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Their origin, name and weight in a historical context*

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Gold coins of Samudra-Pasai  
and Aceh:  
Their origin, name and weight  
in a historical context

J. Leyten



THE MALAY PENINSULA AND SUMATRA

## Samenvatting

*Het artikel beschrijft de gouden munten van Samudra-Pasai en Acheh en geeft, met behulp van die gouden munten als authentieke historische bron, nieuwe inzichten in de geschiedenis van dit gebied. Voorts bevat het artikel een uitgebreide catalogus waarin (voor zover beschikbaar) meerdere stempelvarianten van de gouden munten, per Sultan, zijn afgebeeld.*

Rond 1250 vestigden zich op de noordwestkust van Sumatra enige, van oorsprong uit India afkomstige, islamitische handelaren.

Zij stichtten havenplaatsen aan de mondingen van de Pasangan en de Pasai rivier. Deze havenplaatsen waren door hun ligging aan de straat van Malacca, een belangrijk tussenstation voor de handel tussen het westen (Italië, Perzië en Voor-Indië), de Indische archipel in het oosten en China in het noorden.

Deze havenplaatsen groeiden uit tot de zelfstandige rijkjes Samudra en Pasai met aan het hoofd een 'havenkoning' die Sultan genoemd werd. Het is via deze havenplaatsen dat de Islam zich in de Indische archipel heeft verspreid. Het belang en de macht van deze Sultanaten waren zo groot dat zij als eersten in de Indische archipel gouden munten (mas) sloegen.

In ca. 1510 vestigden de Portugezen zich in Malacca. Zij trachtten door een monopolistische politiek de handel te domineren. Hierdoor verplaatste de handel zich naar het reeds lang bestaande maar tot dan nog onbetekenende Acheh op de noordwestpunt van Sumatra.

Acheh groeide uit tot een machtig rijk, terwijl het belang van Samudra-Pasai afnam. Ook in Acheh werden nu gouden munten geslagen naar het model dat in Samudra-Pasai gangbaar was. In 1624 veroverde Acheh het gebied van Samudra-Pasai.

Over de oude geschiedenis van Samudra-Pasai en Acheh was voor 1900 weinig met zekerheid bekend. Naast enkele reisbeschrijvingen bestonden er wel inlandse kronieken, maar dat waren meer romantische verhalen dan geschiedkundig betrouwbare bronnen.

Dit veranderde begin 1900 toen de Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlands Indië onderzoek in Acheh deed en een aantal Sultansgraven ontdekte.

De inscripties op de Sultansgraven vermelden niet alleen de sterfdatum van de Sultan, maar ook zijn afstamming. De Oudheidkundige Dienst maakte een begin met de beschrijving van de genealogie van een aantal vorsten van Samudra-Pasai. Ook bleek dat sommige legendarische vorsten daadwerkelijke historische personen waren.

Hulshoff Pol heeft, aan de hand van de hierboven genoemde kennis, de hem bekende gouden munten van Samudra-Pasai en Aceh beschreven en aan bepaalde Sultans toegekend. Deze uitstekende publicatie is in 1929 in het Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde verschenen. Scholten heeft in het jaarboek van 1949 nog een aanvulling gegeven op het werk van Hulshoff Pol. Mede omdat de teksten op de munten geen jaartallen bevatten heeft het onderzoek naar de geschiedenis van Samudra-Pasai en Aceh zich tot op heden niet beziggehouden met de munten uit deze gebieden. Het is de bedoeling van dit artikel om, voor het eerst, naast de bestaande bronnen, de munten als authentieke bron voor geschiedkundig onderzoek te gebruiken. Bestudering van de munten geeft aanwijzingen omtrent de Sultans en de perioden waarin de munten zijn geslagen en draagt daarmee bij tot het begrip van de geschiedenis van Samudra-Pasai en Aceh.

Als eerste wordt ingegaan op de stichting van Samudra-Pasai. Hierover bestaan in de literatuur verschillende lezingen en theorieën. De bestudering van de munten verschaft, voor het eerst, duidelijkheid over de stichters van deze Sultanaten. Het blijkt dat niet Sultan Malik as-Saleh de stichter is van Pasai, zoals algemeen wordt aangenomen, maar Sultan Ahmad.

Sultan Malik as-Saleh blijkt de stichter te zijn van het, aan Pasai ondergeschikte, Samudra. Zijn munten en de grafschriften wijzen er zelfs op dat Malik as-Saleh bij zijn leven nooit de titel van Sultan heeft gevoerd.

Vervolgens is, met behulp van de munten, een poging gedaan om de totnogtoe grotendeels onbekende genealogie van de vorsten van Samudra-Pasai op te stellen.

Daarna volgt de geschiedenis van Aceh. Deze was goeddeels bekend uit de literatuur. De tekst op munten geeft aanvullende informatie over de genealogie van de Sultans van Aceh. Ook blijkt dat er, na de verovering door Aceh, nog munten te Samudra-Pasai zijn geslagen.

Na de geschiedenis van Samudra-Pasai en Aceh volgt een uitgebreide catalogus van de munten van Samudra-Pasai en Aceh. Deze bevat een aantal munten die in de publicaties van Hulshoff Pol en Scholten nog niet zijn beschreven. De teksten op de munten zijn in Perzisch-Arabisch schrift. De munten zijn slecht leesbaar omdat de plaatsing van de tekst slordig is en de munten klein zijn, ca. 10 mm in doorsnede.

Dit heeft in eerdere publicaties aanleiding gegeven tot verkeerde lezing van de opschriften. De muntstempels werden met de hand gegraveerd. Zij gingen niet lang mee, waardoor er vele stempelvarianten bestaan. De tekst op de munten bleef daarbij inhoudelijk onveranderd. Deze onderlinge stempelverschillen gaven soms, ten onrechte, aanleiding tot toeschrijving van de munten aan onderscheiden Sultans.

## Samenvatting

Omgekeerd blijkt dat ondanks de vele stempelvarianten, soms kleine tekstverschillen in op elkaar lijkende munten consequent werden gehandhaafd. Dit duidt er juist wel op dat deze munten van verschillende Sultans zijn.

In de catalogus zijn, per Sultan, en voor zover beschikbaar, meerdere stempelvarianten afgebeeld.

In de bijlagen wordt ingegaan op het gewicht, gehalte en de naam van de munten.

Aangetoond wordt dat de naam van de munten 'mas' is en niet 'coupang', zoals door (Engelstalige) auteurs wordt geschreven.

Verder wordt o.a. een woordenlijst gegeven met de transcriptie en de betekenis van de op de munten voorkomende Perzisch-Arabische woorden.

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## Summary

*The article describes the gold coins of Samudra-Pasai and Aceh and provides new insight into the history of this area, whereby these gold coins are used as an authentic historical source. The article also contains a comprehensive catalogue featuring illustrations of several die variants of the gold coins per Sultan, where available.*

Around 1250 some Islamic traders, originally from India, established themselves on the northwest coast of Sumatra. They founded ports at the mouths of the Pasangan and the Pasai river. In view of their geographical position in the straits of Malacca, these ports were a key transit point for trade between the West (Italy, Persia and India), the Indonesian archipelago in the East and China in the North.

These ports grew to become the independent kingdoms of Samudra and Pasai with at the head a 'harbour king' called Sultan. It is via these ports that Islam spread through the Indonesian archipelago. The influence and power of these Sultanates were so great that they were the first in the Indonesian archipelago to strike gold coins (mas).

In about 1510 the Portuguese established themselves in Malacca, attempting to dominate trade through their monopolistic politics. This forced trade towards Aceh on the northwest point of Sumatra, long established but still fairly unknown. Aceh expanded into a powerful kingdom while the importance of Samudra-Pasai declined. In Aceh, gold coins were now also being struck, according to the popular model of Samudra-Pasai. In 1524 Aceh conquered the area of Samudra-Pasai.

Prior to 1900, little was known with any certainty about the old history of Samudra-Pasai and Aceh. In addition to a few travelogues, there were native chronicles but they tended to be romanticised stories rather than reliable historical documents. This changed at the beginning of the 1900s when the Archaeology Department in the Dutch East Indies made a study of Aceh and discovered the tombs of a number of Sultans. The inscriptions on the tombs related not only the dates of death of the Sultan, but also his ancestry. The Archaeology Department started the description of the genealogy of several rulers of Samudra-Pasai. Some of the legendary rulers also appeared to have been real historical people.

Hulshoff Pol has, based on the aforementioned knowledge, described the gold coins of Samudra-Pasai and Aceh known to him and ascribed them to certain Sultans. This excellent publication appeared in 1929 in the *Jaarboek voor munt- en Penningkunde*. Scholten made additions in the *Jaarboek* of 1949.

Since the legends on the coins contain no dates, studies into the history of Samudra-Pasai and Aceh have to date not been concerned with the coins from this area. It is the intention of this article, to use, for the first time in addition to the existing sources, the coins as an authentic source for historical study. The study of the coins gives pointers to the Sultans and the periods in which the coins were struck, thus contributing to the understanding of the history of Samudra-Pasai and Aceh.

First there is a consideration of the founding of Samudra-Pasai about which there are many papers and theories in the literature. The study of the coins provides, for the first time, clarity about the founders of these Sultanates. It proofs that Sultan Malik as-Saleh was not, as is generally believed, the founder of Pasai but Sultan Ahmad. Sultan Malik as-Saleh appears to have founded the Pasai dependency of Samudra. His coins and epitaphs even indicate that Malik as-Saleh never bore the title of Sultan.

Next, using the coins, an attempt is made to compile a (to date largely unknown) genealogy of the rulers of Samudra-Pasai. This is followed by the history of Aceh, which is largely known from literature.

The legends on coins provide additional information and show that also after the conquest by Aceh, coins were struck in Samudra-Pasai. The inscriptions on the coins provide additions to the genealogy of the Sultans of Aceh. After the history of Samudra-Pasai and Aceh there follows a comprehensive catalogue of the coins of Samudra-Pasai and Aceh. This catalogue contains a number of coins that have not been described in the publications of Hulshoff Pol and Scholten.

The legends on the coins are in Persian-Arabic script. The coins are poorly legible, due to the sloppy legend and their small size of about 10 mm in diameter. In earlier publications this gave rise to erroneous reading of the legends. The coin dies were engraved by hand and were not very durable, therefore many die variants exist, whereby the legends on the coins remained intrinsically unchanged. These die differences sometimes prompted, wrongly, the ascription of the coins to various Sultans. On the other hand, despite the many die variants, sometimes small textual differences in coins that looked very similar, were consistently applied. This does indicate that these coins were indeed of different Sultans. In the catalogue several die variants are illustrated as far as available.

## Summary

In the appendices the weight, content and name of the coins are explored. It is revealed that the name of the coins is 'mas' and not 'coupang', as many (English-speaking) writers suggest. A glossary is provided with the transcription and meaning of the Persian-Arabic words that appear on the coins.

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# 1. Introduction

This publication is the result of many years of research into the gold coins (mas) of Samudra-Pasai and Aceh.

The discovery of coins which had not previously been published created the need to find out more about the background of this coinage.

The rarity (or widespread presence of certain coins) depends on the local circumstances prevailing at the time of their issue. This is influenced by both the economy and trade as well as the size of the Sultanate and the duration of the rule of the respective Sultan. Information on the Sultans who ruled over Samudra-Pasai and Aceh is fragmented, so it was necessary to combine several sources, examine the coins in depth and make a number of assumptions, specifically for Samudra-Pasai, in order to arrive at a list of successive Sultans.

This study looks more extensively into the historical background and researched sources than the Hulshoff Pol publication did.

The script on the coins is Persian-Arabic (Arabic script, with the addition of several characters in order to reveal sounds that do not appear in Arabic)<sup>1</sup>. The legends are written untidily, omitting the signs and diacritical marks required for good legibility. Even complete letters in the legend are frequently omitted, which makes the legends not only difficult to read, but sometimes susceptible to misreading. That is why the coins are shown in about twice the size in the catalogue section<sup>2</sup> that is incorporated in this study. Below the pictures of the coins, the legends are shown in both the original Arabic script and as a transcription.

Since the coin dies must have been rather primitively made they apparently did not last for long and were frequently replaced, certain coins had many die varieties. These varieties could appear, quite erroneously, as entirely different coins, perhaps of a different Sultan. So, where available, the catalogue section also contains illustrations of several dies.

Coins are a means of exchange with a certain ascribed value. In older times the value of a coin tended to be determined by the value of the metal from which the coin was made (The intrinsic value of the coin). For the mas of Samudra-Pasai and Aceh this was gold. The value of the mas is based on the weight

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1 See paragraph 9.1, 'Arabic letters' on page 211.

2 See chapter 6, 'Catalogue' on page 142.

and content of the gold. Hulshoff Pol<sup>3</sup> has already logged the gold content and weight of the coins he described, though he did not record the origin of the coin weight nor the change in the coin weight over time.

There is no clarity about the name of the coins. In addition to the correct name 'mas'<sup>4</sup>, the coins are also called cupang<sup>5</sup> or derham<sup>6</sup>.

The issues of coin weight, intrinsic value, applicable system of weighing and naming of the coins are all comprehensively dealt with in the appendices<sup>7</sup>. Therewith, long lasting discussions regarding these topics can be closed.

A glossary of legends which appear on the coins is also included as an appendix, including their literal translation<sup>8</sup>. The 'names' of the Sultans on the coins are not always the 'name' of the Sultan, but usually the personal title of honour assigned to the Sultan during his reign<sup>9</sup>.

Names should not be translated; honorary titles can be translated.

In the interpretation of the translation of coin legends, the Islamic culture plays a role. For instance, 'Muzaffar' can be literally translated as 'Victor' but the connotation according to Islamic culture is 'He to whom Allah has granted the victory'.

The transcription and translation of the meaning are approximations. Transcription into European script will also be pronounced differently in different languages. The transcription reflects in English the original Arabic pronunciation as closely as possible. It should be noted that the Aceh pronunciation was probably not the same as the Arabic.

The excellent publication on the gold coins (mas) of Samudra-Pasai and Aceh, written by J. Hulshoff Pol is in Dutch and therefore not very accessible to non-Dutch collectors. There is also a 1986 publication by T. Ibrahim Alfian, 'Mata uang emas kerajaan<sup>2</sup> di Aceh', which is largely based on the work of Hulshoff Pol and provides no new insights. The publication is in Malayan and thus not very accessible as well. Herefore this publication is written in English, hoping to reach a broader public.

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3 Hulshoff Pol (1929).

4 Idem.

5 Usually by English-speaking writers.

6 Alfian (1986).

7 See chapter 8, 'Coin weight and coin name' on page 192.

8 See paragraph 9.3, 'Vocabulary' on page 214.

9 See paragraph 9.2, 'Personal and honorary titles' on page 214.

## Introduction

I would like to express my thanks to the many collectors, institutions and archives which have provided invaluable help in realising this publication. I hope that the catalogue with its pictures and descriptions will make these interesting coins accessible and understandable to a larger group of collectors. Also I trust that the new historic perspectives given and the origin and background of the coinage of Samudra-Pasai and Aceh will be of interest to many.

Steensel, November 2006

J. Leyten.

## 2. The Coins

Traders that founded the ports of Samudra and Pasai originated from India and they simply introduced the culture and practices of India into north Sumatra. It was by this route also that Islam reached the Indonesian archipelago, not directly from Arabia but from India (Hindustan). This original link with India can also be seen on the tombstones of the Sultans of Samudra-Pasai. Moquette<sup>10</sup> has shown that these tombstones came from India and, in a subsequent publication Moquette contended<sup>11</sup> that the tombstones had been made in the town of Cambay in Gujarat (See Figure 2, 'Sixteenth Century Asia' on page 6).

The system of weights and measures also originates from India. The weights system has a weight for gold (suvarna), the karsha of ca. 9.6 grams and the 16<sup>e</sup> part thereof, the 'suvarna masha' of ca. 0.6 grams. The suvarna masha was called 'masha' or 'mas'. The coin weight was also based on this system. Most coins weighed 0.6 grams and were called on the basis of that weight 'mas'. According to Childers<sup>12</sup> the small coins of ca. 0.3 grams from Samudra-Pasai could be called 'masakas'.

Some confusion exists in the literature about the name of the coins, which are often wrongly referred to in English publications as coupangs. The English had several bases on Sumatra (Fort Marlborough and Bencoulen) where the weights were based on the Chinese weights system. (The Chinese 'catty' for gold and silver of 601 grams<sup>13</sup> and the derivative 'cupang' of 0.601 grams. A 'mace' was the equivalent to 4 cupangs.) Since the majority of the coins weighed some 0.6 grams, they were also called cupangs due to their weight. The name 'mas' (mace) was the equivalent of a weight of 4 x 0.6 grams = 2.4 grams. So for English writers 'mas' cannot be the correct name for coins of ca. 0.6 grams. Therefore they use the name 'cupang'.

The origin of this error lies in the fact that its has been insufficiently known that Acheh during the period of this coinage was never conquered by a foreign

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10 Moquette (1912) page 209.

11 Moquette (1912) page 536.

12 Davis (1975) page 4. *'Lastly, it should be mentioned that, according to Mr. Childers, the word Kahápana itself meant primarily a small weight, and that it is equal to sixteen máshas, each of which = 2½ másakas = 5 ratis.'*

13 Doursther (1840) on page 511 under Tael. Chine, Canton: Le tael, tale ou taile (liang), poids pour l'or et l'argent, 16<sup>e</sup> du cattí, = 10 mass ou maces = 100 condorines (fuen) = 1000 caches (lis) = 579,84 grains anglais = 37,57 Grammes. (The cattí is then 16 x 37,57 grams = 601,12 grams).

power. The Chinese system of weights and measures as used by the English in Sumatra was never used in Samudra-Pasai or Acheh. The simple statement that the coin weight was based on an old system from India and that the correct name of the coin had to be mas will not signify the end of the debate for some numismatists. But for them the proof of this will be reserved in a separate chapter at the end of this publication<sup>14</sup>.

The minting of these coins covers a period from around 1270 until the end of the 18th century. The start of the coinage was at a time when weighing expensive articles like gold, silver and jewels was still done using seeds, so for the basis of the coin weight we have to go back to the old method of weighing with seeds<sup>15</sup>. International trade has over time brought compatibility to the various systems of weights, but what the weights of the seeds in a particular region must have been around the year 1000 can no longer be determined. So it is now very difficult to reconstruct an original system of weights. This problem is apparent from various authors who attempted the task of converting old standards into modern units of weight.

