husband is as fierce as a tiger of Daya.

A. My masters, who cut daréh-wood (for fences); lay the stem down on the main road.

Be not afraid of my wretched husband, I shall give him the coup de grâce on the nose with a grindstone.

D. My masters, climb ye up into the kapok-tree, but bethink you of the thorns that project therefrom.

When folks ask next day (how your husband has come by his death), they must be told that the cat was playing with the stone and that it fell upon him by accident.

A. A great prahu sails for Asahan laden with durians and manggosteens.

If it cannot go by prahu send (that which I desire) by sampan (i. e. if my wish cannot be fulfilled in one way let it be in an another); if we ourselves may not be united, let me at least hear news of you.

There are however also among these pantōns variations played upon the eternal theme of love which the chaste lover can make his own of, as for instance where the *adòë* says:

A. A dove sits on the ridge of the roof; an eagle will swoop upon her as he passes.

So long as my head remains joined to my neck, so long shall I continue to follow you in close union.

The tunes.

The *simeunari* (male or female dancer) or his or her musicians intone consecutive sets of more or less connected pantōns, each set having

its own tune; the names given to these tunes are generally taken from one or two words which appear in some well-known pantōn which is habitually sung thereto (e. g. *lagèë* [1]) *siwaïh ladō, lagèë dua lapéh*), or from some peculiarity in or the origin of the tune itself (e. g. *lagèë jawòë barat* = Malay tune of the West Coast, *lagèë rancha'* = merry, lively tune) or from one or two nonsense words with which the pantōn commences (e. g. *lagèë ta'li a'li ōn*).

Most, nay indeed all these verses are in the ordinary *sanja'* metre [2]), and in the opening of the two verses which contain the response, the opening of the preceding question is often repeated.

Some exhibit departures from the rule and follow the rhythm of a special dance; as for example the first four pairs of verses of the set sung to the tune *ta'li a'li ōn*, which are given below.

D. *Ta'li a'li ōn*, glutinous rice folded up in a young plantain leaf.

The day of judgment has come; where shall the women now get pantōns from?

A. *Ta'li a'li ōn*, glutinous rice in a punteut-leaf [3]).

The day of judgment has come; where shall the women now get words invoking blessings (on the Prophet)?

D. A little, a little *keupula* (= sawo-tree), a little keupula grows on the gampōng-path.

The wind blows a little, the sweet savour spreads over the whole gampōng.

A. A little, a little *keupula*, a little keupula grows in the corner.

The wind blows a little, the sweet savour spreads over the whole land.

D. There is a dove, she lays her eggs in the grass.

Alas! they have smitten my darling; but she has escaped from the point of the sword.

A. There is a dove, she lays her eggs on the edge of the plank (which is set against the wall to lay things upon).

Alas, they have smitten my darling; but she has escaped from the point of the javelin.

D. Alas, I see a plantain which was thriving but a moment ago, but whose sprouting leaf has perished.

Alas! I see earrings; but while I gaze, she who wore them is dead.

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1) Mal. *lagu* (*Translator*).

2) See above pp. 73 et seq.

3) The leaves of the punteut-tree are eaten as vegetables, and not used to wrap rice in

A. Alas, I see a *labu* plant; while it is being watered, its sprout dies. Alas, I see my lord; while I set rice before him, he divorces me! [1])

D. Go to the mountains and hew seumantō'-wood, let the top of the tree fall on the far side of the stream. My shape is ugly, my clothing is ragged: let me go and dwell in some quiet place.

A. Go to the mountains and hew planks: bring me with you to pick up the chips.

Let us live side by side, let us die together, let us have but one winding-sheet and one coffin.

Violin orchestra.

Another orchestra, which is likewise employed to accompany the recitation of pantōns and the dance, is composed of:

1° The *biula*, i. e. the ordinary European violin, an instrument much beloved by the Achehnese, and on which some of them perform very creditably. The violin is also played alone, without any other instrument, to accompany pantōns, or for the amusement of the player himself or of small parties of friends.

2° A number (say from 5 to 7) of small tambourines called *dabs*, provided with bells like the *rapa'i* or *rapana*, but smaller than these and made of finer and thinner wood.

3° A *gōng*, the familiar large metal disc, which is employed in Acheh for official proclamations such as the *sranta* (vol. I, pp. 226).

Achehnese pantōns are always recited to hareubab music, but the violin-orchestra is used to accompany Malay pantōns also. As a rule these last are sung by the musicians while two dancing boys hum the tune while they display their grace and skill in the *meunari*.

Where Achehnese pantōns are sung in the violin orchestra the dancer (a boy or a woman) is generally singer also, or else takes turns with the musicians in singing.

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§ 5. Processions and Popular Feasts.

Alangan processions.

We have already more than once made mention of alangan-processions. These are held in connection with the marriages of persons of high rank or great wealth, on the occasion of the "offering of the

1) According to another reading: "he chokes to death".

betel-leaf" [1]), or the fetching of the *pagalō*-rice. This last is a custom observed by persons of consideration a couple of days before the wedding; it consists in the conveyance with much ceremony by the bridegroom's party to the house of the bride of an idang of yellow glutinous rice with its accessories, all round which are planted little sticks with coloured eggs impaled on them. Sadati or rapa'i-players are also sometimes escorted to their destination with an alangan-procession by the people of the gampōng where they are about to give a performance. It has even occurred that when a particularly fine kite has got loose on the occasion of a kite-competition, and been driven by the wind into another district, it has been after previous notice brought bade by the people of that district to the gampōng of the owners with an alangan procession.

The music. Almost the whole male population of the gampōng or gampōngs which take part in the procession assemble in their best clothes or sometimes in a peculiar uniform such as red jackets reaching to below the knees. A *geundrang* and *srunè* orchestra together with a *suléng* and its accompanying instruments adds to the noise made by the continuous shouting (*sura'*) of the crowd. The peculiarity however to which these processions owe their name, is that all the boys leap along armed with sugar canes unshorn of their leaves (*teubèë meu' ōn*); these natural banners are called *alangan*.

Many of those who form the procession are adorned with little flags of various colours.

When an alangan-procession takes place, previous notice is always given to the gampōng whither it is about to proceed, and it is then the duty of the male population of the latter to go forth likewise in procession and meet (*ampeuëng*) the visitors. As soon as they meet the two sides draw up in line at some distance from each other, and sometimes expert champions step forth from either party and wage a mimic battle with sikin or gliwang in the midst.

The jeunadah We have already seen (Vol. I p. 425) that a structure in the form of an ark or small house is frequently employed to add grandeur to the gifts which are thus taken in procession (yellow glutinous rice, betel-leaf etc.). This ark is called jeunadah.

Before holding an alangan-procession the people of the gampōng

1) S. e. the *ranub dòng*, which accompanies the *tanda kòng narit:* see Vol. I pp. 300—301.



GROUP OF WOMEM FROM LHŌNG (SOUTHERN DISTRICTS OF ACHÈH PROPER).



WOMAN FROM THE XXV MUKIMS.

must obtain the permission of the ulèëbalang; this indeed holds good of most festal occasions which involve the assembling of large crowds, including *piasans*.

Piasans [1]) (see Vol. I p. 323) are properly speaking secular festivities of every description. Sadati-plays, rapa'i-performances and the like may be all included in this category, but the name specially suggests an abundance of fireworks, illuminations and noise.

Fire works and illuminations.

A wooden frame, the upper part of which is surrounded with paper lanterns and revolves automatically (*tanglōng meugisa*), merry-go-rounds (*ayōn meugisa*), Chinese fireworks and crackers, but especially high conical stacks of firewood which are set in flames (*krumbu* or *kuta bungòng apuy*) — all these contribute to festal rejoicing.

Persons of rank and wealth give piasans at their family feasts; gampōngs or districts unite in organizing them at the great annual feasts, or sometimes without any particular reason, or only to excite one another's jealousy and envy.

§ 6. Hikayats.

Although we have dealt with this subject in our chapter on literature, the reading or rather the recitation of and hearkening to hikayats ought not here to pass unnoticed as one of the chief mental recreations of the Achehnese, especially as this form of amusement has an improving and educational influence which others cannot claim.

Chiefs and peasants, old and young of both sexes, all literally doat upon the hikayats, with the exception of some few pretended purists, who regard even this pleasure as too worldly or the contents of some of the stories as savouring too little of Islam.

Women and literature.

After the remarks which we have already made (Vol. I, p. 371) as to the position of women in Acheh, it can occasion no surprise that they are superior to the men in their love for, and by no means behind them in their knowledge of, the literature of their country. They often divert their female and sometimes even their male guests by the recitation of a hikayat, and each and all are willing to sacrifice their night's rest as the price of the entertainment.

1) From the Malay *pĕrhiasan* "an ornament", but used as we see in quite a peculiar sense in Achehnese.

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGION.

§ 1. Introduction.

In the preface to our first volume we announced that this last chapter should be devoted to supplementary remarks and a general resumé. In describing in somewhat close detail the political, family and individual life of the Achehnese people, it was a foregone conclusion that questions of religion should crop up at every turn. It might thus be supposed that the drawing of conclusions regarding the part which Islam plays in the life of the Achehnese might safely be left to the observant reader. It will however be seen that we do not by any means share this view.

Misconception of the significance of Islam for its Indonesian adherents.

We have already pointed out more than once that the significance of the creed of Islam for those who profess it in the East Indies, has been the subject of much misconception in the majority of works which deal with the matter either passingly or of set purpose.

The causes of this phenomenon are not far to seek. Everyone who comes into close political or social contact with any portion of the Mohammedan population of these countries finds himself occasionally face to face with this very question of religion. Now as most such observers make their first acquaintance with the creed of Islam in the Far East with no further enlightenment than what is afforded by one or two popular European works, they form their judgements on the basis of entirely incomplete observation, under the influence of superficial and sometimes quite accidental impressions received in a limited environment. Yet it is such as these that are by way of enlightening the public both here and in Europe; this imposture, committed often in entire good faith, would be at once unmasked, were it not that

most people both in the East and at home are profoundly ignorant as regards the religious life of the native peoples.

We still meet every day in the newspapers and magazines of Netherlands India the most absurd misconceptions on this subject, even in regard to matters which could be cleared up by interrogating any of our native neighbours, not to speak of more complicated or general questions on the same head [1]). An equal amount of folly may be overheard in the conversations of Europeans respecting the religion of the Indonesians; this misinformation is no doubt partly inspired by the press, but to some extent the opposite is the case, and it is the speakers who inspire the journals.

Ignorance of the subject displayed by Europeans.

Without even a distant knowledge of the conditions of the question, and without giving himself the trouble to get at the truth, each one confidently puts forward his solution of the problem. One tells you that there lurks under every turban a would-be rebel and murderer, a fanatical enemy of all things European; with the same degree of assurance another avers that not a single grain of fanaticism exists throughout the whole of the East Indian Archipelago, while a third declares that both are wrong and that it requires experience such as his (the

1) This is characteristically illustrated by the feuilleton *Abu Bakar*, which appeared in the *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* in the latter part of the year 1893. It is from the pen of Maurits (P. A. Daum), a writer of some repute, and it deals with subjects which cannot be handled without some knowledge of the first principles of the Mohammedan religion as professed by the natives of the Eastern Archipelago. Yet the author displays an absolute ignorance of almost every branch of his subject. He gives a *penghulu* the rôle of unctuous hypocrite and converter of Europeans, whereas the really typical *pangulu* is an official who can give himself no airs and is frowned upon by the "pious", and one who might be called anything rather than Pharasaical. He makes the convert Abu Bakar learn "texts from the Koran" by heart and constantly quote them, while as a matter of fact it is only finished students who attain so far, and the ordinary, nay even the more highly developed and prominent native never *quotes from the Qurān*. Perhaps however Maurits refers to his own copy of the Qurān; it seems to be a new edition for we find a quotation therefrom to the effect that "he who loves one of his wives more than the other, shall appear at the day of the Resurrection with buttocks of unequal size". There is nothing of the kind in the ordinary editions of the Qurān, and such a difference in the degree of affection of the husband for his wives is expressly recognized as permissible by the sacred books. Again it is stated that the married man who commits adultery must be punished with a hundred lashes of the whip (the Mohammedan law ordains the punishment of stoning for this offence), and that the wedding gift should consist of one hundred dinars — an entirely novel rule. Abu Bakar after his conversion is constantly spoken of as a *Tuan Said*, a title appertaining only to those descended from Ali; the confession of faith is given as *al-illah allah*, the haji performs his pilgrimage to Mohammed's tomb, etc. Nothing but the profound ignorance of the public can enable an author of reputation to perpetrate such blunders.

speaker's) in actual intercourse with the natives to be able to sift the wheat from the chaff. In place of arguments one hears nothing but assertions or examples which taken by themselves and without a discriminating analysis prove nothing.

Theoretical and practical teaching of Islam.

In order to arrive at the basis of the significance of Islam in the lives and thoughts of the natives, it is of course primarily necessary to take into account what this Islam is, and what are the demands that it makes, in practice as well as in theory, upon those who profess it.

The theoretic requirements may be learned from the authoritative works on Mohammedan law and doctrine [1]), supplemented as far as necessary by the books of the mystics. The study of these puts us in possession of the final result of the development during the past thirteen centuries of the Moslim school, which has always claimed the right to govern and control the entire life of Mohammedans in all respects, but which, ever since the nascent period, covering some thirty years from the hijrah of the founder of Islam, has fallen further and further short of attaining that object.

It will be understood that it does not concern us to define according to this theoretical standard the authority and significance of Islam in respect of any of those who profess it. Did we in like manner apply to the morality, the superstitions and the laws of a Catholic people the text of the morale, the dogma and the canonical law of Holy Church, we should seek in vain throughout the world for any traces of Catholicism. Indeed we should necessarily arrive at the same result in estimating the influence on its votaries of any creed whatever, if we overlooked the gulf which invariably separates the real from the ideal.

Nor does this rule apply with less force to Islam than to other religions. For the first thirty years or so, while Arabia was still the centre of Moslim power, life and doctrine developed hand in hand. Thenceforward the paths diverged more and more as time advanced: the schools of doctrinal learning have troubled themselves little about

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1) In studying these we must always remember that for many centuries past neither the Qurān nor the sacred Tradition may have been used as textbooks of dogma and law; for no one is authorized even to explain, much less to supplement these holy books, nor can anyone comprehend the texts of eleven to thirteen centuries ago without further elucidation. The real text-books are the works of certain authors who derive their authority from the consensus of teachers among the faithful. Hence we see how foolish it is for Europeans who have but a superficial knowledge of Islam to make verses from the Qurān and the like the basis of conversations on religion with their native friends

the practical requirements of daily life, while on the other hand all classes of the Moslim community have exhibited in practice an indifference to the sacred law in all its fulness, quite equal to the reverence with which they regard it in theory.

The contrast between the doctrine and the actual life of the Moslims shows itself in the simplest possible form in the domain of religion in the proper sense of the word. The teaching of the doctrinal works and the books of the law in regard to what are called the "five pillars" of Islam (the confession of faith, the ritual prayers with the condition of ritual purity indispensable thereto, the religious taxation known as *zakat*, the fasts and the haj) serves as a guide to all who observe these primary obligations with some degree of strictness. At the same time it must be observed that the great majority of Moslims fall very far short of the mark both in their knowledge and still more in their observance of these rules and principles. Now the Law requires that the rulers of the faithful should compel the backward and unwilling to the learning and practice of their religious duties, yet this is not done either in the political (Constantinople) or the religious (Mecca) centre of Islam — not to speak of the larger sphere that lies outside. The only Moslim authorities which have to some extent fulfilled their duty in this respect belong to comparatively small sects, regarded by most of their co-religionists as heretical, as for example the Wahhabites who arose in the interior of Arabia towards the end of the eighteenth century, and in later times the Mahdists in the Sudan.

It is indeed unnecessary to stray away into the fine details of casuistry — we have only to review superficially the primary rules of the Law which deal with the "five main pillars" in order to arrive at the conclusion that it is in the long run an impossibility for the great mass of the citizens of any civilized state to live up to them.

Difference between theory and practice as regards the primary obligations.

As we are aware, the Mohammedan law itself draws a distinction between imperative and commendable rules [1]); it imposes on those who neglect the former heavy punishments both in this world and the next, while it merely recommends the latter as a means of winning a higher celestial reward. The popular view, as expressed in the actual practice, admits a difference in the degree of obedience which is to be paid to

1) The former is called in Arabic *fardh* (Mal. *pĕrlu*, Ach. *peurculèe*) or *wajib*, the latter *sunnat* (Mal. and Ach. *sunat*).

such behests, but while fully recognizing in theory the truth of the written doctrine, is markedly at variance with the latter in its manner of drawing its distinctions. Not only are the indispensable obligations reduced in practice to a minimum, but in that minimum are included various matters on which the sacred law lays less stress, while very many obligations which the latter insists upon as indispensable pass entirely unnoticed by the unlearned public.

We may illustrate the truth of the above by a few examples. The law (according to the interpretation of the Shafi'ite school) teaches that circumcision is prescribed as a duty but lays no more stress on this than on a thousand other obligations which are universally neglected, and is very far from including it among the "five pillars of Islam". Yet it is an undoubled fact than in all Mohammedan countries laymen attach more weight to circumcision than to all the "five pillars" taken together, and that even the religious teachers, although they are the champions of the teaching of the law, are nevertheless influenced to some degree by the popular belief in this respect. Examples.

The religious tax paid at the end of the fasting month and known in Acheh as *pitrah* [1]) (Arab. *zakāt al-fiṭr* or *fiṭrah*) is but a part of one of the five primary obligations. Yet while many who are bound to contribute zakāt on agricultural produce etc., and most of those who should do the same in respect of cattle or the precious metals neglect this duty without a qualm of conscience, no one thinks of omitting to pay the pitrah, and it is even contributed by persons on whom the law imposes no such obligation. Yet while exaggerated punctuality is observed in its payment, all seem indifferent to the fair distribution of the pitrah in the manner ordained by the law, so that according to the strict doctrinal standard much of the grain distributed under this name should not really be reckoned as pitrah at all.

The express prohibition of the wearing by men of silk or of gold and silver ornaments is universally transgressed, yet the wearing of neck-cloths and (except where the people have become accustomed to it through the example of Turkish officials) of European trousers is regarded by the majority of Mohammedans as an irreligious act.

Wine and the flesh of pigs are forbidden with equal strictness to all

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1) See Vol. I, p. 238 et seq.

Moslims; yet the use of the latter as food is universally regarded as a much graver transgression than the drinking of wine.

Carnal intercourse with a free woman whose ʿiddah (the appointed period of continency after separation from her husband by death or divorce) has not yet elapsed, is generally regarded as adulterous and he who is guilty of such an act knows that according to the law of God he has incurred the punishment of death by stoning. On the other hand but little exception is taken to intercourse with female slaves who were but yesterday the concubines of others, or have but recently been carried off captive, and even virgin slaves born in the house are often allowed to be deflowered by youths who are not their owners, all of which things are according to the law just as adulterous as cohabitation with a free woman by a man to whom she is not yet married or from whom she has been separated [1]).

It may indeed be said that the Arabic words which distinguish human actions as permitted by the sacred law (*mubāḥ*), reprehensible (*makrūh*), forbidden (*ḥarām*), commendable (*sunnat, mustaḥabb*) and obligatory (*fardh, wājib*) have to a great extent become the common property of the languages of all Mohammedan peoples. Who that has had anything to do with the natives of this Archipelago, has not occasionally heard the words *pĕrlu* (*fardh*) and *haram*?

But side by side with these universally known terms there are other indigenous ones which distinguish between what is *good* and what is *evil*; nor is the difference between the native expressions and those of Arabic origin merely linguistic; the meaning differs too.

When the Sundanese calls it *pĕrlu* to perform ritual prayers five times a day and *haram* to drink wine, he means that the pious and devout, the lĕbe's or santri's, ought to do the former and omit the latter. A prohibition that he recognizes as binding on all men, whether it be prescribed by the religious law (as that no man may ill-treat his wife), or rests on adat only (as that no man but women only may take padi from the barn), or is even at variance with the holy law (as that a woman may not receive the wedding-gift at the hands of her husband), is called by him *pamali*, while he describes a positive injunction of the same kind by the ordinary word for "good" (*hade*).

In other languages (even in the Arabic itself) we find corresponding

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1) Cf. *Mekka*, Vol. II, p. 134—5.

expressions. The Achehnese for instance say simply *gèt* = "good", and *hana gèt* = not good. Such expressions are much more commonly employed than the purely religious ones, a speaking proof that the universally recognized moral standard of Islam is much less closely followed than that of everyday life.

The same holds true in respect of other distinctions which have found expression in the technical terms of the religious law. Many contracts which the law describes as *bāṭil* or invalid, are in practice regarded by Moslims as binding, whereas it can be said of but few such contracts that they are *ṣaḥīḥ*, i. e. valid according to religious law.

The complaints of the pandits that the law which forms the subject of their study grows daily more and more of a dead letter, of little concern to anyone as a guide to his actions, are so frequently to be met with in Mohammedan literature during, at the least, the past eight centuries, that it seems superfluous to quote examples. As regards our own times anyone who has acquired some knowledge of the social life of Mohammedans in Egypt, Syria, Turkey etc., can verify the truth of this complaint from his own experience. I shall however support my statement by quotation from one characteristic document from the pen of a modern scribe.

Influence of adat in Ḥadramaut.

If there is any Moslim country in the world whose inhabitants might be expected to hold the law in reverence, that country is Ḥadramaut. The population is pure Arab and even the temporary residence of non-Arabian Mohammedans in this poor and unattractive land is extremely rare; the spiritual life of the people is under the control of a branch of the great family of the sayyids; the feeling is fanatical, so that it would seem (except in some places on the coast) an intolerable pollution that the soil of Ḥadramaut should be trod by unbelievers; there is no intercourse with foreign nations such as elsewhere tends to promote a slack observance of the holy law; it is, in short, a country which more than any other in the world should allow of the possibility of enforcing the law of Islam in its entirety — if indeed such a thing were within the limits of possibility.

Let us now hear how a Ḥadramite teacher, who died in December 1855, and who flourished from 50 to 60 years before our own day, expresses himself as to the actual state of things in his own country. His name was Sayyid Abdallah bin Ṭāhir Bā Alawī; he owes his fame among other things to his authorship of a number of treatises, all written with

the intent of improving the religious condition of his native land. These treatises were printed some years ago at Cairo under the title: *majmūᶜ mushtamil ᶜala rasā'il nāfiᶜah* ("collection of useful treatises").

On pp. 179—80 of this edition we read as follows: "You must know (may Allah be merciful unto you) that what has caused men to fall into ignorance and to adopt other rules than those laid down by the holy law in the making of contracts one with another, and to neglect the teaching contained in the commands of the law of Allah, and to despise the knowledge of the things ordained by Him, is this, namely that they have sought some other authority than that of Allah and of his Prophet for the decision of many matters in dispute. Now when men saw how the learning and commands of the law grew to be neglected and made of none effect, since they were not employed as a standard whereby to decide, and when men remarked that these things had become a mere luxury of no solid value and that those who studied won by their toilsome task no more than some degree of celebrity as persons of learning, since no one ever took them as a guide in any matter, they lost all wish for the teaching of the law, and treated it with contempt and neglect. Thereafter they made their own will the measure of their obligations, drawing no distinction between what is and what is not *ṣaḥīḥ* or valid under the law; nay, they believe that he who exhorts them to take their stand upon the white (i. e. pure) road and in the paths of that mild religion wherein is no difficulty or impediment or narrowness, desires the impossible, strives after the unattainable and that his teaching leads to perdition, and such an one they declare to be possessed or of weak mind. By Allah! this is a misfortune for religion and one of the greatest snares of the Devil which leads to the nullifying, thwarting and neglect of the divine law.

"Thus you may see men deliver judgment in accordance with the adat and without the sanction of the law, and this of set purpose, in unrighteousness and enmity against the truth, although they know that this adat is at variance with the law of God and His Prophet. So bind they men to the doing of things to which they are not bound by God's law, and constrain and compel them thereto; while on the other hand they declare men free from obligations which God's law imposes on them, and in obedience to that law they are bound to fulfil, and the neglect of which is a sin.

"Thus is the true religion brought into great contempt, and a new

religion made, conflicting with Islam and straying away from its tenets. You may even observe how anyone who invokes the law of Allah and his Prophet, receives from him against whom he thus appeals the answer, "I give you only that which is according to the adat"; and how another on hearing his neighbour extol the teaching of Allah and his Prophet, says "I will abide by the adat and accept naught else".

"Nay some go so far as to call such invalid rules "the law"; and this shameful distortion of name proves how fickle is the belief of those who employ it".

Hereupon the author confirms his censure of the prevailing state of things by adding sundry quotations from Ḥadramite authors on the same subject, and also cites the utterances of the celebrated Shafi'ite doctor Ibn Ḥajar, who penned his authoritative works $3^1/_2$ centuries before; "Could I but command the money and the men, I would assuredly wage a holy war against those who adhere to the *adat*"! — and finally he gives us a number of quotations from South Arabian doctors, in condemnation of a certain special *adat*-rule called *ḥukm al-manʿ*, which prevails in Yèmèn.

We might give many more examples to show that side by side with the law and doctrine which has developed in the school during the past 13 centuries, and which is universally admitted to be inspired yet is universally neglected, there exists an entirely different standard of religion, law and morality which holds good in practice. This practical teaching is indeed largely coloured by the influence of the theory of the schools, yet to a great extent it rests on an entirely different basis; therein are expressed the views of life which controlled mens' minds in the pre-Mohammedan period and therein do we also find traces of all that has befallen the various peoples since they embraced the creed of Islam.

Local variation of the practical doctrines.

Hence it obviously follows that this practical teaching is not (like the law and doctrine of the schools), the same throughout the whole Moslim world, but that it is to a certain degree dependent on the ethnological characteristics and the political and social development of the different peoples who profess Islam. The teaching of the schools is universal, while that of every day life exhibits a character that varies more or less with its environment.

Facility of conversion.

No religion makes conversion easier for both peoples and individuals than does that of Islam; it is possible to become and to remain a

member of the community without any proof on the converts part of the genuineness of his belief, of his knowledge of the law and his fidelity in observing its precepts. The utterance of the "two words" of the confession of faith ("I bear witness that there is no God but Allah and that Mohammad is the Messenger of Allah") is sufficient to make a man a member of the community of Mohammad; and none of his new fellow-believers has the right to call in question the truth of this testimony.

The ritual and the domestic law.

From its very childhood Islam showed quite as strong an aspiration for political as for religious sway, and sought to extend its proselytism externally more than internally. Wherever it established itself those things which are abhorrent in the eyes of every Moslim of course disappeared, and made way for the emblems of the new creed; for example, the eradication of open and unequivocal idolatry went hand in hand with the building of mosques. It has also in every instance laid great stress on a certain reforms in family life, and upon the observance of certain rules as to food and clothing.

It is no mere accident, that while Mohammedans in all parts of the world are becoming more and more emancipated from the control of the religious law, the domestic code remains in the hands of the representatives of religion both in Turkish countries and in the East Indian Archipelago, not to speak of other Mohammedan lands. In some instances in earlier ages, Islam advanced still further on the path of reform, supported by the religious zeal of certain powerful rulers, but for the most part it has contented itself for the time being with the establishment of its form of worship and the reform of domestic life, and has left all the rest to time.

Attraction of Islam for uncivilised peoples.

Anyone who glances through a book of Mohammedan law, might easily suppose that this religion imposes an insupportable yoke on the shoulders of all who are not born and bred beneath its shadow; but he who witnesses the conversion to Islam of individuals or races, comes to the very opposite conclusion. History teaches us that the less civilized peoples in particular offer no resistance to this soft and alluring voice and the East Indian Archipelago furnishes us with daily examples of the truth of this fact.

Those who sowed in the Far East the first seeds of Islam were no zealots prepared to sacrifice life and property for the holy cause, nor were they missionaries supported by funds raised in their native land.

On the contrary these men came hither to seek their own worldly advantage, and the work of conversion was merely a secondary task. Later on too, when millions had in this way been won over to Islam, it was the prospect of making money and naught else that attracted hitherward so many teachers from India, Egypt, Mecca and Hadramaut.

In those countries where Islam originally won the mastery by force of arms, the genuineness of the conversion was of course much more open to question than in the Eastern Archipelago, where it was chiefly moral suasion that won the day. In the latter case the new religion was from the very first felt not as a yoke imposed by a higher power, but as a revealed truth which the strangers brought from beyond the sea, and the knowledge of which at once gave its adherents a share in a higher civilization and elevated them to a higher position among the nations of the world.

The only peoples who offered any resistance were those who had attained a high degree of development before Islam became known to them. The Western nations showed it the door, while the Persians after a forced conversion formed heretical sects and thus preserved a great portion of their ancient belief.

Even those religions which have devoted themselves with all their might to the inward conversion of the individual and the actual reform of the life of the nations, have never succeeded in wiping out the national character, the old forms of thought, the ancient manners and customs. These the proselytizers had either to assimilate or to see prolong their existence in spite of the ban under which they lay. How should we then expect to meet with more far-reaching results in the case of Islam and its method of conversion?

Even its system of elementary instruction, which ought to be its most powerful agent in making good its conquest, does no more than enable its disciples to repeat without understanding, like mere parrots, the teaching revealed to the Prophet at Mekka 13 centuries ago, and to perform the ritual prayers correctly.

Faithful observance of the law everywhere the exception.

It is therefore not surprising that in all Mohammedan countries those whose religious learning goes beyond the "two words" of the confession of faith, or who are in any sense exponents of the moral requirements of Islam, or who observe even a minimum of the ritual or other obligations of their religion, form but a small minority, whilst the great majority pursue their lives in their half-pagan and wholly superstitious

thoughts and practices, only imperfectly clad in a few phrases and other outward and visible signs of Mohammedanism.

Besides the indispensable and inevitable elements, of which without doubt the domestic law is the most important in practice, each nation adopts that portion of Islam which harmonizes most with its character, its customs and its past history, and in doing so seeks involuntarily to preserve under the new regime as much as possible of its ancient lore.

Islam and the ethnological characteristics of its adherents.

The adats which control the lives of the Bedawins of Arabia, the Egyptians, the Syrians or the Turks, are for the most part *different* from those of the Javanese, Malays and Achehnese, but the relation of these adats to the law of Islam, and the tenacity with which they maintain themselves in despite of that law, is everywhere the same. The customary law of the Arabs and the "Excellent Qānūn" (the mundane code) of the Turks differ from the written and unwritten adat law of our Indonesians, but they are equally far removed from the *sharī'at* or *shar'* (revealed law), although they are equally loud in their recognition of the divine origin of the latter.

The disposition of a people as the standard of its adherence to Islam.

All this is food for reflection on the part of Europeans who take upon themselves to write on the Mohammedanism of Indonesia. Let them then cease to apply to their scanty observation of native life the test of their still more imperfect knowledge of the law and doctrine of Islam, in order to arrive at the surprising conclusion that the Malays, Javanese, Achehnese etc. are not nations of theologians and jurists or book-Mohammedans modelled from wax.

The problem that such writers seek to solve is no problem at all. We have rather to enquire wherein the thoughts and actions of the Mohammedan Indonesians differ from those of their co-religionists of other races, in order to arrive by comparison and discrimination at a better knowledge of the Mohammedanism which they profess. In what manner have they assimilated Islam? Careful examination and criticism can alone supply us with the answer. In what degree are they Mohammedans? This is a vain question, for in the first place we have no available standard whereby we can measure the *plus* or *minus* of the belief or practice of the Indonesians in comparison with that of other Mohammedanized races, and moreover such *plus* or *minus* could never be a constant quantity, since various circumstances cause it to fluctuate continually. The only true standard is the disposition of the people, and everyone must be aware that even our Indonesian Moslims will

have no other creed than their own, that they borrow from their religion the strength to offer a stout resistance to all attempts at conversion, that their every political movement is coloured by Mohammedanism, and that whenever a preacher of any new or unusual doctrine attains success, he does so only under the pretence that he is the exponent of the true Way of Islam.

If then in the course of our summary of the religious life of the Achehnese we pass in review the doctrines of Islam and the principal heads of the law, we do so not in order to apply to the subject of our study the substance of these theoretical rules, but in order with the help of this clue to compare the Mohammedanism of this people with that of their co-religionists of other races.

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§ 2. Doctrine, Popular Beliefs, Worship of Saints, Oaths.

Knowledge of orthodox doctrine.

The doctrine taught in Acheh is the orthodox Mohammedan. What the student learns, regarding the nature, the characteristics and the epithets of God, the prophets and the angels, as to predestination, the day of judgment and the next life is identical with what is regarded in Arabia, Egypt etc., as the loftiest wisdom. Both the larger works in use in Acheh in which all these things are set forth, not without a certain amount of doctrinal hair-splitting, and the smaller manuals which only deal with the main points, are simply the universally known Arabic texts or Malay translations of the same. But although a great deal of this lore has become fused with the thoughts and language of the people, it is only a small minority that habitually draw instruction from the above sources, while the great majority pick up their doctrinal knowledge how and where they may.

Heretical mysticism.

In common not only with their co-religionists of kindred race, but also with the people of India and with many classes of Mohammedans of other countries, the Achehnese have a certain inclination towards mysticism and in general towards whatever savours of the mysterious. It is seldom, however that this tendency is carried so far as to lead to a conscious departure from orthodox doctrine, such as we met with in the case of the *èleumèë salè*' [1]), the outcome of the teaching of Hamzah

1) See pp. 13—14 above.

Pansuri. As a rule it may be said that the heterodox elements in the creed of the common people are embraced by them in ignorance and in all good faith, and speedily disappear under the influence of orthodox teaching.

There are however very many in Acheh who have unorthodox notions as to the relations between God, man and the world, finding therein more satisfaction for their religious feelings than in the study of dogma or juridical refinements. Thus there survives, without conscious resistance to the orthodox teaching, a large proportion of those heretical forms of mysticism which were the first to permeate these regions since the dawn of Mohammedanism in the Far East.

Orthodox tariqahs.

The orthodox Shaṭṭārite mysticism which was propagated from Medina in the 17th century subsists in Acheh only in a few narrow circles of devotees. The now much more popular Naqsibandiyyah and Qādiriyyah tariqahs have never taken root in Acheh, although they have some adherents there. It is indeed only during the last 30—40 years during which Acheh has been in a state of continual ferment, that these two schools of mysticism have gained such a hold in Java and other parts of the Archipelago.

The prevailing ignorance with respect to the official dogma is an entirely natural consequence of the imperfect nature of the elementary Mohammedan teaching, and of the little pains which the religious teachers have taken to bring the results of their doctrinal activity within the reach of the simple-minded. In countries such as Arabia and Egypt the same cause has led to a like issue; there too the unlettered folk are no whit better acquainted with the first principles of dogma.

Popular belief.

Popular belief opposes to the dogmas of the learned not so much other systems of teaching as national manners and customs. These are just as inconsequent and just as far from forming a compact whole as is the superstition in which they are rooted.

Belief in spirits of all sorts [1]) is neither peculiar to Acheh nor in conflict with the teaching of Islam. Actual worship of these beings in the form of prayer might seriously imperil monotheism, but such worship is a rare exception in Acheh. The spirits most believed in are hostile

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1) The most important of these have been described in our account of diseases, Vol. I, p. 409 et seq.

to mankind and are combatted by exorcism; the manner in which this is done in Acheh, as in Arabia and other Mohammedan countries, is at variance in many respects with the orthodox teaching. Where, however, the Achehnese calls in the help of these spirits or of other methods of enchantment in order to cause ill-fortune to his fellow man, he does so with the full knowledge that he is committing a sin.

Superstitious practices.

It is practically impossible to give a complete list of the superstitious practices of the Achehnese or of any other Mohammedan people. They vary in details from one gampōng to another, although identical in kind. We have already dealt with a large number of them in the first volume of this work in our description of the social and domestic life of the people. We now add a few more examples, some of which have been already touched upon [1]).

Rain-making.

Want of rain was in olden times as great a scourge to the cattle-breeders of Arabia as it is to many a planter in the East Indian Archipelago. The Pagan Arabs resorted to enchantments of their own to entice the rain to fall, but the Prophet replaced all such practices by a single public prayer called *çalāt al-istisqā*, offered up beneath the open skies. In most respects this service differs but little from an ordinary sèmbahyang, but it is characterized by certain movements and a shaking of their upper garments by the worshippers, all of which must be regarded as a concession to heathenism on Mohammad's part.

Giving the cat a bath.

This service of prayer is also occasionally held in Java, under the name *istika*; but a more popular method of rain making is "giving the cat a bath", which is sometimes accompanied by small processions and other ceremonies. In Acheh, so far as I am aware, the actual custom no longer survives, though it has left traces of its former existence in sundry popular expressions. "It is very dry; we must give the cat a bath and then we shall get rain" [2]) say the padi-planters when their harvest threatens to fail through drought.

Procession with cocoa-nut shells.

There is however another usage connected with rain which still subsists in full force. When a water famine prevails, the old women and children go in procession round the gampōng on bright moonlight nights, each armed with two cocoa-nut shells which they clap together chanting the following prayer [3]): "O our Lord God, give us two drops

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1) See Vol. I, footnote to p. 51.