To pin down the system of weights on which the coins are based, it is essential to be able to establish as accurately as possible the weight of the coins<sup>16</sup>. It has been found that the weight of the coins most used during the 4½ centuries that the coinage lasted fell from 0.62 to 0.58 grams, leaving an average weight for this period of ca. 0.6 grams.

There are two systems of weights that could have been the basis for coin weight of the Acheh gold coins, a system originally from India<sup>17</sup> and one from China<sup>18</sup>. A comparison of the two systems<sup>19</sup> should ultimately reveal the correct weight for the coins, and it suggests that 'mas' had to have been the coin name and that this name derived from the weight system from India, the suvarna masha, on which the coinage was based<sup>20</sup>.

It is not only the name of the coin as used by the people of Acheh that is derived from the coin weight (suvarna masha) but also the name for gold in Malay (mas or emas), as used throughout the archipelago, which is derived from these coins and their weight. The word mas for gold has ousted the older name, also derived from India, suvarna (usually abbreviated to su) over the years.

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14 See chapter 8, 'Coin weight and coin name' on page 192.

15 See paragraph 8.1, 'Antique weight systems' on page 192.

16 See paragraph 8.2, 'The coin weight and its alloy' on page 193.

17 See paragraph 8.3, 'The weight system of India' on page 198.

18 See paragraph 8.4, 'The Chinese weight system' on page 202.

19 See paragraph 8.5, 'The relationship between the systems' on page 203.

20 See paragraph 8.6, 'The name of the coins' on page 204.

## 2.1. Reading the coin legends

A little knowledge of Arabic letters is necessary to read the coins<sup>21</sup>.

The dies for minting clearly were not durable, resulting in a large number of minted variants and script variants for the same Sultan. The textual content however was kept the same but the distribution of the text over the coin face could occasionally vary. Sometimes those coins were interpreted as being of a different Sultan.

It is also the case that clearly different coin legends are erroneously seen as variants of the coins of a well-known Sultan.

Given the lack of pure Arabic, deciphering the legends proves to be difficult and often open for discussion.<sup>22</sup> There can for instance be a discussion whether it is 'Berdaulat Shah' or 'Shah Berdaulat' etc.

The transcription of the legend is a problem as well.

During the last hundred years there were a lot of different 'rules' about the way of transcribing an Arabic text into Latin script.

Will 'جوهرن' be transcribed by 'Johan', 'Djohan' or 'Djahan'. In the catalogue 'Djohan' is used. Is it better to write Zain al-Abidin (زَيْنَ الْعَابِدِينَ) as Zainal'abid-Din, and Abu'l-Din (أَبُو الدِّينِ) as Abu ad-Din? So is Salah ad-Din the same as Saladin and can Abd-Allah be written as Abdallah or Abdullah?

The only thing one can do is to try to be consistent and leave discussion to the opinion of the experts.

Most of the sources cited, like the work of Hulshoff Pol, are from the early 1900's.

To avoid confusion, not the more recent rules of transcription, as in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, but the transcription used by those writers is followed in this article.

## 2.2. Malik az-Zahir or Malik at-Tahir

Many coins bear the title Malik az-Zahir (مَلِكُ الظَّاهِرِ) or Malik at-Tahir (مَلِكُ الطَّاهِرِ).

Given the absence of the diacritical mark, in this case a dot, both readings are possible<sup>23</sup>.

The choice of Malik az-Zahir or Malik at-Tahir has kept many a writer busy.

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21 See paragraph 9.1, 'Arabic letters' on page 211.

22 See paragraph 9.4, 'Reading the coins' on page 217.

23 See Figure 29, 'Rarely appearing diacritical marks on the coins' on page 213.

Hulshoff Pol<sup>24</sup> writes:

*On the Mas in my collection the point (on the ط) is missing, except on the coin of Sultan Ahmad. This prompts the question of what the correct reading is Malik az-Zahir (ملك الظاهر) or Malik al-Tahir (ملك الطاهر) and since I have no satisfactory answer to this, I asked Prof. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje if he would comment. This learned man was so kind as to purport the following: 'الطاهر' means 'the ritual pure' or, figuratively, 'the ethical pure' and 'الظاهر' can mean 'the conquering' and thus better fits the epithet of a ruler than the first. Also, these kinds of epithet for Indonesian princes are in keeping with the Sultans of Egypt at the time and among the latter الظاهر ملك appears but not الطاهر ملك.*

*It seems to me without any doubt, that the reading with the point is the original, which can not prevent that the absence of familiarity of the Malaysian die-cutters with the meaning of the Arabic words, made them place sometimes ملك الطاهر, without that in such cases, leaving out the point, is attributable to a pure mistake.*

That Snouck Hurgronje is also somewhat condescending in his other essays<sup>25</sup> towards the Achehese. 'Absence of familiarity' and 'pure mistake' is wrong. On the many hundreds of mas studied for this article, the dot on the ط appears only on the coins of Sultan Ahmad.

It does not appear on coins of the other Sultans and errors or mistakes by the die-cutters are proven to be very rare indeed.

Hill<sup>26</sup> says:

*The distinction between Maliku'l-Zahir (ملك الظاهر 'The Victorious King') and Maliku'l-Tahir (ملك الطاهر 'The True King') is crucial. Maliku'l-Zahir is an honorific, taken probably by the second ruler whose name was Muhammad and who died in 1326. It was retained by the third and fourth rulers, presumably because they liked its sound, and it became a dynastic title. In an age of illiteracy memory was short. In the next generation the title might have come to be thought of as a personal name of its originator. Has a copyist, editing the original text of the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai, made this mistake and turned Zahir into the common Malay name Tahir?*

But in both the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai and in the Sejarah Melayu it is clearly Malik at-Tahir (ملك الطاهر). The translation of Malik az-Zahir (ملك الظاهر) is not 'The Victorious King', but 'Who was given the Victory (by Allah)'. This is also 'Victorious', but with quite a different accent. Sultan Ahmad, who founded Pasai, and who may have regarded this as a victory (granted to him), would have borne this title. In fact, only on one of the smaller types and all the normal coins of Sultan Ahmad I, is 'Malik az-Zahir' clearly written.

24 Hulshoff Pol (1929) page 7.

25 Hurgronje (1893) and (1906).

26 Hill (1961) page 16.

Tahir means 'pure' or 'true' (in the faith, a good Muslim). It describes a character trait. This title is mentioned on all the other coins and in the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai. As it was shortly before the founding of Pasai that Islam came to Sumatra, in fact to Pasai, it is understandable that the Sultans called themselves good Muslims. But successors later on would also have started the use of the title 'Malik at-Tahir' (ملك الطاهر), 'The pious King' in the sense of good Muslim appropriate, at least on their coins. This is also supported by a consequent use of this title on the coins of Aceh until 1607.

The coins reveal that the founder of Pasai carried the title Maliku'l-Zahir (هملك الظاهر). This title, the Victorious King, was thus taken by the first Sultan and founder of Pasai. The later Sultans carried, as Hill<sup>27</sup> writes, the title 'Maliku'l-Tahir' (ملك الطاهر), and it is not a mistake in transcription of the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai.

Samudra-Pasai has had three Sultans who carried the name 'Ahmad'. There are coins with 'Ahmad Malik az-Zahir (احمد ملك الظاهر)' and coins with 'Ahmad Malik at-Tahir (احمد ملك الطاهر)'. The coins of the later Sultans contain 'Malik at-Tahir'. This suggests that the coins with 'Ahmad Malik az-Zahir' and the coins with 'Ahmad Malik at-Tahir' are of different Sultans Ahmad.

### 2.3. Dating the coins

The coins were struck between ca. 1270 and ca. 1760. As the coins mention no date, the dating can be difficult. Other means, like the changes of the weight and drastic changes in scriptstyle may be of help.

#### 2.3.1. The weight

Most common are the gold coins of ca. 0.6 grams. In time (1270-1750) the weight is reduced from ca. 0,62 to 0,58 gram. The later coins of Samudra-Pasai, after 1524, when the territory was already subordinate to Aceh, are of lesser weight (ca. 0,48 to even 0,34 gram).

It may be assumed that the coins of which the weight unit deviates from the unit of ca. 0.6 grams are linked to a special period in the history of Samudra-Pasai and Aceh.

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27 Hill (1961) page 18.

Sole from Samudra-Pasai and of three Sultans only coins of  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  Mas weighing 0.3 and 0.15 grams are known. These coins must originate from the first period of Samudra-Pasai (1270-1290).

There are very rare coins of 2 Mas of Sultan Ala'ad-Din (1598-1604) weighing ca.1.2 grams and an also very rare coin of 4 Mas from Iskandar Muda (1607-1636) weighing ca. 2.4 grams.

These coins are from the period that Aceh was at the summit of its power.

### 2.3.2. *The inscriptions*

The inscriptions on the Mas changed over time. Specific text characteristics were consistently maintained for a period of time.

On the obverse is the name (Ism, اسم) of the Sultan and the regal title '*Malik at-Tahir*'.

The coins of the rulers of *Samudra* do not have the regal title '*Malik at-Tahir*'. *Samudra* was not independent from Pasai and rulers of *Samudra* were subject to the Sultan of Pasai.

For instance the title '*Malik at-Tahir*' is not mentioned on the coins of Malik as-Saleh, but just '*Salah ad-Din*' (the good in the faith). Therefore absence of the title '*Malik*' shows that he was not a *Sultan* of Pasai but just the ruler of *Samudra*. *Salah ad-Din* was ruling *Samudra* for his brother Sultan Ahmad of Pasai.

This applies to the coins of the later Sultans who were ruling *Samudra-Pasai* as well, after 1524 when *Samudra-Pasai* became a part of Aceh. Also here the Sultans title was reserved for the ruler of Aceh and not for rulers of subordinate territories.

The vice Sultans of *Samudra-Pasai*, mostly younger brothers or sons of the Sultan of Aceh, could strike coins at *Samudra-Pasai*, but without the regal title '*Malik at-Tahir*'.

There is a coin of Sultan Ala'ad-Din as ruler of *Samudra-Pasai* with '*Sultan Ala'ad-Din bin bungsu Sultan Ali.*' (The kunyat bungsu, بڠسو, means younger son)<sup>28</sup>

After driving out his older brother, the Sultan of Aceh, Ala'ad-Din became the Sultan of Aceh and his coin now reads: Ala'ad-Din bin Ali *Malik at-Tahir*.

Malik literally translated from Arabic means 'King', though this must be seen more as the title for the reigning Ruler. Also the titels 'Raja', the Hindu word for 'King' and 'Shah', the Persian word for 'King' has a different meaning in the Malay world.

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28 Catalogue 6.2.1.5, 'Sultan Ala'ad-Din bin Ali' on page 162.

All these titles are used for eminent people, without them being a 'king'. For instance, Shah Bandar is literally 'harbour king', the European equivalent being harbourmaster.

All coins of 1 mas in the Samudra-Pasai period have As-Sultan al-Adil on the reverse.

The reverse of the coins of Samudra-Pasai was copied over and used by Aceh until 1607.

The obverse of the coins of Aceh was changed in 1530 by Sultan Salah.

On the obverse of the coins is, from 1530 onwards the name of the Sultan and a 'Kunyat' (كنية) which is a name of relationship like *the name of his father*.

For instance: Salah *ibn* Ali Malik at-Tahir.

On the coins from or after 1579 the regal title 'Malik at-Tahir' is no longer on the obverse.

The last coin with this title is of Ghiat ad-Din (1579).

In 1607 Sultan Iskandar Muda changed the legends again.

The titles on the obverse of the coins became more complex.

On the obverse is: '(Paduka) Sri Sultan' followed by the Sultan's name.

All the coins of Aceh, after 1607, have no 'As-Sultan al-Adil' on the reverse.

From now on the reverse of the coin bears a general regal title (Al Alamat and Anwan) followed by the name of the father. (For instance 'Djohan berdaulat bin Ali' = Regent of the kingdom, son of Ali.)

(Paduka) Sri Sultan on the obverse remains on the coins until the end of the coining in Aceh in 1670.

Also the title 'berdaulat' remains on the coins until the end of the Sultanate.

Only on the coins of Sultan Iskandar Thani (1636-1641), there is no 'berdaulat' (in the sense of 'from the ruling dynasty'). Iskandar Thani himself was not from the reigning dynasty. He was just married to the daughter of Iskandar Muda from the ruling dynasty. From 1641 on, after Sultan Iskandar Thani, there is another change.

On the reverse is (Djohan) Berdaulat (Shah), whether or not preceded by an honorary title. But, starting with the Sultanahs in 1641, the name of the father is no longer on the reverse of the coins. There is only a 'Laqab' (لقب) which is a personal honorary title, usually of a religious nature. (e.g. Safiat ad-Din, pure in the faith)

From that time on there are no 'names' (Ism, اسم) on the coins. The 'name' must be seen as personal honorary title 'Laqab' only and not as the 'name' of the Sultan or the name of his father. (e.g. 'Zain al-Abidin = ornament of the servants of Allah' and 'Ahmad = the most praised or most laudable'.)

This development of the coin legend is not only useful in the determination but also in the assignment of the coin to a particular Sultan or period. Excep-

The coins

tions to this rule do occur, and these are indicative of something special occurring.

As mentioned, special rules are applicable to coins struck by a viceroy (son or brother of the ruling prince ruler) who acts as ruler of the Samudra dependency of Pasai or the whole of Samudra-Pasai as dependency of Acheh.

Conclusion, based on the inscriptions:

Period	Territory	Obverse	Reverse
1290-1520	Samudra-Pasai	Name of the Sultan and Malik at-Tahir.	As-Sultan al-Adil.
1450-1530	Acheh	Name of the Sultan and Malik at-Tahir.	As-Sultan al-Adil.
1530-1579	Acheh	Name of the Sultan and name of his father Malik at-Tahir.	As-Sultan al-Adil.
1579-1607	Acheh	Name of the Sultan and name of his father (Shah).	As-Sultan al-Adil.
1607-1636	Acheh	(Paduka) sri Sultan and the Name of the Sultan.	(Djohan) berdaulat (Shah) bin, name of his father.
1636-1641	Acheh	sri Sultan and the Name of the Sultan.	(part of the Sultans name) and bin, name of his father.
1641-1760	Acheh	(Paduka) sri Sultan and the Laqab (title) of the Sultan.	Honorary title and berdaulat (Shah)

Some coins differ from the above:

Cat. no.	Obverse	Reverse
SP 6c	Mu'iz ad-Din <i>Ahmad</i> Malik at-Tahir.	
SP 7a	Zain al-Abidin (no Malik at-Tahir).	
SP 12	Abbadta <i>Malikah Shah</i> .	Sultan al-Adil.
SP 13b	Abu'l-Din <i>Ahmad</i> Malik at-Tahir.	
A 6a	Sultan Ala'ad-Din bin <i>bungsu</i> Sultan Ali.	
A 7a	Husain Malik at-Tahir (no bin, no name of the father).	
A 9a	Abd al-Djalil Malik at-Tahir (no bin, no name of the father).	
A 12 B	Sultan Ala'ad-Din <i>Munawar Shah</i> bin Ali. There is also a comparable coin on which the word 'Shah' is missing.	
A 13d	Ala'ad-Din ibn Firman <i>Shah</i> .	As-Sultan al-Adil <i>bin Ali</i> .
A 15a	Sultan al-Adil wa al-Khaqan al-fazul sri Sultan.	Perkasa Alam djohan berdaulat bin Ali.
A 15e	Sri Sultan <i>Raja</i> Iskandar Muda.	

## 2.4. Real, fake or forgery?

Real, fake or forgery will always be a discussion.

There are coins of which the legend is difficult to read or unreadable at all.

They may be of Sultans until now unknown, but can also be fakes.

These coins will be listed in paragraph 7.1, 'Coins of an unknown Sultan'.

Coins of less than 0.55 grams may be real. Clipping of coins was also known in Aceh.

But coins of less than 0.55 grams become suspect.

The coins of Samudra-Pasai must have (from records) 80% gold (8 mutu or 19 carat) and the coins of Aceh 70 % (7 mutu, or 17 carat).<sup>29</sup>

The later coins from Samudra-Pasai, after 1475, are debased to 60 % (15 carat). There will be variations and also the colour of the coins may vary.

The gold for the coins was of local origin and contains a certain amount of silver. It was not imported from different sources.

Debasing was done with copper, so the ratio between gold, silver and copper is expected to be constant. Therefore one may expect more or less the same alloy and colour in all the coins.

One must however judge not only on gold purity or colour, but look at combinations of the legends, quality of script, die variations, weight, overall look of a coin, etc.

The same problem occurs with all the hybrids, bottom up and mirror script coins.

Of course it is possible that there are good coins with this kind of error, but as there was a complete industry for jewellery, producing these coins as talisman, it is possible that the major source for the coins with this kind of 'errors' lays there.

Seeing hundreds of coins gives the impression that engravers' mistakes are rare.

That means that most of the differences between coins, with the same name of the Sultan, are made purposely, consequently those coins belong to different Sultans or periods. The differences have been deliberately made to identify these coins as belonging to the respective Sultan.

There are of course also 'old' forgeries from the time, but these are easily recognisable.

The coins listed in paragraph 7.4 on page 2 are considered to be suspicious or counterfeit.

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<sup>29</sup> Mutu is the scale used in Aceh from 0 to 10 for gold purity, 10 is 100% pure.

## 2.5. Special characteristics of the coins

The Achehnese gold mas is also designated in Acheh with *deureuham*. (*derham*, Arabic *dirham* (درهم) = coin, Persian *diram*, from the Greek *drachme*).

*Derham* is originally the name of an Arabic silver coin and was used later on as the name for any coin. The Achehs-Dutch dictionary<sup>30</sup> defines *deureuham* as:

*DEUREUHAM* (Arab. *dirham*) a small golden Atjèh coin with the value of 1/4 Spanish dollar.

The tongue of the *tiong* (*mina*) is daubed to enable it to quickly learn to speak.

Snouck Hurgronje<sup>31</sup> writes:

*The mina (beo), a well-known talking bird, called tiong 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 case of theft the 'ureueng keumalon' usually declares whether the thief is great or small of stature, light or dark of complexion, and whether he has straight or wavy hair, 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.*

Stammeshaus<sup>32</sup> is more expansive:

*Among the Achehnese the mina (*Gracula javanensis*) was regarded as clairvoyant, and called 'tiong'. The creature has a beautiful song and is able to imitate the voice of people and animals. The tiong is often used by the Achehnese to find out the name of a thief. The one who has been robbed goes to the owner of a 'renowned' tiong, explaining the purpose of his visit and asks for permission to speak with the mina, gives the bird banana and red *tjampli tjoet*, or *tjampli tjina* (the small very sharp red pepper type (known on Java as *lombok sétan*, or *tjabé rawet*) to eat, and asks: 'tiong, *sòë na tjoeë areuta lon, tjoeba tapeugah*' (*mina, who stole my property, tell me*). When the mina starts to 'speak', the robbed person listens carefully and when the mina then, for example, raves '*Gam, Gam*' the robbed person knows that a certain *Gam* is the thief. Whether or not *Gam* is innocent, he is not believed in the village because the *tiong* spoke his name. To ensure*

30 Djajadiningrat (1934) page 297.

31 Snouck Hurgronje (1906) part two, page 40.

32 Stammeshaus (1946) page 118.

## The coins

*that the mina speaks properly and clearly, every Friday (the islamic day of prayer) it is bathed in water in which seven different flowers are dipped, then a tiny part is daubed on the tip of the tongue with a deureuham (derham = mais = mas).*

The Achehs-Dutch dictionary<sup>33</sup> defines Boh Deureuham as:

*BOH DEUREUHAM, (child necklace with a) coin contained in a gold-wrought collar, like a pendant.*

The 'Boh deureuham' protects against all kinds of danger<sup>34</sup>.



Figure 1. Boh deureuham  
Weight 1,148 grams

33 Djajadiningrat (1934) page 297.

34 See Figure 1, 'Boh deureuham', with a coin of Sultanah Tadj al' Alam.

## 2.6. The rarity of the coins

To study the coins, knowledge of the Sultanate is essential.

The rarity of coins depends on various factors that are related in part to history:

1. The duration of the reign of the respective Sultan.
2. The relative prosperity and size of the trade.
3. The size of the territory.
4. Domestic peace and tranquillity in respect of neighbours during the reign of the Sultan.
5. The extent of collecting and re-coining of the coins of predecessors in circulation.

Concerning the last point, Langen<sup>35</sup> writes:

*Sultanah Tadj al-Alam (1641-1675) prior to her accession had all the issued derhams (Massen) collected and melted into new derhams. That is why the derhams from the time of Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah and Iskandar Muda are so rare.*

This has proven to be incorrect. Some of the coins of Sultanah Tadj al-Alam's predecessors are not rare, which means that there is no evidence for the collection and re-coining of the coins of her predecessors. Also his contention<sup>36</sup> that after Sultanah Tadj al-Alam no mas coins were struck is wrong since coins are known from many later Sultans.

To gain a reasonable estimate of the rarity of the coins, one should make an inventory of all coins on the market, in collections and museums. This cannot easily be realised.

Collectors and museums normally are interested in one copy per coin. The market however, offers lots of 50 or more coins. The composition of these lots is not stated and it is possible that the rare coins have already been selected from these lots.

Studying the history of Samudra-Pasai and Aceh can help to indicate the rarity of certain coins.

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35 Langen (1888) page 430.

36 Langen (1888) page 431.

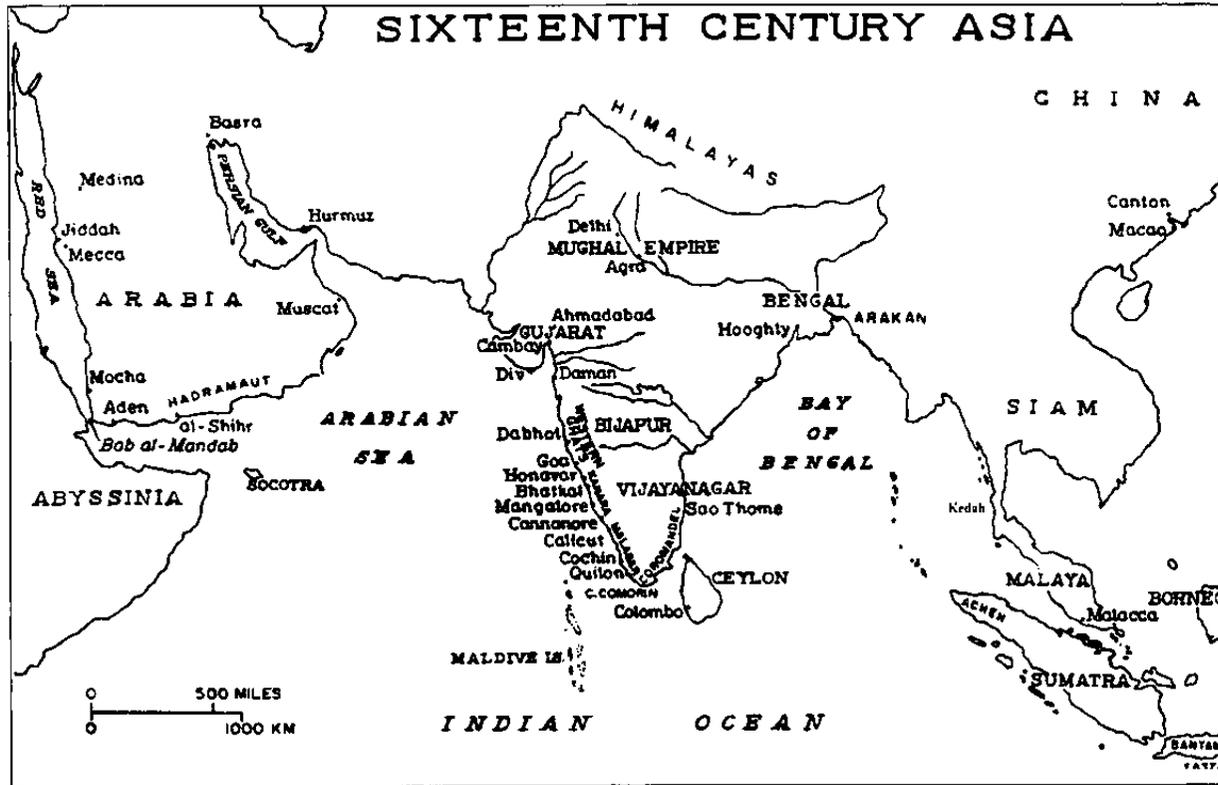


Figure 2. Sixteenth Century Asia

### 3. The history of Samudra-Pasai

Samudra-Pasai, now part of Aceh Indonesia, has a rich past. Its former leading position and the prosperity of this area are due to from its location in relation to a major trading route.<sup>37</sup>

Originally the port of Kedah on Malaya was the area's key harbour, a necessary stopover along the silk route that ran over land and sea.

The sea route ran from Persia via Gujarat on the northwest coast of India and then along the coast to the south as far as the Coromandel. (Also called Malabar = in Arabic Ma'bar = passage or corridor, i.e. between the mainland and Ceylon<sup>38</sup>). Then came to crossing over the Gulf of Bengal to Kedah, then overland to the other side of the peninsula, and then on to China in the north and Majapahit in central Java.

About the reasons for founding Samudra-Pasai, Hill<sup>39</sup> writes:

*Early in the Christian era Pallava traders from the Coromandel coast reached Kedah. Using the monsoons for the direct passage across the Bay of Bengal. They needed a landfall at the north end of the Straits of Malaca. Kedah, with its easily recognized landmark in the form of an isolated mountain and its supply of fresh water, was the ideal place.*

*In a recent paper Bradell<sup>40</sup> has traced the history of Kedah from the fourth century A.D. It was an important part of Srivijaya when in the eleventh century attacks were made by the Cholas on its capital at the foot of Kedah Peak, called by the Sanskrit name of Kataha. But the break-up of Srivijaya was just beginning. By 1200, Kataha has disappeared from history. Perhaps an attack from the north (Ligor? which was independent by 1230) led to its sacking. What more natural than that the Indian traders, denied free access to Kataha, should have chosen their port of call along the north coast of Aceh? There was scope for the development of an entrepot trade, the sea journey was actually shorter.*

The new ports on the north coast of Sumatra were no longer subjected to attacks from the north and in the twelfth century the ports of Samudra and Pasai became important trading centres along this sea route. The ports in Samudra-Pasai supplied provisions and fresh water, and toll was charged.

The ships used monsoon winds for their passage from the Gulf of Bengal<sup>41</sup>, from January until April the East monsoon to get from Samudra to India and

37 Figure 2 is from Hill (1961) page 6.

38 Drewes, (1968) page 440.

39 Hill (1961) page 15.

40 Bradell (1958) page 36-38.

41 See Figure 3, 'The monsoons' on page 18.

from mid May until mid September, the West monsoon for the journey from India to Samudra.

November, December and January are the rainy months and May is characterised by stormy seas.

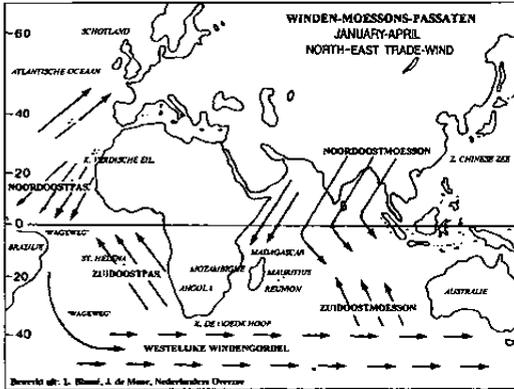


Figure 3. The monsoons<sup>42</sup>

To make the crossing to India ships had to wait in the harbours of Sumatra for favourable winds.

Leaving Samudra-Pasai with the northeast monsoon wind, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) could be reached in just over twenty days; China to Ceylon took sixty days.

42 From: de Jong (1998) page 16 and 18.

When Marco Polo arrived in Sumatra in 1292, he had to wait for five months before a favourable wind came to enable him to continue on to Persia.

Wright<sup>43</sup> reports about Marco Polo:

*Nicolo and Maffeo Polo set out from Venice in 1271 and Marco (son of Nicolo), now seventeen years old, went with them.*

*The Polo's arrived at the court of Kubla Khan at Shantu, not far from Peking (Beijing), in the middle of 1275. In a little while, when Marco had learned the speech and customs of the 'Tartars' the Khan employed him in public business, sending him as a visiting administrator to several wild and distant provinces.*

*After some seventeen years of honourable service with Kublai, the three Venetians became eager to return to Venice.*

*At that time Arghun, Khan of Persia, had sent ambassadors to Kublai to obtain the hand of a maiden 'from among the relatives of his deceased wife' The maiden, aged seventeen, and very beautiful, was about to accompany the ambassadors to Persia; but the ordinary overland routes to Persia were unsafe, owing to wars among the Tartars. It was necessary for her to travel to Persia by ship. The envoys begged Kublai that the three Venetians might come with them in the ships 'as being persons well skilled in the practice of navigation.'*

*The Khan fitted out a splendid squadron of ships, and despatched the three Venetians with the Persians. They sailed from a Chinese port about the beginning of 1292. The voyage to Persia occupied about two years, during which the expedition lost six hundred men.*

*The Khan of Persia was dead when they arrived; so the beautiful maiden was handed over to his son, who received her kindly.*

*The Polo's arrived safely at Venice some time in the year 1295.*

Wright<sup>44</sup> says:

*Marco Polo left China about the beginning of the year 1292, and was three months on its passage to Java Minor (Sumatra). He would have met the south-west monsoon at the western opening of the straits of Malacca, about the month of May in that year; and having found it necessary, in consequence to anchor in one of the bays on the northern coast of that island, they might have been detained there till the change of the monsoon, in the month of October following, when with the return of the north-east wind, they might expect fair and settled weather.*

The findings of Marco Polo and his stay in Sumatra are important for this study. Marco Polo stated that in 1292 many who lived in the towns and on the coast of the kingdom of Ferlec had been converted to the faith of Muhammad (Islam) by Saracen traders, while other inhabitants were pagans and some even cannibals. This kingdom of Ferlec was however quickly consumed by the kingdom of Samudra-Pasai<sup>45</sup>.

43 Wright (1926) in the 'introduction, pages vi – vii.

44 Wright (1926) in a footnote on page 341.

45 Muller, page 228.

Hill<sup>46</sup> says:

*The Mongol records show that in 1280 Sarbaza (San-foh-tsi = Palembang) and eight other states were summoned with Champa to do homage at Kublai Khan's court. Such an invitation implies that these states had risen to a position of independence and power sufficient for them to be known at the Chinese court. Were any of the north Sumatran states among them? The Yuan-shih says that a Chinese mission was on its way back from Ma'bar (Malabar, Coromandel) in 1282 when it called at Su-mu-tu-la (Samudra). It was welcomed by the ruler who sent two of his ministers with the mission to China. Their names were Husain and Sulaiman, so evidently they were Muslims.*

Another of Samudra-Pasai's visitors was Ibn Batuta.

Muller<sup>47</sup> says the following about Ibn Batuta:

*Abu Abd-Allah Muhammad, more familiarly known as Ibn Batuta left in 1325, as a 21 year-old, his town of birth Tangier for a pilgrimage to Mekka but since he had a lust for travel he visited much of the Asia that was then known and parts of Africa. He also visited Sumatra on his journey to China.*

About the stay of Ibn Batuta in Sumatra Muller<sup>48</sup> writes:

*Here he stayed in the only kingdom of the Indies Archipelago that had converted to Islam, and then only very recently. The capital of this kingdom was called Soumoutra, whose name, with a slight change, later became the name for the whole island of Soumatra (Sumatra)<sup>49</sup>.*

The last travel to contribute to the early history of Sumatra is that of Odoric of Pordenone.

About him Muller<sup>50</sup> writes:

*Local records show that the Franciscan monk, brother Odoric of Pordenone was born in or around Pordenone in the countryside of Friaul or Friuli near Venice. The year of his birth is unknown but is assumed to have been 1285 or 1286, or according to another writer 1265.*

Citing Odoric Muller<sup>51</sup> says:

*I came to a country known as Lamoeri<sup>52</sup>. The heat is so intense that all inhabitants, both men and women, walk around naked without any form of clothing. And they mock me terribly saying that God created Adam naked and that I went against His will by wearing clothes.*

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46 Hill (1961) page 8.

47 Muller, page 221 and further.

48 Muller, page 227.

49 This is not true, see paragraph 3.1, 'The name of Sumatra and Samudra', on page 23.

50 Muller, page 241.

51 Muller, page 253-254.

52 Muller, in footnote: Lamuri is without doubt the kingdom Lambri of Marco Polo, in the Northwest corner of Sumatra, near where Aceh now is.

*In that country all women are common property, with no one being able to claim: 'that is my wife or this is my husband'. If a woman bears a son or daughter, she gives the child to the person of her choice, the one she has slept with, and calls him the father. The whole country is equally common property, with no one able to claim: 'This or that piece of land is mine.' But they have their own houses. Traders come to this island from afar, bringing with them children to sell to the heathens who buy them and then kill and eat them. In that same island there is another kingdom to the south called Sumoltra (Samudra) where a peculiar people live – both the men and women burn themselves in twelve places on the face using a small glowing rod. And the inhabitants are always warring with these that walk around naked.*

In a note Muller<sup>53</sup> adds:

*Although one cannot now point to any one area where all that Odoric related is supposed to have happened, similar circumstances prevail in the Poggi- or Pagai-islands, in the southern part of the Mentawai-islands. There females are also common property and their clothing consists of just a piece of bark, but they all have their own houses.<sup>54</sup>*

These travel tales show that traders were present around 1290 in the northwest of Sumatra, and the establishment of these first Muslim traders is also central to the later history of the whole Indonesian archipelago as it signals the beginning of the spread of Islam throughout the area. It is also the end of the Hindu era and thus the Hindu culture. There would be the emergence of one more important Hindu kingdom, namely the central Javanese Majapahit. When around 1360 this Javanese kingdom spread its power to North Sumatra, there would be a temporary decline in the long process of the spreading of Islam on Sumatra.

We may assume that the Hindu era on Sumatra came to an end around 1380, based on the last tombstone with Sumatran (Hindu) script. The Hindu era ended in 1527 completely when the royal seat of Majapahit on Java was occupied by the Muslims, though there is still some remains of the Hindu culture left in daily life, which has given Islam its own particular character in Indonesia. The temporary Hindu rule of Samudra-Pasai resulted in the Muslim rulers retreating to the hills. They continued to strike coins, which are clearly recognisable as being from this period.

For Samudra-Pasai not only the fall of Majapahit in the beginning of the sixteenth century is important but also the establishment of the Portuguese in the archipelago at that time.

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53 Muller, note on page 268.

54 See 'Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde', part. 3 (1855) pages 320-337.

Marsden<sup>55</sup> writes:

*The Portuguese, under the conduct of Vasco da Gama, doubled the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1497, and arrived on the coast of Malabar in the following year. These people, whom the spirit of glory, commerce, and plunder, led to the most magnanimous undertakings, were not entirely engaged by their conquests on the continent of India as to prevent them from extending their views to the discovery of regions yet more distant.*

*They learned from the merchants of Guzerat some account of the riches and importance of Malacca, a great trading city in the farther peninsula of India, supposed by them the Golden Chersonese of Ptolemy. Intelligence of this was transmitted to their enterprising sovereign, Emanuel, who became impressed with a strong desire to avail himself of the flattering advantages which this celebrated country held out to his ambition,*

*He equipped a fleet of four ships under the command of Diogo Lopez Sequera, which sailed from Lisbon on the eighth day of April 1508, with orders to explore and establish connexions in those eastern parts of Asia. After touching at Madagascar, Sequera preceded to Cochin, where a ship was added to his fleet and departing from thence on the eighth of September 1509, he made sail towards Malaca. But having doubled the extreme promontory of Sumatra (then supposed to be the Taprobane of the ancients) he anchored at Pedir, a principal port of that island, in which he found vessels from Pegu, Bengal and other countries.*

*By consent of the Sultan, a monument of their amity was erected (by Sequeira) on the shore; or more properly, as token of discovery and possession usually employed by the European nations.*

*He was received in the same manner at a place called Pasè, laying about twenty leagues farther to the eastward on the same coast and there also erected a monument or cross.*

Toward the end of 1509 the Portuguese reached the north coast of Sumatra, conquering Goa and Malacca in 1510 and 1511 and subsequently dominating the trade routes. The monopolistic trade politics of the Portuguese is the cause of the diminished importance of the ports of Samudra-Pasai. Trade shifted to Aceh, then a relatively unimportant power, as a way of pulling back from the influence of the Portuguese. This enabled Aceh to develop into the most important Sumatran kingdom, even expanding as far as Malacca. At the beginning of the sixteenth century came a key turning point in the history of Sumatra. It was the end of the period of the Samudra-Pasai, which was superseded by Aceh.