2) *Khuëng that, hana ujeuën meukòn taja' pumanòë mië.*

3) *Pòteu Alah bri ië dua 'neu', padé ka maté, Pòteu Alah bri ië dua 'neu'. Neu' = aneu'*

of water, the rice is dying, O our Lord God, give us two drops of water".

Where the procession passes there are kept standing ready in the houses small jars (*tayeuën*) filled with lime-juice (*ië kruët*) with which the singers are sprinkled, food being offered them at the same time. This ceremony is known as *pèh bruë' lakèë ujeuën* = "begging for rain by clapping cocoanutshells".

There are however other and more powerful rain-making enchantments peculiar to certain localities.

Eumpèë Lulu

In the IV Mukims of the XXV, close to the coast of Lam Pu'uë', there rises from the sea a mountain the name of which, Eumpèë [1]) Lulu, denotes that it is personified by popular superstition.

The legend runs that there was once an old woman named Grand-mother Lulu, who one day was attacked with a raging thirst; her husband and the neighbours scooped dry every spring and well for miles around, yet after swallowing all the water they brought, Eumpèë Lulu continued to suffer from thirst.

Then she prayed to God for more water and presently the rain fell in torrents. The old woman drank up the rain as it fell and as she did so walked into the sea and there disappeared or was transformed into the mountain since named after her. Near this mountain there is always heard a noise like the growling of thunder, and at times the Grand-mother shakes the whole hill so that it may be seen to tremble.

Descendants of Eumpèë Lulu still survive, and among them is always to be found a woman who commands the art of making rain. In times of drought she goes down to the sea, escorted by the inhabitants of the surrounding gampōngs. On arriving at the shore, she falls into a frenzy and behaves like a madwoman, her eyes start from her head and she tries to rush into the sea like her ancestress who was turned to stone, but the bystanders hold her back by main force. Most of what she says while in this transport is unintelligible, but now and then she gives commands which are always carried out without delay.

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is used as a classifier of small objects such as grains of rice etc. The Achehnese regard it as Pidirese patois to speak of "a couple of grains of water".

1) The proper meaning of *eumpèë* (Mal. *ĕmpu*) is male or female ancestors — in the colloquial of to-day female only. From this word is derived *sampèë* (cf. Mal. *sapupu*) = a blood relation. Like its synonym *ja* or *tō'* from (*datō'*) this word *eumpèë* also serves as a title for objects or animals which are deemed sacred or regarded with fear.

She directs for example that buffaloes or goats be slaughtered, kanduri's given and the like. According to the Achehnese, her influence nearly always produces a downpour of rain [1]).

Eumpèë Bliëng.

In the IX Mukims of the XXV there is another rain-maker in the shape of a personified well called *Eumpèë Bliëng*. Every year, at the time when the rice-fields begin to require water, a feast is held, on the brink of this well a white buffalo is always slaughtered for this feast. Before the guests depart the buffalo's head is thrown into the well, and all are convinced that after this they will not have long to wait for rain.

Rain-kanduri.

The orthodox Mohammedan istisqā is known by name only in Acheh, though some believe that such a service used to be occasionally held there in ancient times. The simplest method of beseeching the heavens to send rain consists in the holding of an extraordinary fieldkanduri [2]) (*kanduri blang*) which is believed to have the efficacy of a kanduri *tula' bala* or religious feast to avert a calamity. The great misfortune which is feared through want of rain is of course the failure of the rice crop.

Customs observed during eclipses.

Eclipses of the sun and moon were, like excessive drought, explained and combatted by the pagan Arabs in a superstitious manner. Mohammad forbade them to recognize in such phenomena anything more than special manifestations of the omnipotence of the Creator, and ordained in their case also certain ritual prayers, to be continued as long as the eclipse lasted.

Now no Mohammedan questions for a moment that the omnipotence of God reveals itself in these eclipses — indeed no doctrine is more popular than those of the omnipotence of God and predestination — yet in the ranks of the people all kinds of superstitions prevail in regard to such phenomena. In these temporary obscurations of sun and moon they discern the action of malignant spirits and do not regard the performance of a simple service of prayer as a sufficient protection. In Acheh, as in other Mohammedan countries, these prayers are left

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1) There are other places also on the coast of Acheh where "rain-making" is professed by old women. An Arab who exhibited the deepest contempt for all Achehnese adats told me that he had been present during a performance such as that described above in the VI Mukims. He regarded it as absolute witchcraft and black magic, for, as he said, the rain actually did come pouring down, while the old woman was in her state of frenzy.

2) For a description of the ordinary annual fieldkanduri vide Vol. I, p. 259.

to the representatives of religion, the teungkus an leubè's, while the people of the gampōng keep up a mighty uproar, beating the great drum of the meunasah, and firing off guns and some times even cannon in order to frighten away the enemies of the sun and moon. Various sorts of ratébs (see p 216 above) are also held in order to relieve the suffering heavenly body.

The prevailing idea is that in an eclipse of the sun the latter is partially devoured by the moon, and that the reverse process takes place in a lunar eclipse. The marksmen aim their guns at the darkened portion of the heavenly body under eclipse, and cry in lamentation as they let them off "Oh God, how the moon is suffering"! (*Alah buleuën meukarat that*).

Talismans and amulets (*adjeumat*) made during an eclipse are supposed to be specially efficacious. So it is not surprising that the teungkus, who make a living by the manufacture of these objects, are unable to meet the demand for their wares when an eclipse of the sun or moon takes place.

Annual feast at Pulò Rabò.

The island of Rabò (close to Pulò Breuëh) is the scene of sundry practices strongly coloured with paganism.

On the shore of that island a seven days' feast is held every year. The first six days are dedicated to *piasans* (secular feasts; see p. 268 above), the main features of which are music and unlawful love-making, chiefly with married women. On the seventh day of this licentious fair a buffalo is sacrificed, and it is supposed that this festival ensures the people for a whole year against the freaks of certain malignant jéns who, if its celebration be neglected, avenge themselves by causing many to fall and break their necks.

The rice-field known as *Blang Seureugōng* on the same island is believed to be the habitation of a jén, who must in like manner be propitiated by the giving of a yearly feast. The buffalo destined to be slaughtered on this occasion is first of all wounded in some part of his body and led bleeding over every "umòng" or rice-plot, so that none may miss the propitious effect of the dripping blood. Then the animal is slaughtered in the proper ritual way and his flesh is eaten. Neglect of this kanduri results in failure of the year's crop.

Ja Kariëng.

In Pulò Breuëh (Bras) there is a holy tree called *Ja Kariëng* ("Grandfather Kariëng"), propitiated by those who seek lost buffaloes. When starting on their quest they promise votive offerings to Ja Kariëng,

usually one or two *bungòng tajò'*, artificial flowers such as the women wear in their top knots, made of scraps of coloured cloth stuck on a central stem. If the buffalo is found the promised flowers are fixed in the crevices of the holy kariëng-tree.

We have already mentioned [1]) Ja Kariëng's power of resisting epidemics. This also forms the occasion of an annual feast.

Universality of such customs.

We could furnish endless examples of such customs, but it is only in its finer details that all this folk-lore is specifically Achehnese. The worship of holy trees, wells and stones may be said to be common to all Mohammedan countries although it is undoubtedly at variance with the programme which Islam set before herself in the *first few years* of her existence, but which she was speedily obliged to modify and alter at the risk of losing all chance of maintaining her place as one of the great religions of the world. Equally universal is the practical belief in and the constant invocation or exorcism of sundry other supernatural powers besides Allah, side by side with the theoretical recognition of the pre-ordination of God as the sole cause of all the good and evil in the world.

Attitude of the official teaching towards these customs.

We must next examine the attitude adopted by the official or orthodox teaching towards this great mass of popular customs and ideas.

During the centuries of its growth Islam has gone very far in the way of assimilating all that the main body of its adherents deemed to be indispensable. Rather than witness the prolonged existence of innumerable forbidden things, it modified its severity and made them permissible. To attain this end it has had recourse to all imaginable pretexts, so that it has become easy for its modern disciples continually to embody more and more of their superstitious practices, under the guise of orthodoxy, side by side with what was already sanctioned by the law.

These superstitions can now no longer be styled anti-Mohammedan, although they conflict in many respects with the *original* doctrines of Islam. A religion is not born full-grown any more than a man, and if on attaining a ripe maturity it has cast off the form of its early youth past recognition, we cannot deny it its right to this transformation, as it is part and parcel of the scheme of nature.

A custom or idea does not necessarily stand condemned according

1) See Vol. I, p. 417.

to the Moslim standard, even though in *our* minds there can be no shadow of doubt of its pagan origin. If for example Mohammedan teaching is able to regard some popular custom as a permissible enchantment against the Devil or against jéns hostile to mankind, or as an invocation of the mediation of a prophet or saint with God, then it matters not that the existence of these malignant spirits is actually only known from pagan sources, nor does anyone pause to enquire whether the saint in question is but a heathen God in a new dress, or an imaginary being whose name but serves to legitimize the existing worship of some object of popular reverence.

On the other hand that same teaching is inexorable in regard to all superstitious ideas which cannot be classified either as prayer to God or invocation of prophets and saints, and to all customs which involve acts forbidden by the Moslim law.

Thus the firing of guns at the sun or moon during an eclipse, widespred though the custom is amongst Mohammedans, is in conflict with religion, since the law expressly condemns such practices and ordains a sëmbahyang or service of prayer in their place. The fair on the shores of Pulò Rabò necessarily meets with unbounded disapprobation from all Mohammedan teachers on accounts of its immorality, although numerous saints' festivals in Arabia and elsewhere are characterized not a whit the less by studied inducements to indulgence in licentiousness [1]). The vows to Ja Kariëng, however, are capable of a two-fold interpretation. He who regards the kariëng-tree itself as sacred and looks for its help in searching for his lost buffaloes defrauds Allah of his due and acts profanely; the excuse that such practices are common throughout the whole Mohammedan world is inadmissible. But the "grandfather", the *Ja*, may well be a saint buried under this tree and called thereafter, and the invocation of the help and mediation of this saint meets with no censure whatever.

Saint-worship in Islam.

So much has been already written on the saint-worship of the Mohammedans that it may be considered superfluous to preface our description of certain Achehnese idiosyncrasies in this respect by a long general introduction. If we take any detailed description of a Mohammedan community (for Egypt, for instance, Lane's classic

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1) For an account of the forbidden pleasures of the people of Mekka at the feast of Maimunah see my *Mekka*, Vol. II, p. 54—55.

Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, and for the towns of Arabia Vol. II of my *Mekka*), we shall therein find mention made of at least four classes of defunct saints: — those who lie buried outside the limits of the country in question but who none the less find worshippers there owing to their high repute; national saints whose tombs attract pilgrims from the whole land; local saints who may be more or less regarded as guardians and patrons of particular villages or districts; and one special class, those who rescue men from some definite sort of danger or grant them fulfilment of some definite wish. In addition to the above great influence is sometimes exercised by living saints, who are regarded by those in their neighbourhood as endowed with miraculous powers.

The best sketch of the Moslim saint-worship in general, an essay of some 100 pages by Dr. Ignaz Goldziher [1]), opens with the observation that "in no other department has the original teaching of Islam adapted itself more to suit the needs of its adherents than in that of saint-worship" Great however as the concessions of the representatives of the religion of Islam have been to such needs, they have not been able entirely to satisfy them. The popular belief is not yet content with the pantheon which the official teaching has sealed with its sanction, even though that pantheon counts its names by thousands, and the door is opened as widely as possible to admit more; at least as many more "saints" are added whose origin every teacher must regard with suspicion, and whose legends are absurd and even heretical.

Such is the case in the land of the origin of Islam and in the countries of age-long Mohammedan civilization that surround it; how then could we expect it to be otherwise in the "Far East"?

There has, it is true, been no lack of opposition on the part both of pandits and laymen to what they regarded as a terrible degradation and falsification of the monotheistic teaching of the Prophet; but the practical and surpassingly catholic instinct of Islam has tended more and more to exclude these 'protestants' from the consensus (*ijmā'*) of the community, and it is this consensus, the concurrent opinion of the majority, that is the final arbiter of truth and falsehood.

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1) See the *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle a/S 1890) of this writer pp. 277—378; the study of these pages cannot be too highly recommended to those who wish to gain some knowledge of the significance of the tombs and legends of saints, in which our Archipelago is so rich.

The Wahhabite movement, which set Arabia in a tumult on the threshold of the nineteenth century, fought with spiritual and temporal weapons against the prevailing worship of man (saints and prophets), but it was subdued by Moḥammad Ali, and Wahhabitism has since been confined to an insignificant sect, in spite of the increase of its adherents in British India, where the neutrality of the government favours the spread of such propaganda.

In its interpretation of the law the Moslim school has always neglected the requirements of actual life and has thus gradually lost its sway over society, but in dogma it has conformed more and more to these human needs. It is of course quite possible to admit the validity of the law without observing its precepts; of such an attitude the continual backsliding of the human race, foretold by the Prophet himself, is sufficient explanation. Religious teaching, however, must neither admit any elements which are unacceptable to a large part of the community, nor reject things which are indispensable to a great number of the faithful, under pain of giving rise to a dissension which would lead to a general break-up and the formation of many sects. Against this Islam has always carefully protected itself.

The catholic instinct of Islam.

Political disruption, on the other hand, speedily showed itself and continually increased. As every ruler of a Mohammedan state, be it large or small, is regarded as the chief upholder of the faith within his own territory, there is no possibility of forming a Common council or other such body in which the all-deciding "consensus of the community" might find utterance. This very fact enables us to point with all the more confidence to the catholic instinct of Islam as the upholder of its unity.

From the above it follows as a matter of course that there can be no universally accepted list of Mohammedan saints, to form a standard of the truth or falsity of all claims to canonization.

The reverence paid to the graves of those who already in their lifetime were known as special implements of Gods mercy, begins chiefly in small circles, and it sometimes depends on entirely accidental circumstances whether this worship attains gigantic proportions or the new saint's tomb is forgotten after a single generation, so that after a time its very site is unknown. There are but few saints of whom it is possible (as in the case of the mystic Shaikh Muḥammad Sanusi [1]),

1) See the *Marabouts et Khouan* of Louis Rinn, Chap. XXXI.

who died in 1859) to foretell with certainty during their lifetime that their tombs will hereafter be the goal of many devout pilgrimages.

Those who have had a more or less orthodox education only visit saints' tombs the genuineness of which has been raised above all suspicion by the consensus of the community. Such purists occasionally raise their voices in protest against the claims of saints whose worship is inseparably connected with forbidden things, and in doubtful cases they decide according to the standard of orthodox dogma, and manifest a strong tendency to allow any tomb which has once won its way into the savour of sanctity to continue therein, so long as they can get rid of all that is offensive in the customs and traditions attached to it. Nor is such a view in disagreement with the orthodox dogma which recommends that men should rather worship many saints of dubious merit than run the risk of depriving some genuine saints of the honour due to them.

Character of the Moslim hagiography.

It may be concluded from the foregoing remarks that the hagiography of a Mohammedan country generally furnishes a characteristic medley of antiquarian and ethnographic curiosities, wherein the survivals of vanquished religions and the evidences of old superstitions jostle with the mysticism of today. At the same time we find in the legends regarding the lives of the saints a mirror which reflects the character of the peoples who worship them. In the biographies of their saints we find reproduced the ideals, the humour and even the follies of the people who worship them, and who in their simplicity make these men of God caricatures as well as exalted images of themselves. In the vows made by the pilgrims to their graves, they lay bare the inmost desires of their hearts. The Creator is throned so far on high that he cannot give personal attention to the prayers of each one of his servants, but these innumerable janitors of his celestial palace have little else to do but to lay before him the prayers of their friends, who enlist their sympathy by vows to offer flowers and food and incense at their tombs, to go thither in procession, perhaps escorted by musicians, in short to do all that the local tradition shows to be likely to please the local saint.

The Indian Archipelago forms no exception to the above rule; the biographies of saints, for instance which can be collected in almost any district of Java, are highly instructive to the student of ethnology, sociology and antiquarian science, and often interesting in themselves,

though perhaps a little monotonous to those who have become familiar with the prevailing types.

General character of the saints of Acheh.

The Achehnese hagiography possesses certain special traits which distinguish it from the Javanese and those of the other best known Mohammedan countries of the Archipelago.

The tombs of the most ancient saints in Java and in most of the neighbouring countries cover the ashes of the first preachers of Islam and according to reliable records date from the 15th century; according to the native tradition some of them are much older. In Acheh the saints now known and worshipped arrived on the scene long after Islam held undisputed sway in the country. The Turkish or Syrian saint of the gampōng of Bitay [1]) if we accept a historical foundation of his legend came thither in the 16th century, when Acheh was already a considerable Mohammedan power; Aburra'uf [2]), the saint of Singkel, who long held the foremost place among the holy men of Acheh, flourished in the latter half of the 17th century; the Arab Teungku Anjōng [3]), who threw his predecessors claims somewhat into the shade, died in 1782. The rest are nearly all of minor rank; we do not know exactly when they lived and the popular tradition of Acheh, which is very indifferent as regards chronology, does not even pretend to assign to them any definite period.

The names of the three chief saints of Acheh, which we have just mentioned suggest the surmise that the nation itself is not largely represented in their own calendar. As a matter of fact most of the wali's [4]) of Acheh are foreigners, just like most of her kings and almost all her great religious teachers.

In Java too, it is true, many of the greatest wali's came from beyond the seas, and were said to be of Arab descent, as is shown by their being given the title of *sayyid*, or descendants of Husain, the grandson of Mohammad.

But this foreign origin is a matter of course in the case of the pioneers of Islam in Java, and among the later saints we find the names of many pure Javanese. Foreign saints of other than Arabic genealogy are in Java rare exceptions.

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1) See Vol. I, pp. 209, 243.

2) See Vol. I, pp. 156, 390; II, p. 17 et seq.

3) See Vol. I, pp. 156, 235, 390.

4) As we have already observed the Achehnese employ in place of this word its own plural, *aulia*, pronounced by them *ôelia*.

In Acheh the title of *tuan* which is prefixed to the names of so many saints of greater or lesser repute, points with certainty to their being of Malay or Javanese origin, and even those who are called *teungku* must not be regarded on this evidence merely, as being native Achehnese; Teungku Anjōng, for instance, was an Arab and Teungku di Bitay a Turk or Syrian.

Care bestowed on the saints' tombs.

Ornate tombs and monuments are rarely to be found in Acheh; but few even of the royal graves show traces of any greater care or attention than the Achehnese is wont to bestow on those of his ancestors or his saints. The tomb of Teungku Anjōng and his wife is covered by a déah [1]); apart from this it is exceptional to find any protection against wind and weather. The tombs of Teungku di Kuala and Teungku Lam Peuneu'eun are sheltered by roughly constructed sheds, and that of Teungku Panté Cheureumèn by a small plastered *kubah* [2]). The luxury of a guardian of the tomb is confined, so far as I am aware, to the graves of the three principal saints mentioned above and that of Teungku di Weuëng in the interior. Most of the saints tombs lie bare and exposed, are seldom cleaned and are distinguished from those of ordinary mortals only by the votive offerings which are laid thereon.

Manner of worship.

We have already described the manner in which the saints are worshipped in Acheh. With the exception of those of Teungku Anjōng and his wife where annual feasts [3]) are celebrated, their tombs are visited almost exclusively for the fulfilment of vows. The accomplishment of wishes, recovery from sickness or important events in domestic life are thus the ordinary causes of these visits. The maker of the vow sometimes goes alone, sometimes with a few friends and occasionally with a great procession.

Some flowers and incense, a litte white cotton stuff for covering the tombstones, some yellow glutinous rice and now and then an animal for sacrifice are brought to the tomb, whence a few withered flowers or a fragment of old cloth from the tombstone are taken away as charms. The pilgrims and especially he on whose behalf the vow was made have their heads washed at the sacred spot. Processions are generally accompanied by a geundrang orchestra, though this is really

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1) See Vol. I, p. 51.

2) From the Arabic *qubbah* a tomb with domed roof.

3) See Vol. I, p 219.

most unbefitting for a religious ceremony; at the tombs of saints of renown rapa'i performances are also held, nay indeed such gatherings are often profaned by the sadati-plays so strongly reprobated by the representatives of religion, and even by gambling.

There are some, however, who acknowledge the benificence of the saint by more pious excercises, such as the recitation at his tomb of the Qurān or other sacred writings.

According to the popular notion the saint only enjoys the immaterial essence of the flowers and food offered to him. The teaching of Islam on the other hand rejects this theory and will only admit of the view that the distribution of food to the living is a pious work, the recompense of which is communicated to the wali. According to both conceptions, however, it is essential that the food be partaken of by living people, and preferably those who have some repute for piety, such as the teungku's and leubè's. Thus when an offering of food is made, one or two teungkus are generally of the company, unless the tomb is furnished with regular attendants such as watchmen etc.

The intention expressed in words by the maker of the vow suffices to convey to the saint the immaterial essence or the recompense of the pious gift. Hence it is not absolutely necessary that the offering of food or flowers should be made at the tomb itself. So in the case of simple or trivial vows, it is often customary to hand over the offering to a teungku at his own house. It is thus possible to make and to fulfil vows of this sort to the Prophet or to saints of other countries without actually visiting their tombs.

The principal saints of Acheh.

In conclusion let us give a short list of the most famous of the saints of Acheh with a few remarks on the traditions regarding them.

Of the foreign saints those of the holy cities of Arabia (Mekka and Medina) are of course those best known to the Achehnese. It cannot however be said of these that they are regarded with unusual or even general veneration in Acheh, or at least not among Achehnese who have never performed the haj. There are really only two foreign saints who are so esteemed, namely *Siah Abdōkadé* (Shaich Abdulqādir Jīlānī) [1] the most renowned in Acheh of the champions of mysticism, to whom dishes of yellow glutinous rice are occasionally offered, to the great satisfaction of the teungkus, who recite the fātiḥah over them and

1) See Vol. I, pp. 165, 191.

devour their contents, and *Tuan Meurasab* a full account of whom will be found in the first volume of this work, p. 217.

The others whom we shall mention here are all buried in Acheh.

Teungku or *Tuan di Bitay;* see Vol. I, pp. 209, 243. It is told of this saint that he once had a dispute with the Sultan of Acheh on that vexed question annually debated in all Mohammedan countries, *viz.* on what day the fasting month would commence [1]). The teungku declared that he had seen the new moon, and that the fast must therefore commence the following morning, while the Sultan insisted that it would not be new moon till next day. Through Allah's grace the saint was able to point out the moon to the Sultan, who was much astonished and had to acknowledge his defeat.

Teungku di Kuala = Siah Abdōra'ōh (Shaich Abdurra'uf of Singkel), of whom an account is given in Vol. I, pp. 156, 390 and pp. 17 et seq. above.

Teungku Anjōng = Sayyid Abu Bakr bin Ḥusain Bilfaqīh; see Vol. I, pp. 156, 219, 390.

Teungku Lam Peuneu'eun, the patron saint of pepper. For a description of the annual kanduris given in his honour in the pepper season, and the propaganda of Teungku Kuta Karang on behalf of his cult, see Vol. I, pp. 184, 260. Vows are also made to him in connection with recovery from sickness, or for the completion of the recitation of the Qurān *(peutamat,* see Vol. I, p. 398) at his tomb by a school-boy.

Teungku Pantè Cheureumèn. This saint's tomb, which is regarded as of great antiquity, lies near Kuala Dòë on the shore of Ulèë Lheuë (Olehleh). Vows are seldom paid to him, but great kanduri's are held at his tomb especially when an epidemic prevails in the land, so that they may be classified as *kanduri tula' bala* [2]). A white buffalo must always be slaughtered at these feasts.

Teungku Meuntròë, whose tomb is situated in the open country at Luëng Bata, is a saint with a specialty for the punishment of perjurers, so that oaths taken at his tomb are considered particularly reliable. The more celebrated Teungku Anjōng has the same reputation in this respect, but owing to its being a place of such constant resort, the actual value of the oaths taken at his tomb has become somewhat weakened.

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1) See Vol. I, pp. 196, 223. 2) See Vol. I, p. 416.

Every man of course knows that it is Allah alone who punishes, and that the breach of an oath no matter where committed cannot escape his omniscience. But Allah's punishments are for the most part deferred till after the resurrection, and there is a great hope of their being remitted through his pitying grace, whereas it is a recognized characteristic of the saints that they secure by their prayers the punishment *in this world* of sinners who have earned their anathema [1]).

Teungku di Weuëng lies buried on the mountain of that name in the XXII Mukims and is regarded as an implacable chastizer of thieves. Cases are quoted in which the visitants of his tomb brought with them as offerings goats which they had indeed acquired by honest means but which had previously been the subject of thefts. A sudden death was the reward of their heedlessness. There is a story that one who plucked a durian from a tree that grew over the grave was straightway turned to stone.

The energetic chief of Teunòm (Teuku Imeum) is said to be a descendant of this dreaded protector of property. [He died in August 1901].

Teungku Chi' Lam Pisang is buried in the gampōng after which he is named, and is the special patron of all those who desire to attain invulnerability. The hairs of his head were as stiff as brass wire; when he plucked one out and gave it as a charm (*ajeumat*) to a student of the *èleumèë keubay* [2]), it changed of its own accord into iron in a day or two, and thus became an infallible talisman to ensure the invulnerability of its possessor [3]).

This saint, however, does not confine his activity to this one department; he is also the recipient of innumerable vows having for their object the fulfilment of wishes or the warding off of mishaps.

Tuan di Lungkeuëng, so called because his tomb is wholly surrounded by thick roots, has his resting-place in the Blang Bintang (XXVI Mukims). During his life he was wont to frequent the fields in that locality and to water the grazing flocks at midday. Now sick cattle are brought to his tomb where their heads are besprinkled with water or if the distance is too great to drive them thither, some earth is taken from the tomb and mingled with the water which the sick animals drink.

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1) Cf. Vol. I, pp. 158 et seq. where it is explained how the fear inspired by the sayyids in Acheh arises from the same cause.

2) See above pp. 34, et seq.

3) See pp. 36 above.

Teungku or *Tuan Dibòh* [1]) is more generally known as *Tuan Salah nama* ("the saint with the wrong name") as his real name sounds improper. The tomb that bears his name and which is situated at the foot of a mountain in Lam Pisang is said to contain his organ of generation only, while his body is supposed to be buried on the top of the hill. It is rumoured that Habib Abdurrahman was opposed to the veneration paid to this curious sepulchre.

He is the patron of married couples who wish for children. The barren pay vows to him and drink water mingled with earth from his grave.

The seafaring man owes his protection from the dangers of the deep largely to the intercession of the saints. Along the shores, the islands and the cliffs past which he sails there are many real or supposed graves of these departed worthies, as well as certain rocks and stones of peculiar form, which are supposed to be petrified evidences of their presence. To some of these the sailors make vows in the hour of danger, but in most cases they observe as they pass these monuments certain customs prompted by veneration or by fear; for instance, incense is burnt, jests and idle sayings are avoided and sometimes incantations are uttered. The chief saints of this class are:

Tuan di Payét, on that part of Pulò Breuëh (Bras) which is known as Pulò Ulèè Paya.

Tuan' di Kala, (so named from the kala-trees near his grave), on the same island.

Teungku di Keureusé' on Pulò Keureusé' which lies to the West of Pulò Breuëh.

Teungku di Bukét, on a hill near the coast of Pulò Deudab, close by Pulò Breuëh.

Teungku di Ujōng Eumpèë on the same island.

Tuan di Pulò Bunta on the island of that name in the Babah Arōïh.

Teungku di Ujōng at Kuala Panchu (VI Mukims).

Teungku di Ujōng Ritiëng on the coast of the IV Mukims.

In the dependencies on the North, East and West Coasts also there are hundreds of such sacred places which the seafaring man approaches with awe. On the West Coast the most celebrated is *Teungku Lhō' Tapa' Tuan* in that arm of the sea which in the old maps is marked

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1) *Bòh* signifies the male organ of generation, "*di*" being used for emphasis.

as Tampat Tuan, but is called by the Achehnese Tapa' Tuan ("footstep of the saint").

This gigantic saint is said to have on one occasion pursued a dragon into the sea, and of this chase certain traces may still be seen both on the shore and in the sea itself. One of his footsteps left its mark on a hill and another lower down close to the sea-shore. This last, which is about $7^1/_2$ yards long, is roofed over. Two small islands (*Pulò Dua*) in the bay of Tapa' Tuan are believed to have been originally connected but to have been rent in twain by the dragon in his flight.

The saint hurled his turban and his staff at the dragon, which however sank beneath the waves to rise no more, while these two objects were turned to stone and may still be seen projecting from the sea in the form of rocks of peculiar shape. It is supposed to be extremely dangerous purposely to steer a ship close to the *kupiah* and *tungkat* as they are called, but if the vessel is accidentally driven thither by wind or tide and touches one of them it is a most lucky omen for her master.

There are not many legends connected with the remaining saints in our list; they are believed to render help in all kind of danger, but they do not enjoy the high prestige of those already mentioned, nor do they wield special powers.

Tuan Siblah Langèt ("the saint of the direction of the sky"). The greatest length of the sky according to the Achehnese conception, is supposed to be from East to West. The tomb of this worthy which is situated near Kuala Changkōy, lies East and West, while the prescribed direction of Mohammedan tombs in the Eastern Archipelago is from North to South, so that the face of the dead may be turned towards Mekka. In Java also there are a few graves which form exceptions to the general rule and which are nevertheless regarded as sacred.

Tuan di Keudè or *Teungku tujōh blaïh haïh*. He is called the "Saint of the Keudè" because the keudè (i. e. market composed of wooden stalls and small houses) of Meura'sa formerly lay near his tomb, and the "saint of the 17 yards" because the two stones which mark his grave are unusually far apart.

In Java also we meet with some saints' graves of exceptional length; indeed the mother of mankind Sittanā Ḥawwa (Eve) must have been of like formidable stature, to judge by her tomb at Jiddah.

Teungku Chòt, also in the territory of Meura'sa.

Tuan di Bunòt (so called because his tomb lies beneath the shade of

a huge bunòt-tree) near the keudè or bazaar of Ulèë Lheuë (Olehleh).

Tuan di Pinta [1]) in Gampōng Pi (Meura'sa).

Tuan di Ba' Chuëh (named from a chuëh-tree beside the tomb) in Gampōng Pi.

Tuan di Chòt Arōn in the gampōng of Lam Jabat in Meura'sa.

Teungku Siah Mansō (= Mansur) in Gampōng Jawa.

Tuan di dapat [1]) in Gampōng Jawa.

Teungku Lampuyang [2]) in the gampōng of Lam Badeuë' (VI Mukims).

Teungku Lam Arōn [2]) in Lam Pageuë (VI Mukims).

Tuan di Chòt Chakò on the mountain of Glé Putōih in the VI Mukims.

Teungku Chi' Guraïh in the gampōng of that name in the VI Mukims.

Teungku Chi Leupuëng in the IV Mukims.

Tuan di jalan [1]) near Lam Nga in the XXVI Mukims.

Teungku di Batèë Putéh on a hill near Kruëng Raya (XXVI Mukims).

Tombs such as the foregoing are to be met with almost everywhere.

Veneration for the tombs of kings.

The Achehnese, like their neighbours of Java, also venerate the tombs of their departed kings, and although they do not precisely regard them as saints, they yet believe that they have been gifted with certain *kramats* or miraculous tokens of God's grace. Indeed the mere act of ruling a kingdom with the power to exalt or abase other men, is in itself esteemed a sort of kramat; and it is believed that Allah, who vouchsafed them this kramat in their lifetime, continues to endue them in the next world with a certain power of blessing and rendering accursed.

In the neighbourhood of the ancient gampōng Kuta Alam (not to be confused with the place now officially so called) we find the *Kubu pòteu meureuhōm*, certain tombs of departed royalties. It is believed that the great Meukuta Alam = Eseukanda Muda (1607—36) is buried here, and indeed it is not improbable that the name of the gampōng is simply an abbreviation of that of this famous ruler [3]).

Many votive offerings of flowers and incense used to be made at these tombs. The fact that no one could any longer distinguish between the several occupants of the various tombs was no obstacle; it was sufficient to invoke the blessing of the "royalties in bliss" in general.

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1) Such names point to the Malayan origin of these saints.

2) Such names are derived from the gampōngs to which these saints belonged.

3) Otherwise the name must refer to a fort (*kuta*) and there is no reason to suppose that there ever was any fortification at that place.

The royal tombs in the Dalam which have now been roofed over by the government, are called Kandang [1]) pòteu, i. e. "the tombs of our lords". It was especially the ulèëbalangs and other distinguished chiefs who used to come here to fulfil their vows.

Finally we have in the ancient gampōng Kandang, not far from the Dalam, the tomb of *Pòteu Jeumalōy*, the Arab rival of the first kings of the present dynasty. We have already made acquaintance with this personage in the Hikayat Pòchut Muhamat, the best of the Achehnese heroic poems [2]).

Outside Acheh proper there are also a few kings tombs to which the people in their neighbourhood pay vows, as for instance that of Pòteu meureuhōm Daya at Kuala Daya.

We have already (Vol. I, pp. 379—380) drawn attention to the curious fact that the graves of the beings called *burōngs (puntianak)* and especially those of Pòchut Siti and Burōng Tanjōng or Srabi are regarded as sacred and venerated in Acheh.

More modern saints.

In modern as well as ancient times foreigness have enjoyed the preference in Acheh as regards sanctity. This may be seen from three examples which the neighbourhood of the chief town, Kuta Radja, has furnished within the last few years. One was a young half-mad sayyid of the family of Aidarus [3]) who lived in Gampōng Jawa and was even during his lifetime the recipient of many vows; the second was Teungku Lam Palōh [4]) who came from Yogyakarta, and who was likewise revered as a saint while still alive; and the last a certain Teungku Lam Guha ("the saint of the cave [5]), a Javanese from Demak, so called because he secluded himself in a cave for many years. His tomb which lies behind the mosque at Ulèë Lheuë, is now visited by many pilgrims.

Belief of the Achehnese in „kramat".

The great significance, especially from a political point of view, of the veneration paid to living men who have won a reputation for

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1) This name appears to have been specially applied to the tombs of kings in Acheh from the fact that the royal graves are surrounded by a stone wall (*kandang*), but the word is now used generally to denote such burial-places, and it is said of a departed sultan that he is *ka u kandang* = deceased, independently of the place in which he is buried.

2) See Vol. I, p. 84 and p. 88 above.

3) See Vol. I, p. 156 above.

4) He died in 1894.

5) It was said that he was promised the hand of a celestial nymph, if he abode in the cave for three successive years without seeing a single human being, but this prospect was blighted by the constant visits of those who came to implore his blessing or advice.

sanctity has already been discussed at some length (Vol. I, pp. 153 et seq.). The Achehnese, like the Javanese, are believers in *kramat*, that is to say they are inclined to regard as miracles the peculiar proclivities of those who make capital out of the popular credulity, and imagination helps them to multiply the number of such miracles. For the general mass of the people it is not indispensable that the candidate for saintly honours should be a *sayyid* or *ulama*; even a somewhat godless life is no obstacle to the aspirant to the quality of *kramat*, which word is used as an adjective expressive of the sanctity of living persons, as well as of the dead.

The Arabs are at bottom no less firm believers in kramat than the natives of the Archipelago; even at Batavia we find Arabs who are revered as kramat by their countrymen. But the Arab is always ready to mock at the credulity of the natives, since he looks down on them as of a meaner race and regards the sanctity of Javanese, Malays etc. as improbable *a priori*.

Sacred animals.

It is well known that many natives of the eastern Archipelago attribute a certain sort of sanctity to some kinds of animals, or else invest certain individuals with animal characteristics. This superstition had no doubt a much wider vogue in earlier times; it is now gradually becoming one of the rudiments of a past epoch. In Java the slaughter and eating of the flesh of some kinds of animals is forbidden (*buyut, chadu, ila-ila*) to the people of certain families. We are also told of saints who enjoy the protection and services of a particular kind of animal, the reason given being that they have once rendered a service to an animal of this description. Haji Mangsur, the great saint of Banten is said to have one day set free a tiger which was caught in the vice of a huge shell-fish (*kima*), in return for which he could always command the services of tigers, and neither he nor his descendants were ever molested by them. We find occasional examples of tortoises, fishes, monkeys etc. being esteemed sacred; sometimes these creatures are connected in some way or other with deceased saints, but occasionally they are venerated on their own account.

Acheh also furnishes examples of such superstitions; we have seen above how the use of the flesh of white buffaloes and of the *alu-alu* fish is regarded as prohibited to the family of Chut Sandang [1]).

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1) See Vol. I, p. 51.

If we may believe the popular stories, one or more tigers always lurk in the vicinity of every sacred tomb; they are occasionally seen by the pilgrims who frequent the spot, but speedily vanish again. They hurt none except those who have incurred the anger of the saint. Some say that it is the deceased worthy himself who appears in this form; others deny this, and assert that the tigers are the servants of the saints and guardians of their graves. Both views find support in the colloquial, since the expression *meurimuëng* admits of either construction [1]).

Living saints also have tigers which wander in the vicinity of their abodes and pay them occasional visits. Habib Abdurraḥman kept one captive, but although he was esteemed a saint, this was not looked upon as an attribute of his sanctity, but was regarded merely as the strange whim of a great man.