Around 1500 Aceh was still a dependant kingdom of Pidië. Between 1520 and 1524 it gained independence and conquered the neighbouring states. Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah, (1514-1530) of Aceh managed to drive the Portuguese out of north Sumatra in 1524 and conquered Samudra-Pasai, among other states. Samudra-Pasai became a dependency of Aceh.

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55 Marsden (1811) page 406.

From that time on, Aceh prospered and peaked during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636). Thereafter, the decline was rapid. With the subjection of the pretender Sultan Muhammad Dawot in 1903 the Sultanate also ceased to exist for the Acehnese.

Two periods are important for the coinage in this area:

1. From the founding of Samudra-Pasai in ca. 1250 until the conquest by Aceh in ca. 1524, with a brief interruption the rule of Majapahit.
2. The emergence of Aceh from ca. 1500 until the end of the during coinage in Aceh. The last known coins are from Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan Shah (1735-1760).

Between 1500 and 1524 there is temporarily coinage by Sultans in both Samudra-Pasai and Aceh. But later, during the supreme government by Aceh, Samudra-Pasai was as a dependency of Aceh, often governed by a younger brother or son (in-law) of the Sultan of Aceh. These rulers struck coins in Samudra-Pasai too, as viceroy, no longer as independent Sultans<sup>56</sup>.

### 3.1. The name of Sumatra and Samudra

Every author agrees that the term 'Suvarna' refers exclusively to gold. *Warna* means literally 'good of colour' or 'good of appearance'. Which explains why the name 'Suvarna' was eventually used as the name for gold.

Davis<sup>57</sup> says:

*Silver is called rūpiya on account of its beauty, its shining appearance, just as gold is called suvarna on account of its fine colour.*

*Matra means measurement, especially the correct measurement, the correct ratio. 'Warna' and 'Matra' can together form 'external appearance' whereby 'Warna' signifies mainly the colour and 'Matra' the proportion. In the Indies, now Indonesian, archipelago 'Suvarna' was abbreviated to 'Su'. Su-matra is simply the equivalent expression for the common Su-warna. We also see that in the name of Sumatra, which means gold country, because gold is found on Sumatra (In 1908 3400 kg of gold was extracted.<sup>58</sup>)*

Krom<sup>59</sup> writes that the name of the island 'Sumatra' is derived from 'Suvarna-bhumi'. He bases this name on a Chinese note of 1017, in which the name 'Sumatrabhumi' appears<sup>60</sup>. There is also the evidence of king Krtanagara of

56 See on this paragraph 5.1, 'The position of the Sultans' on page 75.

57 Davis (1975) page 7.

58 Encyclopaedia 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1917) part IV, page 212.

59 Krom (1941) page 25.

Singhasari in the legend of Padang Rotjo from 1286, which contains the information that on the order of this Javanese supreme ruler a statue was brought from the country of Java to 'Suvarnabhumi' and placed in Dharmasraya<sup>61</sup>. (Bhumi = country and Suvarnabhumi = Gold country.)

In any case, according to Krom, it is certain that the name of the island of Sumatra is not derived from the kingdom of Samudra. The name 'Sumatra' existed long before the founding of the kingdom of 'Samudra'.

The island of Sumatra has been given various names by the different peoples and persons. (Sumatrabhumi, Suvarnabhumi, Lamori<sup>62</sup>, Pulo Lamiri<sup>63</sup>, L'ile the Ramy<sup>64</sup>, Java minor<sup>65</sup>, Djava<sup>66</sup>, etc.)

The word Samudra literally means 'sea', the normal Sanskrit expression for ocean. Samudra, as a name points unmistakably to the coast of Malabar. Probably Samudra was even a settlement of Malabarese traders<sup>67</sup>.

Kremer<sup>68</sup> writes:

*The inland chronicles bring us back to the beginning of the thirteenth century and the power of the rulers commencing in 1205, the year Islam was also introduced, but these reports are fragmentary and legendary in character and are often very diverse. However, it is the case that Acheh, not including the country nor the port of the same name, now Kuta Radja and surroundings, must still have been a small kingdom of little significance before the arrival of the Portuguese on the north coast of Sumatra in 1509, and that the emergence of the kingdom of Acheh was preceded by the blossoming of the coastal towns, to the east coast, initially the celebrated Samudra-Pasai, that stretched from Oedjong Temiang to Kuala Ulim and that in the 13<sup>th</sup> century must have emerged with Sumutra as its capital, in the chronicles of Samudra or Samadra, of which the Arabs made Sjamatra, a name that transferred to the European seafarers in the form of Sumatra. As for Samudra, little remains other than a village of the same name not far from Pasai. The name Samudra probably points to a Hindu influence as do other Sanskrit names in Acheh, like Indrapatra, Indrapura and Indrapuri.*

*It is indisputable that Hinduism influenced Acheh's civilization and language.*

We may conclude that Sumatra ultimately became the definitive name of the whole island. This is based on the sound association with Samudra (Sjamatra, by the Arabs). A name that was later also adopted by the European seafarers.

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60 Krom (1941) page 22.

61 Krom (1941) page 23.

62 Fra Odorico da Pordenone in 1323.

63 Sedjarah Melajoe, written in 1612.

64 Ibn Khordadbeh in 846.

65 Marco Polo in 1292.

66 Rashiuddin in 1310.

67 Krom (1941) page 11.

68 Kremer (1923) page 3.

#### 4. The establishing of Samudra-Pasai

It is not known exactly where the states of Samudra and Pasai were situated. Some writers suggest the towns were somewhat inland, on the banks of one river, though most probably the areas each lay at a bay with a good navigable river. For Pasai this most probably would have been the Pasai river and for Samudra the Pasangan river.

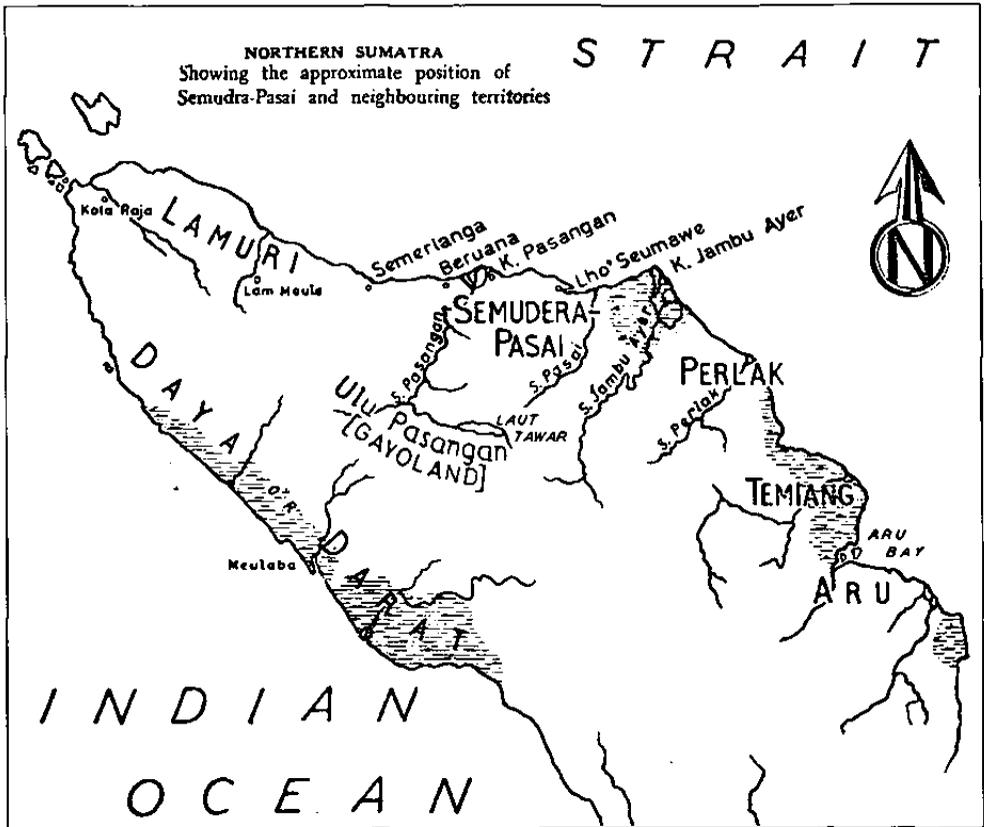


Figure 4. Map of North Sumatra, with Samudra-Pasai

Hill<sup>69</sup> says:

*On modern maps of Acheh, Pasai is shown only as the name of a river which flows into the gulf of Lho'Seumawe. But Kern (1938: 310) says that there is a small village of that name some distance above the mouth of the Pasai River. It is in this region that most of the tombs have been discovered. The estuary of the Lho'Seumawe rivers lies west of Jambu Ayer Point, and about forty miles east of the Pasangan estuary.*

*May it be that the Pasangan River was the site of the old Semudera capital, which later moved to the Lho'Seumawe area? The history of South East Asia furnishes many examples of capitals shifting in this kind of way, as the power of a maritime kingdom waxed and waned and the balance between the desire for aggression on one hand and the need for protection on the other altered.*

*Some external act of aggression, a piratical raid perhaps on the mouth of the Pasangan River, may have impelled it to seek refuge in the greater shelter of the Lho'Seumawe River.*

It will become evident that Pasai was probably founded first along the Pasai River and Samudra founded along the Pasangan River and that Samudra remained subordinate to Pasai.

#### 4.1. Sources for the genealogy of the early Sultans

Five sources are important for the genealogy of the first Sultans of Samudra-Pasai.

This first period is defined as the period from 1250 until the end of the Hindu influence (Majapahit) about 1380, after the death of Sultanah Alalah or Ala'lilah in 1379.

The absence of adequate dates makes the genealogy of the later rulers, less certain<sup>70</sup>.

##### 1. The manuscripts.

These are romantic accounts of the history of a region and the deeds of its rulers.

These stories have been frequently re-told and thus contain errors.

- The Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai.<sup>71</sup> This is a romanticised history of the Sultans (Raja's = kings or rulers) of Samudra-Pasai<sup>72</sup>.

The Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai provides information on the period until ca. 1360.

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69 Hill (1961) page 13.

70 See paragraph 4.2, 'Samudra-Pasai after 1379', on page 58.

71 See Hill (1961).

72 See paragraph 4.1.1, 'The Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai', on page 27.

- The *Sejarah Melayu*.<sup>73</sup> The history of Malaysia<sup>74</sup>. This includes annotations relating to Samudra-Pasai.  
It is generally assumed that the *Sejarah Melayu* is somewhat more reliable than the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* when it comes to data about Samudra-Pasai.
- 2. The *Encyclopaedia of Dutch East India*<sup>75</sup>.  
The *Encyclopaedia* is partly based on hard evidence from the tombstones of the Sultans of Samudra-Pasai and Aceh, but also on local manuscripts and legends.  
So in part it is reliable, but it could contain errors.
- 3. The tombstones of the rulers of Samudra-Pasai.  
Using the inscriptions on the tombstones, a reasonably reliable genealogy can be made of the first rulers of Samudra-Pasai, which gives the correct date of death and often also the names of the ancestors.  
The tombstones give no information about the period of the reign of the Sultans.  
The respective Sultan may well have died later than the end of his reign.<sup>76</sup>
- 4. The legends on the coins<sup>77</sup>.  
The coins give no dates but they do reveal the names of the Sultans without us being able to derive any clear reign sequence.

#### ***4.1.1. The Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai***

First a summary of the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, as provided by Hill<sup>78</sup>:

1. *Two brothers Raja Ahmad and Raja Muhammad at Semerlanga, each become the possessor of a foundling child. The two children are brought up together, marry and have two sons, Merah Silu and Merah Hasum. Merah Silu was the elder.*
2. *After quarrelling with his brother Merah Silu spent some time moving from place to place on the Pasangan River. Eventually he became king of Rimba Jeran.*
3. *One day when he was out hunting, Merah Silu found a large ant (semut besar) which he ate. There he founded a city, calling it Samudra.*

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73 See Brown (1970).

74 See paragraph 4.1.2, 'The *Sejarah Melayu*', on page 34.

75 *Encyclopaedia* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1917) page 73-77.

76 See paragraph 4.1.4, 'The early tombstones', on page 372.

77 See paragraph 4.1.5, 'The coins of Samudra-Pasai', on page 43.

78 Hill (1961) page 32-35.

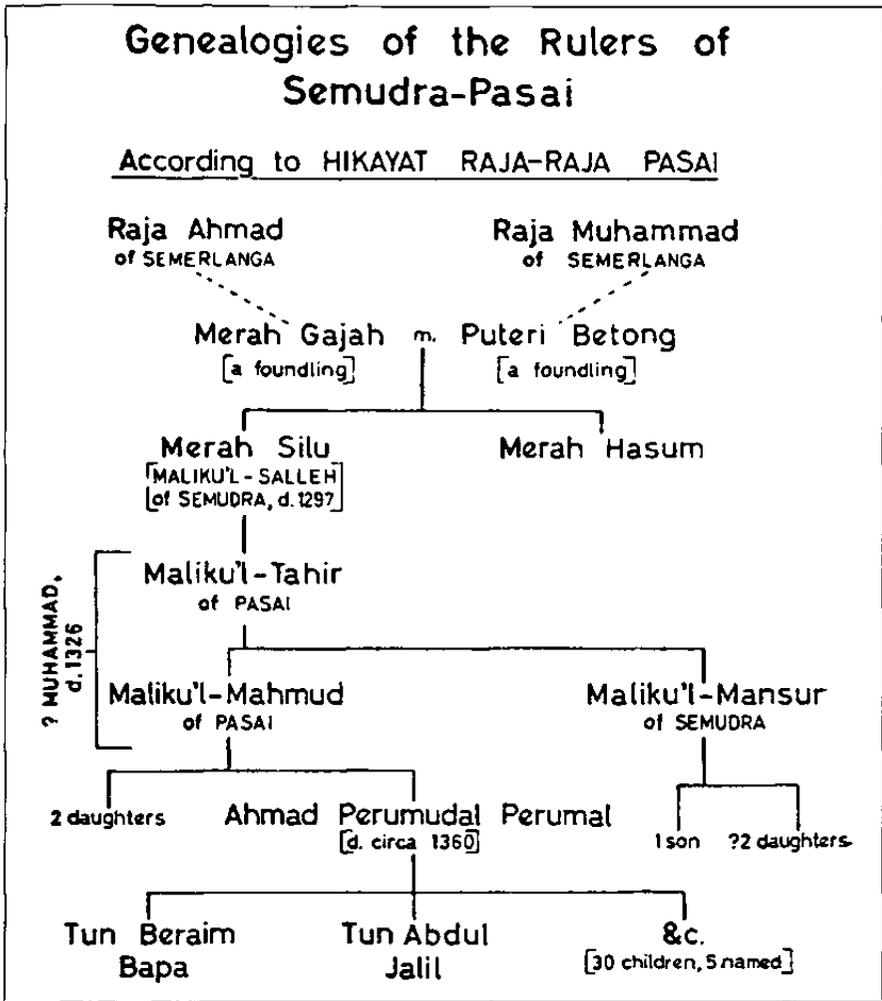


Figure 5. Genealogies according to the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai<sup>79</sup>

4. *The Caliph of Mecca heard of Samudra and in fulfilment of a prophecy made by the Apostle of God sent a ship there with a Shaikh Ismail as its captain. On the way it called at a place called Ma'abri, where the Muslim Sultan forsook his throne and joined the ship as a fakir.*

79 Hill (1961) page 17.

5. *Merah Silu had a dream in which the Prophet appeared to him and gave him the title of Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh. On waking he found that he had been magically circumcised.  
He was able to read the Koran without help, although none of his followers could understand a word he uttered.*
6. *When the Muslim ship had reached Samudra, Shaikh Ismail ordered the ruler to recite the profession of faith, then installed him with due ceremony. Shaikh Ismail departed with presents. The fakir remained in Samudra.*
7. *A colony of Gayos fled from Samudra on the Pasangan River to escape conversion to the new faith.*
8. *Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh married the daughter of the ruler of Perlak after consulting his astrologers.*
9. *The legend of the founding of Pasai: Maliku'l-Saleh was out hunting when his dog named Pasai barked at a mousedeer which attacked it on some high ground. Saying 'What a fine place this is where even the mousedeer are full of fight'.  
Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh built a palace and a city on the high ground. He called it Pasai. Maliku'l-Tahir became its first ruler.*
10. *An Indian miner by divination found gold in Samudra. This was the origin of the kingdom's great wealth.*
11. *Maliku'l-Tahir died (after a short reign?). Of his two sons Maliku'l-Mahmud became ruler of Pasai and later, after the death of Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh, Maliku'l-Mansur of Samudra. In the days of their childhood their upbringing was entrusted to two ministers of Samudra.*
12. *On his deathbed Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh gave his last injunctions to his two chief ministers and his two grandchildren.*
13. *A fleet from Siam raided Pasai when the king of Siam's demand for tribute was refused. The battle lasted two or three months, before the Siamese forces were driven out by Maliku'l-Mahmud.*
14. *Maliku'l-Mansur, visiting Pasai during his brother's absence, committed an indiscretion which led to their estrangement. Maliku'l-Mahmud by a trick banished him to Temiang and beheaded his chief minister.*
15. *The banished ruler obtained the head and body of his dead minister and buried the corpse with proper rites at a place he called Padang Maya.*
16. *Repenting the ruler of Pasai invited his brother to return, But Maliku'l-Mansur died on the journey at Padang Maya as he was praying by the side of the tomb. Full of remorse Maliku'l-Mahmud died and his son Ahmad came to the throne.*

Hill<sup>80</sup> also writes:

*The Chronicles of the Kings of Pasai (Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai), Part one: 'The Islamisation of Samudra-Pasai'. There were two kings who were brothers, one named Raja Ahmad, the other Raja Muhammad. Raja Ahmad was the elder. Each of the two brothers wished to make for himself a city in Semerlanga.*

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80 Hill (1961) page 109.