Near the tomb of Teungku di Kuala (Abdōra'ōh) where the Acheh River joins the sea the waters are said to be haunted by a gigantic skate (*paròë*), which brings to grief the vessels of the wicked, and especially of those who have failed to do honour to the great saint of Acheh. Most of the saints' tombs on the sea-board of the East and West Coasts are guarded by sacred whales (*pawōih*) or *sharks* (*yèë*) [2]).

Crocodiles (*buya*) [3]) also partake of the sanctity of the tombs in the neighbourhood of which they are constantly to be seen. It is said that a crocodile of Teungku Anjōng, which his master marked as his by fastening a band of arèn-rope (*talòë jō'*) around its neck, still keeps watch and ward in Kuala Achèh, and takes care that no noxious members of his tribe enter the river.

A few years ago a young crocodile appeared in the river behind the house of Teuku Nè', the ulèëbalang of Meura'sa. The latter regarded him as a messenger from some saint or other, and had his wants carefully attended to; he always addressed him as "*Teungku*!" when calling him to receive the fowls with which he satisfied his hunger. This "teungku" however has proved a great pest to the subjects of the ulèëbalang who reside in the neighbourhood, by devouring their goats and chickens, but none dare complain through fear of the wrath of his powerful votary.

Popular oaths

Most of the oaths employed by the Achehnese in their daily life,

1) The expression is: *Teungku N. meurimuëng*, and *meurimuëng* may either mean "to keep a tiger", or "to take the form of a tiger, to act as such".

2) Mal. *yu (Translator)*.

3) Mal. *buaya (Translator)*.

though not actually at variance with the Mohammedan teaching, are yet of a secular rather than a religious nature, e. g.:

"May the tiger catch me",

"May the thunder smite me",

"May I become a leper",

"May the whirlwind overtake me",

"May the 4 yards of earth (i. e. the grave) never cover me (my body)" [1]), if so and so shall happen. Such are the forms of oath familiar to all, and more often used than the invocation of Allah by his various titles, which the Moslim law prescribes for the purpose of an oath.

Similar oaths (we need only instance the Javanese *sambĕr glap*) are in common use among other neighbouring peoples. The genuinely Mohammedan oath "May the Qurān with its thirty divisions consume me", is however also very frequently heard.

The oath of mutual fidelity, especially in war, taken on a weapon or a bullet, has been already described (see footnote to p. 94—95 above).

The discussion of the religious teaching of Islam has led us in our own despite somewhat far afield, for the domain of popular belief is practically boundless. The other four "pillars" of the Mohammedan faith may be more briefly dealt with, since they are concerned with the practice of the law itself and have been more or less fully discussed in the earlier portion of this work.

§ 3. The remaining four "Pillars of Islam".

Ritual prayers.

The second "pillar" is the ritual prayers (*çalāt*, Ach. *salat* or *seumayang*). The law imperatively ordains their celebration five times each day, once a week (on Friday at noon) with certain special additions, and also on the occurrence of certain events such as a death; but merely recommends their use on other occasions. Closely connected with these prayers is the ritual purification, which is necessary in certain cases to prepare the believer for the performance of a sĕmbahyang, since ritual

1) In the Achehnese colloquial these forms of oath are expressed as follows: *Ba'rimuĕng kab, ba' glanteuë ta'* or *chang, ba' budŏ' lōn, ba' angèn puténg bliōng ba lōn, ba' bè' jitrimòng lé bumòë peuët haïh.*

impurity invalidates such a prayer. In the books of Mohammedan law there appears by way of introduction to the subject of çalāt, a chapter describing the requisites for ritual purity and the means by which it may be recovered when lost.

Neglect of this duty by the Achehnese.

What we have already observed regarding the practice in Acheh in this respect amounts to this, that the leubès [1]) and others faithfully perform their *seumayang* five times a day, but that the great majority of the people overlook this duty and that the general public prayers are very much neglected. There are however many exceptions, local and otherwise, to the prevailing lukewarmness.

Wherever an influential ulama resides there arises of its own accord a religious revival, wherein some take part through conviction and others from shame or fear. The piety of a chief, be he keuchi', imeum or ulèëbalang produces a like result which often long survives his decease.

The rise of a leader such as Habib Abdurrahman, or great misfortunes such as the outbreak of a war or an epidemic are also incentives to a general religious awakening, which shows itself primarily in the more faithful observance of the prescribed seumayangs.

None the less, in the absence of some such incentive the Achehnese continue to be careless in this matter, very much as do their neighbours the Javanese, though as a matter of fact the ritual prayers play a much greater part in both countries than a casual European observer might suppose.

We have repeatedly drawn attention to the fact (which is not hard to explain if we examine it carefully) that seumayangs which only occur at certain times of the year and even those which the law does not strictly prescribe (such as the *trawèh*) [2]) are in practice much more highly esteemed than the five indispensable daily prayers; nay, that other exercises, such as the ratébs, which are *never* compulsory, are of far more importance in the popular estimation than the seumayangs.

This neglect not specifically Indonesian.

This phenomenon may with some slight differences in degree be observed throughout the whole of the East Indian Archipelago. Nor can it be said that these islands stand alone in the Mohammedan world in this respect. The Egyptian *fèllāḥ* whose manner of life in many ways resembles that of the Javanese peasant is not, any more than the latter,

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1) See Vol. I, p. 71.
2) See Vol. I, p. 230.

a faithful observer of the çalāt, which in his case also comes second to sundry superstitious practices, the fulfilment of vows etc.

In the centres of Mohammedan civilization (except those which depend for their existence on religion, like the holy cities of Arabia) the practice of the çalāt is much neglected, and the more so in proportion as they are pervaded by the breath of religious liberty, for a large measure of compulsion has at all times been indispensable to the proper maintenance of these pious exercises. People who have to work hard for their living find the regular daily observance of the five çalāts, accompanied with the preliminary ritual purification a burden too great to be borne; while many of those whose circumstances are easier are too worldly voluntarily to submit to the constant repetition of these rites.

It may be said with truth that the zeal for the sembahyang reaches the minimum in the East Indian Archipelago. The position in Acheh may in this respect be compared with that of the Bedawins of Arabia who never observe the five seasons of prayer except under the constraint of certain local influences, — where for example Wahhābitism still prevails or where some zealous fellow-tribesman compels them to do their duty.

Erroneous conclusions to which this neglect gives rise.

This does not however give us the right to draw conclusions derogatory to the strength of the faith in the creed of Islam cherished by its adherents in the far East; it is even misleading as a standard of the character of the Islam of Indonesia as compared with that of other countries. If there is indifference as regards the çalāt, this is more than counterbalanced by the superabundant zeal for the Hajj, for few parts of the Mohammedan world send so large a proportion of their population on this pilgrimage or bring so much wealth year by year to the holy cities of Arabia as the East Indian Archipelago, and that too although the distance and the difficulties of the journey are very much greater for the Indonesians than for the people of Egypt, Syria, Turkey or Arabia. Both of these religious obligations are of such an external nature, and the degree of zeal displayed in regard to both is so entirely dependent on accidental circumstances, that taken by themselves they cannot be employed as a measure of the influence of religion over the life of any given Mohammedan people. If we look to actual results, the zeal for the Hajj is much more far-reaching in its effects than the faithful observance of the five daily ceremonies which would be more properly described as "worship" than

Great zeal for the Hajj.

as "prayer". It is true that most of the ceremonial connected with the Hajj is not understood by the ordinary pilgrim, whose visit to the holy cities teaches him little that is new. But the Hajj has given rise to a brisk intercourse between the East Indian Archipelago and Mekka, which has become more than ever the spiritual centre of Islam. The influence of Mekka over the natives of the Far East grows daily, assisted by the intermediary of the considerable colony of half-Mekkanized Indonesians (Jawa) now established in the holy city [1]).

Causes of lukewarmness in regard to the daily prayers.

There is one very obvious reason why the ritual prayers are in practice so much neglected in this part of the world. Had Islam been introduced into the Far East from Arabia, be it from Hadramaut, which already has made some impression on the practice of Islam here, or from Mekka, which exercises a daily increasing control over the religious life of the natives of the Archipelago, there can be no doubt that the Javanese, Malays, Achehnese, etc. would observe the çalāt much more faithfully than is now the case, even though they might have also imitated their Arabian teachers in their neglect or transgression of many of the behests of the holy law. In the cities of the Ḥidjāz and Ḥaḍramaut the ritual prayers are observed by thousands whose whole life is in other respects a concatenation of gross breaches of the law.

The early pioneers of Islam in the Far East, however, laid great stress on thought, while *action* occupied a much lower place in their scheme of life. The implements of their propaganda are still in evidence in the shape of innumerable writings both great and small, and especially the household compendiums known in Java as primbons [2]). These show in various forms the way in which man may become united with his Creator through *mental* exercises; certain corporeal acts of worship (among which the çalāt takes a subordinate place) serve merely as means to the end, and may be dispensed with as soon as that end is reached. The natural result has been that the majority of spiritual guides have been at little pains in insisting on the faithful observance by simple folk of their five daily religious exercises.

Such has been the negative result of the attitude of the teachers, who have given the common people but little to counterbalance their

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1) This matter is dealt with in full in the 4th chapter of Vol. II of my *Mekka*, see in particular pp. 295—393.

2) See Vol. I, pp. 198 etc.

neglect of the ritual prayers; for the great majority were not of course educated up to the exalted philosophic method above referred to, and all that they gleaned therefrom was a few (to them meaningless) formulas and expressions which they regarded as provision for the journey to another world. On the other hand, had they been subjected to a more Arabic regime they would have obtained, in place of these formulas, which they do not clearly understand and yet often *feel* [1]) the influence of, a system of lingual and gymnastic exercises the meaning of which would have been still more incomprehensible to them; for the ritual prayers with their posturings and genuflections and Arabic formulas which even an Arab does not understand if he be unlearned, are a perfect mystery to all but a very small minority of those who observe them. The exchange would thus have given them nothing better than what they had before.

The influences which should have tended to promote the zeal for the ritual have already worked long enough to yield some result. But it must not be forgotten that the circumstances under which these influences worked were entirely different from those of the stirring times in which the Indonesians broke with their past and accepted a new religion. No sooner did their conversion and the consequent reform in their manner of living become a *fait accompli*, than there set in a period of inertia. The door was indeed still open to further change in the sphere of life and doctrine, especially when Arab influence made itself felt; but without fresh convulsions such changes can be no more than partial, and must necessarily be very gradual. Hence although they take place before our eyes they are hidden from those who do not make a careful study of the subject.

A third "pillar", the pilgrimage to Mekka as an obligation binding on all "who have the means to make the journey", has already been passingly commented on some pages back. It is important to remember that the merit of the fulfilment of this duty is largely conditional. Not only is he, who lacks bodily strength and means sufficient to enable him to make the journey to Mekka without prejudice to himself or

The Hajj.

1) I have frequently met with entirely unlettered natives, who showed the strongest predilection for these philosophical formulas expressive of the identity of God with man, and had at the tip of their tongues sundry illustrations of this unity; but they were just as ignorant of the whole subject as an unlettered but devoted Calvinist might be of the true nature of the doctrinal intricacies of the faith for which he would lay down his life.

those who belong to him, excused from this obligation, but the law in some such cases cautions him against undertaking the Hajj, while in some it absolutely forbids him so to do.

According to the Shafi'ite teaching, which holds sway in the Eastern Archipelago, it is not imperative even where all the conditions are fulfilled, to perform the pilgrimage on the first opportunity; it may in fact be indefinitely postponed. If the would-be pilgrim dies in the meantime without becoming a haji, leaving money or goods, provision should be made out of the heritage for hiring a substitute to perform the Hajj in the name of the deceased.

Many of the inhabitants of Mekka or of the people of Malayan race settled there, grow fat upon the profits connected with this system; and to their great satisfaction it is nearly always the wealthiest who make use of the privilege of postponement, so that every year large sums find their way to Mekka in payment for substitutes (*badal haji*). There are even regular agents who make annual tours to collect such badal-monies for themselves and their friends, and it is very doubtful if these sums are always spent in carrying out the intentions of the donors. [1])

On the other hand there are in the Archipelago a great number who though not bound to do so, perform the hajj not once but even twice or oftener. In a word, this "pillar"-obligation is here fulfilled with extraordinary zeal and the direct effect on the religious life of the people can hardly be over-estimated. This zeal does not of course exist in the same degree everywhere, but is subject to local variations; among the Sundanese for instance the haji element is much greater than in Central Java.

In Acheh the predilection for this "pillar" is quite as strong as it is in Java. The Achehnese have established at Mekka waqf-houses where board and lodging may be obtained at moderate rates by their devout but impecunious fellow-countrymen; and Acheh supplies a small contingent to the "Jawa" colony in Arabia, and especially to that portion of it which pursues its studies at Mekka. Within the last twenty years of disturbance the number of Achehnese pilgrims has considerably diminished, but this decline is merely temporary and accidental.

Estimation of haji's in Acheh.

In Acheh the hajis [2]) do not derive any great title to consideration

1) See my *Mekka*, Vol. II, pp. 310—11.

2) It should be superfluous to contradict the erroneous idea which formerly prevailed amongst Europeans that the hajis formed a sort of sacerdotal or learned caste.

and respect from the mere completion of their pilgrimage; indeed the same is true of Java where the respect paid to returned pilgrims has fallen off in proportion to the increase of their numbers.

The haji in Acheh cannot as a rule be even distinguished by his dress. Turbans (in the sense of kerchiefs wound round the rim of the kupiah or cap) are not confined to the hajis, but are very commonly worn by people of every rank and class, the national model differing, however, to some extent from its Arabian prototype; while among religious teachers we find some who follow the Arab fashion even though they have never made the pilgrimage. On the other hand a large number of the Achehnese hajis remain faithful to the national form of turban and to the wide trousers and short loin-cloth — nay, many even wear the cap without any kerchief surrounding it.

As a general rule the people of this country are less disposed than many of their neighbours to admire and imitate foreign fashions. When we add to this the fact that in earlier times Acheh and especially her capital was wont to entertain a large mixed crowd of hajis coming and returning, we understand how both turban and long robe lost the attraction of rarity. As long as the pilgrim traffic of Java and Sumatra was carried on in sailing ships Acheh formed one of the most important stages in the journey [1]).

The haji is politely and more or less respectfully addressed as *teungku* or *teungku haji*, and it is understood of him that he is no *bangsat*, that is to say that he is one who does not neglect the regular observance of his chief religious duties; any further honour paid him depends on the social position, learning or piety of the individual.

The fourth "pillar of Islam" which claims our attention is the tax called *zakāt* (Ach. *jakeuët*) which is prescribed and strictly regulated by the sacred law. This tax, so far as its being levied on property is concerned, may be reckoned among the institutions of that ideal constitution or rather ideal community, which according to the historic tradition of Islam (a tradition not entirely trustworthy) flourished during the first thirty years after the death of Moḥammad, but which since that time has constantly degenerated, so that nothing short of a miracle could effect its restoration at the present time. Especially impossible would be the general imposition of this property-tax, the rules for the

The zakāt.

1) See pp. 19 above.

collection whereof are based on the most primitive social conditions.

The zakāt levied on the person, generally called *pitrah* in the Eastern Archipelago, is not oppressive, and the festal occasion on which its payment is appointed — the great day of atonement we might call it — lends itself to encourage the faithful observance of this ordinance.

We have already given all necessary particulars in regard both to the *jakeuët* [1]) proper and the *pitrah* [2]) and have pointed out that although there is no lack of popular misconception [3]) in regard to both, the practice of the Achehnese with respect to these institutions is very much the same as in most other Mohammedan countries.

The fast.

The same may be said of the fifth "pillar", the observance of the fast *(puasa)* in the month of Ramadhān. The Achehnese are just as strict in this as the Sundanese, and more so than the Javanese and the Arabs of the desert. Indulgences such as the Achehnese allow themselves in respect of the fast, are also to be met with in every other Moslim country. Here as elsewhere, all rules connected with the fasting month are esteemed more highly than is justified in theory, too highly indeed in comparison with other religious obligations. This is due to the popular notion that this month is one of atonement, which makes good the shortcomings of the rest of the year [4]).

The Achehnese themselves are quite ready to criticise their own lack of capacity for the faithful fulfilment of the chief obligations of Islam. Of this an excellent illustration is furnished by a popular legend regarding the work of the great saint Abdurra'uf of Singkel, commonly known as Teungku di Kuala [5]).

This holy man, as we have seen [6]), is generally regarded by the Achehnese as one of the foremost pioneers of Islam in their country,

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1) Vol. I, pp. 74, 268 sqq.

2) Vol. I, pp. 74, 231, 238 sqq.

3) Such misconception is also very common in Arabia. In Acheh the pitrah is made over to the teungku and generally supposed to be his recompense for the performance of the trawèh. So in Mekka the *fitrah* is generally given at the end of the fasting month to the man *mesaḥḥir* who goes round in each quarter of the town every night from house to house and rouses the inhabitants so that they may not miss the chance of taking their meal before the break of day. Many of the common people regard the fitrah as his reward for the performance of this duty.

4) See Vol. I, p. 228 sqq.

5) The tale of how he converted the prostitutes at the capital of Acheh is given above, p. 20.

6) See p. 20 above.

though he did not in fact appear on the scene until about the middle of the 17th century, when Acheh had already been long under the influence of Mohammedanism.

The story goes that an Arab teacher, a rigid disciplinarian who would make no allowance for the manners and customs of the country, has striven in vain for years to propagate the true religion in Acheh, when Abdōra'ōh, after a prolonged residence in Arabia, came back and settled down in Banda Achèh. To him the Arab detailed his experiences with much disgust. All the trouble he had taken to lead this godless people into the right path, was but casting pearls before swine; their place of worship was still the *glanggang* (arena for fights between animals), and that accursed gambling was their substitute for prayer.

The Malayan saint, who combined calmness of spirit with a ripe knowledge of the world, advised his friend to leave the country, which was no field for the activity of so strict a devotee. "Return to Arabia", said he, "and let me try my feeble powers in this task of conversion". So the Arab turned his back on Achèh, and Abdōra'ōh took counsel with himself as to how he might best compass his object.

He knew the character of the people; they were indeed naturally disinclined to perform ritual prayers five times each day or to fast a whole month in each year, but this aversion to the greatest of all *èleumèëś* [1]) or arts was coupled with a mania for another sort of *èleumèëś* [2]) — mysterious formulas and methods for compassing their desires, together with a most superstitious reverence for those who were supposed to possess such mystic powers.

Abdōra'ōh took all this into account, and contented himself for the time being with assuming the rôle of a *teungku*, the repetition of whose incantations and the observance of whose rules would ensure success in any undertaking.

One day a passionate lover of cock-fighting came to the saint with a bird which, although it had all the marks which indicate success, had constantly proved a disappointment to its owner, and asked if the new teungku could furnish him with a spell which would assure victory to his favourite in future.

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1) See p. 1 above.
2) See p. 32 sqq. above.

Abdōra'ōh replied that he would do so with pleasure. "I possess", he said, "a short and simple incantation, which, if you repeat it day by day and ponder on its meaning, will make your cock invincible". Accordingly he proceeded to teach this gambling ne'er-do-weel the words of the Mohammedan confession of faith, the repetition of which constitutes the first "pillar" of Islam, and explained its meaning in simple language.

The plan was successful; the cock proved invincible from that time forth, and its owner won large stakes. Presently other owners of game-cocks began to flock to the teungku to ask him to teach him the charm, which he of course denied to none. Thus the first applicant lost his profitable monopoly and went and complained to Abdōra'ōh.

The teungku begged him not to take it amiss that he should have bestowed the charm on others, since his *èleumèë* admitted of no secrecy or stint. At the same time he declared himself ready once more to render his friend's bird invincible by teaching him a new charm, which he must practise together with and in addition to the first. Accordingly he taught him the ritual prayers which every Moslim should perform five times a day and assured him a return of his former good luck if he never neglected their observance. This also proved a success, and others once more followed the example of their rival in constantly increasing numbers.

In like manner Abdōra'ōh succeeded in making known the remaining "pillars" of Islam to the people, whose passion for cockfighting caused them to embrace with eagerness this new system of incantation. Thus gradually did the Mohammedan religion take root in Acheh, so far at least as the slothfulness of spirit and hardness of heart of the people would permit. This result was due to the wisdom of the man who perceived that a new form of worship could not be introduced without allowing the old idols to co-exist therewith for a time. And those old idols still exist and claim more attention than the houses of prayer; but all are convinced that they are but false Gods and inventions of the Evil One.

Leubè and bangsat.

The representatives of piety and devotion among the Achehnese, the leubè's, are very behindhand in their knowledge and observance of that portion of the Moslim law and doctrine which may be termed 'religious' in the narrower sense of the word. Much more so, of course, are the worldly and thoughtless people, to whom the epithet

bangsat [1]) is applied both by themselves and by others. Weighed in the balance of theory, all alike would be found wanting. This however holds true of the entire Mohammedan community to a certain extent; in the text-books of Moslim law we occasionally meet with arguments and even definitions based on the consideration that now-a-days all men are *fāsiq* — that is to say, irreligious in life and manners, the converse of *ʿadl*.

The "pillars" of doctrine and those of actuality.

To follow up the image of the five pillars we might say that the pointed roof of the building of Islam is still mainly supported by the central pillar, the confession that there is no other God but Allah and that Mohammad is the messenger of Allah, but that this pillar is surrounded with a medley of ornamental work quite unsuited to it, which is a profanation of its lofty simplicity. And in regard to the other four, the corner pillars, it might be observed that some of these have suffered decay in the long lapse of time, while other new pillars which according to the orthodox teaching are unworthy to be supports of the holy building have been planted beside the original five and have to a considerable extent robbed them of their functions.

The foundations on which rests the Islam of actual fact must be distinguished from the five main principles on which the Islam of the books is based. In the course of its victorious progress through the world, the Mohammedan religion has been compelled to adopt a vast quantity of new matter which was originally quite alien to it, but which appeared indispensable to the majority of its adherents, and all of which has now been exalted to be law and doctrine. Many old customs too, deep-rooted from ancient times in certain parts of the Mohammedan world, have had to receive the sanction of the newer creed, and these now constitute the local peculiarities of Islam in different countries. At the same time orthodoxy is in honour bound to maintain a struggle against much that the adherents of Islam hold dear and this struggle will endure as long as theoretical doctrine fails to get the better of ethnographical variations. Of this we have abundant testimony in the local "departures" from the teaching of Islam exhibited

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1) This word has in Achehnese a different signification to that which it possesses in Malay. In the latter language it means "destitute", "vagrant"; in the former it is used to describe one who almost habitually neglects his chief religious obligations. A man may be *bangsat* and yet be virtuous and upright according to the popular standard of morality. Most chiefs are *bangsat*, but this does not diminish the respect paid to them.

in the political social and religious life of those who profess that creed.

All three of the elements mentioned above have been found in Acheh; the local variations are of course Achehnese and therefore of a different family, though not of a different description, from the topical peculiarities of Islam in other countries. Observation of such variations can only cause confusion of ideas to those whose knowledge of Islam is very superficial or entirely derived from books.

§ 4. Domestic Law.

Divine and human law among Mohammedans.

In theory all Mohammedan laws alike possess a religious character. A lease or a mortgage made under any other law than that of Allah is regarded as just as invalid as a marriage so contracted. In every Moslim community, however, a distinction is drawn in practice between what is religious in the strict sense, and therefore inviolable, and what is of a more secular nature and may accordingly be modified to suit the requirements of the state and of society, or even altogether set aside. This explains the contrast which the Achehnese express by the words *hukōm* and *adat* [1]), and which we meet with in all Mohammedan countries under different names.

Difference between the two recognized in practice.

All that belongs to the first of these two categories must be accepted unconditionally by every good Mohammedan, account being taken of human custom only in cases where the law itself points that way. Divergence from such laws is in many cases looked upon as a more serious transgression than actual neglect of them, since the latter may be attributed to the weakness of the flesh, whilst the former is a blasphemous attempt to improve upon the wisdom of God. The sole concession (and it is indeed a most important one) that is made to the sinfulness of mankind is this: that he who neglects or transgresses the law is not thereby made an unbeliever, but only an imperfect believer provided he entertains no doubt of the validity of any of its commands.

In regard to matters that are included in the second category, much more latitude is permitted. Here we find admitted systems of rules both

1) Vol. I, p. 72 and elsewhere.

customary and written law, which for all practical purposes supply the place of the sacred law. Doubt of the authority and validity of the holy Law on these subjects is indeed also excluded, but it is regarded as a justifiable deduction, that owing to the increasing wickedness of the human race necessity compels acquiescence in divergence from the true path.

If it be admitted to be proved by experience, that owing to man's worldly nature the performance of the five ritual prayers day by day is a task beyond his powers, the only conclusion to be drawn from these premisses, is that the great majority of Mohammedans merit heavy punishment in the sight of God. But none would dare to make this consideration the basis of a rule reducing, let us say, the number of obligatory prayers from five to one per diem as a minimum. Neglect or partial performance of Allah's commandments simply swells the debit account of the defaulter in the heavenly ledger.

If on the other hand it appears that human wickedness and irreligion renders it alike impossible to carry on trade in accordance with the provisions of the law of Allah, then it becomes necessary to take into account the fact that trade *must* be carried on in some way or other, and thus a law of commerce which deviates from the religious standard is admitted to be indispensable even though not strictly justifiable.

Denied in theory.

The schools of religious learning, as such, cannot acquiesce in this modus vivendi; they continue to expound and develop their code of laws which they themselves admit to have been observed only during the first thirty years of the history of Islam, adding that they will revive once more towards the end of the world, under the rule of the Imām Mahdī, the inspired leader whose footsteps Allah shall guide in the right way, and whose coming was foretold by the Prophet. Thus the doctrinal faculty, faithful to its own unpractical nature, has continually become more and more separated from, and lost its influence over, the world of actual fact, although it has maintained its position as the educator of the community.

Even those who devote their lives to the study of the law, are compelled to deviate therefrom in practice in many respects, though they do so with more reluctance than the majority; but their judgment on the code adopted by the world is dictated by the sacred law. The views of these spiritual guides spread far beyond their own immediate

circle and have without doubt a cramping influence on the development of the community [1]).

Domestic law stands on the border-line between the two.

On the border-line between these two categories, — the purely religious which offers no alternative but performance or neglect, and the more worldly, in which a considerable divergence is tolerated in practice, — stands the domestic law, and especially that part of it which relates to marriage and the consequences which arise therefrom.

The ethnological element with its local variations has had more influence in the building up of the domestic law among Mohammedans than it had in matters of ritual. So long as details connected with the mutual obligations of husband and wife, of parent and child, are regulated in accordance with the old customs of the country though not in strict accordance with the letter of the law, little opposition need be feared on the part of the religious teachers.

Examples such as that of the social life of the Menangkabau Malays go to show that the creed of Islam may be dominant in a country for a long period, while yet the domestic institutions of that country are in many respects in conflict with the religious law. But in this instance the limit of the customary tolerance has been overpassed. Those very teachers who endure in silence the prevalence of a commercial and political code which does not even pretend to be Mohammedan, cease not to protest against the Menangkabau adat, under which the children do not inherit from their fathers, and marriages are forbidden between persons of the same suku (i. e. descendants of the same woman through the female line); they eagerly embrace every chance of combatting *this* customary law, and the utmost that can be hoped for is an unwilling acquiescence in the case of those teachers who have from their earliest youth been accustomed to these unlawful usages.

There would on the other hand be no toleration whatever for a system under which contracts of marriage were concluded or dissolved under other rules than that of the *fiqh*, or under which the man was restricted to a single wife or allowed to marry more than four. The family is regarded as more sacred than the market-place; a contract of purchase and sale concluded in accordance with the adat is recognized as binding, but he who marries otherwise than under the auspices of Islam is looked upon as an ungodly whoremonger.

1) See *Mekka*, Vol. II, pp. 260—62.

Achehnese domestic law essentially Mohammedan.

Our close investigation into the domestic law of Acheh in the third chapter of Vol. I of this work, has taught us that that country forms no exception to the rule in this respect. The conscientious observance in connection with marriages of sundry ancient customs many of which are of non-Mohammedan origin shows that in Acheh, as elsewhere, human conservatism does not confine itself to the sphere of religion, but also makes itself most strongly felt in that of domestic life; yet the legal actions and legal relations connected with the married state are almost entirely governed by the religious law. The exceptions to this rule are few in number, and it may be said that in the case of marriage no deviation from the religious code would be tolerated. The laws both as to marriage and divorce and the circumstances arising out of both, as to the bringing up of children and even as to succession to property (though in this respect the authorities display much more forbearance [1]) are Mohammedan in all main essentials.

The unconditional recognition of the ritual obligations does not, however, prevent very gross and general neglect of their fulfilment. Thus side by side with the admission of the validity of the Moslim laws which regulate domestic life, we find gross immorality prevailing — nor is this state of things by any means confined to Acheh. The relation of sin to the law is in the nature of things different here from what it is in ritual matters. The prescribed prayers, fasts etc., are *neglected* in whole or in part by the sinner; but abstinence from marriage is to the Achehnese of both sexes a thing inconceivable, and, as we have seen, their marriages are generally controlled by the religious law, although modified in some few details by the customs of the country.

Thus most sins against the ritual law consist in neglect to do what is bidden, but those who transgress the laws governing domestic life do so rather by doing what is forbidden. Unchastity of every kind is the order of the day in Acheh.

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1) This toleration is really based on the law itself. Anyone may at will divest himself of rights of property, and the distribution of an inheritance otherwise than under Mohammedan law is thus no sin, if the parties concerned are satisfied with the arrangement and there is no prejudice to the interests of minors or those who are absent. Cases of permissable deviation from the law are conceivable in this respect. But should husband and wife agree to recognize and follow marriage laws not based on the Moslim code or should a man marry a divorced woman before she had completed her *ʿiddah*, both would be guilty of the offence of *zina* (adultery or fornication), which Allah threatens to visit with heavy punishment.

Paederasty. The practice of paederasty is very widespread [1]). This vice is however by no means confined to the Achehnese. It is far from rare in the ancient strongholds of Mohammedanism; we find unblushing references to it in Arabic literature and the Mekka of to day is no less notorious in this respect than Cairo or Constantinople. The practice is also endemic in Java, especially in the Native States, and the same may be said of Menangkabau in Sumatra [2]).

Prostitution. Actual prostitution is not indigenous in Acheh. It may possibly have been occasionally carried on in the capital during the period when commerce flourished, but of later years it has disappeared and the professional courtezan is wholly unknown in the interior. The constitution of the Achehnese family which does not save in exceptional cases allow the woman to quit her parents' home, is opposed to the existence of prostitution. Any woman who tried to break this iron band of custom, would find herself unable to gain a livelihood. The girls are married very young, and remain all their life long under the protection of their blood-relations, no matter whether their husbands cherish or neglect them.

Unlawful intrigues with the wives of husbands who abandon or disregard them are, however, so little impeded by the local authorities, that every gampōng furnishes examples of such forbidden intercourse.

The keeping in concubinage of virgins, young widows or divorced women, can only take place with the connivance of their blood-relations. This happens chiefly in the case of poor families, when the beauty of the woman has excited the desire of persons of rank (and especially those of royal rank) or of ulèëbalangs or their immediate relatives. In the case of these chiefs, the choice of a wife is generally controlled rather by political considerations or other external interests than by

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1) In Acheh proper a certain amount of decorum is observed in regard to this practice, and the paederasts do not openly recognize the objects of their unlawful passion, even though their neighbours may be well aware of it; but in Pidië and on the East and West Coast men often shamelessly exhibit themselves in public in the company of their amasii. Achehnese are often jeered at in Penang when seen with young boys in the streets, and the innocent are sometimes confounded with the guilty, as for instance when they are accompanied on their travels by their sons or younger brothers.

2) To Acheh, however, alone belongs the unenviable distinction of interpreting the European maxim of practical morality as to the "sowing of wild oats" in this sense, that a certain amount of unnatural vice forms a necessary stage in the development of every young man. A highly civilized Achehnese, whose moral standard was much superior to that of the great majority, told me in plain terms that his countrymen held this view.

love, and their consorts or the families of the latter often place obstacles in the way of their relation by marriage taking a second wife even where the distance separating the homes of the husband and wife is so great that they can seldom enjoy the pleasure of each other's company. The reason for the opposition of the wife's relations to a second marriage is that they fear it may prejudice the interests of the children of their kinswoman.

Thus it is that these great chiefs very often choose an unlawful concubinage, the subjects of which are furnished by poverty or avarice, rather than a lawful marriage.

One result of the early marriages is that almost every woman is still virgin when she weds; and if the men of Acheh are to be believed — and indeed they are not prone to exaggeration in their wives' favour — most Achehnese women are remarkably faithful to their husbands.

In spite of the loose morals of many of the younger men, the fixity, one might almost say the immovability, of the seat of the family and the restriction of polygamy to much narrower limits than are allowed by religious law, favours the practice of domestic virtues. Anyone whose acquaintance with the Achehnese was limited to some few of the more respectable households would form a too favourable impression of their standard of morality, while on the other hand anyone whose experience was limited to the life in the meunasah or in the colonies of men in the dependencies would arrive at the very opposite conclusion.

§ 5. Laws relating to Trade and Business.

From far beyond the memory of man, trade and business of all kinds in Mohammedan countries have practically been entirely withdrawn from the control of religious law. A close study of the rules prescribed by the law for the making of contracts shows what an impossible position would be created by their strict observance. Even in a purely Mohammedan society with a civilisation in any degree advanced such a state of things would be inpracticable; much more so where the situation is controlled by influence of those who do not profess the creed of Islam.

Impracticability of the Mohammedan law in regard to trade and business.

Al-Ghazālī, the great Mohammedan teacher, whose many-sided activity during the 11th century of our era exercised so important an influence on the subsequent development of Islam, and who could certainly never be accused of any leaning towards the infidels, bears witness that even in his day a Moslim who sought to make a contract of purchase or sale in the open market according to the rules of the *fiqh* or religious law would have met with nothing but mockery and derision. It may be easily imagined that the seven or eight centuries which have since elapsed have effected no improvement, from a religious point of view, in this respect. Contracts of purchase and sale, of loan and mortgage, partnerships etc, have in all Mohammedan countries been controlled by national custom, which gradually alters to suit changing needs. Where the form and contents of such contracts exhibit traces of agreement with those sanctioned by the theoretical law, this is simply to be attributed to the natural homogeneity of the trade and intercourse of mankind all the world over. Practice can here be said to borrow but seldom from theory; where it does so it is only in connection with the ideas of "offer and acceptance" [1]) and other such verbal quibbles.

In Acheh no less than in other Moslim countries, as we have already seen (see in particular Vol. I, pp. 285 et seq.), all that relates to property, its acquisition, transfer and confiscation, is controlled by the *adat*, while the *hukōm* only occasionally plays an ornamental part. Even in the latter case, as for instance in regard to the sale of land or cattle, the *adat* also contributes its share of such ornamental accessories.

Usury and chance.

The cramping prohibition of the Mohammedan law against all that savours of usury is not only evaded in Acheh by so-called "lawful" means, but also frequently transgressed openly without any such subterfuge. The absence in Acheh of contracts of insurance and the like is not attributable to the strictness of the law in condemning all transactions that are ruled by chance, but is rather due to the simplicity of Achehnese society, which has not yet begun to feel the want of such things; were it otherwise the gambling spirit that pervades the country makes it quite certain that there would be no hesitation about adopting them.

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1) The Arabic terminology for these ideas is much used in Java, although the contracts are not concluded in accordance with the religious law. These expressions (*ijāb* and *qabūl*) are little used in Acheh, and that only in connection with the marriage contract.

Two obligations only are entered into in accordance with the provisions of the sacred law. The first is the making of *waqf* [1]), i. e. alienation or bequest in mortmain, which is a purely religious institution. There are indeed some makings of *waqf* which merely serve to retain the property in the family and keep it from being sliced up, or to evade certain rules of the law in regard to inheritance; but as a general rule they are acts of devotion, and the sole object of the maker of the waqf is to gain for himself a heavenly recompense. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that in these cases the *hukōm* is followed as closely as the religious learning of those concerned permits. Waqf and gift.

The same may be said of certain gifts (*hibat*) especially those made for the benefit of religious teachers. Out of a real or pretended punctiliousness the recipients of these favours demand that the offer and acceptance shall be in the form appointed by God's law, and sometimes, though by no means always, they enquire as to the source of the gift. Properly speaking the lawful origin of the subject of every contract should be established according to divine law, otherwise even a contract concluded *in optima forma* is not sanctioned by the law. Looked at from the point of view of Mohammedan law almost every kind of ownership is at the present time capable of being proved illegal; hence the application of the Moslim law of contract to this one point would be impossible in practice, and any serious attempt to enforce it would bring all business to a standstill.

§ 6. Government and the Administration of Justice.

The notions prevailing in Europe as regards the teaching of Islam on the subject of government and the administration of justice are entirely false. The popular ideas in this respect err in the very opposite direction from the views generally formed as to the religious attitude of any given Mohammedan people. The dilettante student usually forms his judgment of the latter subject from what he knows of the Islam of books, and draws negative conclusions in regard to the part played by the Mohammedan religion in the lives of those who profess that faith.

1) See Vol. I, p. 287.

As to government and the administration of justice he derives his knowledge from descriptions of the conditions that actually exist, and jumps to the conclusion that these conditions are based on the teaching of Islam; he thus lays the blame on that teaching for upholding an order of things which it really most emphatically condemns.

The Moslim constitution of theory.

It is difficult to conceive a more constitutional monarchy or rather republic than the theoretical commonwealth of the Moslim law-books. This ideal state is controlled by a single head (the *imām*), who must belong to the noblest branch (*Quraish*) of the noblest race of mankind (the Arabs). This ruler must fulfil various stringent requirements as regards his person, intellect and religious devotion, but his authority is limited by the law of God which regulates all the rights and obligations of mankind even to the very smallest particulars.

The *imām* derives his authority entirely from the choice of the community, represented in this regard by a great electoral college composed of "those to whom power is given to bind and to loose". The members of this select body are such as are marked out for the task by public opinion and their own high repute; they must have the highest intellectual and moral qualifications. The *imām* has of course always the privilege of seeking the advice of this body; indeed the law requires him to do so. They also enjoy, as is shown by the manner in which they are chosen, the confidence of the entire community. Whenever the post of imām falls vacant, they must be on the spot (in the capital of the country) to choose his successor. It is superfluous either to limit their number or to expressly elect them to their office.

The imām may also nominate his own successor, but such a choice is not valid unless ratified by "those to whom power is given to bind and to loose".

For the administration of the provinces the imām appoints governors who act as his deputies. Like him, they are controlled in every administrative act they do, and in every rule they make by the religious law; but in addition to this they are bound to lay down their office at the command of their chief.

It may be said that the highest legislative, executive and judicial authority rests with the imām, supported by the select body above referred to. But his legislative work is necessarily insignificant, being confined to the application not merely of principles which have been firmly established for centuries, but of laws that are open to no reform,

as for example those which determine for all time both the dues to be demanded and the manner in which the money raised by taxation is to be applied.

For the exercise of executive authority he can appoint as many office-holders as the circumstances require, not only for the government of any given portion of the country, but also for sundry special tasks and duties.

Administration of justice.

For the administration of justice he nominates qādhīs, of whom in their turn high qualifications both of knowledge and character are required. They are bound by the terms of their appointment to render obedience to the sacred law alone, and are thus entirely independent of the administrative officers, but are regarded as *ipso facto* divested of their office whenever they commit a serious fault in the discharge of their public duties or in private life. In such a case, even though the central authority has not yet cancelled his appointment, all sentences and official acts of the offending judge are null and void according to the holy law.

It is needless to quote more examples; further examination would but confirm the impression that in the Moslim commonwealth the divine law gives no opportunity either for despotism, caprice or injustice.

Contrast between doctrine and actual practice.

Even though this may be new to some of our readers, they are already well acquainted with the fact that the actual practice for centuries past in all parts of the Mohammedan world presents the most striking contrast with the teaching of Islam, some of the main principles of which we have sketched above.

As we have so often pointed out, even the religious teachers are unable to contemplate a revival of the letter of the law without the help of miracles. History as narrated by "the faithful" teaches us that the ideal state lasted for thirty years after Mohammad's death, but that ever since that time the whole Moslim community has moved upon a downward slope of hopeless retrogression. Shortly after this secularization of the community had taken place, the devout began to attribute to the Prophet the prediction that his righteous successors would hold sway for no more than thirty years after his death; that then despotic rulers would come to power, and that unrighteousness and tyranny would continually increase till near the end of the world, when there would appear a ruler inspired of God (the *mahdi*) who

should fill the whole earth with righteousness, even as it is now filled with unrighteousness.

In this prophecy Islam expresses its condemnation of its own political development; the expectation to which its final words give voice may of course be practically overlooked except in so far as it has formed, and still continues to form, a welcome starting point for the numerous movements and insurrections undertaken in the name of so-called mahdīs, which recur continually throughout Mohammedan history [1]).

Secularization of the community.

The community of Islam soon became a sovereign power under the hereditary government of a single family. The dynasty of the Omayyads and that of their successors the Abbasides substituted its own will and interests for the revealed law. The enemies of these dynasties resisted them by force of arms, on which too their own authority was based; and so new dynasties arose. Some of these claimed for themselves the title of the true successors (*chalīfahs*) of the Prophet; others threw aside even this empty fiction and called themselves kings or princes.

The governors of provinces followed the example of their rulers; wherever it was possible they formed small dynasties of their own or at the least employed their official position as a means to their own aggrandisement and enrichment. Such regents could not endure the presence of independent judges and least of all of judges who were bound to administer a law which branded their entire administration as godless. Thus they endeavoured more and more to make the *qādhīs* their tools, appointing to that office persons who were ready so far as possible to interpret the law according to the wishes of their masters, and who surrendered to the latter without a murmur the administration of justice in the numerous cases where the law brooked no modification. Thus the office of qādhī fell into discredit, and upright champions of the law deemed it a degradation to hold it.

So in a short time the qualifications which the law demanded of the head of Islām and of his judges and other officials, the prescribed manner of their election or nomination, and the line of conduct so strictly laid down for them, were almost entirely lost sight of in practice.

Attitude of the devout towards this secularization.

This secularization of the Mohammedan community could not of course come to pass without strong protests on the part of the devout

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1) This question is dealt with more fully in my article "Der Mahdī" in the *Revue Coloniale Internationale*, 1886, Vol. I, pp. 25—59.

and of those who expounded and upheld the law. The latter could also both as the champions of religion and as opponents of the existing methods of government, which were naturally oppressive to the general body of the people, reckon on considerable support from the malcontents. Thus we find in the early centuries of Islam constant rebellions against the established power, fostered or at least favoured by these religious teachers; and though the leaders of such movements were often influenced by motives quite other than religious, they were nevertheless always careful to give a religious flavour to their programme.

So long as this conflict had for its object the paramount power, the party of religious opposition showed itself no match for the ruling element either in material resources or diplomatic skill. The leaders of these nominally religious movements began to display far too much personal ambition and to indulge in mutual animosities; so presently there arose among the theologians and religious teachers a moderate party, one in fact of compromise. This party made large concessions in every department, but in none more than in the administration of government; nor is this surprising, for they had learnt by bitter experience to recognize the danger of practical or theoretical opposition to the powers of this world.

Such a party was destined in the nature of things to take the foremost place; and it is to their influence that we must attribute the final elaboration of the chapters of the Moslim law books which deal with government and the administration of justice. They set out in full all the requirements of the strict religious party which we have briefly sketched above, so that Allah's condemnation of existing political institutions, administration of justice and so on, should for ever re-echo with unabated force through the Mohammedan schools of religious instruction — this the authorities were bound to concede on pain of being decried as apostates. But in place of seeking to draw the conclusion that rebellion was justifiable, the expounders of the law, whose dictum is still recognized as authoritative, preached absolute submission to all the injustice which subjects may endure at the hands of their rulers. As long as the latter do not forsake the creed of Islam and refrain from impelling their subjects to do godless deeds, so long must obedience be rendered to their commands. Compromise.

This most accommodating addition to the teaching of Islam was based by its supporters on a twofold argument. The first was the constant

retrogression of religion and morals in the Mohammedan community, foretold by the Prophet and obvious to every observer; it is God's will, they said, that such wickedness among the people should be punished in this life by the tyranny of their rulers; every community gets such masters as it deserves.

Besides this, all other considerations must so far as possible yield to the prime necessity for the maintenance of order in the state. The grievances of many must not lead to the destruction of all, which (as the religious party knew by sad experience) is the inevitable consequence of political disturbances.

Thus a *modus vivendi* was found; the doctors of the law maintained all their privileges in the domain of theory, but the ruling authorities could afford to make their minds easy as to this, since the religious teaching compelled their subjects to endure in silence all their unlawful and capricious acts.

Yet even under this method something was still lacking to the completeness of the truce between the secular and the spiritual powers. Although obedience to the ruler was admitted to be the duty of all, yet the authority of all Moslim princes from the greatest to the smallest, still remained an evil, to be only endured in order to escape a greater evil, and was justified by necessity alone and not by religious law. Though this conclusion was unavoidable and is in fact supported by the strictest teachers even at the present day, though not openly expressed in public, we may imagine that the most powerful rulers of Islam look for some other recompense than the mere tolerance implied in this doctrine, for their services in adding to the external splendour of their religion.

The authority of the sword justified.

Thus the most complacent expounders of the law went so far as to declare the supreme power in the Moslim world, which had been won *by force of arms*, to be lawful, and to acknowledge the right of him who by the power of the sword had become the mightiest among all Mohammedans to bear the title of *chalifah* i. e. successor of the Apostle of God.

The Turkish caliphate.

It would have been difficult to have proved in any other way the legality of the authority of the Omayyad and Abbaside caliphs. Still less justification is to be found for the sway of the Osmanli, who since the 15th century have by conquests in Christian contries, formed a new and brilliant political centre of Islam. Their imam, however, lacked

not merely the qualifications demanded by the law, but also the external one of Quraishite or Arabic descent.

Other Mohammedan countries.

A domination such as that of the Turkish sultans was thus legalized in the manner stated, so long as the power of their sword endured and so far as this power extended. The difficulty still remained in respect of the numerous Mohammedan sovereigns who were in fact entirely independent of this domination. The exponents of the law who actually lived under the shadow of the Turkish government explained this away in a very simple fashion. These outlying states, they said, might be regarded as destined to be eventually absorbed in the central power, or as already forming a part of the latter, though for the time being left to govern themselves through the pressure of circumstances.

But although Turkish statesmen and religious teachers emulously described their monarch as the caliph, the king of kings, the lord of all Mohammedans, there still remained the sultans of Morocco in the far West, and the rulers of Central Asia and of India, who in their own dominions laid claim to similar titles, and who had never experienced the power of the Turkish sword either in their own subjugation or as a means of defence against their enemies; at the same time the law of Islam gives no scope whatever for the existence of more than a single imām or chaliph.

What was inconceivable in theory however was found possible in practice. Each of these greater sovereigns had at his disposal religious teachers who upheld their masters' claims to the highest rank in the Mohammedan community, and passed over those of all other rulers in silent contempt. The great distances and the absence of active relations between the countries prevented this plurality of chaliphs from assuming the character of rivalry, so that conflicts seldom resulted from this cause. The religious teachers and others who migrated from one country to another joined in doing honour to the ruler of the land of their adoption.

Smaller principalities.

It is the natural inclination of flattery, adulation and high-sounding titles to spread downwards; throughout the whole world the title of the masters are eventually assigned to the servants. It has thus come to pass that the highest rank in Islam, originally intended to be given to but one person alone, is nominally conferred on numbers of petty rulers whose claims thereto must sound ludicrous beyond the narrow limits of their little principalities. We know that many Malay and

Javanese princes, even those whose subjects number but some few thousand souls, have assumed and still continue to assume in their seals or in official letters the name of chalīfah, although many of them are, at present at least, ignorant of the real meaning of the title. The exponents of the law in such countries though they may through fear or complacency acquiesce in the prevailing custom, cannot of course regard such misuse of this and similar titles as anything else than absurd and unlawful exaggeration.

Nevertheless the law of Islam in its later development has turned its attention to these independent rulers of distant countries. Once admitted that a *de facto* sovereign who professes the Moslim faith should be obeyed for the sake of maintaining order in secular matters, it was found impossible to exclude such petty princes from the universal harmony of Islam. These numerous rulers of outlying principalities could not be regarded as delegates of a central authority which never interfered in their affairs and in many cases was unable so to interfere, were it only by reason of the increasing power of the non-Mohammedan countries. To constitute such a delegation, express or even verbal authorization or appointment would have been deemed necessary. Accordingly they were called "potentates" [1]) and it was taught that they must be obeyed so far as the limits of their power extended, and within their own boundaries they were assigned the same jurisdiction as that held by the supreme lord within the dominions actually subject to him.

Concessions of the doctrinal faculty in the sphere of statecraft.

To summarize: in purely religious matters the law abated no tittle of its stringent requirements. Of what in our estimation lies outside the sphere of religion the law held domestic life most closely under its control. In every other department it has maintained its impracticable theories, although it admits that a Mahdī is required in order to carry them out in all their fulness. Only in statecraft and all that appertains thereto has it supported without reservation the *de facto* position; and this it has done by annexing to its own detailed and consistent doctrine a codicil which deprives that doctrine of all effect. This has been brought about by the power of the sword; even in its own domain the teaching of Islam bows before superior force only.

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1) ذو شوكة, "possessor of *shaukah*", is the technical term; *shaukah* which properly means "thorn", is also used to signify the keenness and strength of weapons and, in a metaphorical sense, *de facto* power, no matter whence or how it may arise.

Popular ideas as to the qualifications of a sovereign.

The lay folk, as we have seen above, draw a distinction between chief and secondary religious obligations different to that laid down by the official teaching. The "pillars" recognized by the people at large differ somewhat from the five authorized ones, and this popular conception penetrates even into the circles of the teachers, who learned though they be, still belong to the people. The same remarks apply to the popular estimate of the qualifications required for the holding of a princely office.

The law requires of every ruler a large number of physical, religious and intellectual qualities, and is equally scandalized by the absence of any one of these, but commands acquiescence when the ruler possesses actual power. It is otherwise with the people; ancient custom causes them to overlook the absence of various qualifications, though there are others on which they generally insist [1]).

The first of these requirements outweighs all the rest; the ruler must profess the Mohammedan faith. Obedience is rendered to an infidel sovereign, not because he possesses power, but only because resistance is impossible. It is only by being very long accustomed to 'kafir' rule that a Mohammedan people can be brought to regard such domination as a necessary element in the order of things.

The next qualification is male sex; with few exceptions the entire Mohammedan world regards the rule of a woman as one of the most terrible calamities that can be thought of. This view is consistent with custom and with the low standard of education of women in most Moslim lands. Even in the books of the law, where the government of irreligious, immoral, unjust or ignorant sovereigns is contemplated as quite a probable occurrence, the possibility of female rule is seldom alluded to without the addition of some such formula as that employed after mentioning the name of the Devil: "Allah be our refuge from all such things!"

The rule of a minor, even under the control of a guardian, is looked on as almost as scandalous as that of a woman.

Finally, though all defects of mind or spirit are made light of, much importance is attached in practice to the sovereign's being whole and sound of body; and the popular feeling of almost all Mohammedans

1) The popular mind never takes offence at the number of Moslim sovereigns, since the horizon of the common people, and especially their political horizon, is limited by the boundaries of their own country.

is averse to the accession of a ruler who is blind, deaf, mained or crippled. Even in ante-Mohammedan times disease and bodily defects were regarded in many countries as hindrances to the assumption of royal power.

The political development of Islam, to certain characteristics of which we have here called attention, has thus maintained in name and appearance the government of the Mohammedan community by a single head, whose rule controls in theory the entire daily life of his subjects. In reality however there are several claimants to this supremacy, and very many petty sovereigns who actually exercise it within certain limits. No one upholds the doctrine that the caliphs, their delegates or those independent rulers who take their place, are merely secular chiefs and have no concern with religious questions; nay, indeed, every question is in theory a religious one.

Actual separation of temporal and spiritual power.

None the less has the course of political events tended to bring about a cleavage between the secular and religious authorities. These two parties have always regarded one another with a jealous and suspicious eye, beneath a mask of outward courtesy and respect.

The point of transition between these two classes is composed partly of religiously disposed representatives of secular power, who are ready wherever possible to give the doctors of the law a voice in their councils, and partly of the worldly-minded pandits, who give all the prominence they can to doctrines which are likely to please those in authority; such are the officially appointed muftīs, whose duty it is to declare what the teaching of the law is on matters referred to them for their advice. References of this sort are made to them by their superiors; not from a mere academic interest in the question in hand or a desire to be instructed, but with a view to clearing difficulties out of the way. Such also are the qādhī's, who, even though the terms of their appointment charge them as of old with the entire administration of justice, subject therein to the sacred law and to that alone, must be content to confine their function in practice to ritual matters, domestic law and the law of inheritance, waqfs and the like. Nay, even in such matters as these a decision displeasing to the powers that be may cost the qādhī his appointment.

Those however who pursue the study of religion either from pious motives or for the sake of the reverence and more solid advantages which the lay folk bestow upon the exponents of the law, hold

themselves aloof as far as possible from all mundane authorities. [1]) Their books while upholding the obligation of obedience to tyrants who profess the Moslim faith, at the same time impress upon pandits and devout persons the advisability of having nothing to do with those in power, lest they thereby bring their sacred calling into peril. And just as the repute of a teacher suffers in countries such as India and Java through overmuch intercourse with infidel Europeans, so does the ʿālim lose caste though to a less degree, in a country under Mohammedan government by having more than is absolutely necessary to do with those in office.

Mutual distrust.

There is thus abundant reason for jealousy; nor is incentive to suspicion lacking between the two parties, the ruling and the theological. For the established government is never really acceptable to the religious teachers and when political disorder supervenes, the zealous upholders of religion see the last reason disappear which inclines them to avoid interference with a despotism so long as it maintains order; such submission being indeed only justified by the view that an unlawful but orderly government is preferable to complete misrule. Thus when there arise dynastic quarrels or revolts of the people against their masters, it is open to them in the very name of religion to take their stand on the one side or the other. As a rule they refrain from siding with the *de facto* power; and even the pretended mahdis often secure their adherence when the movement is successful at the start.

It is not surprising then, that in Turkey, for instance, the government has to be very careful in its dealings with the powerful party of the "*tolba*" (*ṭalabah* i. e. expounders of the law) [2]). The same attitude of mutual fear and mistrust is also to be met with in other Mohammedan countries, as in the case of the *priyayis* and *kyahi's* or *gurus* in Java and in Acheh the *uléëbalangs* and the *teungkus* or *ulamas*, the respective representatives of adat and of hukōm.

Moral value of the politico-religious party.

As to the serious upholders of the religious law, who perceive that they can play no part in affairs of state until the coming of the Mahdī, but who are anxious to adhere as closely as possible to the ideals of

1) In religious works we find the question discussed at some length as to how far it is permissible for a pandit or devout person to have commerce with those in authority except under absolute necessity.

2) We need only mention how all efforts to introduce a new system of legislation in Turkey was checked by the opposition of this party.

their sacred books, and to induce others to do the same, — for these we cannot but feel admiration and respect, in spite of all their narrow-mindedness. Where however the ulamas proceed to form themselves into a political party and to interfere in the affairs of state, they present to our view a most unpleasing spectacle. Judged by their own standard the only programme that they are able to adopt grows constantly less and less capable of realization in practice. Spurning all ethnological characteristics and the customary laws based thereon, and taking no account of historical development, they proceed to demand what is admittedly impossible, namely that mankind should conform to a law, most of whose first principles only held their own for some few decades in a small community of Arabs, and whose more detailed rules have had no development outside the walls of the schools. For things such as these the ulamas have set in motion the passions of the people and have not hesitated to cause blood to flow in streams, to win their way to the seat of temporal power, whereupon they have dropped so much of their original programme as circumstances appeared to require.

They thus form a power in politics which has to be reckoned with, but which bodes very little good to those who adhere to their cause.

Government and administration of justice in Acheh.

With the help of the above resumé and observations we may now proceed to apply the standard of Islam to government and administration of justice in Acheh.

The pure teaching of the law would find nothing to approve and little to tolerate in either, and would admit no excuse except the consideration that things are not much better in any other Mohammedan country.

We feel more interest in the judgment of the Mohammedan who though a pandit is still somewhat of a man of the world, and who draws fair comparisons and does not wantonly overlook the history of centuries of change.

Election of a sovereign.

Were such an one to attend the installation of a new sovereign in Acheh [1]), he would be pretty favourably impressed, since that ceremony is based on the supposition that the king is chosen by the three principal chiefs of the country and the foremost ulamas. He would take no offence at the theoretically reprehensible custom of confining the

1) See Vol. I, pp. 139, 140.

choice of a ruler as far as possible to the members of the reigning family, for this rule actually prevails in all Mohammedan countries. He would soon perceive, however, that as a matter of fact the selection of the sovereign is not based simply on the votes of the "electoral princes" and religious authorities present at the installation, but that several other non-official but influential persons have also a voice in the election, while the ulamas' share in the final result is perhaps the least of all. Yet even this would cause him little dismay, for the sultan of Acheh cannot in any case be regarded as more than a "potentate" (*ḍū shaukah*: see p. 328 above), and it is only natural that other *de facto* chiefs should take their share in elevating such a ruler to the throne.

The sultans are "potentates".

Whatever relations may in past ages have existed between Acheh and Turkey, it is impossible to regard the rajas of the former as in any sense delegates of the Turkish sultans. They do not commit the folly of even laying claim to the title of Caliph, although we find in their official roll of titles such absurd expressions as "Allah's shadow in the world". This installation may thus be speciously explained as the appointment of a Moslim "potentate", with certain attendant ceremonies which have no real significance, but which testify a reverence for religious law. To compare small things with great, we might apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the political system of Acheh what was said of the German Empire in the 16th century: *Die Fürsten seien die Erbherren, der Kaiser gewählt*, [1]) reading uléëbalangs for *Fürsten* and raja or sultan for *Kaiser*. In Acheh as in Germany, that hereditary right had sometimes to be maintained by force and in both cases there were others besides the hereditary electors who influenced the choice of the sovereign.

Absence of "de facto" power.

There is however one serious objection which our observer might raise against the Achehnese sultanate, viz., the absence of *de facto* power; for it must be remembered that rulers of the class to which these sovereigns belong derive their claims from such power alone. It would indeed be regarded as praiseworthy in a prince that he should regard himself as bound to consult his great nobles and religious teachers before embarking upon any momentous undertaking. But when we consider that the uléëbalangs themselves hold office by virtue of hereditary

1) See L. von Ranke's *Deutsche Geschichte*, Dritter Band, Sechste Aufl. Leipzig 1881, S. 226.

right and allow now interference in the affairs of their respective territories on the part of the king whom they have chosen; that the royal seal only confirms authority already established independently of royal influence; and, in fine, that it is only within the limits of the Dalam that the reigning house exercises any real power [1]), all this seems most inconsistent with the position of a monarch whose domination is supposed to coincide with the power of his sword. Should not the ulèëbalangs then be really regarded as the "potentates", each for his own territory, and the sultan only for that part of the country which is excluded from the three *sagòës*, and that only so far as his influence really extends? Is it not then a senseless mockery to offer up prayers for the Sultan every Friday in the mosques throughout the whole land?

Such questions involuntarily suggest themselves to every intelligent Mohammedan who is acquainted with the position of Acheh, even though he be quite ready to give and take as regards the strict theoretical doctrine.

The problem may be solved by reference to the traditional element in all political institutions, which still survives in spite of the fact that it has lost its original foundation. Two or three centuries ago, it may be said, the kings of Acheh recognized these hereditary chiefs because they *wished* to do so, because they *did not choose* to interfere with the affairs of the interior. They were, it is true, in later times compelled to accept the situation, but may not the same be said of the kings and the minor rulers in greater Moslim states? For centuries past Egypt has been practically independent of her Turkish suzerain, and for about a century this position has been crystallized by mutual agreement. Is this regarded as a reason why prayers should not be offered up in Egypt for the Sultan as supreme lord? On the contrary; the custom is still persisted in and is regarded as a survival of the former union which gave strength to Islam.

There may thus be a difference of opinion on this question but there is nothing like an exceptional divergence from what has been accepted in other Mohammedan countries. The Moslim must acknowledge the authority of every Achehnese chief within the sphere of his own authority, though the views adopted as to the position of the nominal suzerain may differ. For the rest, the more or less aristocratico-republican

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1) See Vol. I, p. 140 et seq.

spirit, which expresses itself in the political institutions of Acheh, has much more in common with the teaching of Islam than the despotism of many a Mohammedan potentate.

The fact that four female sovereigns in succession have occupied the throne of Acheh must create an unfavourable impression in the mind of every Mohammedan who reviews the past history of the country. Yet in that very instance of female rule we have a remarkable example of how quickly a favourable experience may induce devout champions of Islam to lay aside their aversion [1]) even to such an anomaly as this. Female rule.

During the reign of the first Sultana, Sapiatōdin Shah (1639 or 1641—75), who was famed for her piety, and whose name is still extolled in the royal edicts [2]), there came to Acheh the celebrated Malay teacher Abdurra'uf [3]), who since his death has been revered as a saint under the name of Teungku di Kuala. Far from exclaiming in the traditional manner "Heaven preserve us from such evils!" he settled in her capital, wrote a book [4]) at her request, and in the dedication praised her in the most extravagant terms, and prayed for the long endurance of her reign.

Yet he was a pandit and a mystic, who in the course of his long residence and study in Arabia must have long lost that feeling of reverence for peculiar native institutions which custom impresses on his fellow-countrymen.

When Inayat Shah, the third of the Achehnese sultanas, ascended the throne, an embassy from the Grand Sherif of Mecca [5]) came to Acheh after an unsuccessful mission to India, and was received with every token of honour and sent home loaded with rich gifts. The Meccan chronicler who describes the adventures of the embassy takes no exception to the domination of this generous woman, but praises her liberality, which afforded so favourable a contrast to the attitude adopted by her male fellow-sovereign, the Great Mogul.

The most recent history of Acheh has taught us that the objections to government by minors are no more seriously felt than those against Rule of children.

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1) See p. 329 above. 2) See Vol. I, p. 192.

3) See p. 14 sqq. above.

4) See p. 17 above, footnote 6.

5) See my article *Een Mekkaansch gezantschap naar Atjeh* in the Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned.-Indië for the year 1888, pp. 545 sqq.

the rule of women. Mohammad Dawōt, the present claimant [1]) to the title of sultan, was elected to this dignity at the tender age of seven, although there were other candidates of the royal family of full age available.

The supporters of these other candidates of course made the most of the minority objection, but it was easily got over, and even ulamas of high repute such as Marahaban, who afterwards joined the Dutch, testified that the sultanate of a child under guardianship was not inconsistent with the religious law.

Such a choice at so critical a time bears witness to the absolute insignificance to which the Achehnese sultanate had sunk [2]), but at the same time proves that the qualification of age was no more regarded than that of sex in the selection of a successor to the throne.

As regards the remaining portion of the political system of Acheh, the description contained in the first volume of this work furnishes abundant material for our criticism, whether from the point of view of the Mohammedan religion or otherwise. The entire constitution of Moslim states is based on principles which clash with those of Islam; the only exception made and that with much reservation, is with reference to a small part of the judicial system.

Character of the political institutions of Acheh.

We do not propose here to enter into details; the character of the political institution of Acheh differs from that of those in other Mohammedan countries no more than the peculiarities of race and country would lead us to expect. To Islam it matters not whether the government is administered according to Turkish laws, supplemented and often modified at the caprice of Turkish governors, or according to the *adat pòteu meureuhōm* [3]) ("the customary law of departed kings"), subject to the avaricious fancies of ulèëbalangs and imeums. Nor does it matter much whether the *qādhīs* who are the recognized administrators of the religious law are properly qualified or not; for in Acheh as in other Mohammedan countries they are in point of fact subservient to the ruling chiefs, and here as elsewhere the one department in which they are allowed to act independently is that of domestic law and religious matters in the narrower sense.

The holy war.

The Achehnese lay the utmost stress on one duty which is imposed

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1) In January 1903 he renounced this claim and submitted unconditionally to the Dutch Government.

2) See Vol. I, p. 147.

3) See Vol. I, p. 6.

by Mohammedan law on the head of the community or his representatives, or in case of need upon each individual, namely the carrying on of the holy war. This has already been fully discussed and explained in Vol. I, pp. 166 et seq.

The conviction is universal amongst the people of this country that this obligation is among the most important that their religion imposes, and that its fulfilment brings great gain while its neglect is attended by misfortune of all kinds. Nor are they lacking in zeal in the sacred cause, as we know but too well. Whenever their energy abates it is roused afresh by the more ambitious among the ulamas, whose power stands or falls with the holy war.

The passion for religious war which is so deeply rooted in the teaching of Islam is more marked among the Achehnese than with the majority of their fellow-believers in other lands, who have come by experience to regard it as a relic of a bygone age. The ideas which prevail universally in Acheh as to the relation between Moslims and those of other faith are limited in more civilized countries to the lower classes and to some few fanatics among the better educated. This chapter of their creed, from which the Achehnese have eliminated all milder elements that favour the infidel, owes its popularity with them to its harmonizing with their warlike and predatory pre-Mohammedan customs, just as prevalence of the worship of dead and living saints in this and other Moslim countries is due to its being grafted on pagan superstition.

The Mohammedanism of the Achehnese in its general aspect.

Judged by the impracticable requirements of a Mohammedan system which grew antiquated only a few years after its birth, the Achehnese are neither better nor worse Moslims than others who bear the name; judged by their religious zeal they compare favourably even with those whose conversion took place centuries before their own. The national disposition which is what governs any such comparison, is above all doubt; where it comes to the fulfilment of obligations that are at variance with their nature, the Achehnese suffer from the weakness of the flesh just as much as other peoples.

Of the characteristics nurtured or favoured by Islam, there are some which we Europeans would look upon as virtues, others which we should regard as the opposite. The latter have attained a far greater influence over the Achehnese than the former; but in this particular they do not stand alone among Mohammedans, nor does Islam stand

alone among religions. In the sphere of politics Islam still continues to play in Acheh that leading part, which has long been made impossible for her in the greater Moslim states.

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§ 7. The Future of Islam.

The immediate future of Islam.

It is always more or less rash in dealing with historical questions to commit oneself to predictions regarding the future, so frequently do events belie all that our experience of the past seemed to teach. Yet we venture to express a firm conviction as regards the position which Islam will in all probability occupy in days to come.

Free development of Islam.

Islam has for centuries enjoyed the opportunity of free development, free that is to say, from any outward pressure. She could not of course fix the circumstances under which its selfdevelopment should take place; these were to a considerable extent determined by the nature of the peoples who came beneath her domination. With the outside world she had little concern; neither political relations nor commercial intercourse with non-Mohammedan nations constrained her to adopt other methods than those she had chosen for herself.

It may thus be said that the growth of Islam has run its natural course; the great changes that she underwent between her birth and her coming of age (some 5 centuries later) are no proof to the contrary. The development of every living thing depends largely on the environment in which it lives. Man exhibits in his maturity physical and moral characteristics different from those he displayed in his youth. Which of the germs of childhood shall ripen, which will become distorted or perish, greatly depends on the accidents of climate, food, education and intercourse with others. So is it also with a religion.

In spite of all her freedom and independence Islam has never even at the zenith of her power and glory succeeded in subjecting to the control of her law the government, the administration of justice, and the trade relations of her adherents or in causing this law to keep pace in its development with the requirements of every day life. As time went on it became more and more clear that the teaching of Islam could in fact only hold its own in the sphere of dogma and ritual, of domestic life and of the relations of the followers of the Prophet with

those of other creeds; all other matters were emancipated from its control without the slightest influence or pressure from without.

The discipline of Islam

This appears all the more striking when we consider that Islam, far from patiently advancing the principles of her doctrine by preaching and then awaiting the result, is entirely based on compulsion by secular force. According to Mohammedan law the principle underlying the conversion of unbelievers as well as the education of the converts is that fear is the best guide to wisdom. The faithful must see to it, that all externals are in harmony with the law; whether or no the inward convictions of the proselytes are equally orthodox depends on the grace of God.

He who transgresses a commandment of Allah or fails to observe any one of the precepts of the sacred law (as by neglecting the ritual prayers or obligatory fasts), must be reduced to obedience by the Moslim authority by force and bodily punishment. One might imagine that such an iron discipline could not fail to attain its main object. But it has proved insupportable for human nature, and has been used as a theory of the schools only, its real influence in practice being only temporary and partial.

None the less it is to this discipline, however limited its application in comparison with the requirements of the law, that Islam owes a large measure of its success. All uniformity of public and domestic life that prevails among Mohammedans of different races, though it now rests on custom which has become a second nature and which borrows its tenacity from religious prejudice, still owes its origin to external force and not unfrequently requires such force to maintain its equilibrium. Were it not for this pressure the indifference and thoughtlessness of the upper classes, the ignorance and superstition of the mass of the people, would have had very different results from what they have actually had. The foreign missionaries of Islam were her fighting men, and her internal propaganda was the work of her police.

Suspension of this discipline.

In later times and particularly during the past century circumstances have altered to the great prejudice of Mohammedanism. Its freedom of movement has been shackled by the power of Europe, which now controls the civilized world; this freedom it can never recover for various reasons, and especially because the subjugation of those of other creeds is one of its main conditions. The chief question is now no longer how much of the law of Allah is applicable to the adherents

of Islam, but how much of it Europe deems compatible with the repuirements of modern life.

Religious liberty.

The religious liberty which Islam is bound to accord to those who profess other creeds itself leads to the removal of that compulsion which controlled the internal life of the community, though not at all times and places with equal force. In Turkey and Egypt, for example, Mohammedans can now exhibit an indifference to the practice of the law of Allah, which would have been inconceivable a century ago.

Meanwhile European ideas and sympathies have gained as yet but little ground in Moslim countries. But the same cannot be said of European *customs*, and it is the modification of custom that paves the way to religious reform. He was a wise man who placed in the mouth of the Prophet the declaration that he who imitates another nation or another community in externals is fairly on the way to join their ranks for good and all. With good reason does the Mohammedan law ever impress upon the faithful the necessity of distinguishing themselves from the unbelievers in dress and in their manner of eating and drinking, standing and sitting. Many of these distinctive rules were till a short time since treated as a matter of ordinary discipline in Moslim countries.

In their political and to a great extent in their social life, Mohammedans have been compelled to sail with the stream of the time or take the risk of being left halting behind; the course of that stream, however is shaped by other hands than theirs.

It need not, however, be imagined, that as a result of this change, the Mohammadan will be compelled to embrace another creed, or to sacrifice that innate allegiance to the name of Islam which he esteems his highest honour. There is no ground even for the supposition that he will gradually reform his religion. The necessity for such a reform is not felt, and even did such a tendency exist in some few cases its fulfilment would be thwarted by insurmountable obstacles.

Retrogression of the practice of Islam.

But this result grows clearer day by day; the demands which the Islam of real life makes upon its adherents become steadily smaller, for the gigantic increase of the intercourse of nations is annihilating the discipline of Mohammedanism and impelling all who profess that creed to adopt cosmopolitan customs.

In the end the sole and only shibboleth by which the Moslim can recognize his fellow, will be a certain residuum of religious doctrine, passed on by education and instruction. The observance of ritual

ablutions is already hindered by a more cosmopolitan fashion in dress. The performance of the five daily obligatory prayers becomes more and more difficult, as time goes on, for those who bear a share in public life, since the universally accepted divisions of time are quite independent of the ritual requirements of any creed. It is gradually becoming impossible for those who adhere to the letter of the law in the matter of food to live in the neighbourhood of any trading centre; the rich take the lead in the transgression of such rules, and the poor are often compelled by necessity to follow their example. Those who set the tone have ceased even to allude to the holy war and to the prescribed method of dealing with people of other creeds, for they are ashamed of the arrogance of doctrines so hostile to modern development and the narrow-mindedness of a theory so diametrically opposed to the prevailing ideas. Where such topics are broached, the civilised Mohammedan prefers to call attention to the spirit of toleration actually existing in all Moslim countries rather than to allude to the contents of books which are studied less and less each day.

Doubts of the truth and eternal validity of what these books contain prevails only in small and completely Europeanized circles; while endeavours to explain away their teaching so as to suit the taste of the rising generation are as ineffectual as they are rare. The majority of all ranks of society believe honestly in the sacred writ, which is their own possession and therefore in their opinion better than any other, but carefully abstain from making themselves acquainted with its contents, not to speak of shaping their daily life in accordance with its precepts. It is admitted that there must be people in the world who take upon themselves the task of studying the holy books, and to some degree observing their commands, and such learned men (*ulamas*) are treated with all honour so long as they claim no authority outside their own domain and do not adopt too exclusive a demeanour.

Such tends to become the attitude of Islam towards her adherents. In some places this stage has almost been reached, while in others it is only beginning to develop. Any other solution of the problem is almost inconceivable without a miracle or a series of revolutions which would baffle all speculation.

Islam and Judaism.

In reviewing the present phase of Mohammedanism we are involuntarily reminded of the later history of Judaism. There are of course many contrasts between the two. The national religion of the Jews had

indeed universalistic expectations, but has never approached anything like so close to their realization as Islam to that of her dream of world wide conquest. The severe oppression experienced by Judaism has been spared to Islam; indeed the latter long figured as the oppressor of both Jews and Christians. It was their being scattered among the nations of the earth that compelled the Jews to frame their life according to laws other than their own, whilst the Mohammedans were impelled to the same course owing to the enormous extent of the habitable world that they occupied by conquest.

These are not the only points of contrast; but the points of similarity are equally striking. The very lore of both religions is a strict and exalted monotheism, maintained however in greater purity by the Jews than by Islam, for the latter had to deal with the requirements of a widespread community of many nations, the former with that of a single nation only. The relation of the one God to his servants is conceived of by both creeds as that of a law-giver, who finds no parts of man's life too insignificant to be controlled by laws which touch every particular and are for all time.

Thus in both cases the study and interpretation of the law occupied a foremost place, side by side with the upholding of orthodox doctrine. With both creeds the theoretical side of the religion necessarily degenerated into hair-splitting casuistry, which tended more and more to confine itself within the mouldy walls of the schools, while it concerned itself less and less with the requirements of actual life, and was in its turn thrust aside by the commonsense of men of the world.