According to the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai, Raja Ahmad had a son Merah Gaja and Raja Muhammad a daughter Putri Betong. These mythical children married each other and had two sons, Merah Silu and Merah Hasum. Princess Betong was killed by her husband Merah Gaja, after which followed an intense struggle between the fathers of Merah Gaja and Putri Betong, during which Raja Ahmad and Raja Muhammad were killed.<sup>81</sup>

The Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai<sup>82</sup> then continues with:

*But the two brothers Merah Silu and Merah Hasum were spared. Those who had lived through the battle gathered together and paid homage to them both as rulers of their city. Time passed, and one day Merah Silu said to his brother Merah Hasum 'what shall we do? For we two alone are left, our grandparents and parents having died here in the land of Semerlanga. If we remain in this place we too will share their fate, for no good at all can come to us from living here. Let us leave this city and search elsewhere for a good place which we can make our home'. When the two brothers had made up their minds to do this they chose an auspicious day and set off towards the west.*

*They stopped at one place after another.*

*Then by the decree of God, the Exalted, they reached a city called Berana.*

*And there they settled, the two of them, one on either side of the river.*

Following an argument with his younger brother Merah Hasum, Merah Silu left. According to the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai, Merah Silu was the older and Merah Hasum the younger of the two brothers, but the Sejarah Melayu has this the other way round. It is usual for the oldest brother to have the most esteem. It is also apparent later that the oldest son is the preferred successor to his father as Sultan. So one can assume that the younger brother left after the argument, and that the Sejarah Melayu text is correct.

It is an established fact that the later Sultans of Samudra-Pasai are descendants of Merah Silu.

Pasai was the seat of the kingdom of Samudra-Pasai and dominant over Samudra. For the later Sultans Merah Silu had to be the founder of Pasai. That the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai, the romanticised history of the Sultans of Pasai, referred to Merah Silu as the oldest is understandable. This made the ancestor of the later Sultans, the oldest brother and the founder of Samudra-Pasai. The writer of the Sejarah Melayu, as the historian of Malaysia, had no reason to change the genealogy of the Sultans from another area and gave most likely the right version of the founding of Samudra-Pasai.

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81 See Figure 5, 'Genealogies according to the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai' on page 17.

82 Hill (1961) page 113.

Teeuw<sup>83</sup> summarises this as follows:

*The Sejarah Melayu story is plausible and far from laboured, told with the sense of humour so characteristic of this text, whereas in the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai the stories in question are obviously written for the greater glory of Pasai.*

Merah Silu converted to Islam. His tombstone refers to him as 'Malik as-Saleh', (ملك الصالح), the first Muslim and at the birth of the spreading of Islam throughout Indonesia. But according to the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai, his grandparents were Raja Ahmad and Raja Muhammad, clearly Muslim names. The Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai contradicts itself here.

Further indication on the lineage of the later Sultans of the founder of Samudra can be found in Hill<sup>84</sup>:

*The sentence recording of this ruler's (Maliku'l-Tahir) death comes immediately after one mentioning the birth of two sons to him. Their names are given Maliku'l-Mahmud and Malik'l-Mansur. After the death of Maliku'l-Tahir it has to be their grandfather Maliku'l-Saleh who looks after the two prince-lings until they come of age, when Mahmud becomes ruler of Pasai and Mansur of Samudra.*

Hill<sup>85</sup> writes:

*Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai gives Maliku'l-Tahir a fairly short reign. His early death is mentioned on p. 63, but the passage is omitted in the Sejarah Melayu summary.*

In contrast to Hill<sup>86</sup> who presumes Maliku'l-Tahir in the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai to be the same as Mahmud, it is more likely that the so-called 'second' ruler (Malik at-Tahir) of the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai was in reality the founder of Pasai. That is Sultan Ahmad the brother of Malik as-Saleh, who is known in the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai as Merah Hassum.

This 'second ruler' inserted in the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai makes all the later Sultans descendants of the founder of the more important Pasai. The cited very short reign was necessary to fit this non-existent 'second ruler' into the history, without defiling the historical dates of the reign of the previous and following rulers. It may even be assumed that Malik as-Saleh temporarily reigned over the whole of Samudra-Pasai after the death of his brother, which makes this part of the genealogy even more logical. The brothers then succeeded their father, Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud in Pasai and Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur in Samudra.

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83 Teeuw (1964) page 231.

84 Hill (1961) page 18.

85 Hill (1961) page 16.

86 Hill (1961) page 18.

The Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai<sup>87</sup> relates the following:

*As time went on the greatness and renown of Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud grew and grew. News of it reached the king of Siam. Then the king of Siam commanded that a fleet should be made ready, in all some hundred boats, large and small, to attack the city of Pasai.*

According to the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai, a fierce struggle followed which was won by Pasai. According to the Sejarah Melayu, Pasai lost and Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud was taken as captive to Siam.

It is striking that Malik as-Saleh does not use the title 'Malik' on his coins. This title is apparently retained for the rulers of Pasai. His sons Muhammad and Mansur do use the title 'Malik' on their coins, which suggests that both must have been ruler of Pasai for at least some period. An explanation is that during the captivity of Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud in Siam, Maliku'l-Mansur, his younger brother, governed Samudra Pasai. Because it was not clear whether Sultan Maliku'l-Mahmud would ever return from Siam, Maliku'l-Mansur would have had coins struck with the title 'Malik'. The duration of the captivity of Maliku'l-Mahmud is unknown but the Sejarah Melayu states that Ahmad, the son of Mahmud was still small when his father was taken captive and already grown by the time his father returned. The captivity must have lasted considerable time<sup>88</sup>.

The following is known of Maliku'l-Mansur from the Hykayat Raja-Raja Pasai. Maliku'l-Mansur of Samudra visited Pasai in the absence ('captivity' according to the Sejarah Melayu) of his brother Maliku'l-Mahmud in ca. 1320. He kidnapped one of the women of the court of Mahmud who regarded the act as an insult. Mansur was banished to Temiang. After three years (1323) Muhammad regretted punishing Mansur so harshly for such a small infraction. Muhammad asked Mansur to return but Mansur died on the journey back. This 'visit' occurred according to the Sejarah Melayu during the captivity of Muhammad in Siam, which probably lasted several years. The temporary reign of Mansur in Pasai, until 1323, is hereby known. Thereafter Maliku'l-Muhammad reigned for a while as Sultan, but over all of Samudra-Pasai. His tombstone states that he died in 1326. After Maliku'l-Mansur there are no records of Sultans of an independent Samudra. Maliku'l-Muhammad was succeeded by his son Ahmad, the period of whose reign can be derived from the following:

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87 Hill (1961) page 127.

88 Moquette (1913) page 6.

Hill<sup>89</sup> writes:

*Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai gives Ahmad a long reign. He came to the throne as a young man, if not while still a child, and he had thirty children. Zain al-Abidin who succeeded him is not mentioned anywhere in the text. It must have been Ahmad too whom Ibn Batuta met in 1345/1346.*

Hill<sup>90</sup> adds.

*If we accept the evidence of the Nagarakertagama, Islam must have suffered a reverse before 1365, when Hindu Majapahit was able to interrupt Muslim trade through the Straits of Malaca. The settlements in the Pasarangan river area came under the influence of Malayu, itself part of Majapahit. About 1360 seems a reasonable date for this to have happened – a booty-grabbing raid, blockade by sea, occupation by armed force or whatever it may have been. By this time Ahmad must have been well on in years. He had been in the full vigour of life, but no longer a young man, when Ibn Batuta saw him fifteen years earlier.*

*Evidently the Samudra-Pasai line continued unbroken after the death of Ahmad. Nevertheless some evidence already noted does suggest that a reverse occurred towards the end of the reign of Ahmad, a change of fortune which perhaps closed it.*

*The last part of Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai describes Ahmad's defeat by a Majapahit landing force. The conquering troops remained 'for some time' in occupation of Pasai. Then after loading their ships with vast quantities of goods they sailed back to their homeland. The captives they took with them were allowed to settle at liberty in Java. The rest is a panegyric on the greatness of Majapahit, the enormous amounts of plunder and tribute that reached the capital, the festivities and rich entertainments that were a familiar sight in its streets.*

*This part of the text must have been written after 1360.*

*Yet the fate of the Pasai court is dismissed in the short statement that Ahmad fled from Pasai and set up his court at a place called Menduga, about fifteen day's journey from Pasai. Nothing whatever is said about its subsequent history.*

Ahmad reigned in Pasai for about 34 years from 1326, the death of his father, until ca. 1360, the invasion of Majapahit. And possibly thereafter for some time in Menduga.

Hill<sup>91</sup> goes on to write:

*The Portuguese knew Pasai about Pacem. Diogo Lopes de Sequeira visited it in 1509. The first Portuguese map to mark it by name is Francisco Rodriguez's chart of ca. 1513. Close ties remained between Pasai and Kedah after the rise of Malaca. Pasai as the name of an independent kingdom finally disappears from the records after its conquest by Sultan Ibrahim of Aceh in 1524<sup>92</sup>.*

89 Hill (1961) page 19.

90 Hill (1961) page 22

91 Hill (1961) page 24.

92 This is an error of Hill (1961). It was the conquest of Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah. Raja Ibrahim was the brother of Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah who died in 1523.

In conclusion:

The Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai is a romanticised story and its texts cited above, are not necessarily correct. The site in Semerlanga would have offered insufficient protection and the brothers would therefore have sought a better site. They found this to the east of Semerlanga<sup>93</sup> (and not to the west as stated in the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai). It is known that Samudra and Pasai were originally two places on one river and founded before the departure of Merah Silu as a result of the argument with his brother.

After his departure, Merah Silu founded the place Samudra. Most of the tombs are found at some distance from the Pasai River, indicating the governmental importance of Pasai over Samudra.

Samudra may have been situated on the Pasangan River, which is more navigable, and Samudra is better known in the literature than Pasai as a port. Perhaps this is why it is always referred to as Samudra-Pasai and not Pasai-Samudra, although Pasai was dominant over Samudra.

Given the nature of the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai, little value should be attributed to neither names of persons nor genealogy.

#### 4.1.2. The Sejarah Melayu

As for the differences between the Sejarah Melayu and the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai, much is stated in paragraph 4.1.1, 'The Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai' on page 2, so the description of the Sejarah Melayu can be brief.

The Sejarah Melayu or the 'Malay Annals' give another genealogy of the first Sultans.

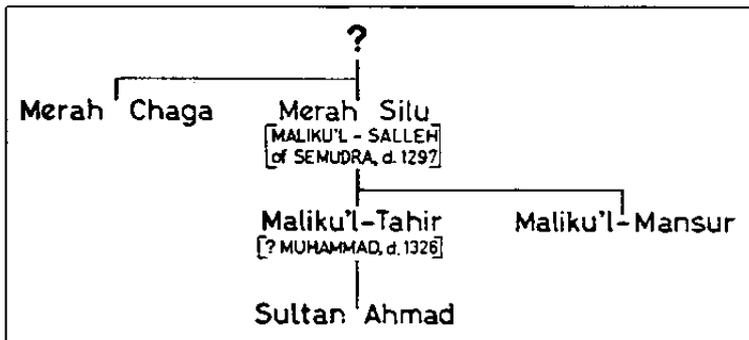


Figure 6. Genealogy according to the Sejarah Melayu<sup>94</sup>

93 See Figure 4, 'Map of North Sumatra, with Samudra-Pasai' on page 25.

94 Hill (1961) page 17.

In part VI<sup>95</sup> we read:

*Here now is the story of the Rajas of Pasai; and this is how it begins according to the account we have received. There were two brothers Merah, who lived near Pasangan.*

*They came originally from Mount Sanggong; and the elder was called Merah Chaga, the younger Merah Silu.*

*Merah Silu is driven out by his brother and goes to the country to which he gives the name of Samudra, the Samudra of which the Prophet foretold the conversion to Islam. The voyage of the missionaries from Mecca to Samudra in Nakhoda Isma'il's ship and the successive conversions of Fansuri, Lamuri, Haru (Aru = Deli) and Perlak on their way. They reach Samudra where Merah Silu is converted to Islam and made Raja of Samudra with the title of Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh. The marriage of Sultan Maliku'l-Saleh with the daughter of the Raja of Perlak. He has two sons, Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir and Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur. He founds Pasai as a settlement for Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir and after dividing his men, elephants and regalia equally between his two sons, makes Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir ruler of Samudra. The Raja of Shahrū'unuwi (Siam) takes Sultan Maliku'l-tahir captive, but the latter is recovered from Siam by his faithful minister disguised as an Arab trader and is restored to sovereignty in Pasai. Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur offends his brother, is captured by him and exiled to Manjong; and though Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir subsequently repents of his treatment of his brother and sends to Manjong to bring him back, Sultan Maliku'l-Mansur dies at Padang Maya by the tomb of his minister, whom Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir had executed.*

*And after a while Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir fell sick, and he gave his dying injunctions to his son Sultan Ahmad. And after a few days Sultan Maliku'l-Tahir died and was buried by his son near the mosque, and Sultan Ahmad came to the throne.*

#### **4.1.3. The Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies**

The Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies contains little information on Samudra-Pasai<sup>96</sup>, but page 73 says:

*Between 846 and 950 came the Arabs, and with them Islam via Malabar, for whom Aceh's northeast coast would serve as a transit point.*

*The Arabs called North Sumatra successively Rami, AlRamni, Alrami, Lamari or Lameri. The Arab geographer Edrisi made reference in ca. 1154 to al-Rami and the Persian Qazwini mentioned Ramni in ca. 1270. In 1292 Marco Polo visited this area on his way from Peking (Beijing) to Persia (Iran) but said nothing about Islam in Pasai and Samudra. However, Sultan Malik as-Saleh, married to the Peureulasian Sultan's daughter Putri Ganggang, reigned there.*

*Sultan Malik as-Saleh was succeeded by his son Muhammad, who, like his successors, took on the title 'Malik at-Tahir'. Sultan Muhammad died on 9 November*

95 Brown (1970) page 30- 49.

96 'Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies' = Encyclopaedia 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1917) Book I, page 72-73.

1326. He was succeeded by his son Ahmad, who probably reigned when the Mauritanian Ibn Battuta, on his way to China in 1345, arrived in the port of Sarha, 4 miles from the wooden ramparts and towers that reinforced Sumatra or Samatra (Samudra). He relates that there were tin coins and gold bars from China, that people wore much silk, ate rice, drank a sort of beer and chewed Sirih (lemongrass). The Sultan rode on an elephant and had saddled horses at the ready.

*Everything points to Islamic, Chinese and Pre-Indian traffic.*

*At the end of 1346 Ibn Battuta returned to Samudra with a junk of the Sultan encountered in Chinchou. Shortly thereafter was the marriage of the son of the Sultan and the declaration of that son as heir to the Sultan. This heir must have been Sultan Zain al-Abidin, under whom Samudra was subordinated by Madjapahit (ca. 1350). In 1365 the Javanese epic poem Nagarakertagama related Aroe, Tamiang Peureula, Samudra, Lamuri, Barat and Barus among those that recognised the sovereign authority of the Ruler of Madjapahit, Haram Wuruk.*

*In 1406, 1415 and 1431, the Chinese envoy Cheng-Ho visited Samudra. His interpreters and secretaries, first Ma Huan, later Fei Hsin, both Muslims told what they saw Aroe, Samudra, Nago, Liai en Lampoli were good Islamic, even as the lately founded Malaca.*

*In Samudra pepper grew on the hillside gardens and each year, rice was harvested twice from dry fields. They also reared silkworms, cattle, black goats and poultry. They bartered with golden dinars and native tin coins.*

*In 1436 Fei Hsin cited Aru (Deli), Tamiang, Samudra and Nago. From the annals of the Ming dynasty it appears that in Aru in 1411 a Sultan Husain reigned and Acheh even had a 'Maharaja' in 1412. The political traffic with China ended around 1435.*

*In 1432 Nicolo de'Conti first called the whole of Sumatra 'Taprobane' or in the native language 'Sjamutera' (Samudra). He called Samudra 'the considerable town, the capacious depot of that island'. Samudra experienced its final years when, or because, in 1509 the Portuguese arrived and in 1511 conquered and took possession of Malacca. Pidië that had become a pepper country was immediately noticed together with Pasai and Aru. Lamuri or Acheh apparently not; this favoured Acheh: the eastern traders that made way for the monopolising Portuguese visited Acheh and brought it wealth and prosperity.*

**In conclusion:**

1. A Sultan Malik as-Saleh, married to the Peureulasian Sultan's daughter Putri Ganggang, reigned.
2. Sultan Malik as-Saleh was succeeded by his son Muhammad, who, like his heirs, carried the title 'Malik at-Tahir'.  
Sultan Muhammad died on the 9th of November 1326.
3. He was succeeded by his son Ahmad, who probably reigned in 1345.
4. At the end of 1346 was the wedding of Sultan Zain al-Abidin the son of the Sultan and the declaration of that son as heir, under whom Samudra was subordinated by Madjapahit (ca. 1350).

5. As a means of exchange gold dinars<sup>97</sup> and native tin coins were used.
6. The power of Samudra ended when the Portuguese arrived at the beginning of 1500.
7. Aceh remained away from the Portuguese influence and trade monopoly, allowing trade to flourish in Aceh and thus bringing wealth and prosperity.