The adherents of both creeds were compelled to admit the unsuitability for this wicked world of almost the whole of their code of religious law, which they continued to revere as absolutely perfect, and to entrust its eventual fulfilment in the distant future to a Messiah or a Mahdī. In the meantime the study of the law was left in the hands of a particular class — the rabbis or the ulamas. Beyond some few outward ceremonies, most, even of the best educated, contented themselves with maintaining the principal dogmas of their creed as their shibboleth, while the common herd added to this a mass of traditional superstition. In either case the law in all its purity could only have been successfully applied to a small community which was able to constitute itself into a sect apart from all worldly influences.

The comparison is all the more instructive in that the process of

reconciliation of the sacred tradition with the requirements of modern life is so much further advanced in the case of Judaism than in that of Islam, while the similarity of the circumstances in either instance lead us to expect like results in the case of the latter as are already to be seen in that of the former.

Significance of the Qurān for the Mohammedans of ancient and of modern times.

There is also much to be learnt, within the limits of Islam itself, from the fate of the Qurān.

The law-giving revelations which form a portion of the sacred book, supplied the community of Moḥammad, at the time when they were made, with the solution of many burning questions. The narrative parts supplied it with its sacred history; while those devoted to exhortation and reflection furnished its theology and code of morals. The form in which all this was conveyed diverged somewhat from the language of every day life — for how should God avail himself of the language of mortals? — but care was taken to make the main issues comprehensible to all that heard them.

What a change has taken place during the thirteen centuries that divide us from the origin of Islam! Even by a Mohammedan whose mother tongue is a dialect of Arabic, the contents of the Qurān cannot be understood except as a result of prolonged study, while for others it remains a closed book, unless they are also able to master a language far from easy of acquirement. But few submit to this ordeal, not only on account of its difficulty, but also because the path to a knowledge of the law no longer lies through the Qurān. Such knowledge must be derived from books which purport indeed to be based upon the Qurān, but most of whose contents may be in vain sought for there, while the rest can only be indentified with the teaching of the sacred book when the student has learned to pick his way through the devious by-paths of a mass of commentaries, most of which have no historical foundation.

This book, once a world-reforming power, now serves but to be chanted by teachers and laymen according to definite rules. The rules are difficult, but not a thought is ever given to the meaning of the words; the Qurān is chanted simply because its recital is believed to be a meritorious work. This disregard of the sense of the words rises to such a pitch that even pandits who have studied the commentaries — not to speak of laymen — fail to notice when the verses they recite condemn as sinful things which both they and the listeners do every day, nay even during the very ceremony itself.

The inspired code of the universal conquerors of 13 centuries ago has grown to be no more than a mere text-book of sacred music, in the practice of which a valuable portion of the youth of well-educated Moslims is wasted, and which is recited on a number of ceremonial occasions in the life of every Mohammedan.

The other laws and institutions of Islam will share the same fate; their *study* will gradually take the place of their *practice*, in spite of the sacred tradition which declares that learning without works is of no avail. But the rising generation will not weary their minds with such study, as they now tire their lungs with intoning passages from the holy writ; that task will appertain to a special class, and just as with the Jews in Europe at the present time, so with the Mohammedans of the future the learned student who masters the law in every detail will be a rare phenomenon, who will excite some admiration among his fellow-believers but will seldom induce them to follow his example.

Such is our prediction as to the future of Islam, which we utter with all the more confidence as symptoms of its realization have already appeared.

Opposition to these modern developments.

Progress along this path is not however unfraught with opposition. In those communities which lie furthest outside the influence of modern civilization, the resistance to each concession increases in direct proportion to the number of innovations. The opponents of change adhere more and more earnestly to their old traditions and express their conviction that the real cause of the decay of Mohammedan institutions is to be sought in the disregard of the sacred law.

Even where modern ideas prevail this opposition makes itself felt, though within narrower limits. The sympathies of the conservative party are much more with the Mahdists of the Sudan and the Achehnese in their battle against destiny than with the emancipated officials of the new regime, clad in fez and pantaloons. Among such enthusiasts we find devotion and renunciation of the world accompanying their horror of innovation, but we also meet with fanaticism and hatred. This spirit gives birth to constant religious revivals, which occasionally culminate in scenes of bloodshed. The party of conservatism easily wins the support of the common people and constitutes a turbulent force in Islam, hostile to all progress.

Among the spiritual guides of the community we find represented almost every shade of antagonism and conciliation. Side by side with

those who see in the modern Mohammedan life a disguised form of unbelief which to their great regret they are unable to exterminate, there are others who accept this corrupt state of things with calm acquiescence as the fulfilment of Mohammad's prophecy, and others again who strive to save all that may yet be saved by methods of conciliation and peace.

An example of such opposition.

Among the characteristic signs of the times which testify to the phase of development which we have just described, may be instanced the publication at Beyrout of a book called *ar-Risālah al-Ḥamīdiyyah* written some sixteen years ago (1306 H.) and dedicated to the Sultan of Turkey. The author, a Syrian teacher, Ḥusain al-Jisr of Tarabulus (Syrian Tripoli) sets before himself, as appears from the title-page of his work, the task of showing "*The truth of the religion of Islam, and the rectitude of the law of Moḥammad*". He tells us that his immediate incentive to the publication of this work was his perusal of certain treatises by English authors, who had to some extent undertaken the defence of Islam against those who misunderstood and despised that creed. He adds some words of admonition to young Mohammedans who subject their unripe understanding to a course of European philosophy, warning them against the adoption of naturalistic views.

In earlier times a writer so learned and so orthodox as Ḥusain al-Jisr would have let himself be little influenced by the views (whether favourable or the reverse) of Europeans in regard to his religion, and would have advised the use of weapons of quite another sort than those of patient and good-tempered reasoning to maintain the strife against the prevailing irreligious theories of life. Al-Jisr does not base his argument on the position that the truth of Islam is beyond all question, and that it must be accepted by all without reserve, even where it conflicts with reason. On the contrary he seeks to show that true humanity, morality and reason find their highest expression in the law and doctrine of Islam.

Others also have adopted a like method; we need here only instance a British-Indian writer *Syed* (= Sayyid) *Amir Ali* [1]) the author of various

1) Another very orthodox British-Indian writer, Raḥmatallah, produced the *Iẓhar al-ḥaqq* ("Publication of the truth") a polemical work against Christendom, in which he points out the inconsistencies of the Christian theology. He received marked distinction from the Sultan of Turkey. The last years of his life were spent at Mekka, where many of the faithful from various countries sat at his feet.

works on the life of Moḥammad and the Moslim law. He however wrote in English and appears to have assimilated more of the teaching of his English school than of the sources of Arabic history which he studied, and his constant aim is to make Islam suit the taste of a civilized European public. Every doctrine that might seem strange or repulsive to that public is ascribed by Amir Ali to the misconceptions of the later teachers, or else set aside as meant only for days gone by and as being now no longer valid. In this fanciful line of argument no true son of Islam would agree save a very few who like himself have lost all their real Mohammedanism through their European training.

The position of Al-Jisr is quite different. He writes for a public that understands Arabic; he knows his theology and his law, and abates no jot of the eternal truth of every tenet of both. He considers, however (and in this respect his book is a noteworthy sign of the times) that the time has gone by for those who, like himself, continue to hold fast by the revelation of Moḥammad, either to pass by all arguments against their faith with a contemptuous shrug of the shoulders, or to look to armed force to help them in destroying heresy and infidelity.

After a lengthy demonstration of the humanity, morality and reasonableness of the law and doctrine of Islam, he proceeds to a most pacific confutation of sundry philosophical and materialistic difficulties. As an example of this we may mention that he is not inaccessible even to the theories of Darwin (pp. 201 et seq.). He considers that the followers of Darwin draw exaggerated conclusions from the facts observed, and is disposed to accept the teaching of the Qurān as to the creation of Adam in its simplest and most obvious sense. But even if the Darwinian teaching as to the origin of mankind were proved up to the hilt, he would not be ready to admit that we are justified in basing thereon a materialistic theory of life; nay he even goes so far as to say that such teaching, if admitted to be true, would not necessarily conflict with the doctrine of the Qurān as to the creation of man. However, so long as the truth of Darwinism is still widely open to discussion, it would be wasted labour to harmonise it with the Qurān in detail. In general, our author sees no danger in the study of the philosophy of nature, provided that those who teach such things are themselves of the true faith, and that such study is accompanied by instruction in the creed of Islam.

It is worthy of note that such a writer, in maintaining the reasonableness of the chief provisions of the Mohammedan law, defends the obligation of the holy war without circumlocution or reserve. This law, he says, does not command the extermination, persecution or humiliation of those of alien creed, but rather the guidance of their steps in the right path. If they follow this, then they must be treated on an equality with those who have been true believers from of old; if not, all efforts should be made to bring them under the domination and also the protection of the Moslims, and the issue must be left in the hands of God. The precepts of Islam with reference to the conflict with unbelievers are most humane; they inculcate immunity for old men, women and children.

Defence of the doctrine of the holy war.

In a country where Moslims were subject to the domination of those of another creed, a writer holding such views as Al-Jisr would either have passed by the question of the holy war in silence, or have demonstrated that this doctrine was unsuitable to the present time and to his environment. Al-Jisr, who resides in Turkey in Asia, and dedicated his book to a Sultan for whom the last Turko-Russian war had gained the name of al-Ghāzī, i. e. "Maintainer of the Holy War", had no motive for such self-restraint or extenuation.

It has been the fate of Islam that this doctrine of the *jihād* or holy war, the application of which formerly contributed so much to its greatness and renown, should in modern times have set the greatest difficulties in its path.

This doctrine, once the strength, now the weakness of Islam.

At the present day an attitude of mutual confidence in their relations with those of alien creeds is in many ways desirable for Mohammedans and especially for those who live under European rule. All must admit that this doctrine of jihād presents a serious obstacle to such a state of things. Though such Moslims as are men of the world, and have embraced modern civilization, may be ready to ignore the existence of this doctrine or to represent it as inapplicable to the country in which they live, the champions of the law still continue to teach and the mass of the people to believe that their weapons may only remain sheathed so long as there is no hope of any success in warfare against the infidel. Under these circumstances no true peace is possible, but only a protracted truce.

The other rules of Mohammedan law which control the relations of the "faithful" to the "unbelievers" can only be characterized as humane

and justifiable, as Al-Jisr declares them to be, if we start like him on the supposition that kafirs, as such, are the inferiors of Moslims in this world. That law declares it to be permissible in some cases, in others commendable and even obligatory, to slay infidels, or to kidnap or enslave them. Many ways are left open to the Moslim of cheating individual kafirs or an infidel government without sinning against God. Under the Mohammedan law religious liberty is intolerable as involving the co-existence of truth with falsehood, and of the service of the true God with paganism.

Now it is a great mistake — though not an uncommon one — to suspect every Mohammedan people or every Mohammedan of cherishing such views or desiring to put them into practice. To do so is to be guilty of the same injustice as the Anti-Semites who make the Jews of to-day responsible for every utterance of the Talmud inimical to heathen. As a matter of fact these books of law play a very subordinate part in the education of modern Jews and Mohammedans, and most Moslims are absolutely ignorant of the details of the doctrine of jihād.

But so long as not one single Moslim teacher of consideration dreams of regarding these laws of the middle ages as abrogated, while a great proportion of the people exhibit the strongest inclination to restore the conditions which prevailed some centuries ago, so long does it remain impossible, however anxious we may be to do so, to omit the jihād from our calculations when forming a judgment on the relation of Islam to other religions.

No expounders of the law worthy of the name will dare to try and demonstrate that the doctrine of the holy war should be regarded as obsolete. The utmost that we can expect from them is, that they should endeavour to show that there is in a given country at the present time no occasion for proclaiming a holy war. To prove this they refer to the intellectual and material supremacy of the kafirs in the country in question, to the solidity of their government and to the freedom which they allow to the Moslims as regards the teaching and practice of their religion on reasonable conditions.

Even such arguments will only be used by a teacher who lives under a powerful non-Mohammedan government, whose overthrow is for the time being not to be seriously thought of. And even under such circumstances many prefer to maintain silence on the question of the jihād, or if they

are compelled to express an opinion, choose the most equivocal terms.

Efforts at conciliation rouse suspicion.

Their reason for shirking the question is that all attempts at conciliation render them suspected by a large proportion of their co-religionists. Not only fanatics, but all strict upholders of orthodoxy set their faces resolutely against all that savours of abrogation of one jot or tittle of the law. And especially in countries ruled by an independent Mohammedan dynasty, where there is but little reason for disguising the provisions of the law in regard to unbelievers, it cannot be expected that the teachers who set the tone will do violence to the plain meaning of their scripture, the less so, since the doctrine of jihād sometimes supplies such dynasties with a very useful weapon. The Porte, for instance, although now-a-days she seldom exhibits this weapon and no longer flourishes it in the faces of her enemies, does not fail, when involved in war with a European power, to appeal to the doctrine of jihād when invoking the aid of her fellow-believers. To co-operate in the endeavour to weaken mens' faith in this doctrine would be to fling recklessly away the very thing which most inspires her soldiers with zeal and courage. In addition to this the Sultan would lose a considerable share of the sympathy which he now enjoys throughout the Mohammedan world as the foremost champion of the true faith, did he or those in authority in his dominions endeavour to convert the truce with the unbelievers into a lasting peace.

Official opinion.

Let us now examine that which took place in British India some thirty-five years ago as the result of a fear of political disturbances among the Mohammedans. The story is a most instructive one [1]).

Such of the leaders of the Moslim community as were well-disposed towards the government together with all who believed that a rebellion against European authority would in the existing circumstances spell ruin to Islam, made every effort to demonstrate that a Mohammedan insurrection against the English government would be unlawful and would have no claim to the title of jihād. Others upheld the contrary opinion or took refuge in silence. Finally the question (in its limited application to British India and to the present time) was submitted to the judgment of the four muftis of the orthodox schools of religious learning at Mekka, who may be regarded as the highest authorities of the day on all such matters.

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1) See *Our Indian Musulmans* by W. W. Hunter, London 1871.

Without doubt these muftis had their hands tied in the giving of their judgments or *fatwas*. Even though some of their number might have been disposed to interpret the sacred law in a very conciliatory spirit and though this inclination towards a peaceful settlement was strengthened by presents from British India, fear of their lord and master, the Sultan of Turkey, would have withheld them from preaching a theoretical acquiesence in the subjection of Moslims to a kafir yoke. On the other hand a fatwa inciting to rebellion would, as they well knew, have been equally displeasing to the Sultan, as it might have occasioned political difficulties for Turkey [1]).

Their judgment avoided all these dangers by making the question one of technical terminology. The Mohammedan teaching divides the whole world into *dāral-Islām*, the sphere of the domination of Islam, and *dāral-ḥarb*, the outside world, which is to become *dāral-Islam* by conquest or conversion. The Mekkan muftīs simply replied that British India must be regarded as *dāral-Islam*, but they carefully refrained from drawing any conclusions regarding the obligation of the holy war. Thus both the peace party and the malcontents in British India might construe the judgment in their own favour.

Had the muftīs wished to be explicit, they might have worded their answer somewhat as follows: "If the country you live in were *dāral-ḥarb* we might endeavour at an opportune time to subjugate it to Islam. It is however *dāral-Islam*, since the English infidels have shown no sign of being able to exterminate Islam therefrom; it is therefore the duty of the Moslim inhabitants to defend their territory to the uttermost. If you admit that necessity compels you, in spite of your numerical superiority, to lay aside your weapons, then you are convicted of a lack of energy and the courage of your opinions, a deficiency which, alas, grows more and more noticeable not only in yours but also in other Mohammedan countries".

But they contented themselves with the oracular response, which satisfied both yet satisfied neither — "British India is dāral-Islam".

In like ambiguous terms did the muftīs of Mekka reply to a similar question which was submitted to them in 1893 by Jules Cambon, Governor-general of Algeria, with reference to the emigration to Syria

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1) Anyone who is acquainted with the local circumstances will understand that the muftīs dared not set seal to their reply before they had obtained the concurrence of the Turkish authorities. Without such sanction a fatwa on matters of a political nature is inconceivable.

of many of the inhabitants of Constantine, who sought thus to escape the domination of the infidel [1]).

The way in which the doctrine of jihād is interpreted by the Mohammedan teachers and embraced in less systematic form by the mass of the people, furnishes an excellent indication of the progress that Islam has made at any given time or place in this direction, whither it is being impelled with increasing force by the political conditions of modern days. In the end it must yield entirely to that force; it must frankly abandon the tenets of jihād and abide by the practically harmless doctrine respecting the last days when a Messiah or a Mahdī will come to reform the world. Then will Islam differ from other creeds only in so far as it upholds another catechism and another ritual as the means whereby eternal salvation may be won. But before that day arrives the last political stronghold of Islam will probably have been brought under European influence and all less civilized Mohammedan peoples will have been compelled to submit to the control of a strong European government.

Circumstances have imposed on the Dutch nation the task of impressing this modern doctrine on the Achehnese. It is no light or enviable task, for the doctrine of the jihād has been for centuries more deeply rooted here than in any other part of the Archipelago. But it must be fulfilled, and on the manner of this fulfilment will depend in no small degree the attitude of all other Mohammedans in Netherlands-India towards the Dutch government.

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1) See *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes* by Depont and Coppolani, Algiers 1897, pp. 34—35.

INDEX.

A.

Abdōra'ōh: = *Teungku di Kuala*, q. v.

Abdul-qādir Jīlānī: the prince of mystics, I. 130, 191, II. 249.

Abdurrahman: see *habib*.

abèë: ashes (used as manure), I. 267, 275. *A. dapu*: wood-ash (used medicinally), II. 50.

Abeusi: Abyssinian, negro; I. 23, II. 143.

abortion: its practice, I. 113.

Achèh: boundaries of the whole country, I. 1; of Achèh proper or Great Achèh, I. 1; etymology of the name, I. 1; shape of the country, I. 2, 3; the country as "the imperishable bride" of her Sultans; I. 132.

Achèhnese: (a.) the people, see "population"; (b.) the language, see "language".

Achura: a festival, I. 202, 204, II, 180, 181.

adan: the call to prayer, I. 85, 426.

adara: celestial, II. 139, 140.

adat: see "customary law". *A. agam*, and *a. inòng*: medicinal plants, II. 52. *A. meulangga*: a nominal show of vengeance when apologies and amends have been made, I. 77—81.

adén: dung-heap, I. 36.

administration: see "authorities", "justice", and "inheritance".

adòë: younger brother; the placenta considered as the younger brother of a newborn child; I. 375. *A. mè'lōt*: the month *rabi'al akhir*, I. 194.

adultery: I. 110—114; its punishment, I. 111—114; its prevalence, II. 318.

adventurers: their political importance, I. 151; political adventurers, I. 151—153, typified by *Teuku Uma*, I. 152; religious adventurers, I. 153, typified by *sayyids*, I. 153, 154, 158, mystics, I. 154, 155, and *ulamas*, I. 166.

afwah: "mouths", i. e. voices of intercession with God, I. 192.

agriculture: its importance, I, 175, 260; seasons, I. 258—261; ploughing, I. 260, 261; sowing, I. 261—263; nurseries, I. 263, 264; transplanting, I. 264, 265; harvest, I. 267, 268; stamping and threshing, I. 271, 272; pepper-planting, I. 260; sugar-planting, I. 260, 273—275.

Aḥmad Qushashi: a great mystic, I. 10, II. 216.

Aḥmad Rifā'ī: a saint and mystic, II. 249, 251—253.

Aja Eseutiri: the wife of Teuku Anjōng; a lady in whose honour a *kanduri* is annually held, I. 219.

ajeumat: a written charm or talisman, I. 266, II. 46, 169, 212, *et passim*.

aka manèh: liquorice root, II. 56.

akè': a talismanic gem, II. 49.

akhé asa: see *asa*.

akhé leuhō: see *leuhō*.

Alaédin Ahmat Shah: Sultan of Achèh, A. D. 1726—1735; I. 89.

Alaédin Juhan: Sultan, A. D. 1735—1760; I. 5, 84, II. 90.

Alaédin Khā: = *Sidi Mukamil*, Sultan, A. D. 1540—1567; I. 4.

Alaédin Mahmut: Sultan, A. D. 1752—1766; I. 5.

alamat: omen; II. 41.

alangan: procession; II. 265—268.

alat: "instruments"; preliminary studies, II. 8. *A. sigeupòh*: name of an obsolete custom, described I. 112.

alèë: pestle; I. 272.

além: a man deeply versed in sacred literature, I. 71; his training, II. 25—31.

aleuë: floor-level, I. 35, 39.

Aleuhat: Sunday, I. 195.

ali: a small purse-net for prawns, I. 277.

Alpiah: name of a grammatical treatise, II. 7, 8.

aluë: creek, backwater; I. 278.
alum: (*tawaïh*), II. 50.
Amat Shah Juhan: the first Sultan of the last dynasty, I. 5.
ami ōbha: *Amīr ul baḥr*, a title given to Teuku Uma, I. 149.
āmil: officers (in Arabia) charged with the distribution of the *zakāt*, I. 268.
ampeuëng: to meet (a party or procession); II. 166.
ampōn: "pardon", — use of this word as a title, II. 70, 86.
amulets: II. 37, 46.
amusements: see "cockfighting", "feasts", "gambling", "pastimes", *trawèh*, *sadati*, *meuramiën*, *piasan*, and *ratéb*.
aneu': child, son of, inhabitant. *A. ganchéng*: a bolt, I. 43. *A. jamèë*: West Coast people, I. 19. *A. keudawōng*: seeds of *parkia speciosa* (used medicinally), II. 58. *A. keusawi*: mustard-seed, II. 57. *A. meuïh*: immediate descendants of a slave, I. 22. *A. phōn*: first-born child, I. 376, 404, 407. *A. rawa*: = *A. jamèë*. *A. sisawi*: = *A. keusawi*. *A. tunòng kruëng*: "child of the upper river-reaches", — a brave man, I. 34.
Aneu' Galōng: a fortress captured by the Dutch in 1896; I. 185, II. 111.
animal fables: see "fables".
anjōng: annexe (to a house), I. 35.
anklets: (*gleuëng gaki*), I. 29.
annexe: see *anjōng*.
anténg: golden bosses, I. 308.
apam: a light cake, I. 219, 220; legend connected with it, I. 220.
apparel: of men, I. 25—27; of women, I. 28; jewellery, I. 29, 30; wearing of weapons, I. 27; dress of a *sadati* dancer, II. 232; of a bride, I. 308.
Arab: Arab elements in the population, I. 18, 48.
araïh: throne of Allah, II. 184.
architecture: II. 59—63.
arè: a measure of husked rice, I. 73.
areca-nut: (*pineung*), I. 32, II. 45.
aren: sugar, I. 274; juice, vinegar, I. 21, 39; rope, fibre, II. 302.
armlets: see "bracelets".
art: see "industrial art".
arwah: the spirit of a deceased person, I. 425, 434.
asa: afternoon, afternoon prayer, 3.30 p. m.; I. 200.
asa foetida: I. 386, II. 56.
asan: a tree-name, II. 52.
Asan Usén: the month Muharram, I. 194.
asèë meuseutèt: "When dogs ramble". — August, I. 256.
Asém: see *Tuanku Asém* and *Badrudin Asém*.
astronomy: I. 246—248; its use in fixing the seasons, I. 248 sqq.
Ateuëng: (a) a village near Kutaraja, I. 24; (b) a raised path round a rice-field, I. 260.
atra sihareukat: = *laba sihareukat*.
authorities: I. Regular traditional authorities: (a.) in the village community: the *keuchi'*, I. 64—70; the *teungku*, I. 70—75; the *ureuëng tuha*, I. 75, 76;
(b.) in the district or mukim: the *imeum*, I. 82—87;
(c.) in the territory (*nanggròë*): the *ulèë-balang*, I. 88—119; the *panglima sagi*, I. 91, 132; the *kali*, I. 93—102;
(d.) in the whole state: the Sultan, I. 120—132; the great chiefs, I. 132—138; the princes of the blood, I. 141—143, 149—151;
(e.) in the mosque: the *imeum*, I. 85; the *katib*, I. 85; and the *bileuë*, I. 85.
(f.) in the tribe: the *panglima kawōm*, I. 46, 54, 55, 56, 59.
II. Irregular or self-constituted authorities, political adventurers and religious chiefs; I. 151—165.
III. Authorities according to Moslem theory as opposed to practice, II. 321 sqq.
awa': crew (of a boat), I. 281.
awamè: name of a treatise on Arabic grammar, II. 7.
awan: "clouds", — a pattern in weaving, II. 63, 64.
awé: a strip of rattan, I. 377. *A. sungsang*: a rattan of which some sections turn the wrong way — believed to be talismanic, II. 38.
aweuë': a spoon, I. 411.
aweuëh: a generic name for herbs, drugs and simples, II. 54.
aya': sifting, I. 272.
ayat: a verse, II. 74.
ayōn: to rock, I. 394. *A. meugisa*: a merry-go-round; II. 268.

B.

ba': director of a *sadati* troupe, II. 211.
ba meulineum: a (second) ceremonial visit paid by a woman to her pregnant daughter-in-law; I. 372.
ba' padé: rice-straw, I. 267.
Bāb an-nikāḥ: a treatise on marriage, II. 22.
babah: mouth (of a fish-trap), I. 276. *B. rèt*: entrance of a *gampōng*, I. 416.
bada: a tree-name, I. 421.
badal haji: substitute pilgrims; the *hajj* by deputy, II. 308.
badōm: a light form of dropsy, II. 51.
Badrudin Asém: a Sultan of Achèh, I. 5.
bait: for fish, I. 278, 279.
bait al-māl: State-treasury, I. 439.
baja: soot (used for blackening the teeth), I. 401.
bajèë: jacket, I. 25.
bakòh: a bird-name, II. 161.
bakōng: tobacco, also used as accessory in betel chewing; I. 32, 288.
balè: hall, court; e. g. *b. meuhakamah*, a court of justice in religious matters, I. 161, and *b. rōm*, the Sultan's audience-hall, I. 139.
balé': turning; when a child can turn on his side, — as a measure of age, I. 394. *B. meudeuhab*: to turn to another school of doctrine on some one point (to avoid a difficulty), I. 347, II. 22.
balèë: widow, divorcée; I. 111. See also *pulang balèë*.
balu: dried buffalo-flesch, I. 380.
baluëm beudé: an evil spirit, I. 409. Also *baluëm bidé*.
baluëm ubat: a medicine-bag, II. 49.
bambang kunèng: jaundice, II. 49.
Bambi: a village in Pidië (Pedir), II. 120.
banana: see *pisang*.
banda: town, town-bred, cultured; I. 24, 145. *B. Achèh*: the old seat of government and culture in Achèh, I. 24, 25.
bands: see "orchestras".
bang: the call to prayer, I. 85, 426.
bangbang jamèë: a butterfly the appearance of which is believed to betoken the coming of guests; II. 42.
bangles: see "bracelets".
bangsat: neglectful of religion; II. 313.
bangsi: a flageolet; II. 258.
banta: a title given to near relatives and agents of a territorial chief (*uléébalang*); I. 92, 135.
bantay: cushion, I. 41.
bantôt: checking a disease at the outset; II. 50.
barah: a large boil, II. 50.
ba' raja peunawa: the aloe; II. 48.
baròë: yesterday (daytime), I. 201. *B. sa*: the day before yesterday; *b. sa jéh*, the day before that, I. 201.
barōh: lowlands; I. 24, 25, 45.
barōnabeuët: a talisman conferring invulnerability; II. 37.
Baros: a place, the S.W. limit of Achèh, I, 1.
barōt: enwrapping, enfolding; II. 52.
baruëh: a name given to beri-beri, II. 51.
basi: premium on dollars, I. 293.
basō: severe dropsy; II. 51.
Bataks: I. 22; as slaves, I. 23; their evil reputation, I. 23.
baté: a sirih-bowl, I. 210.
batèë: stone. *B. badan*: a stone extending longitudinally over a grave, I. 431. *B. jeurat* tombstone, II. 59. *B. kawé*: a fishing-lead; I. 278. *Pula b.*: the setting up of tombstones, I. 259, 402, 430, 431.
Batòh: a village near Kutaraja; I. 24.
bayeüen: a talking-bird, II. 148, 155.
bedrooms: (*jurèë*), I. 35.
bedstead: see *prataih*.
Béntara Keumangan: a chief, II. 13, 14, 92.
beri-beri: II. 51.
betel-chewing: I. 32.
betel-leaf: (*ranub*), I. 32.
betel-nut: (*pineung*), I. 32, II. 45.
betrothal: ceremonies, I. 301; rules for breach of troth, I. 301; gifts, see *tanda kòng narit* and *ranub dòng*.
beuda': cosmetic face-powder; II. 47.
beudé china: crackers, I. 235.
beuët: to declaim in singsong style, II. 75. *B. di jeurat*: the chanting of the Quran at a grave, I. 429. *B. Kuru'an*: the chanting of the Quran, II. 3.
beuklam: last evening, I, 201.
beum: a medicinal plant, II. 53.
beungkōng: cloth wrapped round the body in a particular way, I. 112.
beunò: goitre-causing spirits, I. 412.
beureu'at: see *malam*.
beusòë: iron, hot iron, I. 110; see "ordeals".

beuténg: a disease of children, I. 386.
bhaïh: divisions of a tale, II. 158 sqq.
bhōm: family burial place, I. 241, 404.
biaya: maintenance money given to a wife, I. 325.
bibeuëh: free owing allegiance to no special chief; I. 122, II. 82.
Bidayah: name of a textbook on religious doctrine, II. 4, 29.
biëng: crab, I. 256; prawn (?), II. 159.
bijèh: seed; padi-seed, I. 261, 263; poppy seed (*b. apiun*), II. 57.
bila: blood-feud, I. 45, 47.
bileuë: a mosque official, I. 85.
bilōn: a technical term in a boy's game, II. 200.
bimaran: evil result of unfulfilled vows, I. 392.
bimba: a mosque-pulpit, I. 82.
bintang: stars; — list given I. 247.
biōh: dysentery, I. 415, II. 48.
birds: kept as pets, I. 39.
biréng: a large boil, II. 50.
Bitay: a place near Kutaraja, — name explained I. 209.
biula: violin, II. 265.
black art: (*hèkeumat*, *sihé*), I. 414; (*teunanòm*, *jhung*), I. 414. Cf. also *meukulat*, *tangkay*, *ajeumat*, *rajah*, and „magic".
blang: network of rice-fields, I. 258.
Blang Pangòë: a village, I. 316.
Blang Seureugōng: a haunted rice-field in Pulò Rabò; II. 286.
blangan: a fruit, II. 50.
blangòng: cooking-pot, I. 40, 275.
bleuët: cocoanut-leaves, I. 36.
blimbing-fruit: (*bòh slimèng*), I. 30.
blinggè: a fruit (the wood-apple?) II. 48.
blò': an evil spirit, I. 413.
blood-feuds: I. 45, 47.
boats: *prahō*, *jalō*, *sampan*), I. 278, 279.
bòh: a fruit, a globular object; e. g. *b. giri*, an orange, I. 385; *b. itè' jruë*, salted duck's-eggs; *b. jantōng*, plantain buds, II. 35; *b. kayèë*, fruits generally, I. 31; *b. keudeukè*, *myrobalane chebulæ*, II. 57; *b. keunuë*, root of *cyperus tuberosus*, II. 22; *b. krèh*, kemiri-nuts, II. 195; *b. kruët*, oranges, I. 385, 388, 421; *b. mayakani*, gall-nuts, II. 56: *b. pala*, nutmeg, II. 57; *b. panta*, a ball or marble, I. 315, II. 131; *b. pulèt*, wooden rings, II. 247, 248; *b. puta talòë*, fruit of *helicteres isora*, II. 56; *b. raseutōng*, bud of the rose of Jericho, II. 57; *b. ru*, an acorn shaped ornament, I. 27.
For the use of the word to describe the balls or marbles used in children's games, see II. 195 sqq.
bòïh dapu: the removal of the oven after 44 days from childbirth; I. 388.
boils: (*rahō*, *barah*, *biréng*), II. 50.
boring: of ears (*tòb glunyuëng*), I. 259, 395.
bosses: (*anténg*), I. 308.
bōt: to draw (teeth), II. 45.
boundaries: of Achèh, I. 1; of land (*euë*), II. 196, 197, 199.
bracelets: (*gleuëng jaròë*), I. 29; chain-bracelets (*talòë jaròë*), I. 29; bridal bracelets (*gleuëng*, *puntu*, *ikay*, *sangga*, *sawè'* and *puchō'*), I. 308.
branda seumah: a platform used at a Sultan's installation, I. 139.
brandang: a rice-store, I. 272.
breuëh: husked rice, I. 272.
"bringing home meat": an Achèhnese custom, I. 237, II. 120.
bruë': sounding-board of a native violin, II. 260.
bruë' pulèt: = *bòh pulèt*, q. v.
bu: cooked rice, I. 22, 30; a technical term in games, II. 193, 194. *B. kunyèt*: rice coloured with turmeric, I. 31. *B. leukat*: glutinous rice, I. 31, 32, 46, 78.
bubèë: a fish-trap, I. 276. *B. la'ōt*: id., I. 279.
budō: leprosy, II. 51.
buë: the common ape, II. 207.
buëng: swamps, I. 24; swamp rice-fields, I. 258.
buffaloes: used for ploughing, I. 261, 262; leaders of the herd, I. 265; their housing, I. 37; not used for sacrifice, I. 243; used for fights, II. 209.
Bugis: the Bugis element in Achèh, I. 19, 48.
Bukhari: the author of a *maulid*, I. 212.
buleuën: month, moon. *B. apuy*: Muharram, I. 206. *B. leumah*: the first of the next lunar month, I. 202.
buliadari: a heavenly nymph, II. 137, 175.
bull-fights: II. 209, 210.
"bulleth-oaths": II. 94, 95.
bulōh meurindu: a magical musical instrument, II. 145, 147.
bungkōïh: a folded kerchief used as a bag, I. 309. *B. ranub*: a sirih-bag, I.

27. *B. bura'*: a kerchief worn by women and sadati-players, II. 232.
bungòng: flower-natural, I. 241, 309, 416, artificial (*b. sunténg*), I. 309. *B. baruëh*: the (medicinally used) leaf of a wild mangosteen, II. 57. *B. kambuë*: a simple, II. 57. *B. lawang*: cloves, II. 56. *B. lawang kléng*: seed-pods of anise, II. 56. *B. tabu*: "strewn flowers", — a weaver's pattern, II. 63.
bura': a legendary pegasus, II. 126.
burial: see "disposal of the dead".
burōng: an evil spirit afflicting women in childbed, I. 376—382; precautions against it, I. 376, 377; its legendary origin, I. 378, 379; stories about them, I. 378—382; the *burōng punjōt*, I. 412.
burōt: inguinal hernia, and hydrocele, I. 415, II. 51.
buy: pig. *B. tunggay*: a lone boar, — see II. 37.
buya: crocodile; II. 302.

C.

cakes: see *apam*, *keutan* and *jeumphan*.
calendar: see "divisions (of time)."
cannon: announcing close of fast, I. 237, 238; cannon-casting at Bitay, I. 244; legend of the cannon *lada si-chupa'*, I, 208, 209.
caps: (*kupiah*), I. 26, 27.
carpets: I. 39.
cards: I. 210.
carving: (in wood, horn or metal), II. 65.
casting-nets: (*jeuë*), I. 277, 278, 279.
castor-oil: II. 48.
cattle-sales: I. 288, 289.
cattle-stalls: I. 37.
ceiling-cloths: (*tirè dilangèt*), I. 41.
chab: seal. *ch. limòng*: "the five fold seal"; the hand as the symbol of real possession, I. 132. *ch. sikureuëng*: the ninefold seal of the Sultans; I. 130, 131, II. 104.
Cha'ban: the month *Sha'ban*, I. 195.
chafing-dishes: (*kran*) I. 41.
cha'ië: a spider, II. 49.
chains: ornamental (*taloë ki'iëng*), I. 30.
chakrum: the refrain in a *sadati* dialogue, II. 244.
chamchuruïh: *lepidium sativum*, II. 57.
champli: chillies; I. 30, II. 56.
chanang: a sort of gong, II. 259.
chapéng: the bridge of a violin, II. 260.
charapha anam: name of a *maulid*, I. 212.
character: (of the Achehnese) their indolence, I. 21; their slovenliness, I. 42; their fondness for *mupakat*, I. 76; their parsimony, I. 29; their arrogance, I. 168; their jealousy of non-Muhammadan authorities, I. 13; their character as Muhammadans, see "islam"; their morals, II. 318, 319. Differences in character between highlanders and lowlanders, I. 33, 34.
charms: written on paper *ajeumat*), I. 266, II. 46, 169, 212; spoken formulæ (*tangkay*), I. 266; love-charms (*peugaséh*), II. 46; charms to sell goods at a profit (*peularéh*), II. 46; the process of engendering magic (*rajah*), I. 414. See also "black art", "magic", "talismans".
charuëh: a name given to beri-beri, II. 51.
chatō: a sort of draughts, II. 200.
chawat: a wrapper worn by a woman after her confinement; I. 382.
Chaway: the month Shawwal, I. 195.
ché'bré: a tree, II. 44, 228.
Chèh: "Shaikh"; a name also given to the head of a *sadati* troupe, II. 221.
Chèh Abdō'ra'ōh: = *Teungku di-Kuala*, I. 90.
Chèh Marahaban: a saintly scholar of Pidië (Pedir), I. 101, 187, II. 27, 28; his writings, II. 186, 187.
chèh ranub si-gapu: the time it takes to chew a quid of sirih, — a primitive measure of time, I. 201.
Chèh Saman: = *Teungku Tirò*.
chémpala: a fighting-bird, II. 211, 215.
chests: (*peutòë*), I. 40, 41.
Chetties: their early trade in Achèh, I. 17.
cheukië': execution by strangling and drowning combined; I. 109.
cheukō: a medicinal plant, I. 386, II. 49, 58.
cheuleupa: a small tobacco box, I. 42.
cheumara: a native chignon, II. 79.
cheumeuchéb: the (ominous) screaming of a kite, II. 42.
cheuneuruët: a gelatinous dish, I. 31, 397.
cheunichah: a compost of pounded fruit, I. 21, 30, II. 49.
chiefs: see "authorities".
chignons: *sanggōy*, I. 28; (*cheumara*), II. 79.

childbirth: I. 373, 374, 385, 388; superstitions regarding it, I. 374; *pantang* rules after it, I. 375; the treatment, I. 373, 374, 388; ceremonial visits connected with it, I. 385.
childhood: the *peuchichah* ceremony, I. 383, 384; the *hakikah* ceremony, 384; naming of the child, I. 386; the *peutrōn*, I. 389; stages of growth, I. 394; teaching the child to walk, I. 394; circumcision, I. 395, 398; earboring, I. 395, 396; for education of children, see "instruction".
children: parents and children, I. 401; control of fatherless or motherless children, I. 402, 403; disposal of dead children, I. 408; disposal of children at the dissolution of a marriage, I. 408; position of the children of concubinage, I. 359.
chinichah: = *cheunichah*.
chinu: a laddle, I. 289; a water-dipper, I. 411, 419.
chipé: small plates, I, 40, 320.
cholera: I. 415, II. 48.
chòt: the sun's zenith, noon; 199.
chradi: a pattern, I. 41.
chreuëh: rake, I. 263.
chuë: an earthenware platter, II. 247.
chuëh: leaves used medicinally, II. 48.
chugòng: goitre, I. 412.
chuka': a game like draughts, II. 200.
chukō: to shave, II. 45.
chuluët: a medicinal leaf, II. 49.
chumuët: pimples, II. 50.
chut: small, I. 320.
Chut Sandang: name of a tribe, I. 49.
Çirat-al-mustaqīm: name of a religious treatise, II. 5, 29.
circumcision: of girls, I. 395; of boys, I. 398—400; religious importance attached to it, II. 273.
clairvoyance: II. 39, 40.
clans: see *kawōm*.
clarionets: (*srunè*), II. 259.
clasps: see *peundéng*.
clergy: see "priests".
clothes: see "apparel".
cockfighting: II. 244, II. 210, 215.
coconut: the milk, I. 30, 31; the oil, I. 30, 39; the sugar, I. 397.
coffee: legend of its origin, I. 260; its use as a beverage, I, 240, II. 53.
coffins: (*kreunda*), I, 422, 423.
concubinage: I. 359, II. 318; position of the children, I. 359.
confiscation: of boats and nets, I. 283; of rice-fields, I. 115, 286.
conjunctivitis: its treatment, II. 47.
conversion: facility of conversion to Islam, II. 277—279.
cooking: I. 30, 31, 41.
cooking-pots: (*blangòng*), I. 40; (*kanèt*), I, 40.
cooling: the "cooling ceremony" (*peusijuë*), I. 43, 44, 78, 102, 103.
coop: see *seureukah*.
copyists: their influence on literature, II. 67.
couch: see *prataïh*.
court: see *dalam*.
courtyards: in front of house (*leuën*), I. 36; behind the house (*likōt*), I. 36; by the side of the gables (*rabōng*), I. 36.
crabs: land-crabs, I. 256.
crackers: I. 235, 237.
crickets: used for fighting, II. 211, 215.
crocodiles: II. 302.
cummin: II. 47.
cupboards: (*peutòë dòng*), I. 41.
custom: (adat) its antiquity, I. 5; its changing, but slowly changing, character, I. 10; reticence concerning it, I. 13; conflict between it and religious law, I. 14, II. 275—277; Achehnese views on the subject, I. 14. See also "customs", and "law".
customs: in connection with pregnancy, I. 371—373; childbirth, I. 373—388; childhood, I. 383—400; betrothal, I. 301; marriage, I, 295—358; sickness, I. 412—415; death, I. 418; the disposal of the dead, I. 419—434; the administration of government, I. 58—193; industries, I. 258.

D.

dab: a small tambourine, II. 265.
dagang: foreigner, Kling; II. 84.
Dajjal: Antichrist, II. 178.
dalam: the Sultan's court, I. 140.
dalém: members of a *sadati* chorus; II. 221, 222, 299.
dalōng: a tray, I. 31, 40.
dancing: II. 261—265. See also *sadati*.

dangdang meuntah: money given (in lieu of rice) by a woman to her pregnant daughter-in-law, I. 372.
dara: "marriageable", — a stage of rice-growth, I. 267.
darah: blood; see *peusijuë'*.
daréh: a thorny tree, I. 36.
daruët: a fighting cricket, II. 211, 215.
datō': "grandfather, ancestor", — a euphemism when speaking of tigers, II. 45.
day: of the week, I. 195; of the month, I. 202; divisions of the day, I. 199—202.
déah: a chapel; I. 63, 64, 219.
death: death-struggle, I. 418; exhortations to the dying, I. 418—419; notifications of deaths, I. 433. See also "disposal of the dead".
debt: how recovered, I. 115, 116.
debtors: liable to a form of slavery, I. 93, 115; their right to a share in religious tithes, I. 269, 270.
dèëlat: an expression of homage, I. 120.
Der Kinderen: his work in Achèh, I. 11—15.
descent: traced through women, I. 44; — but also, for tribal reasons, through men; I. 44, 45.
deumam; fever, I. 415, II. 48.
deut: name of a fish, II. 72.
dialogues: examples of *sadati* dialogues, II. 234 sqq.
diarrhœa: II. 48.
dibbling: (*tajō'*, *teumajōh*), I. 266.
diët: price of blood, I. 47, 55, 56, 102, 104.
dieting: medicinal dieting, II. 54.
dina: fornication, adultery, I. 110—114.
diseases: goitre, I. 412; nightmare, I. 412; cholera, I. 415, II. 48; small-pox, I. 416—418, II. 47—48; fever, I. 415, II. 48; dysentery, I. 415, II. 48; inguinal hernia and hydrocele, I. 415, II. 51; gonorrhœa I. 415, II. 52; skin-diseases, I. 415; diseases of children (*beuténg*, *pungò buy*, and *sakét drōë*), I. 386; diseases due to spirit-possession, I. 410, 411; eruptions and ulcers, II 50, 51; conjunctivitis, II. 47; beri-beri, II. 51; leprosy, II. 51; elephantiasis, II. 51; tootache, II. 52; hiccough and headache, II. 49; poisonous bites, II. 49; pains in the joints, II. 52; *siawan* II. 53; *sampòng*, II. 48, 49.
dishes: (large) I. 40; (small) I. 40; chafing-dishes, I. 41.
disposal of the dead: washing the body, I. 419—421; shrouding, I. 421; coffining, I, 422; the procession to the tomb, I. 423, 425; the funeral service, I. 423, 424; the entombment, I. 426, 427; visits of condolence, I. 424; prayers for or to the dead, I. 427—430; tombstones, I. I. 430—432.
district: see "divisions (of territory)".
divination: II. 39—41.
divisions: (a.) of an Achehnese dwelling, I. 38—42; (b.) of the population, I. 45—59; (c.) of territory, I. 58—89; (d.) of time, viz. the Mohammedan lunar calendar, I. 194, 195; cycles of lunar years, I. 197; solar divisions, the year and seasons, I. 245—258; days of the week, I. 195; divisions of a day, I. 199—202.
divorce: laws and customs regulating divorce, I. 367—370; the *pasah* and *talak* divorce, I. 367—369; the *khul'* divorce, I. 370; the right of recall (*ruju'*), I. 369; the *'iddah*, I. 370.
doctrine: orthodox character of the religious doctrine taught, II. 281.
dogma: its study, II. 9.
Dōkarim: author of the *Hikayat Prang Gōmpeuni*, II. 100—103.
dolls: II. 192.
dō'ma: a big gold button, I. 25.
domestic life: see "life".
dòng: see *ranub dòng* and *peutòë dòng*.
Dōy hijah: the month *Du'l-hijjah*, I. 195.
Dōy ka'idah: the month *Du'l-qa'dah*, I. 195.
drang: name of a bush, I. 57.
dreams: their interpretation, II. 42, 43.
dress: see "apparel".
dressing food: (*meu'idang*), I. 31.
dressing hair: see *sanggōy*.
drinking-vessels: I. 40.
druggists: (*ureuëng meukat aweuëh*), II, 46.
drugs: see "medicaments".
drums: big mosque drum (*tambu*), I, 62, II. 258; smaller drums, see *rapa'i* or *rapana*, *geundrang*, *peungana'*, and *geudumba'*.
du'a: prayer. *D. kubu*: the funeral prayer, I. 428. *D. beusòë*: a formula to secure invulnerability, II. 38.

duë': "when a child can sit up," — a measure of an infant's age, I. 394.
Dutch: Achehnese hostility to the Dutch, I. 170, 171; their use of contemptuous pronouns when speaking of the Dutch, I. 171; the Dutch concentration policy, I. 177; friends of the Dutch among the Achehnese, I. 189; Si Ujut as the typical "Dutch infidel", II. 81—88. See also references to Dutch policy in the *Hikayat Prang Gōmpeuni*, II. 100—117.
dugòm: when a child can "lie on its face and hands", — a measure of an infant's age, I. 394.
dung-heaps: I. 36.
duròë: thorn, I. 376, 377.
dusōn: country, countrified, boorish; I, 24, 145.
dwellings: I. 34—44.
dyeing: II. 64.
dysentery: (*biōh*), I. 415, II. 48.

E.

è' malò: lacquer-sediment, II. 37.
è' meujadi: first excreta preserved as a medicine, II. 49. Also *è' mula jadi*.
ear-boring: see "boring".
earring: (*subang*), I. 29.
Ebeunu Aké: name of a treatise on Arabic grammar, II. 7.
eclipses: II. 285, 286.
education: see "learning", "instruction", and "students".
èëlia: a saint, I. 165, II. 134.
éh: the pole connecting the yoke and the plough, I. 261.
elders: see *ureuèng tuha*.
elephantiasis: (*untōt*), II. 51.
èleumèë: the learning of Islam, II. 1; knowledge of magic lore, I. 280, II. 32—58; *È. keubay*: the science of invulnerability, II. 34—38; *È. peuët blaih*: "the fourteen sciences", II. 58. *È. peurasat*: the science of physiognomy, II. 41. *È. phay*: divination by the use of books, II. 41. *È. salé'*: unorthodox mysticism, II. 13, 32, 281. *È. sihé*: witchcraft, II. 33. *È. tuba*: the law of poisons, II. 46.
Eseukanda Muda: Sultan of Achèh, A. D. 1607—1636; I. 4. 5; his conquests, II. 81. Better known as *Meukuta Alam*.
Eseutamboy: Istambul or Constantinople, I. 208.
euë: boundary of land, II. 196, 197, 199.
Eulenspiegels: II. 70—73.
eumpang: a rice-sack, I. 272.
Eumpèë Bliëng: a personified well, II. 285.
Eumpèë Lulu: a haunted mountain, I. 51; traditions connected with it, II. 284.
eumpiëng: parched rice, I. 400.
eumpòë: weeds, I. 263.
eumpung: fowl-run, I. 37.
eunchiën: ring, I 30, 327. *E. gilé'*: a special thumb-ring, I. 357.
eungkòng: the coconut monkey, II. 207.
eungkōt: fish, I. 30, 31.
euntat mampleuë: wedding, I. 337.
euntèë ië: an evil spirit of the sea, I.
euntuë': a collar of golden knots (worn by a bride), I. 308.

F.

fables: their character, II. 69; part played by the mousedeer, II. 70; by the native Eulenspiegel, II. 70—73; books of fables, II. 158 sqq.
face ache: II. 52.
fairs: I. 237, 242.
family: (*kawōm*), I. 44, 45; the royal family, — see "princes".
fast: the fasting-month, I. 195, 228—236; its expiatory character, I. 239.
fatihah: the first chapter of the Quran, I. 73, II. 253.
feasts: marriage feasts, I. 320; religious and seasonal feasts, see "festivals"; funeral feasts, I. 429, 430. See also *kanduri*.
fences: I. 35, 36.
festivals: (a.) religious festivals: the *achura*, I. 202—206; the *rabu abéh*, I. 206, 207; the feast of *Tuan Meurasab*, I. 217, 218; the *Kanduri apam*, I. 219; the *Kanduri Aja Eseutiri*, I. 219; the *Kanduri bu*, I. 221; the *malam beureu'at*, I. 222, 223; the three days preceding the annual fast, I. 224—228; the feast of *Teungku Anjōng*, I. 235; the night of *Qadar*, I. 235; the *urùë raya*, I. 237—241; the sacrificial feast of the Hajj, I. 242;

(b.) seasonal festivals: the *kanduri blang* or field *kanduri*, I. 259, 260; the *kanduri bungòng lada*, I. 260; the *kanduri la'ōt*, or fishermen's feast, I. 284.
fever: (*deumam* and *sijuë'-seu'uëm*), I. 415, II. 48.
fiddles: see "violins".
fights: by men for amusement, II. 198; between animals, II. 210—215.
fines: their infliction, I. 103, 113; their recovery, I. 115.
finger-rings: I. 30, 327.
fire-arms: I. 27.
fire-works: (*kuta bungòng apuy*), I. 245, II. 268.
fishermen: I. 280—284.
fishing: seasons, I. 275; traps and ponds, I. 276, 277; lines, I. 279; nets, I. 280; superstitions, I. 280, 281; dues to local chiefs, I. 283, 284.
flageolets: (*bangsi*), II. 258.
floats: for fishing, I. 278.
flowers: as ornaments, I. 241, 309. See also *bungòng*.
flutes: (*suléng*), II. 258, 259.
food: things eaten, I. 30, 31; preparation of food, I. 30, 31, 41; special festival dishes, I. 31, 32.
foreign elements: in Acheh, I. 19, 48.
foreigners: their presence, I. 17, 19; their treatment, I. 128, 129.
forty-four: special value attached to this number, I. 264, II. 55.
four: special value attached to this number, I. 47, 105.
Fourteen Sciences: II. 58.
fowl-runs: I. 37.
fowls: I. 37.
Friday: its observance; the service, I. 80; prohibition of labour, I. 261, 280.
fruit: I. 31.
frying-pans: I. 40.
funerals: see "disposal of the dead".
furniture: of the house, I. 34—44; of the mosque, I. 82; of the *meunasah*, I. 63.

G.

gacha: henna, I. 303, 426.
gaki: foot, I. 29; step, rung, I. 39.
gala: mortgage, I. 291.
galagarō: sort of aloe-wood, II. 56.
gambé: gambier, I. 32.
kambling: I. 241, 244, II. 209.
games: see "pastimes".
gampét: a measure of husked rice, I. 159.
gampōng: village-community, I. 58—80. *G. Jawa*: a village of Kutaraja, I. 24, 73, II. 90, 96, 228; *G. Meulayu*: another village, II. 98.
ganchéng: bolt, I. 43.
ganja: hashish, II. 53.
ganti: an important drug, II, 52, 57.
gantòë: succession, turn, II. 211.
gapu: sirih-lime, I. 32.
gardens: I. 259, 260, 286.
gasay: truss, I. 267.
gaséng: (a.) playing-top, II. 190; (b.) keys of a violin, II. 260.
gata: a familiar form of address used between equals, I. 135.
gatheuë': (a prawn ?), II. 159.
gatò': ankle, II. 196.
gènggòng: a musical instrument, II. 258.
gèt: good, II. 275.
geu: a respectful personal pronoun, I. 171.
geuchi': a variant of *keuchi'*, q. v.; I. 68.
geudōng: closely packed in cloth (of a child); I. 386.
geudubang: kind of sword, II. 237.
geudumba': a kettle-drum, II. 260, 261.
geumeuchië': to shriek, I. 427.
geundrang: a sort of drum, I. 398, II. 40, 259, 260. *G. ana'*: = *peungana'*. *G. changguë'*: "frog's drum", — a kind of rattle, II. 190.
geuneugòm: a coop for catching fish, I. 276.
geunteut: an evil spirit, I. 410.
geureuda: the Garuda of Vishnu, II. 127, 135, 146, 149, 233.
geusòng: a foul-smelling insect destructive to padi, I. 266.
geutah: vegetable sap, II. 52.
geutuë: a tree-name, II. 200.
Ghazali: a great Moslem teacher, II. 9.
gigòë: tooth, teeth. *G. asèë*: canines, I. 400. *G. dikeuë*: front-teeth, I. 400. *G. glanteuë*: thunder-teeth, — a name given to prehistoric stone implements, I. 413.
glanggang: a fighting-ring or arena, II. 79, 211, 212.
glayang: a boy's kite, II. 191.
glém: a fruit; the star in the tail of Scorpio, I. 248.

gleuëng: bangle, bracelet, anklet, I. 29, 308.
glima: "pomegranate", a pattern, II. 64.
glinggang: *cassia alata*, II. 50, 52.
gliwang: a *klewang*, I. 27.
glōng: a cylindrical piece of metal to steady dishes, I. 322.
glum: a skin-disease, II. 38, 50.
Glumpang Dua: name of a village, II. 100.
glundōng: a tree-name, I. 36.
glutinous rice: I. 31, 32, 46, 78.
gò: (a.) plough-handle, I. 261;
(b.) a playing-stick, II. 194.
gògasi: a forest giant, II. 135; 136, 140.
goitre: I. 412.
goldsmiths: II. 65.
gōmpeuni: European authorities; I. 13.
gongs: II. 265. See also *chanang*.
gonorrhœa: I. 415, II. 52.
government: see "authorities".
Great Achèh: its limits, I. 1.
greetings: see "salutations".
grōng-grōng: a pipe through a river-bund, I. 277.
gruphuëng agam and **gruphuëng inòng**: names of medicinal plants, II. 52.
guchi: jar, I. 38, 39, 412; knot, callosity, I. 412.
guda: bow from which violin-strings are strung, II. 260.
guerillas: I. 176, 177.
guha: a hole for throwing refuse out of a house, I. 38.
gulè: cooked vegetables, I. 30, II. 53.
gundé': a secondary wife, I. 360.
gunòngan: a peculiarly shaped building at Kutaraja, II. 59, 63, 238.
gurèe: teacher, II. 4.

H.

ha': a generic name for payments of the nature of fees or contributions; e. g.:
ha' balèë: the return of half the dowry if the wife dies within a certain period; I. 364, 431;
ha' chupéng: marriage-fee paid to a *keuchi'*, I. 66;
ha' ganchéng: deposit in a suit for debt, I. 116;
ha' katib: = *ha' chupéng*, I. 66, 342;
ha' pra'é: succession-duty, I. 96, 434, 438;
ha' sabi: contributions to the "holy war", I. 180;
ha' teuleukin: fee for a burial service, I. 74, 428.
haba: a name given to stories or accounts of past history (*h. jameun*) or old institutions (*hadih maja*), II. 68, 69; also to animal fables, II. 70; to Eulenspiegel stories, II. 70—73; and even to romantic fiction when it is taken for truth, II. 123.
habib: a title given to Sayyids, I. 155.
Habib: the Habib par excellence, *Sayyid Abdurrahman Zahir*, I. 23, 32, 76, 155, 158—164, II. 105, 107; his policy, I. 161, 163, 164; his jurisdiction, I. 161, 162; his enemies, I. 162, 163; his absence from Achèh at the outbreak of the war, I. 173, his return, I. 174, his submission, I. 175.
Habib of Samalanga: I. 181—183, II. 116.
Habib Seunagan: an unorthodox religious teacher, II. 14.
Hadih: the *Ḥadīth* or Sacred Tradition, II. 23, 32.
hadih maja: see *haba*; II. 43, 68, 69.
haïh: an ell; I. 244, 425.
hair-dressing: see "dressing".
Ḥajj: the pilgrimage to Mecca, I. 193, 242; zeal for it among Indonesians, II. 305—308.
haji: (a.) a pilgrim to Mecca, II. 308, 309;
(b.) the month *du'l-ḥijjah*, I. 195.
hakikah: a sacrifice offered up for a child on the seventh day after its birth, I. 384.
haleuba: fenugreek seed, II. 56.
haleuë meuë: proof by finding stolen property in the actual possession of an accused, I. 105.
halia: ginger, I. 30.
halua: sweetmeat, I. 340.
hamèh: Thursday, I. 195.
Hamzah Pansuri: a pantheistic mystic, II. 13, 19, 20, 180.
hana adat: irregular, of a marriage; I. 328.
hana gèt: morally wrong, II. 275.
hangings: (*tirè*), I. 41.
hantu buru: an evil spirit, I. 387.
harab meulia, or **haram lia**: a royal title, I. 120.
harah thōn: the letter of the year; I. 197.
hareubab: a native violin, II. 260, 261.
hashish: II. 53.

hatam: recitation of the Quran in chorus, I. 284.
hatib: a mosque official, I. 85.
haunted trees: I. 410, 412.
head-dress: caps, I. 26, 27; kerchiefs, I. 27, 28.
hékeumat: powers of withcraft, I. 414.
henna (*gacha*), I. 303.
herbs: (medicinal), II. 55—58.
hernia: I. 415, II. 51.
hibat: gifts for religious purposes, II. 321.
hiëm: riddles, II. 67.
highland: (*tunòng*) I. 24, 25, 45.
highlanders: I. 24, 25; their dress, I. 25—30; their food, I. 30—32; their fanaticism, I. 33.
hikayat: its characteristics, II. 77; the *hikayat ruhé*, II. 78—80; the romantic poetic *hikayat*, II. 121; its character, II. 121; its connection with Malay, II. 121, 122; its Indian origin, II. 122, 123; native belief in its historical accuracy, II. 123, 124; its locale, II. 124, Achehnese classification of poems, II. 124. For list and names of hikayats see "Literature."
himbèë: a species of ape, II. 143.
Hindus: their traders in Achèh, II. 17.
hinggu: asafoetida, I. 386, II. 56.
hisab: calculation of the commencement of the lunar month, I. 196.
history: lack of data for early history, I. 16; early history of the *kawōm*, I. 48 sqq.; of the ulèëbalangships, I. 90, 91; of offices such as that of the *Kali malikōn adé*, I. 97—100; history of the Sultanate at the outbreak of the war, I. 145—151; of the religious forces in Achèh, I. 153—158; of the Habib, I. 158—164, 173; of other leaders, I. 173—187; history of Mohammedanism, v. *Islam*. Sources of history: the *sarakata*: I. 4, 5, 9; existing institutions when studied, I. 15, 16.
Hok Canton: a trading ship seized by the Achehnese, II. 113, 114.
horses: their treatment, I. 37.
house: see "dwelling". Its component parts: I. 38—44; its moveable nature, I. 42; its instability, I. 42, 43; its erection, I. 43, 44.
house-platforms: (*para*), I. 42.
hukōm: religious law; its conflict with *adat*, I. 14; the native view that it is supplementary to *adat*, I. 14.
hydrocele: (*burōt*), I. 415, II. 51.

I.

Ibrahim Mansō Shah: Sultan, A. D. 1858—1870; I. 33, 135, 190.
icha: evening prayer, evening; I. 200.
idang: a dish ready for serving up, I. 211, 321.
ʿiddah: a period during which a widow or divorcée may not marry, I. 368, II. 274.
ië: water. *I. asam* (tamarind juice): a lotion for small-pox, II. 47. *I. babah mirah*: sirih-slaver (used medicinally), II. 50. *I. jō'*: aren vinegar, I. 39. *I. kruët*: lime-juice, II. 284. *I. mata duyōn*: "duyong's tears", a fabulous specific, II. 53.
Ië Leubeuë: a village-centre of student life, II. 26.
igeuë: a fine bamboo used in flute-making, II. 258.
ija: (generically) scarf. *I. bajèë*: clothring: I. 433. *I. peukréng*: a towel, I, 74, 428. *I. pinggang*: a waist-band, I. 25. *I. planggi*: a ceremonial scarf, I. 392, II. 40. *I. sawa'*: a shoulder-cloth, I. 28. *I. simpla'*: a bride's scarf, I. 308. *I. tōb ulèë*: a head-cloth, I. 28.
ijmaʿ: the general consensus of Islam, II. 8.
ikay: a bracelet, I. 308.
imeum: history of the office, once religious (I. 82), now secular and hereditary (I. 84, 85); the mosque-*imeum* and his duties, I. 85; powers of the territorial *imeum*, I. 86, 87.
Imeum of Luëng Bata: a fighting-chief, I. 173, 174, II. 105, 107, 108.
Imeum peuët: name of a tribe, I. 49, 51, 57.
incantations: II. 46.
Indrapuri: a village, II. 111.
industrial art: stone-cutting, II. 59; architecture, II. 59—63; weaving, II. 63, 64; gold and silver work, II. 65; carving and pottery, II. 65.
industries: agriculture, I. 258—275; fishing, I. 275—284.
infidels: hostility of Moslems to infidels, I. 167; Achehnese views on the subject, I. 168—171, 175.

inflammations: their treatment, II. 52.
inheritance: law of inheritance, I. 438.
inong: "mother", clump (of seedlings), I. 265.
institutions: (political) their antiquity, I. 4, 10, 15, 16, 45.
instruction: in the Qurān, II. 3, 4; elementary instruction, II. 4; in Malay, II. 5; higher studies, II. 5, 6; comparison with studies in Java, II. 6, 7; the study of Arabic grammar, II. 7, 8; of law, II. 8, 9; of dogma, II. 9; of mysticism, II. 9, 10.
interest: on money, I. 292.
interpretation: of dreams, II. 42, 43.
intoxicating liquors: indulged in by Achehnese of the better class; I. 33.
invulnerability: I. 236; charms to secure it, II. 34—38.
iron: superstitions regarding iron; II. 34.
Iskandar Thani: Sultan, A. D. 1637; I. 4.
Islam: imported from India, I. 17; its attitude towards magic and sorcery, II. 33; towards religious war, I. 166—168, II. 336, 337, 347—351; its influence on Achehnese character, I. 168—172, and on the artistic sense, II. 65; European misconceptions of Islam, II. 269—272; differences between theoretical and practical religion, II. 272—275; influence of local custom in creating such differences, II. 275—277; superficial nature of conversions, II. 277—279; lack of observance of religious requirements, II. 279, 280; comparison of Indonesian Mohammedanism with that of other races (a.) as regards doctrine and saint-worship, II. 281—303; (b.) as regards the remaining four "pillars" of Islam, II. 303—314; (c.) as regards domestic law, II. 314—319; (d.) as regards trade-laws, II. 319—321; (e.) as regards Governments and the administration of justice, II. 321; discussion of the future of Islam, II. 338—351.

J.

ja': to walk; "able to walk" as a measure of a child's age, I. 394.
ja' ba bu: = *ja' mè bu*.
Ja Batèë: = *Tō' Batèë*.
Ja Karièng: a sacred tree, I. 51, 417; II. 286, 287.
ja' mè bu: "rice-bringing", — the name of a ceremonial visit, see I. 372.
Ja Sandang: name of a tribe (*kawōm*); I. 49, 50, 51, 52, 57, 58.
ja' wòë: "go home", — an exorcism to the *burōng*, I. 382.
jacket: see *bajèë*.
Ja'far al-Barzanji: author of a *maulid*, I. 212.
jagōng: maize, I. 260.
jaheuë': birth feet foremost — esteemed lucky, I. 374.
jakeuët: tithes, I. 268—271; their distribution, I. 268—271; observance of the rules, II. 309, 310.
jalō: a type of boat, I. 278.
jam: hour, I. 199.
jamadō akhé: the month *jumāda'l-ākhir*, I. 195.
jamadō away: the month *jumāda'l-awwal*, I. 195.
jambō: hut, I. 79, II. 258. *J. chandu*: opium shed, I. 32.
jamilén: name of a tune; I. 243.
jampō': a night-bird, II. 42.
jang: a fish-screen or weir, I. 278.
janggay: harsh, discordant (of rhyme or metre), II. 75.
janggōt jén: a lichen, *usnea barbata*; II. 50, 57.
Janthòë: a frontier village of Great Achèh, I. 1.
jara: cummin, II. 47. *J. putéh*: id. II. 56. *J. itam*: seeds of *nigella sativa*, II. 56. *J. kusani*; caraway seed, II. 56. *J. manèh*: *foeniculum panmorium*; II. 56.
jars: (*guchi*), I. 37, 39; (*tayeuën*) I. 39.
Jauhar Alam Shah: Sultan, A. D. 1802—1824, I. 190.
javelins (*kapa'*), I. 27.
jén: spirits, genii, I. 236, 409—416. *J. apuy*: an evil *ignis fatuus*, I. 412, 413.
jeu'á: dung-heap, I. 36.
jeuë: casting-net, I. 277—279.
jeu'èë: winnowing-basket, I. 2, 272, 411; II. 44.
jeuëm: = *jam*.
Jeumalōy: ruler of Achèh, A. D. 1703—1726; I. 5, II. 89—99.
jeumeu'ah: Friday, I. 195.

jeumpa: the champaka flower, I. 241, 309.
jeumphan: small cakes, I. 237.
jeunadah: an ark borne in burial and other processions, I. 425, II. 266.
jeuneulòng: a vertical stake to which a small fish-trap (*bubèè*) is attached, I. 276.
jeungki: rice-pounder, I. 36, 272.
jeura: = *jara*.
jeureungèë: a medicinal plant, *acorus calamus*; I. 386, II. 58.
Jeurumiah: name of a treatise on Arabic grammar, II. 7.
jewellery: anklets, I. 29; finger-rings, I. 30, 327; thumb-rings, I. 357; necklaces, I. 29; earrings, I. 29, 308; golden bosses, I. 308; chain bracelets, I. 29; clasps, I. 30, 309; metal collars, I. 29; bracelets, I. 29, 308; bangle anklets, I. 308; hair-ornaments, I. 308, 309; forehead-plates, I. 308; and head-ornaments, I. 317.
jhung: a form of sympathetic magic, I. 415.
jih: a familiar and rather contemptuous pronoun, I. 171.
jihād: "Holy War", — use of tithes for the purpose, I. 270; the doctrine of the Holy War, II. 336, 337, 347—351.
jinamèë: wedding-gift, I. 339; accession-gift, I. 116.
juara: trainer (of fighting-cocks), II. 79, 212—215.
Juhan Shah: Sultan, A. D. 1735—1760; I. 190.
juïh: a section of the Quran, I. 430, II. 4.
julab: purgatives, II. 48.
jumuju: seeds of *carum copticum*, II. 56.
jungka': a kind of draughts, II. 200.
jurèë: inner room, I. 35, 38, 41, 43, II. 44.
jurōng: a *gampōng* path, I. 35, 59.
justice: its administration; I. 94, 101.

K.

kachang parang: *carnavalia gladiata*, II. 56.
kachu: catechu, II. 57.
kafir: infidel, I. 7, 14. See also *kaphé*.
kala: the constellation Scorpio, I. 247, 248.
kali: the office, I. 93; its duties, I. 95, 96; its jurisdiction, I. 93—96; the *kali malikōn adé*, nature and history of the office, I. 97—100; the *kali rabōn jalé*, I. 98, 100; other kalis, I 101; learning not considered essential in a *kali*, II. 23.
kalòn urat jaròë: palmistry, II. 40.
kaluët: seclusion from the world, I. 182, II. 34, 116.
kamat: the last exhortation to the dying, I. 376.
kamuë: the white ant, II. 126.
kandé: a large lamp in the *meunasah*, I. 63.
kanduri: generic name for feasts: the *k. apam*, I. 219; the *K. Aja Eseutiri*, I. 219; the *k. bu*, I. 221; the *k. blang*, I. 259, 260; the *k. bungòng lada*, I. 260; the *k. la'ōt*, I. 284; funeral feasts (*k. beuët bu*, etc.), I. 430, 432; feasts for averting evil influences (*k tula' bala*), I. 416; rain-making feasts, II. 285.
kanèt: cooking-pot, I. 40, 275, 372.
kanji: porridge, gruel, I. 205, 206, 229.
ka'ōy: vow, I. 398.
kapa': javelin, I. 27.
kaphan: winding-sheet, I. 421.
kaphé: = *kafir*, infidel, II. 81, 142.
kaphō: camphor, II. 45, 57.
kapulaga: cardamum, II. 57.
karaïh: a state sirih-box, I. 210.
karéng: small dried fish, I. 30.
kasab: gold thread used in weaving, II. 63.
katéng: a rice-basket, I. 372.
katib: see *ha' katib*.
kawé: a fishing line; varieties: *k. darat*, I. 278; *k. hué* or *k. tunda*, I. 278; *k. laōt*, I. 278; *k. ranggōng*, I. 279.
kawé chan: pain in swallowing, II. 52.
kawin gantung: a marriage the consummation of which must be postponed, I. 295.
kawōm: tribe, clan, I. 45—59; its present non-territorial character, I. 45; tribal chiefs, I. 46; the four tribes, I. 47—52, 57, 58; part played by the *kawōm* in blood-feuds, I. 53—57.
kawōy: a learned text, I. 160.
kay: a coconut-shell used as a measure, I. 272.
kayab: festering ulcers, II. 50.
Kayèë Jatòë: a village, I. 379.
kayèë meujén: haunted trees, I. 410.
kerchief: see *bungkōih*, *ija* and *tangkulō'*.
keubeuë: buffalo, I. 357.
keuchi': a *gampōng*-headman, I. 61, 64—70; his position, I. 65; his sources of income, I. 66, 67; his authority, I. 68; his power over marriages, I. 70.

keudè: shops, I, 289, 291.
keudundōng: a tree, I. 36.
keujruën: a title of low rank, I. 92.
Keumala: the residence of the Pretender-Sultan, I. 129.
keumbay budi: paper-images to amuse infants, II. 190.
keumamaïh: stockfish, I. 30.
keumeu: unhusked rice opened by roasting, I. 387, 416. Also *keumeung*.
keumudèë: a wood used in dyeing, II. 64.
keuneurukam: incense-resin, II. 57.
keunòng: (a.) conjunctions (of Scorpio with the moon), I. 248; theire use in computing time, I. 248—258;
(b.) smooth, of metre or rhyme, II. 75.
keunòng è': a form of insult, I. 325.
keunòng srapa: afflicted by a curse, I. 414.
keupula: a tree-name, II. 52, 200.
keureuja: the wedding-feast, I. 326.
keureukōn: secretary, I. 124, 125.
keureuyay: edging of a *baju* (*bajèë*), II. 28.
keusab chut and **keusab rayeu'**: names of medicinal plants, II. 52.
keutan: cakes of rice-flower, I. 397.
khalifah: (a.) a Caliph or successor of Mohammed, II. 324, 326;
(b.) a mystic-teacher's deputy, II. 18, 251.
khul': divorce purchased by the wife from the husband, I. 370.
kiblat: the direction in which Mecca lies, I. 247, 426.
kima: a large shell-fish, II. 301.
kinayat: a form of proof of a theft, I. 105.
kisah: the narrative part of a *sadati* performance, II. 227 sqq.
kitab: religious books, I. 288, II. 5.
kitchens: I. 38.
kite-flying: II. 191.
Kléng: Kling, I. 19.
kleuëng: a kite (II. 126), the cry of which is believed to be ominous, II. 42.
kleumba': perfumed oil, I. 307.
kleumbu: mosquito-net, I. 41.
klewang: the well-known heavy Achehnese sword, I. 27.
Klibeuët: a place in Achèh, II. 120, 233.
Klings: trading in Achèh, I. 17; recognized as foreign settlers, I. 19, but sometimes absorbed into the population, I. 48.
Kluang: the West Coast limit of Great Achèh, I. 1.
kòh bòh: circumcision, I. 398.
kòh gigòë: tooth-filing, I. 400, 401.
kòh pusat: cutting the navel string, I. 376.
kōmkōma: saffron, II. 52, 57, 177.
kòòò: the cry of an owl; its significance, II. 41.
Korinchi: settlers in Achèh, I. 297.
kra': a portion of a fish-screen, I. 278.
kramat: "miraculously revealed as the chosen friend of God", sacrosanct; I. 141, II. 301, 302.
kran: chafing dish, I. 41.
krandam: a box for sirih-lime, I. 42.
krani pòteu: clerks to the Sultan, I. 124.
kreunda: coffin, I. 422, 426.
krikay: a small tray, I. 40.
krōng: storehouse for rice, I. 272.
kruëng: river, I. 34, 276. *K. Kala* (II. 98, 230), *K. Raba* (I. 161, II. 98, 107), *K. Raya* (I. 1, II. 96), and *K. Sabé* (II. 112): places in Achèh.
krumbu: bonfire, II. 268.
krunchōng: anklet, I. 308.
kuala: river-mouth, I. 8. *Wasé k.*: a toll on ships entering rivers, I. 117.
Kuala Achèh: the port of Acheh, I. 1, 2.
Kuala Batèë: a place in Pidië (Pedir), I. 142, II. 91.
kubu kramat: tomb of a saint, I. 390.
kudé: a skin-disease, I. 415. *K. buta*: id., II. 31.
kudi: a roll of cloth, I. 407.
kudrang: a wood used in dyeing, II. 64.
kuë': a kind of bird, II. 72.
kukuë': cock-crowing, I. 200.
kulam: mosque-tank, I. 393; *meunasah*-tank, I. 71.
kulat: toad-stools, I. 414.
kulét-kayèë: "bark"; certain cloth-fabrics, I. 25.
kulét-lawang: a bark, *cinnamomum culit lawan*, II. 56.
Kulét manèh: cinnamon, II. 56.
kulét salasari: bark of *alyxia stellata*, II. 58.
kumeun: mites believed to cause small-pox, II. 47.
kumukōïh: a fruit, II. 190.
kumunjōng: visits of condolence, I. 424, 433.
kundé: chignon, top-knot, I. 28.

kunyèt: turmeric, II. 47.
kupala: a village headman under the Dutch, II. 109, 110.
kupiah: cap, I. 26, 27, II. 232.
kurab: ringworm, I. 21, 415. *K. beusòë*: a variety of the disease, II. 38.
kurangan: a subdivision of the main theme in a poem; II. 77.
kurubeuën: sacrifices, I. 243—245.
kuta bungòng apuy: fireworks, bonfires; I. 245, II. 268.
Kuta Kandang: scene of a fight in the Achèh war, II. 115.
Kutakarang: see *Teungku Kutakarang*.
Kutaraja: the capital of Acheh, I. 205, II. 109.
kutika: a table of lucky days, II. 85, 86, 212.