#### 4.1.4. *The early tombstones*

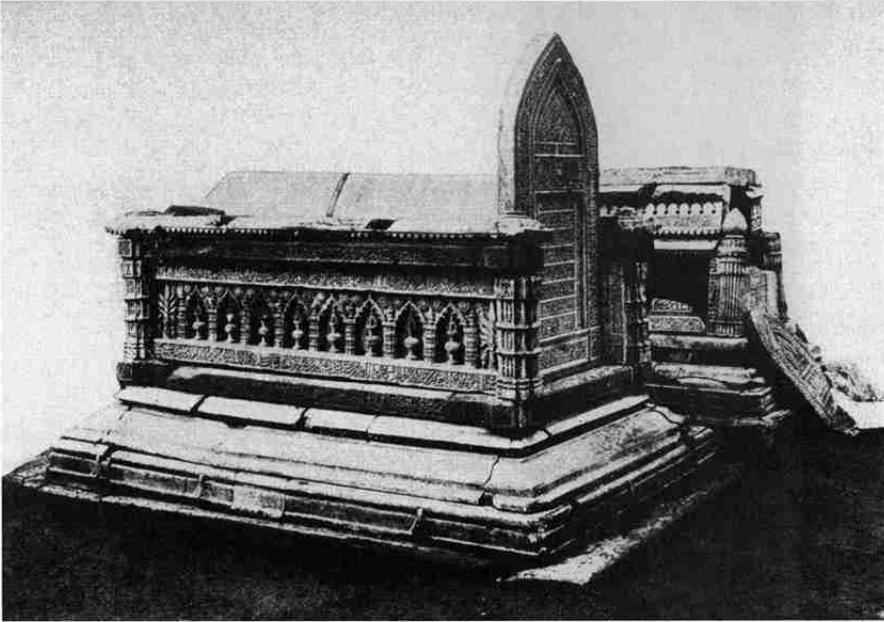


Figure 7. Sultans tombs near Kutaharang (Pasai)

Research has been performed in the former Dutch Indies by the archaeology department of the 'Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen' (the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences) into the history of the Dutch East Indies and a number of tombs of Sultans found in the Pasai area. These tombs generate accurate data for the genealogy of the Sultans of Samudra-Pasai as the ancestors are often named as well as the date of death. From the date of

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97 'Dinar' = common name for 'coin'.

death, the end of the reign cannot be concluded, as a Sultan would sometimes abdicate in favour of his son or could be forced out before his death.

#### 4.1.4.1. The tombstone of Malik as-Saleh

Moquette<sup>98</sup> writes:

*We came to Samudra, a significant village, where we came across the burial place of Malik as-Saleh and his son Muhammad. The tombs lie next to each other, under one roof that was placed on top by order of the Ruler.*

On the tombstone<sup>99</sup> of Malik as-Saleh is written<sup>100</sup>:

هذا القبر المرحوم المغفور التقي النامح الحسين الذسيب الكريم العابد الفاتح الملقب  
بسلطان ملك الصالح

Which translates as:

*This is the tomb of he whom God grants mercy and forgiveness, the God-fearing, the advisor, the most venerable, the noble, the magnanimous, the devout, the conqueror, who is called Sultan Malik as-Saleh.*

Since it is clearly stated 'who is called Sultan Malik as-Saleh.' Malik as-Saleh must not be read as his *name*, but as 'the pious Ruler'.

On his coins he styled himself as, 'Salah ad-Din' (Pious in religion or True believer)

It is remarkable that his tombstone mentions the title Sultan, whereas the tombstones of his offspring, with references to Malik as-Saleh, do not mention this title<sup>101</sup>.

It is not unusual that on the tombstone a higher title is mentioned, than the title carried during life. From the text of the *Sajarah Melayu* it can be derived that Malik as-Saleh, after the death of his older brother, took over the reign as regent until his children were old enough to become the Sultans of Pasai and Samudra. Acting as guardian of his son, he would still not have carried the title of Sultan of Samudra-Pasai.

The date of his death is on the right sidewall<sup>102</sup> in the words:

الذي انتقل من رمضان سنة ست وتسعين وستمائة من انتقال النبوية

98 Moquette (1914) page 75.

99 See, Figure 8, a drawing of 'The tombstone of Malik as-Saleh' on page 39.

100 Moquette (1913) page 10.

101 See paragraph 4.1.4.3, 'The tombstone of Sultan Muhammad' on page 40 and paragraph 4.1.4.4, 'The tombstone of Sultanah Ala'lilah or Varda Rahmat Allah' on page 40.

102 See Figure 9, a drawing of 'A part of the right side of the tombstone of Malik as-Saleh' on page 39.

Translated as:

*That is removed (died) in (the month) Ramadan (of the) year 696 after the removal (the death) of the Prophet<sup>103</sup>.*

According to his tombstone, this Malik as-Saleh died in the month of Ramadhan 696, or between June 23 and July 22 1297 AD<sup>104</sup>.

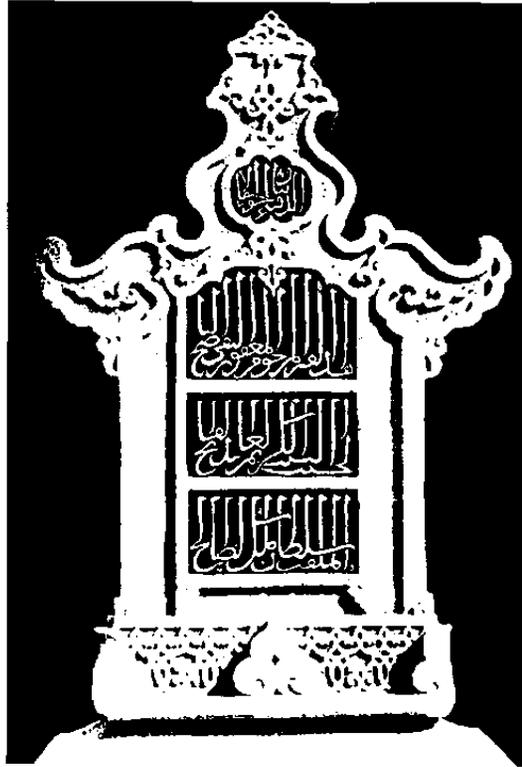


Figure 8. The tombstone of Malik as-Saleh



Figure 9. A part of the right side of the tombstone of Malik as-Saleh

103 Used are the words انتقل and انتقل instead of the more common هجرة (hidjrah).

104 Moquette (1913) page 10.

#### 4.1.4.2. The tombstone of the grandson of Malik as-Saleh

Damais<sup>105</sup> refers to another tomb of a 'as-Saleh' with the legend:

*as-Saleh bin Malik al-'Athir..... al ma'ruf di Malik Salah ad-Din.*

This as-Saleh died in 1355 and would have been the grandson of Sultan Malik As-Saleh who died in 1297.

Remarkable is that the name of the grandfather is spelled exactly as on the coins, i.e. Salah ad-Din (صلاح الدين) and not as on the tombstone of Malik as-Saleh (ملك الصالح).

The grandfather is also designated Malik and not Sultan, as on his tomb. It is, however, clear that the same person is being referred to with Salah ad-Din and Malik as-Saleh. With this, we can conclude that the coins bearing the name Salah ad-Din are of the Sultan that died in 1297.

#### 4.1.4.3. The tombstone of Sultan Muhammad

The tombstone<sup>106</sup> of the son of Malik as-Saleh, Sultan Muhammad, has also been found<sup>107</sup>.

The text on the tombstone is<sup>108</sup>:

السلطان بن السلطان الملك الظاهر شمس الدنيا و الدين محمد بن الملك الصالح

*As-Sultan bin as-Sultan, Malik al-Zahir, Shams al-Dunya wa l-Din, Muhammad, bin al-Malik as-Saleh.*

Translated as:

*The Sultan, son of the Sultan, the conquering (triumphant) King, the Son of the Religions and the Religion, Muhammad, son of the King as-Saleh.*

This tomb also refers to the father as *King* as-Saleh and not *Sultan* as-Saleh.

He died in the night of Sunday 12 Doelhidja in the year 726 A.H.

That is November 9 1326, about 29 years after his father.

#### 4.1.4.4. The tombstone of Sultanah Ala'lilah or Varda Rahmat Allah

In his inaugural lecture Prof. C. Snouck Hurgronje<sup>109</sup> describes a text, found on a tombstone<sup>110</sup> of (in his opinion) a queen that died in 1428. The name of this queen could not be established with certainty<sup>111</sup>.

105 Damais (1968) page 581.

106 See Figure 10, 'The tombstone of Muhammad' on page 41.

107 Moquette (1913) plate VIII.

108 Moquette (1913) page 11.

109 Hurgronje (1907).

110 See Figure 11, 'The tombstone of Sultanah 'Ala'lilah' (علاءالله)' on page 41.

111 See also Damais (1968) page 579.

The date according to a later reading is Friday, December 4 1389 AD and not 1428, as Prof. Snouck Hurgronje suggests.

The name, under which this queen is buried, is on the upper part of the tombstone:

*matn*<sup>112</sup> *al-malikah al-mu'azzamah Alalah bint*<sup>113</sup> *as-Sultan al-marhum (1) malik az-zahir Khan (?) al-athar (?) ibn walidihi khan (?) al-khanat (?) tagham-madahu 'l-lahu (2) bi 'r-ridhwan fi 'r-rabi' 'ashar yaum al-jum'ah min dzi 'l-hijjah ahad wa tia'ina wa sab'a mi'ah min al-hijrah al-muctafawiy(yah).*



Figure 10. The tombstone of Muhammad



Figure 11. The tombstone of Sultanah 'Ala'lilah' (علاء الله)

112 According to Prof. Dr. J.J. Witkam, University of Leiden, it is 'mazzn', which means 'place of shadow' or 'shelter'.

113 Probably 'ibnah', with the same meaning as 'bint'.

Translated as<sup>114</sup>:

*This is the shelter of the sublime Queen Alalah (?), daughter of the late Sultan Malik az-Zahir, the Khan of previous times, the son of his father the Khan of Khans – may Allah cover him with His satisfaction – on the fourteenth, on Friday, of Dzu 'l-hijjah, 791 of the Hijrah of the chosen One.*

Stutterheim questions the name 'Alalah'.

He says:

*The intention is not known nor the name borne by this queen during her Sultanate.*

Coins exist containing the legend 'Ala'lilah' (علاء الله)<sup>115</sup>. It is most likely that these coins are of the Sultanah referred to here, and this spelling will be used forthwith.

Her genealogy on the tomb is:

*Binah As-Sultan Zain al-Abidin ibn As-Sultan Ahmad ibn As-Sultan Muhammad ibn Malik as-Saleh.*

Translated as:

*Daughter of the Sultan Zain al-Abidin, son of the Sultan Ahmad, son of the Sultan Muhammad, son of the King as-Saleh.*

Interestingly, the tombstone of Queen 'Ala'lilah' (علاء الله) reveals her ancestors with the title 'Sultan', except for Malik as-Saleh', who is indicated as 'King' (Malik).

Another tombstone of this Sultanah is found, containing text in old Sumatran script.<sup>116</sup>

The period around 1380 was the zenith of the Javanese kingdom Majapahit, that also had influence in Malacca.

About 1360 Majapahit invaded Samudra-Pasai and Sultan Ahmad, the grandfather of the Sultanah 'Ala'lilah' had to flee. It is known that the influence of Majapahit did not last long, but it is surely possible that in 1379 another tombstone was placed with Sumatran script. Later, once the influence of the Hindu Majapahit in Samudra-Pasai had disappeared, the tombstone may have been replaced by a stone bearing Arabic script, entirely in the Islamic tradition.

In that case, the tombstone with Sumatran script is older.

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114 Hill (1961) page 21. He reads 'Alalah (?)' on the coins is 'Ala'lilah'.

115 Catalogue 6.1.2.10, 'Ala'lilah' on page 151.

116 Stutterheim (1936) Plate V and VI.

The stone with Sumatran script states, according to Stutterheim<sup>117</sup>:

*[After the] hijrah of the Prophet – the chosen One – she who departed, seven hundred eighty and one year, [on] Dzu 'l-hijjah, the fourteenth, Friday, [was] the Queen of the Faith Varda (?) Rahmatallah, [from] the House Bharubha (?), [which] has rights on Kedah and Pasai having sprouts... all the world. My God, O my Lord, Lord of the Universe, place [our] first Lord in heaven!*

Here is the name of the Sultanah (or Queen): 'Varda Rahmatallah'.

(Rahmat = compassion, pity, mercy. Rahmat Allah = falls upon the compassion of Allah).

This means the same as the Ala'lilah ('up to Allah', 'to Allah' or 'may she go up to Allah') on the other tombstone.

It is known that the reigning families of Kedah and Samudra-Pasai were related.

The establishments at Pasai and Samudra were founded when the trading circumstances at Kedah were too unsafe.

This queen died according to the tombstone with Arabic script in 791 AH, 1389 AD.

According to the tombstone with Sumatran script she died in 781 AH, 1379 AD. The date on this stone differs by exactly ten years from the date on the stone with Arabic script.

According to Dr. Djajadiningrat 14 Dzu 'l-hijjah 791 fell on a Friday, but 14 Dzu 'l-hijjah 781 was a Thursday. Because 'Friday' is expressly stated, one could assume the year 791 to be correct. It could also be, however, that the death of the Sultanah on the stone was stated as a Friday to keep to the Islamic religious day, and thus chose the year to fit this.

It can be assumed that the Islamic stone is a second 'honourable' stone, placed after the fall of Majapahit and after the return of Islamic domination. The chosen date of the Sultana's death (791) is then an auspicious date in the Islam religion, not necessarily the correct date of her death. This would make the Sumatran stone the original older stone and the date 781 mentioned on it most likely the correct year of her death.

#### **4.1.5. The coins of Samudra-Pasai**

Only fragmentary data is available on the Sultans of Samudra-Pasai. This means that, apart from a few exceptions, there are a number of coins that cannot be ascribed with certainty to a particular Sultan or period.

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117 Stutterheim (1936) page 279.

1. No dates are contained on the coins of Samudra-Pasai.
2. There are coins with the same Sultan name that are clearly from different Sultans.
3. A Sultan is not known by a single name alone:  
It was normal practice to ascribe a name at birth, but that name changed during maturity. Upon accession the Sultan took a different name or title, and upon death the Sultan's tomb gained a name, often a glorifying title.

So for the coins of Samudra-Pasai the problem arises of ascribing them to a particular Sultan and determining the years in which the respective Sultan reigned.

#### 4.1.5.1. The small coins or Masakas of Ahmad

For reference purposes, the coins illustrated correspond to the numbering as used for the coins in the catalogue.<sup>118</sup>

1. There are a number of coins or 'Masakas'<sup>119</sup> of 0.3 grams (and 0.15 grams) that are certainly from Samudra-Pasai. These appear exclusively with the names Ahmad and Munawar. Later on these small coins no longer appear. They can thus be seen as the forerunners of the later coins, struck approximately between 1270 and 1290. Also the legends on the coins with the name of Ahmad point to a development in the legend that became the standard for all later coins of Samudra-Pasai.

The legends on the coins of Ahmad are<sup>120</sup>:

Obverse.	Reverse.	Catalogue.
1. Shah Ahmad (شاه احمد)	Malik az-Zahir (ملك الظاهر)	SP 1a
2. Ahmad bin? (... احمد بن)	As-Sultan al-Adil (السلطان العادل)	SP 1b
3. Ahmad Malik az-Zahir (احمد ملك الظاهر)	As-Sultan al-Adil (السلطان العادل)	SP 1c



The first coin does not contain 'Sultan', the other two coins do.

It is thus concluded that the first coin is the oldest coin.

On the obverse is the inscription 'Malik az-Zahir' (ملك الظاهر), After Sultan Ahmad I

<sup>118</sup> See chapter 6, 'Catalogue', on page 142.

<sup>119</sup> See the conclusions in paragraph 8.6, 'The name of the coins' on page 204.

<sup>120</sup> Catalogue 6.1.1.1, 'Sultan Ahmad I of Samudra-Pasai' On page 143.

used as Malik at-Tahir (without the dot on the ط) until 1579. This inscription is not mentioned on the 2nd coin.

On the reverse of both the 2nd and 3rd coin is the inscription 'As-Sultan al-Adil' (السلطان العادل), as used until 1607.

The 3rd coin has the complete legends, as on all later coins of Samudra-Pasai, with the name of the Sultan, followed by 'Malik az-Zahir' on the obverse and 'As-Sultan al-Adil' on the reverse.

The 2nd coin therefore comes after the 1st and before the 3rd coin.

The coins are so small (ca. 5 mm) that not all of the die can be seen on the coin.

With the merging of various coins most of the legends of the coins of Ahmad have become clear, though for one of the coins of Ahmad this is not the case. (SP 1b)

The illustration below, Figure 12, is a composition of 4 different coins.

The word 'bin' (بن), son of, is clearly legible. There is apparently an Ahmad son of ?

The name of the father cannot be deciphered. Perhaps the final part is the name Allah.

The assumption that Abd-Allah (عبدالله) is stated is incorrect.



Figure 12. Ahmad bin ?

Possibly this is احمد بن مستجد بالله 'Ahmad bin Mustandjad Bullah', Ahmad son of he who implores the help of Allah.

This corresponds with the legend on the latter coins with 'Malik az-Zahir' (ملك الظاهر), meaning: 'The King who was given the Victory by Allah'.

#### 4.1.5.2. The small coins or masakas of Munawar

The legends on the coins of Munawar are:<sup>121</sup>

Obverse.	Reverse.	Catalogue.
1. Munawar Shah (منور شاه)	al-Adil (العادل)	SP 2a
2. Munawar Shah (منور شاه)	Tahir (طاهر)	SP 2b

None of these legends return in this form on later coins, they have most likely been struck between 1270 and 1290.

<sup>121</sup> Catalogue 6.1.1.2 'Raja Munawar of Samudra' on page 144.



So it can be assumed that the coinage of Munawar ended before Samudra-Pasai had acquired its ultimate position.

Al-Adil, the righteous, returns on the reverse of later coins as 'As-Sultan al-Adil (السلطان العادل)'.

At-Tahir, the morally pure, is on all later coins as 'Malik at-Tahir (ملك الطاهر)'

#### 4.1.5.3. The coins of Sultan Ahmad I



The coins of Ahmad I (SP 1d) have a dot on the ظ in Zahir<sup>122</sup>.

All other coins do not have this dot. Therefore coins with the dot can be considered to be the oldest, struck approximately between 1280-1295. The coin of Ahmad I with the dot can thus be differentiated from coins of the later Ahmad II or III.

There are more differences with the coins of other Sultans with the name 'Ahmad' (SP 6 and SP 15).

On these coins, with Malik az-Zahir (with the dot on the ظ) the L (ل) is not connected to the K (ك) in Malik (ملك).

On the coins with Malik at-Tahir (without the dot on the ط) both letters are connected at the top.

Also the coins SP 1d are mostly somewhat smaller than the coins SP 6 and SP 15.

#### 4.1.5.4. The coins of Malik as-Saleh



Malik as-Saleh (SP 3) founded Samudra elsewhere after the argument with his older brother. He remains subordinated to his older brother or dares not to challenge him further.

<sup>122</sup> Catalogue 6.1.2.1 'Sultan Ahmad I of Samudra-Pasai' on page 146.

This explains why the obverse of his coins does not contain the title *Malik at-Tahir*<sup>123</sup>, and also why he is not mentioned as *Sultan* on the tombstones of his offspring.

No small coins by *Malik as-Saleh* are known. It can be assumed that this *Sultan* struck coins approximately between 1290-1297, starting later than *Ahmad I* and *Munawar*.

On the obverse is only '*Salah ad-Din*'. It should be noted that *Hulshoff Pol*<sup>124</sup> writes *Salah ad-Din* (صلاح الدين). *Scholten*<sup>125</sup> reads صلاح الدين. According to *Scholten* all the coins of *Sultan Salah ad-Din* bear this legend.

On the reverse is: *As-Sultan al-Adil* (السلطان العادل).

#### 4.1.5.5. The coins of Sultan Muhammad



*Sultan Muhammad* (SP 4) was the oldest son of *Malik as-Saleh*.

His father appointed him *Sultan of Pasai* in 1297<sup>126</sup>.

On the obverse is: *Muhammad Malik at-Tahir*

(محمد ملك الطاهر).



On the reverse is: *As-Sultan al-Adil* (السلطان العادل).

*Sultan Muhammad* was held captive for several years in *Siam*.

During that time his younger brother *Mansur* was *Sultan of Pasai*.

#### 4.1.5.6. The coins of Sultan Mansur



*Sultan Mansur* (SP 5) was the youngest son of *Malik as-Saleh*.

His father appointed him *Sultan of Samudra* in 1297<sup>127</sup>.

On the obverse is: *Mansur Malik at-Tahir* (منصور ملك الطاهر).

On the reverse is: *As-Sultan al-Adil* (السلطان العادل).

His older brother, *Sultan Muhammad* was held captive for several years in *Siam*.

During that time *Mansur* was *Sultan of Samudra and Pasai*.

These coins must originate from that time because the regal title '*Malik at-Tahir*' is on the coin.

123 Catalogue 6.1.2.3, '*Malik as-Saleh of Samudra*' on page 145.

124 *Hulshoff Pol* (1929) page 10 no. 7.

125 *Scholten* (1949) page 177 no. 32.

126 Catalogue 6.1.2.4, '*Sultan Muhammad of Samudra-Pasai*' on page 146.

127 Catalogue 6.1.2.5, '*Sultan Mansur of Samudra-Pasai*' on page 147.

#### 4.1.5.7. The coins of Sultan Ahmad II



During the reign of Ahmad II (SP 6), the son of Muhammad, in ca. 1360 an invasion by Hindu Majapahit took place. The Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai<sup>128</sup> relates:

*On an auspicious day the whole fleet set sail for the land of Pasai.*

*When it arrived at the anchorage at Pasai the men went ashore and built a line of fortifications all along the coast.*



Skirmishes ensued and the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai continues<sup>129</sup>:

*Then the Sultan was told 'Your Highness, Lord of the Realm, many of our captains and warriors and men lie dead, a number past counting'.*

*After that Sultan Ahmad left his palace, taking with him the people of his household and his regalia, everything that could be moved. He went to a place called Menduga. There he set up his court, about fifteen day's journey from the town of Pasai.*

*The Majapahit forces occupied the fortifications of Pasai and then the Sultans Ahmad's palace itself. Great beyond counting was the booty and the number of captives they took.*



Hill<sup>130</sup> writes:

*About 1360 seems a reasonable date for this to have happened – a booty-grabbing raid, blockade by sea, occupation by armed force or whatever it may have been. By this time Ahmad must have been well on in years. He had been in the full vigour of life, but no longer a young man, when Ibn Batuta saw him fifteen years earlier.*

Based on this, Ahmad II ruled Pasai from 1326 until ca. 1360 and possibly thereafter for a while when exiled in Menduga.

Coins with the name 'Ahmad' are known. In addition to Ahmad II there is later a Sultan Ahmad III (SP 15) (ca. 1435 – ca. 1452).

It cannot be established which coins are of Sultan Ahmad II and which are of Sultan Ahmad III. They are therefore not illustrated<sup>131</sup> separately in the catalogue.

128 Hill (1961) page 157.

129 Hill (1961) page 158.

130 Hill (1961) page 22.

131 See paragraph 6.1.2.6 'Sultan Ahmad II or III of Samudra-Pasai' on page 148.

The second coin illustrated is a rare one (SP 6b) of Sultan Ahmad II which is a little larger and thinner than the other coins of Sultan Ahmad, but weighing 0.6 grams<sup>132</sup>. The overall appearance corresponds more with the following coins struck at Menduga. The coin could therefore also have been struck at Menduga.

#### 4.1.5.8. The coins of Sultan Mu'iz ad-Din Ahmad



Scholten<sup>133</sup> describes a coin (SP 6c) which also deviates from the normal Samudra-Pasai type, which he attributes to a Sultan Mu'iz ad-Din Ahmad<sup>134</sup>.

This, too, is a coin of 0.6 grams that is larger and thinner. The legend is: Mu'iz ad-Din Ahmad Malik At-Tahir<sup>135</sup>.

(معز الدين احمد ملك الطاهر)



On the reverse: As-Sultan al-Adil (السلطان العادل).

It is probably a coin of Sultan Ahmad II struck in Menduga after his flight from Pasai. The extension of the title (*lakab*) Mu'iz ad-Din (Who gives glory) suggests that he had not given up the struggle.

If we assume that Sultan Mu'iz ad-Din Ahmad is a son of Sultan Ahmad II, then the coin should read 'Mu'iz ad-Din *bin* Ahmad', and this Sultan Mu'iz ad-Din would be the predecessor of the following Sultan Zain al-Abidin. The omission of the word 'bin' (بن) makes this option improbable.

It is known from the tombstones that Sultan Ahmad II was succeeded by his son Sultan Zain al-Abidin.

#### 4.1.5.9. The coins of Sultan Zain al-Abidin I



Ahmad II was succeeded by Zain al-Abidin I, whose coins (SP 7b)<sup>136</sup> deviate in size like the later coins of Ahmad II.

On the obverse: Zain al-Abidin Malik at-Tahir

(زين العابدين ملك الطاهر).

On the reverse: As-Sultan al-Adil (السلطان العادل).



132 See paragraph 6.1.2.7 'Sultan Ahmad II of Samudra-Pasai at Menduga' on page 149.

133 Scholten (1949) page 177.

134 Catalogue 6.1.2.8 'Sultan Mu'iz ad-Din Ahmad at Menduga' on page 149.

135 Scholten (1949) writes Malik Az-Zahir (ملك الظاهر), but on the coins is Malik At-Thahir (ملك الطاهر).

136 Catalogue 6.1.2.9 'Sultan Zain al-Abidin I' on page 150.

They are much larger and thinner, but weigh correctly 0.6 grams. It can be assumed that these were also struck during the rule of Majapahit when the Sultan was not in Pasai, but in Menduga.

This can serve as an explanation for the comment by Hulshof Pol<sup>137</sup>, who wrote:

*The Mas of Sultan Zain al-Abidin I deviate from the normal Pasai type, since they are larger and thinner and thus correspond more with the Achehnese Mas. This compatibility is so great that I was first inclined to assume that these coins were not of the Pasai Sultan Zain al-Abidin, but of his Achehnese namesake who came to be ruler in 1579. However, I reconsidered this not just on the grounds of the very short reign of the Achehnese Zain al-Abidin, in October of the same year he was murdered, but mainly given the fact that this Mas is even found in the Pasai area. When General van Daalen, then Civil and Military Ruler of Acheh and dependencies, told me this, they were, together with the Mas of Sultan Muhammad (SP 4) and Sultan Sallah ad-Din (SP 3), being revealed in the excavations of the tombstones in the area.*

There are also coins of Zain al-Abidin which are not much larger and thinner, and also weigh correctly 0.6 grams.

There are three Sultans with the name Zain al-Abidin or Zainal'ad-Din. Based on the differing script style, the coins mentioned here are most probably of Zain al-Abidin I.

On these coins 'Malik at-Tahir' is missing in the obverse legend.<sup>138</sup>



They read on the obverse only Zain al-Abidin (زين العابدين). This means that he was not the ruling Sultan when striking these coins.<sup>139</sup>



So these coins of Sultan Zain al-Abidin I, where 'Malik at-Tahir' is missing, were struck when he was the vice Sultan at Samudra.

The coins are not scarce and they were struck during the long reign of his father Sultan Ahmad II (SP 6), but before his father fled, together with his son, to Menduga in ca. 1360

137 Hulshoff Pol (1929) pages 8-9.

138 Catalogue 6.1.2.9, 'Sultan Zain al-Abidin I' on page 150, variant SP 7a.

139 See paragraph 2.3.2, 'The inscriptions' on page 9.

#### 4.1.5.10. The coins of Sultanah Ala'lilah



Sultanah Ala'lilah succeeded her father Sultan Zain al-Abidin I in Pasai.

Her tombstone states she died in 1379 or 1389.<sup>140</sup>

There is reason to assume that the year was 1379.

Her name is difficult to decipher on the tombstone.

Stutterheim reads 'Alalah' but is not certain.

On the coin is 'Ala'lilah' (علاء الله)<sup>141</sup>.

This spelling of her name will be retained below.

On the obverse is: 'Ala'lilah Malik at-Tahir'

(علاء الله ملك الطاهر).

On the reverse is: 'As-Sultan al-Adil' (السلطان العادل).

#### 4.1.6. Comparison of sources

The Hikayat Raja Raja Pasai, the Sejarah Melayu, the tombstones and the coins are indicators which are not easy to interpret.

The Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai and the Sejarah Melayu contradict each other and differ from the tombstone of Sultanah 'Ala'lilah'.

The small coins of  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  mas are known only of Sultan Ahmad I and Sultan Munawar. They must be at the start of the series of the coins of Samudra-Pasai; otherwise later Sultans would have used these denominations too.

The Rajas Ahmad and Muhammad, stated in the romanticized text of the Hikayat Raja Raja Pasai, do not appear in the Sejarah Melayu nor in the mythical Merah Gaja and Putri Betong<sup>142</sup>.

A similar mythical origin of the Sultanate of Samudra-Pasai may be suspected in the text of the Hikayat Raja Raja Pasai. In the Sejarah Melayu a mythical origin of the founders of Samudra-Pasai was not necessary, this manuscript describes the history of Malaysia. What can be found there about Samudra-Pasai is only of indirect significance. Probably Merah Gaja and Putri Betong also did not exist. However, the names of the Semerlanga derivative Raja Ahmad and Raja Muhammad are stated. These individuals, with Islamic names, are probably the original founders of Samudra-Pasai in about 1250. Islam is known to have reached the Indonesian archipelago via Samudra-Pasai in the 13th century. Raja Ahmad and Raja Muhammad are probably the Sultans Ahmad and Munawar.

140 See paragraph 4.1.4.4, 'The tombstone of Sultanah Ala'lilah or Varda Rahmat Allah' on page 40.

141 Catalogue 6.1.2.10, 'Sultanah Ala'lilah' on page 151.

142 See Figure 5, on page 28 and Figure 6 on page 34.

Since only small coins of Ahmad and Munawar occur and these come from the same period, Ahmad and Munawar could have been brothers.

It seems that *Sultan Ahmad I*, the founder of Pasai, is the same as *Raja Ahmad*. He does bear the same titles on a number of the small coins (On the obverse 'Ahmad Malik az-Zahir' and on the reverse 'As-Sultan al-Adil') as on the 0.6 grams coins. The Ahmad of the small coins is probably the same Ahmad I who struck the coins of 0.6 grams.

According to both manuscripts, the *Hikayat Raja Raja Pasai* and the *Sejarah Melayu*, one of the brothers is 'Merah Hasum' in the *Hikayat Raja Raja Pasai* and Melayu 'Merah Chaga' in the *Sejarah* (Malay: Mehrah = Atjenese: Meurah, is the general title for legendary and other chiefs from the past.).

This Merah Hasum or Merah Chaga may have been the Sultan Ahmad I of the coins of 0.6 grams. The Islamic name of Hasum or Chaga would be Sultan Ahmad, the most praised.

The other brother is Merah Silu, who is later called Malik as-Saleh.

Malik as-Saleh bore the title Salah ad-Din on his coins. That Saleh was significantly younger than Ahmad I can be deduced from the fact that Saleh, when his brother Ahmad I died childless, acted for some time as Sultan of Pasai as his children were still too young.

As Ahmad I died childless and Saleh did not follow Ahmad I as Sultan, but acted as a guardian for his own children, Saleh must have been Ahmed I's brother.

This makes Munawar, Ahmad I and Saleh three brothers.

The older brothers Ahmad I and Munawar struck small coins, Saleh the younger brother did not.

Only Ahmad I and Malik as-Saleh struck the coins of 0.6 grams.

Saleh succeeded his brother Munawar in Samudra, the subordinate territory to Pasai. This makes Ahmad I, Sultan of ruling Pasai the most powerful and presumably the oldest of the three.

The *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* and the *Sejarah Melayu* have both Pasai and Samudra founded by Merah Silu.

This Merah Silu, the later Malik as-Saleh, does *not* have the title Malik az-Zahir (ملك الظاهر) on his coins.

On the tombstones of his offspring a distinction exists between the Sultans.

E.g.: The gravestone of Sultanah Ala'lilah reads that she is the daughter of *Sultan Zain al-Abidin*, son of *Sultan Ahmad*, son of *Sultan Muhammad*, son of *King Salih*<sup>143</sup>.

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143 See paragraph 4.1.4.3, 'The tombstone of Sultan Muhammad' on page 40 and paragraph 4.1.4.4, 'The tombstone of Sultanah Ala'lilah or Varda Rahmat Allah' on page 40.

Pasai was dominant over Samudra. Malik as-Saleh left after an argument with his brother.

This suggests that his brother was older and could expel Malik as-Saleh. It shows that Malik as-Saleh was not the Sultan of Pasai but only of Samudra. Merah Hasum was the older brother. Merah Silu was younger and thus subordinate to his brother, as stated in the *Sejarah Melayu*.

The later rulers are descendants of the founder of Samudra, not a welcome fact for the romanticised version of the history of the Rajas of Pasai (the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*). Pasai was always dominant over Samudra. By referring to Malik as-Saleh in the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* as founder of both Samudra and Pasai, this problem is solved.

In the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* Malik'u'l-Salih is the grandfather of Malik'u'l-Mahmud and Malik'u'l-Mansur. According to the *Sejarah Melayu* Malik'u'l-Salih is the father.

From the text of the *Sejarah Melayu* it can be derived that after the death of Sultan Ahmad, his brother, Malik as-Saleh, oversaw the reign until his death (1297), possibly because his children were not yet old enough to become Sultans of Pasai and Samudra. This may also be the reason why Malik as-Saleh is referred to as 'Sultan' on his tomb. It does *not* state that he *was* Sultan, but literally that 'he was *called* Sultan Malik as-Saleh'.

Sultan Ahmad was succeeded in Pasai, following the temporary reign of this Malik as-Saleh, by the oldest son of his brother who bore the title 'Muhammad Malik at-Tahir' on his coins. In Samudra, Malik as-Saleh (Salah ad-Din on his coins) was succeeded by his younger son, who on his coins used the title 'Mansur Malik at-Tahir'.

This is also what Hill<sup>144</sup> concludes.

*The conclusion is inescapable that Tahir and Mahmud were really one and the same person. The author of the Sejarah Melayu gained the wrong name from his text of the Pasai story. But the fact that his source gave him the knowledge necessary to avoid the more serious error of introducing a spurious king into the Samudra-Pasai line suggests that the solecism was the work not of the original author of Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai but of a later copyist.*

Mahmud (محمود) from the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* and Muhammed (محمد) on the tombstone and the coins is probably the same person<sup>145</sup>. The style of writing is sufficiently compatible to make this error possible. The title 'Malik at-Tahir' occurs on all coins of Samudra-Pasai, except for those of Malik as-Saleh. But no conclusion can be drawn from this in respect to the name of

144 Hill (1961) page 18.

145 Hill (1961) page 18.

Malik at-Tahir in both manuscripts. The brother of Mansur is known as Mahmud and that means that the Malik at-Tahir in the Sejarah Melayu is also Mahmud (Muhammed).

Both the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai and the Sejarah Melayu mention the Sultans Muhammad and Mansur as sons and successors of Malik as-Saleh. It is stated that Muhammad died in 1326.

It is known from both the Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai and the Sejarah Melayu that Sultan Muhammad was away from Pasai for some time, probably as a prisoner of Siam, during which time (ca. 1320 until ca. 1323) his brother Mansur oversaw the reign of Pasai.

Since he apparently did not expect his brother to return, he struck coins as Sultan of the whole of Samudra-Pasai with the legend 'Mansur Malik at-Tahir'. In this period he had a relationship with one of the wives of Sultan Muhammad. When Sultan Muhammad returned he punished his brother Mansur by exiling him. Three years later, in ca. 1326, Mansur died on his return journey to Samudra-Pasai.

Ahmad II succeeded his father Sultan Muhammad.

About 1360 there was an attack by Majapahit and Ahmad II fled. It is known that he reigned for a long time, but also that during the visit of Ibn Batuta in 1345 he was no longer young. When he fled in 1360 he was an old man. It can be assumed that he died shortly thereafter, after a reign of 34 years.

The Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai ends with the flight of Ahmad.

The tomb legend reveals that Sultan Ahmad II, the son of Sultan Muhammad, was succeeded by his son Zain al-Abidin I, and then by the daughter Sultanah Ala'lilah. According to the text on her tomb, Sultanah Ala'lilah died in 1379 or 1389. 1379 is assumed to be correct, about 18 years after the death of Ahmad. Sultan Zain al-Abidin I must have died somewhere between 1360 and 1379. For clarity of the sequence of succession 1370 is assumed.