L.

laba sihareukat: joint acquisitions of husband and wife, I. 365, 366.
labu: pumpkin, II. 35.
lada putéh: white pepper, II. 56.
lada si-chupa': a historic cannon, I. 208, 209.
ladang: hill-planting, I. 266; rights over *ladang* plantations, I. 285, 288.
ladles: II. 289.
lagèë: time, in metre; II. 75, 211, 223, 225, 232, 233.
Lam Bada (II. 108); **Lam Baruëh** (II. 98, 115); **Lam Beusòë** (II. 112); **Lam Bhu'** (I. 24, II. 98); **Lam Leu'òt** (I. 54); **Lam Nyòng** (II. 229); **Lam Panaïh** (I. 50, II. 110, 111, 238); **Lam Paya** (II. 230); **Lam Puchō'** (II. 230); **Lam Sayun** (I. 125); **Lam Seupeuëng** (I. 24); and **Lam Teungòh** (II. 105): villages in Acheh.
lam tunang: = *meutunang*.
lampōng: float, I. 278.
lamps: see *kandé* and *panyòt*.
lanchang: sacrificial boat, I. 417, 418.
langay: plough, I. 261, 262.
Langga, and **Langgò**: villages frequented as centres of learning, II. 26.
langgéh umòng: a method of levying fines, I. 115.
langkueuëh china: root-stock of *alpinia galanga*, II. 56.
lapé' pusat: fee to a midwife, I. 376.
lapé' surat: the wrapper of a certificate of divorce, I. 369.
lareuë: a method of planting out rice-seedlings, I. 266.
law: (a.) Criminal Law: as to blood-money and the *jus talionis*, I. 56; manslaughter, and bodily hurt, I. 102—104; theft, I. 104 sqq.; adultery, I. 110—114;
(b.) Customary Law: conflict between it and religious law, I. 14, II. 175—277; Achehnese views of the conflict, I. 14;
(c.) Civil Law: the right to cleared land, I. 285; its loss by non-cultivation, I. 286; transfer by inheritance, I. 287; law as to sales of land and cattle, I. 288, 289, II. 320; law as to leases, I. 289; rules regarding mortgage and interest, I. 290—292, II. 320; evasions of the prohibition of money-lending, I. 292—294; law of inheritance and distribution of effects, I. 434—439; religious bequests and gifts, II. 321;
(d.) Law of Procedure: procuring evidence by torture, I. 109; suits for debt, I. 115, 116; recovery of sums due, I. 115, 116; rules as to deposits, I. 118;
(e.) Law of Evidence: proof of theft, I. 105; of adultery, I. 108—112;
(f.) Law of Persons: rights over slaves, I. 21; marriage laws, I. 328—358; divorce laws, I. 367—370;
(g.) Religious Law: its conflict with custom, I. 14, II. 175—277.
le: *ureuëng le*: the Pleiades, I. 257.
lead: for fishing, I. 278.
learning and science: II. 1—65; orthodox religious studies, II. 1—10; mysticism, II. 10—20; state of learning in Acheh, II. 20—23; schools and student-life, II. 23—32; advantages of religious learning, II. 25, 31, 32; magic and sorcery, II. 32—58; industrial arts, II. 59—65.
leases: I. 289.
legends: of a sixteenth century embassy to Turkey, I. 208, 209; of Tuan Meurasab, I. 217, 218; of the religious value of *apam* cakes, I. 220; of the origin of the tribe *Ja Sandang*, I. 50, 51; of the origin of the *Pòlém* family, I. 133; of the origin of the *burōng*, I. 378—382; of a *Teuku* who shricked in his grave, I. 427;

of the wars with Malacca, II. 81—88; of *Eumpèè Lulu*, II. 284; of the conversion of the Achehnese by Teungku di-Kuala, II. 310—312.

leubè: explanation of the title; I. 71, 219, II. 312, 313; alms given to the *leubè*, I. 216, 233. *L. Isa*: author of the *Hikayat Rantò*, II. 120. *L. Saman*: a name given contemptuously to *Teungku Tirò* I, 183. *L. Peureuba*: a man to whose misconduct the origin of the *burōng* is attributed; I. 378.

leuë': the ground-dove, I. 39; used as a fighting bird, II. 211, 215, 241.

leuën: courtyard, I. 36, 308.

leuhō: the early afternoon prayer, I. 199, 200.

leujeu: eel, II. 161.

leuki: a skin-disease, II. 36.

leumbé: a haunted variety of the liana, I. 411, II. 197.

leusōng: a rice-mortar, I. 272, II. 200.

lhaïh: the process of thinning out the sprouting *padi*, I. 263.

lhat: crevice, I. 42.

lhèë: three. *L. reutōih*: name of a tribe, I. 49. *L. kra' pineuëng masa'*: the triple divorce, I. 369.

lheuë: the nursery-bed in rice-cultivation, I. 263.

lhò: to stamp, to thresh, I. 268.

Lhō': bay or bight, I. 283. *L. Glumpang*: a place in Achèh, II. 112, 113. *L. Kruët*: id., I. 114. *L. Nga*: id., II. 110. *L. Seumawè*: id., I. 133.

lhòm: a freshwater fishpond, I. 277.

life: childhood, I. 383—400; early married life, I. 323, 356—358; sickness and death, I. 412—418; student-life, II. 23—32.

liké: the *dikr* or religious chant, I. 165, 284, II. 186.

likōt: the back-yard of a house, I. 36.

lingkeuë: a husband stepping over a pregnant wife — a superstitious practice, I. 374.

linie: the "line" of Dutch fortified posts, I. 130.

lists: of the stars known to the Achehnese, I. 247; of medicinal simples, II. 55—58; of Achehnese literary works, see "literature"; of Achehnese saints, II. 292—299.

literature: (a.) kinship between written and unwritten literature, II. 66, 67; proverbs, II. 67; riddles, II. 67; learned treatises, II. 67, 68; stories, II. 68; traditional history, II. 68, 69; fables, II. 69—73; the metrical system, II. 73—75; poetic license, II. 75; styles of recitation, II. 75; poetry, II. 76—78;

(b.) list of works of which a short account is given: (I.) legends, etc., (*hikayat ruhé*): the *Hikayat plandō' kanchi*, II. 70; the *Ht. guda*, II. 79; the *Ht. leumò*, II. 79; the *Ht. ureuëng Jawa*, II. 79; the *Ht. Pòdi Amat*, II. 79; the *Ht. Pò Jamboë*, II. 80;

(II.) epic hikayats: the *Malém Dagang*, II. 80—88; the *Pòchut Muhamat*, II. 88—100; the *Prang Gōmpeuni*, II. 100—117; the *Ht. rantò*, II. 120, 121; the *Malém Diwa*, II. 125—128; the *Eseukanda Ali*, II. 129—131; the *Nun Parisi*, II. 131—133; the *Banta Beuransah*, II. 134—137; the *Malém Diwanda'*, II. 137—139; the *Ht. gajah tujōh ulèe*, II. 139; the *Ht. Gumba' Meuïh*, II. 140, 141; the *Cham Nadiman*, II. 141, 142; the *Banta Amat*, II. 142; the *Putròe Barén*, II. 142, 143; the *Banta Ali*, II. 143—145; the *Indra Bangsawan*, II. 145—147; the *Chah Kubat*, II. 147, 148; the *Indrapatra*, II. 148; the *Diwa Sangsarèh*, II. 148, 149; the *Chin Tabuhan*, II. 149; the *Diu Plinggam*, II. 150; the *Kamarōdaman*, II. 150; the *Meudeuha'*, II. 151, 152; the *Pha Suasa*, II. 152, 153; the *Sulutan Bōseutaman*, II. 153—155; the *Chut Gambang China*, II. 155; the *Diwa Akaïh Chaya*, II. 155—157;

(III.) animal fables: the *plandō' kanchi*, II. 158—162; the *Nasruan Adé*, II. 162—165;

(IV.) religious legends anterior to Mohammed: the *Ht. asay padé*, II. 166; the *Ht. masa jeuët dōnya*, II. 167; the *Nabi Usōh*, II. 167; the *Pra'un*, II. 168; the *Raja Jōmjōmah*, II. 169; the *Tamlikha*, II. 169, 170; the *Putròe Peureukèysōn*, II. 170, 171;

(V.) religious post-Mohammedan legends: *Ht. Nubuët*, II. 171, 172; the *Raja Bada*, II. 173; the *Prang Raja Khiba*, II. 173; the *Seuma'un*, II. 173, 174; the *Nabi meuchukō*, II. 175; the *Mè'reuët*, II. 175;

the *Printaïh Salam*, II. 175, 176; the *Ht. peudeuëng*, II. 176; the *Sòydina Usén*, II. 176, 177; the *Muhamat Napiah*, II. 177; the *Tamim Ansa*, II. 177—179; the *Abu Samaïh*, II. 179; the *Sòydina Amdah*, II. 179; the *Ratéb Inòng*, II. 179, 180; the *Ōteubahōy rōlam*, II. 180; the *Édeurih Khōlani*, II. 180; the *Ht. hayaké tujōh*, II. 180; the *Ht. palilat uròë Achura*, II. 180, 181; the *Dari*, II. 181; the *Kisah Abdōlah Hadat*, II. 181; the *Surat Kriman*, II. 181—183;

(VI.) books of instruction: *tujōh kisah*, II. 184; *tambihōy insan*, II. 184; *tambih tujōh blaïh*, II. 184, 185; *tambihōy rapilin*, II. 185, 186; *mènhajōy abidin*, II. 186; *Ht. ma'ripat*, II. 186, 187; *Ht. Habib Hadat*, II. 187; *Ht. meunajat*, II. 187; *sipheuët dua plōh*, II. 188; *beukeumeunan*, II. 188; *nalam Chèh Marduki*, II. 188, 189; *akeubarō karim*, II. 189; *nalam jawòë*, II. 189, *Ht. basa jawòë*, II. 189.

See also *hikayat*.

live stock: I. 37.

logat: translation of the Qurān, II. 6.

lòh: a wooden tablet as a state, II. 4.

loin-cloth: I. 25, 27.

lowland: see *barōh*.

lowlanders: (*ureuëng barōh*), I. 24, 25; their dress, I, 25—30; their food, I. 30—32.

Luëng Bata: a village near Kutaraja, I. 24, 125, II. 105, 107.

lueuë Achèh: Achehnese trousers, I. 25.

lulōh: the name of a fish, I. 255.

lumbé: a liana believed to be the favourite haunt of evil spirits, I. 411, 412, II. 197.

lusa: the day after tomorrow, I. 202; *l. raya*: two days after tomorrow, I. 202.

luxuries: betel-chewing, I. 32; opium, I. 32, 33; intoxicating liquor, I. 33.

M.

ma ubat: herbalist, II. 46, 47, 55.

madat: opium mixed with tobacco, I. 33.

madeuëng: the styptic heating of a woman after confinement, I. 375.

maḍhab: school of legal doctrine, II. 8.

madika phōn: the month *jumāda'l-awwal*, I. 195.

Madras: its early trade with Achèh, I. 17.

magic: the importance attached to it, II. 32; the attitude of religious teachers to it, II. 33; invulnerability, II. 34—38; the art of inspiring efficacy into weapons, II. 38, 39; clairvoyance and divination, II. 39—41; omens, II. 41, 42; interpretation of dreams, II. 42, 43; taboos, II. 44—46; amulets and incantations, II. 46; magic in medical art, II. 46—58; the "fourteen sciences", II. 58; sympathetic magic, I. 415. See also *hékeumat*, *sihé* and *meukulat*.

Mahali: *Mahalli*, author of a commentary on law, II. 9.

Mahmut Shah: Sultan, A. D. 1781—1795; I. 190.

Mahraja: title of the chief of Lhō' Seumawè, I. 133. *M. léla meulayu*: = Alaédin *Ahmat Shah*.

maize: I. 260.

Malabar: its early trade with Achèh, I. 17.

Malacca: wars with Malacca, II. 81.

Mala'ikat: "angel", — used of the souls of the dead, I. 433.

malakat: a magic stone, II. 136, 138, 142.

malam beureu'at: festival of the night of the determination of destiny, I. 222, 223.

malam gacha: the "henna" night in the wedding ceremonies, I. 309.

malang: unlucky, II. 42.

malém: versed in sacred books, I. 71, 73, 219, 233, II. 84.

mampleuë: the first meeting of bride and bridegroom, I. 41; bridal procession, I. 309.

ma'na: translation of the Qurān, II. 6, 7.

manè'-manòë: a plant, I. 305.

mangat asòë: "dainty of flesh", — euphemistic for "ill"; II. 45.

Mansō Chah: = *Ibrahim Mansō Shah*.

mante: the mantras or denizens of the woods, I. 18; legends about them, I. 18, 19.

manure-heaps: I. 36.

manuring: I. 267, 275.

manya': *peunyakét* — a disease, II. 49.

ma'ripat beusòë: knowledge of the inmost nature of iron, II. 34.

marriage: early marriage, I. 295; causes of early marriage, I. 295; superstitious practices for promoting early marriage, I. 296; the proposal of marriage, I. 297, 298; authority of the *keuchi'* in marriages,

I. 299. Marriage ceremonies: the henna-staining, I. 303; the "shaving", I. 304; the "cooling", I. 305; the adorning of the bride, I. 308; the procession, I. 310; the bridegroom's reception, I. 311, 318, 319; the meeting of bride and groom, I. 319, 320; the wedding-feast, I. 320. Early days of married life, I. 323; gifts at the ceremony, I. 325; gifts after consummation, I. 327. Legal aspect of the marriage contract, I. 328; its nature (under Mohammedan Law), I. 329; its subject, I. 329; its unconditional character in essentials, I. 331; rules as to a bride's consent, I. 331: the position of the *wali*, I. 331; his selection in certain cases, I. 333, 334, official marriage-makers, I. 334, 335, 338; professional witnesses, I. 337; ceremonial of the contract, I. 338—341; duties of the *teungku*, *kali* and *keuchi'*, I. 342, 343; the practice of change of *maḍhab*, I. 344; Hanafite rules invoked, I. 345; the married couple, I. 356—358.

marriage-brokers: I. 297, 298.

marrow: used medicinally, II. 52.

masa' bu: cooking rice — used as a measure of time, I. 201.

Masaïlah: a Malay text-book, II. 4, 29.

ma'siët: ungodliness, I. 160.

massage: (with mercury) II. 35, 36; (without mercury) I. 373, II. 53.

masusé: the maréchaussée force, II. 116.

Mat Amin: son of *Teungku Tirò*, his life and character, I. 184, 185, II. 111, 115.

mata: "eye", the ploughshare, I. 261; *m. kawé*: hook, I. 279; *m. timòh*: conjunctivitis, II. 47.

Matamimah: name of a treatise on Arabic grammar, II. 7.

matriarchate: its traces; I. 44.

matting: I. 40, 41, 411.

mattress: I. 40, 41.

maulid: recitations in honour of the Prophet's birth, I. 212.

mawaïh: contract of sharing the crop between landlord and cultivator etc., I. 115, 290.

mbahraja: = *mahraja*.

mbōt-mbōt: a spot over the forehead, I. 374.

mè bu: presents of food, I. 373.

measures: (area) *yō'*, I. 261; (capacity) *naléh* I. 260, 261.

meat: eaten at great festivals, I. 32.

medical art: the treatment in childbirth, I. 373, 374, 385, 388; of conjunctivitis, II. 47; small-pox, II. 47, 48; dysentery, diarrhœa, cholera, and fevers, II. 48; *sampòng*, II. 48, 49; hiccough, head-ache and poisonous bites, II. 49; eruptions and ulcers, II. 50, 51; leprosy, beri-beri and elephantiasis, II. 51; hernia and hydrocele, II. 51, 52; pains in the joints, II. 52; gonorrhœa, II. 52; toothache, II. 52; *siawan*, II. 53.

medicaments: II. 53—58.

Mènhòt: *Minhāj* a treatise on law, II. 9.

mèrab: a masonry niche in a mosque, I. 63.

mercury: its use in securing invulnerability, II. 34.

Mè'reuët: Mohammed's nocturnal journey to heaven, II. 175.

merry-go-rounds: II. 268.

mesalliances: ignored by Mohammedan law, I. 158, but objected to by the Achehnese, I. 297.

metre: (*ranja'*), II. 73, 74.

meu'ah: forgiveness, apology, I. 119.

Meu'apét: the month *Du'l-qa'dah*, I. 195.

meu'awō: name of a game, II. 193.

meuchakri: to chant; II. 179, 221.

meuchò'-chò' aneu': a game, II. 195.

meuché': a banking game, II. 209.

meudabōïh: the *dabus* performance, II. 251.

meudagang: to travel for study, II. 26, 31.

meudarōïh: the recitation of the Qurān, I. 232, 233.

meugajah-gajah: a game, II. 207.

meugatò': to play *panta*, II. 196.

meugeudeu-geudeu: a fighting-game, II. 198.

meuhadi: = *meuchakri*.

meuhatam: recitation from the Qurān, I. 284, 398, 429.

meu'idang: to serve up, I. 31.

meu'iku: "tailed", a nickname; I. 19.

meu'ingkhé: a hopping-game, II. 196.

meu'itam-putéh: a form of pitch and toss; II. 208.

meujudi: to gamble, II. 209.

meukapay-kapay: a game, II. 195.

meukō-kō: a game, II. 194.

meukruëng-kruëng: a fighting-game, II. 198.

meukulat: poisoning by toadstool, I. 414.

Meukuta Alam: = *Eseukanda Muda*.

meulagi: a game of ball, II. 193, 194.
meulhò: wrestling, II. 193.
meulinteuëng: lying face upwards; I. 394, II. 202.
meulisan: molasses, I. 273, 275, II. 48.
meunang: to win, II. 193.
meunari: to dance, II. 261.
meunarō: the ceremonial fetching of a bride by her mother-in-law, I. 356, 358.
meunasah: the building, I. 61; its uses, I. 61, 62, 63; its furniture, I. 63; antiquity of the institution, I. 61, 62; use of the building during the Fast, I. 229.
meungkhé: = *meu'ingkhé*.
meunta batèë: a medicinal drug, II. 57.
meuntròë: a title of low rank, I. 92, II. 143.
meura': name of a medicinal plant, II. 52.
meuraja bisé': a game, II. 194.
meurambuy: a form of spirit possession, I. 410, 411.
meuramiën: social gatherings at the Safar festival, I. 207.
meurampòt: = *meurambuy*.
Meura'sa: a district in Achèh favourable to peace; I. 170, 171; II. 96, 103, 110.
Meurasab: see *Tuan Meurasab*.
meureubō': a fighting-dove, II. 210, 215.
Meureuduati: name of a village, II. 110.
meureutabat tujōh: the seven lines of creative evolution, II. 34.
meurimbang: name of a game, II. 191, 192.
meurimuëng-rimuëng: the tiger-game, II. 202—205.
meusapi: traveller, I. 269, 270.
meusara meuseugit: mosque-lands, I. 122.
meusarōng: born with a complete caul, — believed to give luck, I. 374.
meuseugit: see "mosque". *M. raya*: the great mosque at *Kutaraja*, the panglima of which administered the surrounding mukims; I. 121.
meuseuraya: labour in combination, I. 267.
meusikupan: name of a card-game, II. 209.
meusòmsòm: "covering up", — the name of a game, II. 193.
meusréng: name of a banking game, II. 193.
meusugōt-sugōt: name of a game, II. 195.
meusui: a drug, *sassafras goesianum*, II. 52, 57.
meuta'-tham: a fighting-game, II. 198.
meutari: to dance, II. 261.
meuteuga-teuga: to emulate in bodily strength and skill, II. 193.
meutië': a game of chance, II. 208.
meutrōb: a card game, II. 209.
meutunang: "betrothed", i. e. pledged to fight, — of cocks; II. 212.
meu'uë: ploughing, I. 260.
Midan: *Mîzân*, a book of paradigms, II. 7.
milé': rights of property, I. 287.
milōn: an evil spirit, II. 149.
minyeu' nawaïh: castor-oil, II. 48.
mirahpati: name of a pattern, I. 41, II. 192.
mirië': rice-bird, I. 266.
misè: "strings", i. e. lines in courts marked for games, II. 197.
miseuë: proverbs, II. 67.
mò: a resin, II. 52, 56.
Mohammad: hymns in his honour, I. 284; reverence to his descendants, I. 153, 154.
Mohammedanism: see "Islam".
molasses: I. 273, 275, II. 48.
mò'lōt: the maulud or festival of Mohammed's birth; the month in which it occurs, I. 194, 195, 207.
mòn: well, I. 36. *M. cungkōt*: fish-pond; I. 276. *M. Tasié'*: name of a village, II. 107.
Mòngkarōnwanangki: Munkar and Nakîr, the angel-questioners of the dead; I. 419.
monogamy: reasons for it, I. 360.
months: their names, I. 194, 195; the calculation of the first day, I. 195, 196; festivals in each month, I. 202—245.
morals: II. 318, 319.
mortgage: (*gala*) I. 291.
mosque: its description, I. 82; its furniture, I. 82; its connection with the *imeum*, I. 83—85; its officials, I. 85; their duties, I. 85; maintenance of the mosques, I. 86.
mosquito-bites: their treatment, II. 50.
mosquito-nets: I. 41.
mu'alah: converts to Islam, their immunities, I. 270; their right to a share in tithes, I. 269.
mudém: a circumciser, I. 400.
mugè: a fish-buyer, I. 282.
muglé: *zingiber cassumunaar*, II. 58.
mugréb: evening prayer, I. 62; sunset, I. 200.
Muhamat Dawōt Shah Juhan: name and title of the Pretender-Sultan, I. 190.

mukadam: little books containing portions of the Qurān, I. 430.
mukim: meaning and derivation of the term, I. 2, 80, 81; mukim-administration, I. 80—87. *M. lhèë*: the three Mukims Keureukōn, I. 123, 124.
mumandang: staring fixedly, — a sign of approaching death, I. 418.
mumanò'-manò' kapay: name of a game, II. 195.
mumat jaròë: greeting by joining hands, I. 240.
mundam: a brazen drinking-vessel, I. 40, 425, 429.
mupadō': a kind of game of marbles, II. 195.
mupakat: (decision by palaver) its constant practice by Achehnese, I. 76, 77, 164.
mupanta: to play *panta*, q. v.
mupayang: fishing in the open sea, I. 279.
mupèh: to toss (in pitch and toss), II. 208.
mupét-pét: a game, II. 194.
muphō: a lascivious dance performed after a funeral, I. 424.
mupitéh: a banking-game, II. 209.
murad: explanatory paraphrasing of Arabic text-books, II. 6, 7.
muréh: streaks of dawn on the horizon, 5 a. m., I. 200.
murib: a student, his life and training; II. 23—31.
musém: season; I. 258, 259.
music: instruments used, II. 257—259; the use of music in fulfilling vows, II. 259, 260; orchestras, II. 258, 260, 261, 265; dance-singing, II. 261—265.
mutah-chirét: cholera, I. 415, II. 48.
mysticism: orthodox mysticism, II. 9, 10; unorthodox mysticism: its nature, II. 10, 11; its source and spread, II. 11, 12; its principal teachers, II. 13, 14; its orthodox opponent (*Teungku-di-kuala*), II. 14—20; works on mysticism, II. 179, 180.
mystics: reverence for *Abdul qādir Jîlānī*, *Aḥmad Rifā'i*, and other mystics, II. 165; respect for their spiritual successors, I. 165; orders of mystics, I. 153, 165, 233; miracles performed by mystics, II. 249, 250; their frenzied actions, II. 250—257.

N.

naga: dragon, II. 132, 142, 148, 149.
nahu: Arabic grammar, II, 7, 32.
nalam: Achehnese imitation of Arabic poetry, II. 77, 78, 183, 188, 189.
naleuëng awō: a viscous grass, II. 47.
naleuëng sambō: a medicinal plant, I. 389.
nang: the director of certain games, II. 194, 195.
nanggròë: country; territory; *ulèèbalang*-ship, I. 88.
Naqshibandiyyah: a school of mysticism, II. 18, 20, 222.
narcotics: their use, II. 52.
nasib: an Arabic love-poem, II. 77; verses recited at a *ratéb* in Achèh, II. 218, 219, 221.
navigation: I. 275, 276.
nawaïh: ricinus-plants, — used as temporary grave-marks, I. 427; they also produce a sort of castor-oil, II. 48, 52.
Nawawi: author of the *Mènhòt* (Minhāj), II. 9.
nchiën: = *cunchiën*.
nè': "grandfather", (of the Sultan), — title of a powerful chief, I. 133.
necklaces: (*srapi*), I. 29.
nets: for fishing, I. 277; for holding provisions, I. 40.
neuheun: a fresh-water fish-pond, I. 277.
neuleuë: old and cracked vessel; I. 416.
neumè: small presents, I. 385.
Ni keubayan: II. 135, 148.
Nias: *peundang*-treatment said to have been imported from Nias, I. 20; Achehnese contempt for the Niasese, I. 21; Nias slaves, I. 19, 21, 22; beauty of Nias women, I. 21.
niët: the formula before an act of ritual, II. 229.
nisan: gravemarks, I. 427, 431, II. 59.
nòbah: firing a shot to announce the opening of the fast, I. 228.
nubuët: the eternal principle of creation, II. 172.
Nur ul-Alam Nakiatōdin: Sultana of Achèh, A. D. 1675 to 1677; I. 90.
nurseries: for rice, I. 263, 264.
Nya' Amin: = *Mat Amin*.
Nya' Him: *Teungku di-Lam Nyòng*; II. 27.
Nya' Mat: = *Mat Amin*.

nyab: a large purse-net, I. 277.
nyaréng: a net, I. 277.

O.

oaths: II. 94, 95, 302, 303.
officials: see "authorities".
oil-jars: I. 39.
Olehleh: (*Ulèè Lheuë*) I. 283, 284.
omens: II. 46.
ōn: leaf. *O. arōn*: leaves of *bockia frutescens*, II. 56. *O. murōng*: *kèlor*-leaves, II. 35. *O. tarōm*: indigo-leaf used for dyeing, II. 64. *O. krusōng*: dry plantain-leaf, I. 266.
opium: opium-smoking, I. 32, 33, 229; opium-smokers excluded from the throne, I. 33; opium-sheds, I. 32; opium-pipes, I. 32; prepared opium (*chandu*), I. 32; opium mixed with tobacco, I. 33; opium-smoking in the fasting-month, I. 229; uses of opium, II. 53.
orchestras: the *hareubah* orchestra, II. 260, 261; the *suléng* band, II. 258; the *geundrang* band, II. 260; the violin orchestra, II. 265.
ordeals: I. 109, 110.
Orion: I. 246, 247.
outfit: see *seunalén*.
oven: the use of an oven after childbirth, I. 264.

P.

pa' ikō: a yellow bird, I. 316.
Pa' Pandé: an Achehnese Eulenspiegel, II. 71—73.
pachih: a game of Indian origin, II. 201—203.
padang: unreclaimed land, I. 228. *P. machha*: the plain of the resurrection, I. 243. *P. Tiji*: a village, I. 149, II. 92.
padé: rice in the husk or growing rice, I. 263. *Puphōn p.*: the inauguration of the rice, I. 264.
padiah: penalty or fine for neglected prayers, I. 435—438.
padit: "how little", II. 45.
padum: "how much", II. 45. *P. uròë buleuën*: what day of the month is it; I. 202.
pæderasty: II. 318.
pagalō: ceremonial rice sent to a bride's house before a wedding, II. 266.
Pagarayé: name of a mukim, I. 125, II. 107.
pageuë: fence, I. 35, 36.
Pahang: its relations with Achèh, II. 81.
paja: early dawn, I. 200.
palmistry: II. 40.
pancakes: (*tumpòë*), I. 31.
Pancha: a frontier-place in Achèh, I. 1.
Pandé: a village near Kutaraja, I. 24.
pang: a minor dignitary, I. 93.
pangkay: director or foreman of a *sadati* troupe, II. 221.
panglima: a title given:
(a.) (*p. sagi*) to territorial chiefs of great importance, I. 91;
(b.) to non-territorial chiefs of clans (*p. kawōm*), I. 93;
(c.) to executive officers (*p. prang*), I. 93;
(d.) to the head fisherman of a bay; I. 283.
panglima sagi: powers of the three panglimas, I. 130; power and title of *Panglima Pòlém*, I. 132; history and present position of the family, I. 133—135; other great panglimas, I. 133—138; their precedence, I. 140; the *Panglima Meuseugit raya*: II. 113, 114; action of *Panglima Pòlém* in the war, II. 105.
Panglima Tibang: his history, II. 103, 104.
pangulèë: a title used when addressing Sayyids, I. 155.
panjòë: kapok. I. 266.
pans: I. 40.
panta: a sort of marble used in a popular game, I. 315, II. 131, 133; the game described, II. 196.
pantang: taboos: members of the tribe *Tō' Sandang* forbidden to eat the fish *alu-alu* or the flesh of the white buffalo, I. 51, marketing forbidden in the first week of the fasting month, I. 236; agricultural work forbidden on Fridays, I. 261; *pantang*-rules observed by fishermen, I. 281, 284; by hunters, I. 281; by women in pregnancy (I. 372, 373) and after childbirth (I. 375); by boys after circumcision, I. 400; by sufferers from smallpox; I. 417; by seekers after invulnerability, II. 35; by people generally, II. 44; by speakers, II. 44, 45.

panteuë: a rack of bamboo or wood; I. 37.
pantheism: II. 11.
pantōn: the pantun or quatrain; II. 76.
panyòt: a lamp, I. 40.
para: house platforms, I. 42.
parang: a chopping-knife, II. 142.
paròë: a skate, II. 302; *bintang p.*: the Southern Cross, I. 247.
pasah: divorce by judicial decree, I. 367.
pasay: chapter, II. 189.
passages (in a house), I. 39.
pastimes: toys, II. 190; tops, II. 190; kites, II. 191; games, II. 191, 192, 193—209; dolls, II. 192; cards, II. 210; fights between animals, II. 210—215.
patam dhòë: a frontlet worn by a bride, I. 308.
patanilam: a costly cloth, I. 424.
paths: I. 35, 59.
patōng: doll, II. 192.
pawang pukat: a head fisherman, I. 280.
pawang rusa: deer-hunters, I. 387.
pawōïh: pieces in the game *pachih*, II. 202; a whale, II. 302.
paya: swamp, I. 258, 264.
pèng: a small coin, I. 282.
people: origin of the Achèhnese, I. 16, 17; Hindu elements, I. 17; alleged Arab, Turkish and Persian elements, I. 17; other elements, I. 19. See also "population".
pepper: used in cooking, I. 30; pepper-planting, I. 260; the pepper saint, I. 184, 260; the pepper festival, I. 260.
Persian: alleged Persian elements in the population, I. 18, 48.
pestle: (*alèë*), I. 272.
peu'angèn: to let the husk blow away in winnowing, I. 268.
peuchichab: the ceremonial "giving to taste" (foodgiving to a baby), I. 383.
peudeuëng: sword, II. 176.
peu'euntat: = *peuntat*, I. 419.
peugaséh: love-charms, II. 46.
peugawé: a talisman conferring invulnerability, II. 36, 37.
peuja: borax, II. 57.
peujamèë paki: a feast to the devout poor, I. 370.
peukan: a flower, I. 241, 309, 416.
Peukan Bada: a place in Achèh, II. 110. *Peukan Tuha*: id., II. 95.
peukatib: acting as contractor at a wedding, I. 342.
peukawén: = *peukatib*, I. 342.
peuklò' minyeu': the ordeal of boiling oil, I. 109, 110.
peukòng agama: to uphold religion, i. e., to enforce the prescriptions of religion and to oppose *hukōm* to *adat*, I. 159.
peukruy: to let the husk blow away (when winnowing), I. 268.
peulalè: singing a child to sleep, I. 394.
peularéh: charms to sell wares at a profit, II. 46.
peuleupeuë': the midribs of coconut leaves, I. 422, II. 258.
peuliëh beusòë: the ordeal by licking red-hot iron, I. 110.
peunab chòt: "approaching the sun's zenith", — about 11 a. m., I. 199.
peunajōh: sweetmeats, I. 31, 372, 417.
peunawa: countercharm, II. 37.
peunayah: a douceur paid e. g. to a midwife, I. 389.
Peunayōng: a village of Kutaraja, I. 24.
peundang: a medicinal root, I. 20, II. 52, 56; description of its use, II. 54.
peundéng: a clasp for a waist cloth, I. 30, 309.
peuneurah: an oil-press, I. 37.
peungana': a small drum, II. 259.
peunganjò: the bride's duenna, I. 322.
peungeuliëh: a magic bullet, II. 37.
peungklèh: the ceremonial setting up of the bride in a home of her own, I. 364.
peunikah: to make a marriage contract (as a *teungku*), I. 342.
peunò: a large tree said to be haunted, I. 410.
peunò' a weavers' "sword", II. 192.
peuntat: to "indicate the way" to the dying; I. 419.
peunulang: gifts to heirs made before death, I. 357.
peunuman: a drinking-vessel of earthenware, I. 40.
peunyabét: proof of a theft by evidence of the thief's possession of the stolen property after the event, I. 105.
peunyakét jheut: leprosy, II. 51.
peunyakōt: scarecrow, I. 266.
peunyeuha: a fruit, II. 48.
peurampòt: to "blow-away" spirit possession, I. 411.

peureulèë: imperative rules of Islam, II. 272.
peureumadani: carpet, I. 39.
peureuya la'ōt: a medicinal plant, II. 47.
peusah panchuri: proving the guilt of a thief; I. 105.
peusaka: property left to a child by his deceased parents, I. 357.
peusijuë': "cooling", averting evil influences; I. 43, 44, 78, 102, 103, 244, 305. *P. darah gòb*: a propitiatory offering in cases of homicide, I. 78.
peusunat: circumcision, I. 398.
peusunténg: smearing (ceremonially) yellow rice behind the ear, I. 305.
peutamat darōïh: the completion of the study of the Qurān, I. 397, 398.
peutamòng ra'sa: introduction of mercury into the human body to secure invulnerability, II. 34.
peutasa': — *minyeu'* the ordeal of boiling oil, I. 109, 110.
Peuthōwahab: *Fatḥul-wahhāb*, name of a legal commentary, II. 9.
peutimang jamèë: to act as a master of the ceremonies at a wedding, I. 304.
peutòë: chests: I. 40, 41.
peutrōn: the ceremonial first exit of a child from a house, I. 389. *P. burōng*: the exorcising of a *burōng*, I. 382.
peutuëng ië seumayang: The smaller ceremonial ablution following the washing of a dead body, I. 421.
pi: a kind of tree, II. 50.
pi u: decayed coconut for making oil, I. 39.
piasan: festivities, I. 245, II. 259, 266.
pib-pib: a whistle, II. 258.
piëb: smoking, I. 32.
pikah: [Ar. *fiqh*] the law, II. 9, 20, 23, 32.
pilgrimage: see *hajj*.
pillars: of house, I. 35; of sugar-mill, I. 274; the five "pillars of the faith" of Islam, II, 272, sqq.
pineung: areca-nut, I. 32, II. 48.
pingan: plate, dish, I. 40.
pintu khōb: a peculiarly built gate at the *dalam* at Kutaraja, II. 63.
pisang: banana, I. 385, II. 44, 48.
pitrah: a levy of rice paid by all to the *teungku* on the *uròë raya*, I. 238—240; views of its importance, II. 273.
pladang: a medicinal plant, II. 52.
plandō' kanchi: the mousedeer, the hero of fables, II. 70, 159, sqq.
planets: only Venus known, I. 247.
plantain: see *pisang*.
plate: see *chipé* and *pingan*.
platform (*prataïh*), I. 39, 375; (*para*), I. 42.
plawa: small-pox, I. 416—418.
Pleiades: I. 257.
plòïh meuneu'uë: "the loosing of the ploughing gear" time, i. e., 10 a. m.; I. 199.
ploughs: I. 261.
pluëng: "when a child can run" — a measure of age, I. 394.
Pò Ni: the spirit of small-pox, I. 416.
Pòchut Mamat: an Achèhnese headman, II. 113.
Pòchut Siti: a famous burōng woman, I. 379.
poetry: the *pantōn*, II. 76; the *hikayat*, II. 77; the *nalam*, II. 78, 79.
poisoning: I. 414.
Pòlém: see *panglima*.
political adventurers: see "adventurers".
polygamy: I. 359, 360.
population: no historical data as to origin of the Achèhnese, I. 16; native conjectures on the subject, I. 17, 18; Malay and Kling elements, I. 19; the Nias slave element, I. 19—21; local differences, I. 24. See also "divisions" and "people".
port-kings: I. 5, 8, 80.
ports: I. 4, 8.
Portuguese: their wars with Achèh, I. 81.
posts: (of house), I. 43, 44.
pot: I. 275.
Pòteu: ["our lord"] ruler of Achèh, Sultan, I. 6, 9.
potteries: II. 65.
pra'na seumah: a platform used at a Sultan's installation, I. 139.
prataïh: bench, platform; I. 39, 375.
prayers: the five daily prayers, I. 199, 200, 207; the Friday service, I. 80; the neglect of ritual prayer, I. 303—307.
pregnancy: I. 371—373; ceremonial visits paid to a pregnant woman, I. 371—372; taboos for her observance, I. 372—373.
Pretender-Sultan: his early policy, I. 141—147, his relations with *Teungku Tirò* and *Teungku Uma*, I. 148, 150; his love of cock-fighting, II. 215.

preut: bespewing a wound with water, II. 53.
price of blood: see *diët*.
priests: inapplicability of the term to mosque officials, II. 23—25.
princes: the *tuanku* or prince of the blood, I. 141; his usual misconduct, I. 141—143.
prōïh; medicinal blowing, II. 53.
Prophet: reverence paid to the Prophet and his descendants, I. 153, 154.
prostitution: II. 318.
proverbs: (*miseuë*), II. 67.
prumòh: mistress of the house, wife, I. 327.
puasa: the fast, I. 195; importance attached to its observance, II. 310.
puba'ë: = *pumèë*, I. 424.
puchō': (a.) a bracelet worn on the wrist, I. 308;
(b.) the root of *aplotaxis auriculata*, II. 57.
puja: vows efficacious against evil spirits, I. 393.
pukat: a seine-net, I. 279.
pula: planting out, I. 267. *P. batèë*: setting up tombstones, I. 259, 402, 430, 431.
pulang balèe: taking a near-relative of a deceased wife in lieu of half the dowry, I. 364.
pulèt: wooden rings used in the *ratèb pulèt*, I. 63.
pulpit: see *bimba*.
Pulò Rabu: an island, the scene of an annual feast of a heathen character, II. 286.
pumanòë manyèt: the ceremonial washing of a corpse, I. 421.
pumeusan: verbal testamentary dispositions, I. 287.
pumòë: to make a visitor wail, — at a visit of condolence, I. 424.
pumuë' breuëh: the ordeal by bolting raw rice, I. 110.
punggòng: the closed end of a fish-trap; I. 276.
pungò buy: "pigs' madness", — the name given to a peculiar derangement in which the sufferer's movements suggest those of pigs, I. 387.
punishments: for bodily injuries and manslaughter, I. 102, 103; for injuries to chiefs, I. 103, 104; for theft, I. 104—110; for illicit intercourse, I. 110—114; the punishment of death, I. 104; fines, I. 103, 113; miscellaneous punishments, I. 114.
puntu: a bracelet, I. 308.
pupalang: a screen, I. 36.
puphōn padé: "the inauguration of the rice", I. 264.
purèë: a skin-disease, II. 50.
puréh: a piece of bark fibre, I. 399, II. 193.
purgatives: II. 48.
pusa: spiral twists in hair and hand lines, examined for divination, II. 40, 41.
pustules: their treatment, II. 50.
putròë: (a.) a principal post in house construction, I. 43;
(b.) one of two toadstools growing close together, I. 415.
puwa: laying the hands of a dead body one over the other, I. 421.
puy: a sheaf (of padi), I. 267.
puyōh: a quail, II. 211, 215. *P. meulōt*: the name given to two stars in Scorpio, I. 248.

Q.

qadar: the night of the revelation of the Qurān, I. 235, 236.
Qādiriyyah: a school of mysticism, II. 18, 20.
Qanoon-e-Islam: I. 203—205, 214, 217, 221.
qiblah: the direction to which prayers should be addressed by Moslems, II. 8, 14.
qiyās: reasoning by analogy, II. 8.
quails: II. 211, 215.
quicksilver: see "mercury".
Qurān: its recitation, II. 3; its recitation in chorus, I. 232, 233, 284, 398; instruction in it, II. 3, 4.

R.

rab bunténg: "all but pregnant", — a certain stage of growth in rice, I. 267.
Rabiōy akhé: the month *Rabiʿ al-ākhir*, I. 194.
Rabiōy away: the month *Rabiʿ al-awwal*, I. 194.
rabōn: medicinal fumigation, II. 49.
rabōn jalé: see *kali*, I. 98, 100.
rabōng: the spaces at the side of a house, I. 36.

rabu: Wednesday, I. 195. *R. abèh*: the Safar festival, I. 207.
radat: skilled singers in a *sadati* troupe, II. 221.
rahō: a boil, II. 50.
rain-making: II. 283—285.
raja: "king"; the name given to a main pillar in house-building, I. 43, and to one of a pair of toadstools growing together, I. 414, 415. *R. Achèh*: a common description of the Sultan, I. 120. *R. Ibrahim*, and *R. Sulòyman*: princes who waged a civil war, A. D. 1854—1858; I. 22. *R. Muda*: a name given to the loyal chief of Olehleh, II. 108, 109. *R. umòng*: the expanse of cultivated land in the vicinity of the *dalam*, II. 228.
Rajab: the seventh month; I. 195.
rajah: a formula giving magical properties to anything, I. 414, II. 36, 46, 50.
rakan: (a.) follower of a territorial chief, I. 93; his duties, I. 93, 112;
(b.) a companion, II. 248.
rakes: I. 263.
raleuë: a method of planting out rice seedlings, I. 266.
Ramalan: the fasting month, I. 195.
rambaluy: an evil spirit, I. 410, 411.
rambat: a corridor or passage, I. 39.
rams: used for fighting, II. 209, 210.
Ramulan: = *ramalan*.
rancha': animated — of poetic recitation, II. 75.
rang: short posts between the roof and the floor of an Achehnese house, I. 40.
rangkang: abodes for theological students, II. 24, 28, 29.
Raniri: a writer, — referred to I. 4, II. 12.
ranté buy: "pig's chain", a talisman conferring invulnerability, II. 37.
rantò: districts to which Achehnese emigrate for pepper-planting, I. 275, II. 120.
ranub: betel-leaf, sirih, I. 32. *R. dòng*: sirih offered to guests at a wedding, I. 300, 340.
rapa'i: a kettledrum, I. 63; a religious performance (with drums, in which the participants wound themselves, II. 249, 257.
rapana: a kettledrum used for a *ratéb*, I. 63, II. 248, 265.
ra'sa: quicksilver, II. 34.
ra'sasa: a giant, II. 146, 147, 156, 157.
ratéb: a noisy religious performance. *R. saman*, *r. pulèt*, and *r. sadati*: varieties; II. 216—221, II. 247, 248, and II. 221—247 respectively.
raya: great, I. 171.
religion: see "Islam", and "religious".
religious: (a.) religious leaders, see "authorities";
(b.) religious law, see "law";
(c.) religious studies, II. 10—32.
rèt: road, I. 36, 59.
reubah chòt: "falling from the zenith" (of the sun; 12.30 p. m.); I. 199.
reubōïh: boiling, I. 237.
reudeuëb: erythrina, II. 52.
Reuëng-reuëng: a frontier-village, I. 1.
reuhab: the wardrobe of a deceased person, I. 425, 426.
reunchōng: dagger, I. 93, II. 95, 253.
reungkan: a rough palm-leaf mat, I. 411.
reunyeun: stairs, I. 39.
riba: the acceptance of interest, I. 292.
rice: (a.) cooked rice, see *bu*;
(b.) husked rice (*breuèh*), I. 272;
(c.) unhusked rice (*padé*), I. 272;
(d.) rice-planting, see "agriculture";
(e.) parched rice (*eumpièng*), I. 400.
rice-barrel: (*krōng*), I. 272.
rice-fields: I. 258, 260, 261, 264, 285, 286. Rules as to trespass; I. 259.
rice-pounders: I. 36.
rice-sacks: I. 272.
rice-stores: I. 36, 272.
riddles: II. 67.
Rigaïh: a port in Achèh, II. 112, 113.
rihan: a medicinal plant, II. 52.
rimba: primeval forest, I. 285.
rimuëng: tiger, II. 45.
ring-worm: (*kurab*), I. 21, II. 50.
rings: finger-rings, I. 30, 327; thumb-rings, I. 357; ear-rings, I. 29; arm-rings, see "bracelets".
ripè: voluntary contributions for the field-kanduri, I. 260; contributions for the blood-debt, incurred by a fellow-tribesman, I. 56.
roads: I. 36, 59.
room: see *jurèë*.
ròt: = *rèt*.
royal family: see "princes".
rueuëng: section of a house, I. 35.
rujak: a compost of fruit, I. 21. cf. *cheunichah*.

ruju': the right of recall in divorce, I. 368, 369.
rukò' siawan: medicinal cigarettes, II. 52.
rumia, or **ruminya**: pitch, II. 57.
rumòh: (a.) house — in expressions like *yub rumòh*, *prumòh*;
(b.) a "court" in a game, II. 197.
ru'ya: observation of the moon for establishing the commencement of the lunar month, I 196.

S.

Sa'ban: the month Shaʿban, I. 195.
sabōn: gonorrhœa, I. 415, II. 52.
sabtu: Saturday, I. 195.
sacrifices: I. 243—245.
sadati: dancing-boys, I. 21, 244, II. 221—247.
sadeuëb: a grass-knife, II. 208.
Safar: the second month, I. 194.
saffron: II. 52.
sagi: a large territorial subdivision, I. 88—91.
saint-worship: II. 288—301.
saints: list of Achehnese saints, II. 292—299.
saka: sugar, I. 273.
sakét dròë: a disease of children, I. 386, II. 49.
sakét-sabōn: see *sabōn*.
salang: nets for provisions, I. 40.
salasilah: spiritual genealogies, II. 10, 18, 19, 252.
salat: the ritual prayers; see "prayers".
salōb batèë: the covering of tombstones, I. 390.
salōran: a gutter, I. 36.
salutations: (*seumbah*), I. 33; (*sapa*), I. 357; (*mumat jaròë*), I. 240.
sambay: relishes eaten with food, I. 320.
sambōt: to graciously accept a salutation of homage, I. 320.
Sammān: the originator of the *ratēb saman*; II. 216, 217.
sampòng: a peculiar disease, II. 48, 49.
sanè: an evil spirit, I. 409, II. 43, 228.
sangè: a conical plaited tray-cover, I. 103.
sangga: a bridal bracelet, I. 308.
sanggōy: a topknot, I. 18, 28.
sanja': metre, II. 73, 74, 76, 79, 123, 124, 189.
santan: coconut milk, I. 30, 31, 384.
sapa: the welcoming of guests, I. 357.
sapha: the month *Safar*, I. 194.
Sapiatōdīn: Sultana, circ. A. D. 1640—1675; I. 190.
sara: ricefields constituting mosque-endowment, I. 122, 287.
sarah: [Arab. *ṣarf*] the science of inflexions, II. 7.
sarakata: the edicts of Sultans, I. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 120.
sareuë': a bird the note of which is ominous, II. 42.
Satariah: a school of mysticism, II. 18, 19, 216.
saucepans: I. 40.
sawa: a cricket the note of which is ominous, II. 42.
sawa' ranté: throwing red-hot chains on the shoulders, II. 257.
sawah: term explained, I. 258.
sawè': a bracelet, I. 308.
sawō: a meal taken just before daybreak in the fasting month, I. 228.
sayét: = *sayyid*.
sayyid: a descendant of the Prophet, I. 153, 154, 158.
scarecrows: I. 266.
schools: II. 23—32.
science: see "learning".
scientific treatises: II. 67, 68.
screens: I. 36.
seal: see *chab sikureuëng*.
seasons: see *musém*.
Seubun: the scene of a fight in the war, II. 111.
seudeukah: gifts of piety (at a burial service), I. 424.
seuëng: booth, II. 247.
seuhab: a cloth, I. 103.
seulangké: a marriage-broker, I. 297, 298.
Seulasa: Thuesday, I. 195.
seulaséh: the sweet basil, II. 48.
seulaweuët: psalms of praise, I. 284, II. 185.
seuludang: the fine inmost coat of a palm-spathe, II. 192.
seulumpuë' pisang: plantain-stem, II. 192.
seulusōh: charms to facilitate delivery, I. 374.
seumanga: name of a flower, I. 241.
seumangat: a spirit of life the loss of which is attended by illness, I. 387, 388.
seumantō': a haunted tree, I. 410.
seumayang: prayers, I. 62, II. 4, 187, 188,

189. *S. manyèt*: the funeral service, I. 423. See also "prayers".
seumbah: salutation of deep respect, I. 33.
seumbō: medicinal bespewing with chewed up medicaments, I. 376, 385, II. 53.
seumeuléhan: a reward to the *teukgku* for slaughtering an animal, I. 226.
seuna maki: senna leaves, II. 57.
seunalén: an outfit of clothing, I. 46, 326, 389.
Seunanyan: Monday, I. 195.
seu'òb: steaming rice, I. 237.
seu'ōn: to carry loads on the back (I. 26) or on the head (I. 423).
seupeuëng: a wood used in dyeing, II. 64.
seurabi: a famous *burōng* woman, I. 379.
seurawa: a kind of sauce, I. 219.
seureuban: turban; also the name of a cloth placed under the head of a corpse, I. 421.
seureukab: a coop for brooding hens, I. 37.
seureuma: "kuḥl" or antimony-powder used for darkening the eyes, I. 307.
seutuë': the areca-palm spathe, I. 36, II. 192.
seven: superstitions as to the number seven, I. 236.
Shafi'ites: the Achehnese are Shafi'ites, I. 196; but they deviate in details, such as the *ru'ya*, I. 196, and the penalty for neglected prayers, I. 435; they also show Shi'ite influences, I. 203, and accept some Hanafite practices about marriage, I. 345—348.
shahīd: a martyr in the cause of religion, II. 87, 110.
Shaikh Abbas: = *Teungku Kutakarang*.
Shaikh Shamsuddin: a pantheistic mystic, II. 13.
Shamsul Alam: Sultan, A. D. 1726—1727; I. 4.
sharif: a descendant of the Prophet through *Ḥasan*, I. 154.
sharks: II. 302.
Shawwāl: name of a month, I. 195, 237—241, 255.
Shi'ite customs: their introduction and influence in Achèh, I. 202—205.
shops: I. 289, 291.
shoulder-cloths: I. 28.
Si Meuseukin: an Achehnese Eulenspiegel, II. 71, 72. Also *Si Gasïën Meuscukin*.
Si Ujut: the legendary "infidel" villain of the Story of *Malém Dagang*, II. 81—88.
siawan: a disease, I. 225, II. 53.
sibeurantō: fruit of *sindora sumatrana*, II. 56.
Sidi Meukamày: Sultan, A. D. 1530—1552 or 1557; I. 190.
sieves: I. 272.
sigalah uròë: the sun a pole high, i. e. 7 a. m.; I. 199.
sihé: the Black Art, magic; I. 414, II. 33.
sijalòh: a plant, I. 421.
sijuë'-seu'uëm: fever, I. 415, II. 48.
sikatòë meuïh: a kati of gold, about $ 500, — the *jinamèe* in the case of princes; I. 339.
sikhan uròë: "half a day", six hours; I. 201.
sikin: — *panyang* a sword, I. 27, 93, II. 95.
sikléb mata: a blink of the eyes, a moment; I. 201.
silueuë: trousers, I. 25.
silversmiths: II. 65.
sima'; hearkening to religious teaching, I. 232.
Simpang: a village-centre of learning, II. 26.
simpang lhèë, or *simpang peuët*: crossways, I. 417.
simples: list of medicinal simples, II. 55—58.
singòh: to morrow, I. 200.
sipa' raga: a sort of football, II. 193, 194.
sipheuët dua plōh: the twenty attributes of God, II. 188.
sirih: see *ranub*.
sisijuë': a plant used at the "cooling" ceremonies, I. 305.
si uròë seupōt: "a sun-dark", — the full day of 24 hours; I. 201.
siwaïh: a curved dagger, I. 309.
skin-diseases: *kadé* and *kurab*, I. 415, II. 50, 31, 38; *uri*, II. 50; *glum*, II. 50; *purèe*, II. 50.
slaughtering: the slaying of animals, I. 224, 227, 243.
slaves: Nias slaves in Acheh, I. 19, 21, 22; other slaves, I. 23; religious law as to slavery, I. 21; right of intercourse with female slaves, I. 21.
small-pox: I. 416, 417.
smoking: see "tobacco" and "opium".
snake-bite: its treatment, II. 49.
sorcery: see "magic".

sores: see "ulcers".
Southern Cross: I. 267.
spears: I. 27.
spirits: (I.) alcoholic spirits, I. 33;
(II.) evil spirits (*jën*): the *hantu buru*, I. 327; the *burōng*, I. 376—388; the *baluëm beudé*, or *bidé*, I. 409; the *geunteut*, I. 410; the *rambaluy*, I. 410, 411; the *burōng punjōt*, I. 412; the *tuleuëng dòng*, I. 412; the *jën apuy*, I. 412, 413; and the *blô'*, I. 413. Cf. also *Pò' Ni*, I. 416;
(III.) tutelary spirits, the *praja*, II. 43;
(IV.) belief in spirits, II. 282 sqq.
srah ulèë: the washing of a child's head at a *kramat*, I. 390, 393.
sramòë: verandah, I. 35, 39, 40.
sranta: proclamation by herald, I. 226, 243, II. 265.
srapi: a necklace, I. 29.
sréng: lime, II. 47.
sreuë: citronella grass, I. 30, 31.
sri: drawn — of a cockfight, II. 214.
sriphië: a tree-name, II. 260.
Sriweuë: a village, — a local centre of learning, II. 26.
sriweuën: fowl-run, I. 37.
sròh: yielding blossom but no juice — of sugar-cane, I. 273.
srunè: a clarionet, II. 259, 260, 266.
stairs: see "steps".
stalls: I. 37.
stars: their Achehnese names, I. 247, 248.
steps: house-steps, I. 38.
stone-cutters: II. 59.
stories: see "literature".
story-telling: II. 268.
students: II. 23—32.
studies: see "instruction".
suasa: an amalgam of gold and copper, I. 29, II. 152, 256.
subang: earring, I. 29, 431.
subòh: early morning, I. 200.
sugar: (*saka*), I. 273, 274.
sugar-cane: I. 255, 260, 266, 273.
sugòë: a method of cleaning the teeth, I. 219.
sukèë: tribe, I. 44—59.
sukaleuët: broad-cloth, I. 25.
sukreuët: the death-struggle, I. 418.
suléng: a flute, II. 258—260, 266.
sulöïh yang akhé: the last third of the night, I. 200.
Sultans: their early policy, I. 5—9; their real weakness, I. 6, 7; their encouragement of religious teachers, I. 7; their position in recent times, I. 120; their real domain, I. 120, 121; their power over crown lands (*wakeuëh*), I. 120— 125; their efforts to increase their personal importance, I. 125, 126; their court-dignitaries, I, 126, 127; their "seven prerogatives", I. 128; other functions and rights, I. 128; the issue of letters patent, I. 129—132; selection and installation of a new Sultan, I. 138—140, II. 332—337; qualifications of a Sultan according to religious law, II. 329, 330.
sunat: [Arab. *sunnah*] commendable but not obligatory, II. 272.
sunnah: the lesson of the Prophet's example, II. 8.
sunténg: ceremonial smearing behind the ear, I. 46.
sunti halia: ginger, II. 56.
superstitions: in rice-planting, I. 272; about the 8th day after marriage, I. 326, 327; about pregnancy, I. 372, 373, and childbirth, I. 374; about house-building, I. 43, 44; about taboos, see *pantang*; about invulnerability, II. 34—38; about weapons, II. 38, 39; about clairvoyance and second sight, II. 39, 40; regarding omens, II. 40—42; about dreams, II. 42, 43; about rainmaking, II. 283—285; about eclipses, II. 285, 286; about sacred trees; II. 286—288.
sura': plaudits, I. 79, II. 214, 266.
surat taleuë': a certificate of full divorce, I. 369.
swamps: I. 258, 264.
sweetmeats: I. 31.
swellings: how treated, II. 52.
swords: I. 27, 93.

T.

taboos: see *pantang*.
ta'bi: the interpretation of dreams, II. 42, 43, 44.
tabu duë': a method of sowing, I. 261.
tabut: the symbolical coffin of the Kerbela martyrs, I. 205.
ta'eun: cholera, I. 415, II. 48.

tahlil: repetition of the confession of faith, I. 74, 428, 429.
tajō': dibbling, I. 266.
Tajul-Alam: = *Sapiatōdin*, I. 190.
Tajul mulk: a work in Malay, II. 33.
tajwīd: the science of correct enunciation, II. 3.
takat simalam: a star (unidentified), I. 247.
talismans: see *peugawé*, *ajeumat*, *rantê buy*, *u sabòh mata*, *peungeuliëh*, and *awé sungsang*.
talō: to lose (at a game), II. 193.
talòë: cord or string. *T. ië*: water-border, — name of a weaver's pattern, II. 64. *T. jaròë*: chain bracelet, I. 29, 327. *T. jō'*: aren rope, II. 302. *T. ki'ieng*: a belt, I. 30, 309, 327. *T. linggang*: the trace in a plough, I. 261.
taman: a royal pleasure-ground, II. 63.
tambu: a big drum, II. 258; a *meunasah* drum, I. 62.
tamèh blida: pillars of a sugar-mill, I. 274.
tampō' meuïh: a gold cap-crown worn by a bridegroom, I. 309, or by a *sadati*-player, II. 232.
tanda: token, evidence, I. 113, 301. *T. kòng narit*: a betrothal gift, I. 328. *T. seumeutèt*: a sign that other deaths will follow, — an unlucky omen at a funeral, I. 426
tangkay: spoken magical formulæ, I. 70, 73, II. 46.
tangkulō': headwrapper, I. 27, 309.
tanglōng meugisa: revolving Chinese lanterns, II. 268.
Tanjōng: a village near Kutaraja, I. 379.
tank: see *kulam*.
tapa: ascetic seclusion, I. 181, 182, II. 35, 111, 143, 152, 227.
tapé: a fermented rice-spirit, I. 268.
ṭarīkah: a mystical method, I. 165, 233, II. 18.
tarōh ba': the stakes (at a cockfight), II. 212 *Tarōh chabeuëng*: additional stakes, II. 212.
taròn: a snare for birds or animals, I. 39.
taslīmah: an invocation of blessing on all believers, I. 230.
tawaïh: alum, II. 50.
tayeuën: a small jar, II. 284.
taxes: see *pitrah* and *jakeuët*.
té'-té': a bird-name, II. 161.
tea-drinking: II. 53.
tèëhit: the doctrine of the Unity of God, II. 186.
téh: [Arab. *ṭibb*] calendars or handbooks showing lucky and unlucky days, I. 198.
tèngtòng: a kind of rattle, II. 190.
teubèë: sugar-cane, I. 273, II. 266.
teubōïh taleuë': purchase of divorce by a wife from her husband, I. 371.
teugòm: lying face downwards, II. 202.
teukeulit: the *taqlīd* or partial following of some other school of law, I. 344, 346, 347, II. 22.
teuku: meaning of the title, I. 70.
T. Alī: a chief in the war, II. 109.
T. Aneu' Paya: *ulèèbalang* of the IV Mukims, II. 110.
T. Asan: a war chief, II. 108, 109, 110.
T. Ateuë': chief of the IV Mukims *Ateuë'*, a minor chief; I. 136.
T. Ba'ét: *ulèèbalang* of the VII Mukims, I. 138, II. 113, 114.
T. Chut Lamreuëng: a former joint panglima of the XXVI Mukims, I. 135.
T. Hakim: a degenerate title, I. 127.
T. Imeum Tungkōb: a chief in the XXVI Mukims, I. 136.
T. Juhan: a titular panglima of the XXVI Mukims, I. 135, 136.
T. Kali Malikōn Adé: see *kali*.
T. Keureukōn: see *keureukōn*.
T. Lam Nga, and *T. Lam Reuëng*: war chiefs, II. 105, 107.
T. Muda Lampasèh: a joint panglima of the XXVI Mukims, I. 135.
T. Muda Latéh: a cousin of *Panglima Pòlém*, I. 134.
T. Nanta Seutia: I. 126, 127.
T. Né' Peureuba Wangsa: chief of the IX Mukims of the XXV, I. 133, 137.
T. Né' Raja Muda Seutia: a chief of *Meura'sa*, I. 133, 137.
T. Nya' Banta: = *T. Lamreuëng*.
T. Paya: a chief in the war, II. 108.
T. Raja Itam: made chief of the VI Mukims, I. 127.
T. Seutia Ulama: panglima of the XXV Mukims, I. 137.
T. Uma: type of the political adventurer, I. 151; his success, I. 152, 153; his influence on the *Hikayat Prang Gōmpeuni*, II. 103, 109.

T. Usén: the name of two chiefs in the war, II. 109.

T. Waki Chi' Gampōng Barōh: chief of the V Mukims, I. 138.

teuleukin: the *talqīn* formula at a funeral, I. 427.

teumajō': dibbling, I. 266.

teumanòm: the ordeal by burial, I. 110.

teumèn: a sharpened bamboo for severing the umbilicus, I. 376.

Teumiëng: Tamiang, the East Coast limit of Achèh, I. 1.

teunanòm: a form of sympathetic magic, I. 415.

teungku: meaning of the title, I. 70, 71; its extension to others besides the *teungku meunasah*, I. 70, 71; the *teungku meunasah*, his duties, I. 71—73; his income, I. 73, 74; ignorance of the average *teungku*, I. 75, 101, II. 23; the *teungku rangkang*, his position and functions, II. 29.

T. Anjōng: a saint, origin of the name, I. 35; his tomb, I. 156, 157; his feast-day, I. 235; his wife, I. 219; his being invoked, II. 106, 237.

T. Deuruïh: a religious teacher, II. 28.

T. di-Kuala: a great orthodox religious teacher and saint; his life and work, II. 14—20; vows at his tomb, II. 112; his book, II. 187.

T. di-Lam Nyòng: a religious teacher, II. 27.

T. Hamba Allah: I. 127.

T. Kutakarang: a famous religious leader in the war, I. 183—188; his differences with *T. Tirò*, I. 183, 184; his teaching, I. 183, 184; his books, I. 186, 187, II. 33; his death, I. 188; his theory of the origin of the Achèhnese, I. 18.

T. Lam Gut: a chief *kali*, I. 101, II. 28, 185.

T. Lam Keuneu'eun: the "pepper saint", I. 184, 260.

T. Lam Paya: a *kali* from the XXVI Mukims, I. 140.

T. Lam Rukam: author of the *Ht. Pòchut Muhamat*, II. 88, 116.

T. Mat Amin: see *Mat Amin*.

T. Tanòh Abèë: I. 100, II. 28.

T. Tanòh Mirah: a *kali*, I. 187, II. 28.

T. Tapa: an adventurer-chief, II. 35, 128.

T. Teureubuë: a heretical mystic, II. 13, 14.

T. Tirò: a famous religious leader, I. 178—181, II. 21, 27, 103, 110—116.

teungòh malam: midnight, I. 200.

teunungkèë: a primitive arrangement for cooking, I. 41.

teupeusé: a *tafsir* or commentary on the Qurān, II. 23, 32.

teupōng taweuë: flour and water used in the "cooling" ceremony, I. 44.

teusawōh: mysticism, II. 9, 20, 32.

teuseuréh: = *sarah*, II. 7, 58.

teutab: motionless, fixed, I. 399.

teu'uëm: medicinal rubbing, II. 52.

tiamòm: washing the (uncircumcised) dead with sand, I. 421.

tikōïh: a field mouse, I. 266.

tilam: mattress, I. 40, 41.

tima: bucket, I. 36.

Timu: "the East", — the N. and E. coasts of Acheh, II. 124.

tinteuëng: rubbing padi-stalks between the hands, I. 268.

tiōng: the mina-bird, II. 40.

tirè: hangings, I. 41.

Tirò: a place in Pidië (Pedir); its character, I. 178; its position as a centre of learning, II. 26, 27.

titilantahit: a bird the note of which is ominous, II. 42.

Tō' Batèë: a tribal name, I. 48, 49, 51, 57.

Tō' Sandang: a tribal name, I. 49—52, 57, 58.

tòb glunyuëng: ear-boring, I. 259, 395.

tobacco: I. 255; its use prohibited during the fast, I. 229.

tòb alèë eumpiëng: the "rice-mortar" game, II. 200.

tombs: visits to family tombs, I. 241; veneration for tombs of saints, II. 293, and kings, II. 299, 300.

tombstones: setting them up, I. 264, 430; their shape, I. 431; the art of making them, II. 59.

tooth-ache: its treatment, II. 52.

tooth-drawing: II. 45.

tooth-filing: I. 400.

top-knots: see *sanggōy* and *kundé*.

top: playing-tops, II. 190.

tōt gapu: lime-burning, I. 259.
tōtō: nervous quivering, — its importance; II. 41.
toys: II. 190.
travellers: see *meusapi*.
trawèh: a religious service, I. 73, 230.
trays: (*dalōng*), I. 31, 40; (*krikay*), I. 40.
trees: see "haunted trees".
tribes: I. 45—59.
triëng: thorny bamboo, I. 36.
trousers: I. 25.
tuan beusa: the title of the Governor of Aehèh, I. 171, II. 229.
Tuan Meurasab: a Nagore miracle-working saint, I. 217; legends about him, I. 217; his festival, I. 217—219.
Tuan Siti: a famous *burōng* woman, II. 379.
Tuanku: a title given to princes of the blood, I. 141, e. g. *T. Abdōmajēt*, I. 142, 149; *T. Asém*, I. 149, 150, II. 215; *T. Ibrahim*, I. 144; *T. Muhamat*, I. 143; *T. Muhamat Dawōt* (the Pretender-Sultan), I. 147; *T. Usén*: I. 142.
tuëng meunarō: the ceremony of fetching away the bride, I. 356.
tukōy: a small changkol, I. 263.
tuleuëng dòng: an evil spirit, I. 412.
tulō: a ricebird, I. 266.
tumba' a spear, I. 27.
tumbang mangko': *scaphium wallachii*, II. 56.
tumpòë: a kind of pancake, I. 31.
tungkōy: nosegay, II. 232.
tunòng: highlands, I. 24, 25, 45, 59.
Tupah: [Arab. *Tuḥfah*] name of a commentary on the Law, II. 9.
tupè: squirrel, II. 126.
Turkey: legendary embassy to Turkey, I. 208, 209.
Turkish: alleged Turkish element in the population, I. 18, 48.
tutuë: "bridge", — strips of cotton on either side of the path of a funeral procession, I. 425.

U.

u: coconut, I. 397, II. 38.
udeuëng: prawns, I. 279.
ulama: an authority on religious law and doctrine, I. 71; the *ulamas* as leaders, I. 165, 166; their position strengthened by the war, I. 166.
ulanda: a Hollander, I. 170.
ulat: worm. *U. padé*: a caterpillar, I. 267. *U. sangkadu*: another caterpillar, II. 37.
ulcers: II. 50, 51.
ulèë: head. *U. cheumara*: an old-fashioned gold head-ornament, I. 317. *U. Lheuë*: = Olehleh. *U. ratéb*: the head of a *sadati* troupe, II. 221.
ulèëbalang: territorial chief, I. 88; his real independence, I. 128; his connection with the *panglima kawōm*, I. 46; and with the *keuchi'*, I. 64, 67, 118; his share in religious taxes, I. 74; his duties as an avenger, I. 79; tendency of other offices to become *ulèëbalang*-ships, I. 84; the "Sultan's ulèëbalangs", I. 92; judicial powers of the *ulèëbalang*, I. 102—116; his social position, I. 118, 119; his income, I. 116—118.
uleuë maté iku: a snake, II. 49.
Umdat al-muḥtajīn: name of a treatise on mysticism, II. 17.
umòng: a single banked rice-field, I. 115, 122, 260.
undang-undang: written (Malay) works on customary law, I. 11.
untōt: elephantiasis, II. 51.
upat: a tax on gambling, II. 209.
ureuëng: person, e. g., *u. dagang*: stranger, Kling, I. 19; *u. di-dapu*: woman newly confined, I. 375; *u. adara*: an invisible being invoked by clairvoyants, II. 40; *u. le*: the Pleiades; *u. mat talòë*: woman in labour, I. 374; *u. meudagang*: travelling student, II. 26, 31; *u. meukulat*: poisoners, I. 414; *u. meu'ubat*: medicine men, II. 46, 55; *u. keumalòn*: seers gifted with second sight, II, 39; *u. pèt unòë*: honey-gatherers, I. 387; *u. pumubeuèt*: teachers of Qurān-reading, I. 396, II. 4; *u. salah*: slave-debtors, I. 93; *u. tuha*: village headmen, I. 75, 76; *u. ulèë*: persons of distinction, I. 339; *u. meukat aweuëh*: druggists, II. 46.
ureuëng-ureuëng: scare-crow, I. 266.
urì: a reddish skin-eruption, II. 50.
urine: used medicinally, II. 49.
urōë: day, sun. *U. peutrōn*, *u. pupò'* and *u. seumeusië* (or *u. ma'meugang*) feasts

before the fast, I. 227. *U. raya*: the festival after the fast, I. 195.
urōt: massage, I. 373, II. 53.
uruëh: pulling (rice-stalks) through the hand, I. 264.
uta' tulang: marrow (used medicinally), II. 52.
utensils: household utensils, I. 36—40.
uteuën: forest, I. 59.

V.

Van den Berg: his views, I. 12, et passim.
Van der Heyden: general, I. 170, 171, II. 104.
Van Langen: referred to, I. 1, 16, 18, 22, 48, 50 et passim.
Venus: the planet, I. 247.
verandahs: I. 35, 39, 40.
Veth: referred to, I. 3, 20, II. 81, 89.
vinegar: I. 39.
violins: (native) II. 260; (European) II. 265.
visits: ceremonial visits on the *uròë raya*, I. 240; of a betrothal party, I. 301; of a marriage party, I. 311; formal visit of husband to wife, I. 327; ditto, of a bride to her parents-in-law, I. 356; visits of a mother-in-law to a pregnant daughter-in-law, I. 371—373; visits after a confinement, I. 385; visits of condolence after a death, I. 424.

W.

wa: a whistle, II. 258.
waist-belts: I. 30.
wakeuëh: crown lands; I. 121—125, 138, II. 82, 84.
waki: agent, attorney, I. 67.
walang sangit: a sort of grasshopper, I. 126.
wali: (I.) a saint, I. 165;
(II.) the guardian of a female, I. 331, 333.
waqf: bequests in mortmain; II. 321.
war: the Achèh war, I. 3, 24; a national war at first, I. 173; its lack of unity of conduct, I. 173; the mistakes of the hereditary chiefs, I. 175; it becomes a guerilla war, I. 176, 177, and is financed by religious contributions which are favoured by the "concentration policy", I. 177; the leading guerilla chiefs, I. 178—188; peace-loving elements among the Achèhnese, I. 188, 189; the poem on the war, I. 189, 190.
wardrobes: I. 41.
wasé: toll, tax, harbour dues, I. 117, 128, 272.
wasiët: (a.) see "wills";
(b.) a name given to a treatise rousing religious zeal, II. 104, 182, 183.
wa'tèë: period of time, I. 199.
weapons: swords (*sikin, gliwang*), I. 27, (*sikin panyang*), I. 93; daggers, I. 27, 93; javelins, I. 27; spears, I. 27; curved daggers (*siwaih*), I. 309; the science of judging weapons, II. 38, 39.
weaving: the process of weaving, II. 63, 64.
wells: I. 36.
wéng: (a.) shafts of a sugar-mill, I. 273;
(b.) obtaining evidence by torture, I. 109.
weuë: cattle-stalls, I. 37.
whales: II. 302.
whistles: II. 258.
wills: seldom made by Achehnese, I. 287. See also *pumeusan*.
winnowing: the basket used, I, 2, 272, 411.
witchcraft: see "magic".
witchdoctors: II. 46, 55.
wòë: "to go home" — said of men's visits to their wives' houses, I. 44.

Y.

yad: proof of theft by evidence of lurking house trespass, I. 105.
yèë: shark, II. 302.
yō': (a.) a measure, I. 261;
(b.) a yoke, I. 261.
yub mòh, or **yub rumòh**: the space under a dwelling-house, I, 36, 37.

Z.

zakat: = *jakeuet*, q. v.; I. 126, II. 272.