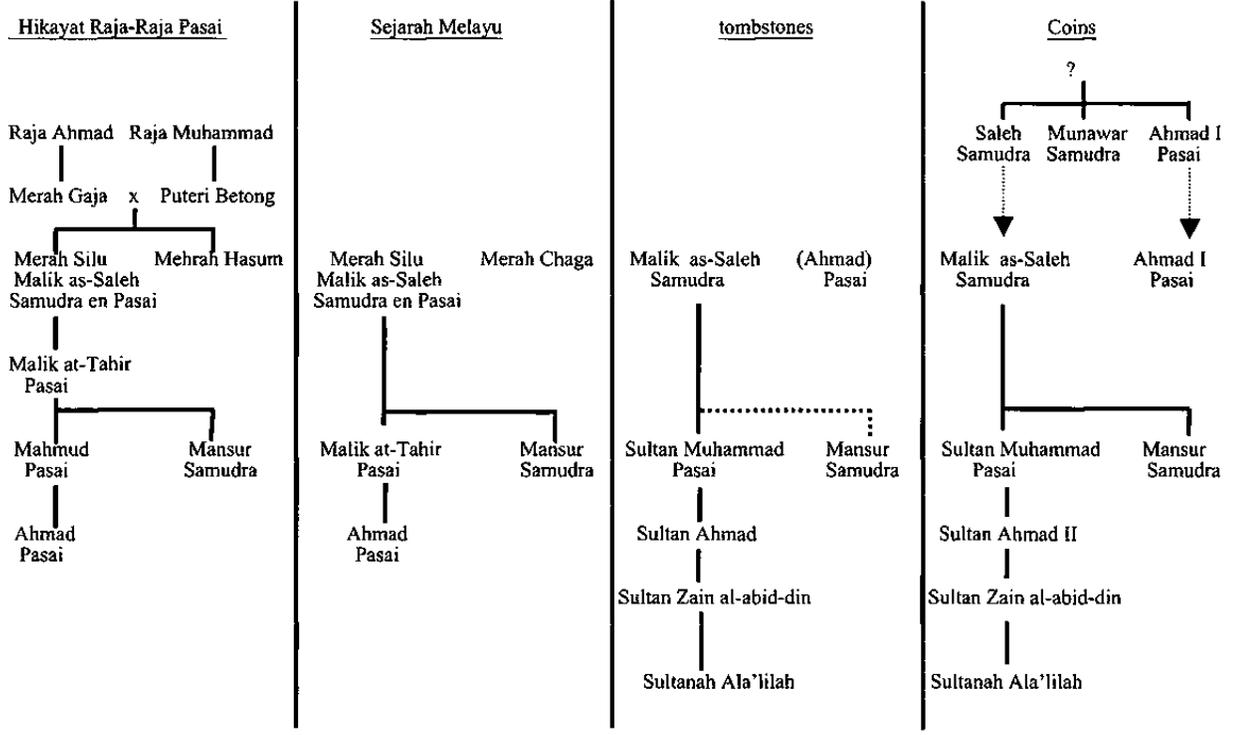
It is generally accepted that from Sultan Muhammad onward, Samudra-Pasai was governed as a single territory, although there are indications that there were 'viceroys' in Samudra that were subordinated to the Sultan that resided in Pasai. They did not bear the title '*Malik at-Tahir*'

These viceroys were younger brothers or sons of the Sultan who occasionally succeeded their fathers in Pasai. This can be seen, for instance, on the coins of Sultan Malik as-Saleh and on the first coins of Sultan Zain al'abid-Din with just 'Zain al'abid-Din' who later succeeded his father, Sultan Ahmad II, and then carried the title 'Zain al'abid-Din Malik at-Tahir' on the coins.

If the assumptions made above are correct, the history is as follows:

1. Raja Ahmad and Raja Muhammad arrive from Semerlangga in ca. 1250 and found Pasai Pasai and Samudra. Both towns were situated on the bank of the Pasai River.
2. Raja Muhammad is the Sultan Munawar.
3. Raja Ahmad is the same as Merah Hasum or Merah Chaga.
4. Raja Muhammad (Sultan Munawar) dies and is succeeded by his much younger brother Merah Silu, later called Malik as-Saleh.
5. Sultan Ahmad reigns in Pasai.
6. Malik as-Saleh has an argument with his brother. He moves Samudra to the Pasangan River, which is more navigable, making Samudra as a port better known than Pasai. Malik as-Saleh stays in Samudra subordinate to his brother in Pasai.
7. Sultan Ahmad dies childless and his younger brother Malik as-Saleh takes over the reign until his death in 1297.
8. Saleh appoints his son Muhammad as Sultan for Pasai and his son Mansur as regent of Samudra.
9. Sultan Muhammad is held captive in Siam from ca. 1320 until ca. 1323.
10. Sultan Mansur assumes the rule of Pasai from ca. 1320 until ca. 1323.
11. In ca. 1323 Mansur is exiled and he dies in ca. 1326.
12. Sultan Muhammad dies in 1326 and is succeeded by his son Sultan Ahmad II.
13. Sultan Zain al'abid-Din rules Samudra on behalf of his father Ahmad II during his reign.
14. Sultan Ahmad II dies in ca. 1360 in Menduga after the invasion by Majapahit.
15. Sultan Zain al'abid-Din, succeeds Ahmad II.
16. Sultan Zain al'abid-Din is succeeded in 1370 (assumed) by his daughter Sultanah Ala'lilah.
17. Sultanah Ala'lilah dies in 1379.

Schematic the above is as follows:



The establishing of Samudra-Pasai

**4.1.7. The first rulers of Samudra-Pasai**

From the above an overview can be gained of the first rulers of Samudra-Pasai. This overview comprises the period from the founding of Samudra-Pasai until the death of Sultanah Ala'lilah in 1379.

Sultan Ahmad II had to flee to Menduga following the invasion of the Javanese Majapahit kingdom. Sultan Zain al'abid-Din also struck coins in Menduga. There is a tombstone with Sumatran script and a tombstone with Arabic script for Sultanah Ala'lilah.

For the later Sultans of Samudra-Pasai only tombstones with Arabic script exist.

This suggests that Sultanah Ala'lilah was the last ruler when the influence of the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit was present in Samudra-Pasai.

This brings to an end the period of the first rulers of Samudra-Pasai.

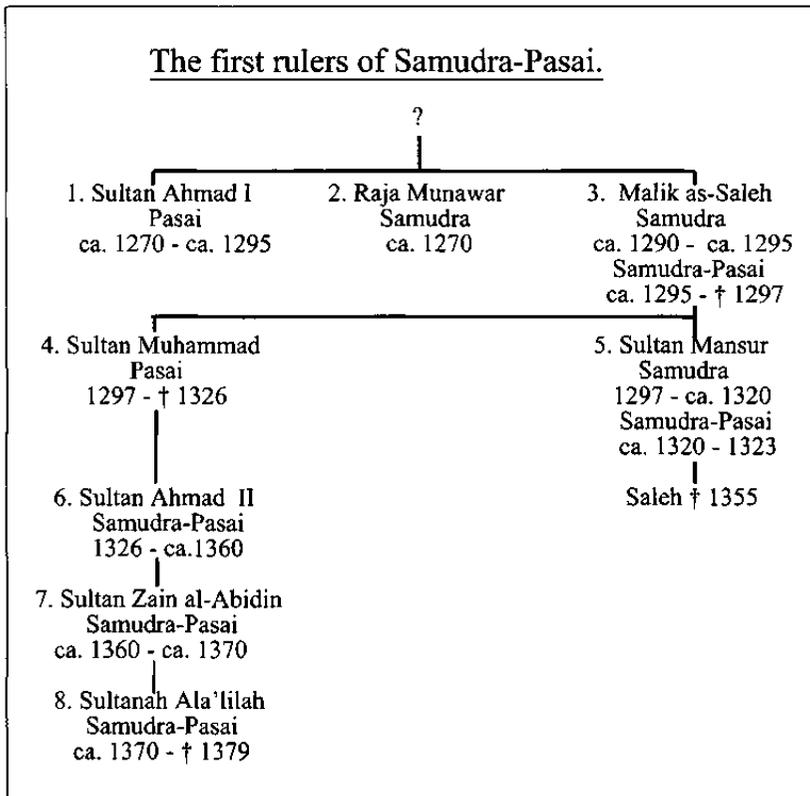


Figure 13. The first rulers of Samudra-Pasai

## 4.2. Samudra-Pasai after 1379

The period of the later Sultans of Samudra-Pasai begins at the end of the influence of the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit in Samudra-Pasai, after the death of Sultanah Ala'lilah in 1379.

The history of the Sultans of Samudra-Pasai ends in 1524 when Aceh conquers Samudra-Pasai.

The following sources are relevant.

- Information can be found in the reports of the Chinese delegations to Samudra-Pasai<sup>146</sup>.  
Some of the names of Rulers can be recognised and the years in which they reigned<sup>147</sup>.
- Tombs of the later rulers of Samudra-Pasai<sup>148</sup>.
- An annotation in the *Sejarah Melayu*<sup>149</sup>.  
(The *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* has no information about the period after the flight of Ahmad to Menduga in ca. 1360.)
- Coins that must certainly be attributed to Samudra-Pasai and cannot be attributed to the first period, or to Aceh. The names of these Sultans are not known from any other sources. On the basis of the arguments to be presented, an attempt will be made to fit the Sultans as named on the coins into the line of rulers.

### 4.2.1. Reports from the Chinese delegations

Information on Samudra-Pasai can be found in the reports of the Chinese delegations. Groeneveldt<sup>150</sup> reports:

Sumatra<sup>151</sup>.  
Ying-yai Sheng-lan (1416).

*This country is situated on the great road of western trade. When a ship leaves Malacca for the west and goes with a fair eastern wind for five days and nights, it*

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146 Groeneveldt (1880).

147 See paragraph 4.2.1, on page 58-61.

148 See paragraph 4.2.2, on page 62-63.

149 See paragraph 4.2.3, on page 64-65.

150 Groeneveldt 1880, page 85

151 In these reports, Groeneveldt (1880) calls the land Sumatra.

In reality the Chinese text says 蘇門答刺, 'Su-mu-ta-la' (sometimes written as 須文達那, 'Hsü-wên-ta-la') better to translate with 'Samudra'.

first comes to a village on the sea-coast called Ta-lu-man<sup>152</sup>; anchoring here and going south-east for about ten li (3 miles) one arrives at the said place.

This country has no walled city. There is a large brook running out into the sea, with two tides every day; the waves at the mouth of it are very high and ships continually founder there.

The king of Sumatra was formerly attacked by the king of Nakur and killed by a poisoned arrow; he left one infant son, who could not avenge his father, and therefore the king's wife made a public oath, saying: 'Whoever can avenge the death of my husband and recover his land, I am ready to marry him and to reign together with him'. When she had said this, there was an old fisherman, who roused himself and said: 'I am able to avenge him.' Thereupon he led the army, defeated and killed the king of Nakur and avenged the death of the late king. When the king of Nakur was killed, his people retreated and submitted, and did not undertake any hostilities more.

The king's wife did not break her former engagement, but married the old fisherman, who was called the old king, and all affairs of the palace and country went by his orders.

In the year 1409, moved by his sense of duty, he brought as tribute products of his country and was favourably received by the Emperor. In year 1412 he returned to his country, when the son of the former king, having grown up, secretly leagued with the nobles, killed his stepfather the fisherman and took his throne. The fisherman had a nephew called Su-kan-lah<sup>153</sup>, who assembled his followers with their families and ran away into the mountains, where he made a fortification and soon began attacks to revenge the dead of his uncle.

In the year 1415 the eunuch Cheng Ho arrived here with a fleet; he sent his soldiers to take Su-kan-lah prisoner and sent him to the court of China, where he was condemned to death. The son of the king was grateful for the imperial favour and continually sent tribute to the court of China.

Also we find<sup>154</sup>:

Sumatra is situated at the west of Malacca, at a distance of seven days if the wind is fair. It is a centre of intercourse in the western seas.

In the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Ch'eng-tsu (1403-1424), envoys were sent to this country to inform it of his accession and to call it to court, whilst in the year 1404 the Emperor sent envoys to present the chief of the country with velvets, silks and gauzes embroidered with gold, and to bring him to the imperial court. When the eunuch Yin Ho went to the western ocean in 1405<sup>155</sup>, presents were sent again.

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152 Ta-lu-man or Ta-ru-ban. It may be interesting to compare with this the account of Ibn Batuta, who visited this place in 1346. We quote from the translation by S. Lee p. 200. 'When we had arrived at the shores of this place, we put into the port, which is a small village in which there are some houses, as well as magazines for the merchants, and from this the city of Sumatra is at the distance of four miles, at that place recedes the king.'

153 蘇幹刺, Su-kan-lah or Sekander (Iskandar).

154 Groeneveldt (1880) page 88.

155 July 11 1405, see Wang Gungwu (1964) page 97.

*Before Cheng Ho arrived there (in 1406)<sup>156</sup>, the chief Tsai-nu-li-a-pi-ting-ki<sup>157</sup> had sent envoys with Yin Ch'ing to go to court and carry tribute; the emperor issued an edict appointing him king of Sumatra<sup>158</sup>, and gave him a seal, a commission and a court-dress of coloured silk. After this he sent tribute every year and did not stop as long as the emperor Ch'eng-tsu lived.*

*Cheng Ho was sent three times (arriving in 1406, 1415 and 1431<sup>159</sup>.) to this country; when he came there for the first time, the father of the king had been fighting with his neighbour, the king of the country of the Tattooed Faces<sup>160</sup>, and had been killed by an arrow; the king's son was still young and his mother cried out to the people; 'Whoever can avenge me, I will take him for my husband and reign together with him.' There was a fisherman who heard this; he rallied the people of the country and went to attack the enemy; after killing their king he came back and the wife of the late king took him for her husband, on which he was called the old king.*

*When the son of the late king was grown up, he secretly leagued himself with some people of rank, killed the old king and took his place; a younger brother of the old king, called Su-kan-la, escaped into the mountains and harassed the country for several years.*

*When Cheng Ho went there again in the year 1414, this Su-kan-la was dissatisfied that he got nothing from the imperial presents and therefore collected several thousands of men to attack and rob Cheng Ho; the Chinese soldiers and the people of the country routed them and killed a large quantity of these robbers, who were pursued as far as Lambri<sup>161</sup> and brought back prisoners.*

*The king then sent envoys to present his thanks.*

Wang Gungwu<sup>162</sup> states that the Emperor of China:

28 October 1403	Sent eunuch Yin Ch'ing, to Malacca, Cochin and other places.
3 October 1404	Samudra, Malacca and Calicut missions (came with Yin Ch'ing) received.
21 October 1404	Fêted the envoys of Hsi-yang Ku-Li (Calicut), Samudra, Java and other nations.
6 November 1404	Fêted envoys of Hsi-yang Ku-Li (Calicut), Samudra, Malacca, Java and others.

In the Chinese reports of around 1403 a Sultan Zain al-Abidin (Tsai-nu-li-a-pi-ting-ki) is mentioned, who sent a delegation to the Emperor of China. This delegation clearly intended to have Sultan Zain al-Abidin II recognised by the Emperor of China.

156 Encyclopaedia 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 1917, Book I, page 73.

157 宰奴里阿必丁已, Tsai-nu-li-a-pi-ting-ki, here Zain al-Abidin is meant.

158 Read 'Samudra'

159 Encyclopaedia 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 1917, Book I, page 73.

160 花面國, this is Nakur.

161 南渤利, Lambri.

162 Wang Gungwu (1964) pages 93 and 97.

In 1406, at the first arrival of Cheng Ho, Zain al-Abidin II already had been killed and his widow married to the 'old fisherman' who was also called 'the old king'.

In the period between 1406 and 1412, the 'old fisherman' became custodian over the young Sultan. This can be derived from the sentence 'And all affairs of the palace and country went by his orders.' It cannot be presumed that an ordinary old fisherman is able to put together an army to fight the army of the Sultan of Nakur and win. This old fisherman must have been someone of some significance<sup>163</sup>. Comparing the two Chinese reports, the old fisherman was the uncle of Iskandar, the younger brother of the former king. Consequently he also was the uncle of this former king, Zain al-Abidin, and belonged to the royal family.

In 1409 this 'old fisherman' went to China, where the Emperor received him. The 'old fisherman' returned in 1412 and was killed by his stepson.

His stepson, the son of Sultan Zain al-Abidin II, then officially became the ruling Sultan. His name is unknown.

Furthermore we find in the Chinese reports<sup>164</sup>:

*In the year 1433 the king's younger brother came to court and died in the capital. The Emperor pitied him much, bestowed a posthumous title on him, appointed an officer to take care of the funeral and gave one family to look after the grave. At that time Wang Ching-hung had gone again<sup>165</sup> to that country and the king sent another younger brother to go with him to the court; he told that the king was already old and could not manage the affairs any more, and now asked permission to cede the throne to his son, called A-pu-sai<sup>166</sup>, who was accordingly appointed king of the country.*

From this report we learn that the Sultan, son of Sultan Zain al-Abidin II, had (at least) two younger brothers. One died in 1433 in China at the court. A second brother also travelled to China and asked for abdication of the Sultan as he was old and unable to perform his tasks any longer.

The son of Sultan Zain al-Abidin II was in ca. 1435 succeeded by his son 'Ahmad Shah' (A-pu-sai) as Sultan Ahmad III.

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163 There are also other examples of a Sultan family member being a fisherman.

E.g. Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah of Aceh, the grandson of Sultan Muthaffer Shah.

He was originally a fisherman who became Sultan when he was very old.

(See e.g. paragraph 5.3.2.13, 'Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah (1589-1604)' on page 95).

164 Groeneveldt (1880) page 90.

165 This must be some years later. Ca. 1435.

166 阿卜賽, A-pu-sai is door Cowan (1938, page 205) translated as Abu Zaid, but there are no coins of Abu Zaid. The correct translation is 'Ahmad Shah'. Coins of Ahmad are known.

#### 4.2.2. *The tombstones from the period after 1379*

A number of tombstones found, from the period after 1379, give some indications about the genealogy of the later rulers of Samudra-Pasai.

##### 4.2.2.1. *The tombstone of Nur Shah*

Damais<sup>167</sup> also notes a partially legible tombstone of one 'Nur Hhatun, bint Umar al-.....', died in AH 805 (AD 1402-1403).

This is probably 'Nur Shah', whose coins are known<sup>168</sup>.

From the tombstone of his predecessor Nur Shah<sup>169</sup> we know that Sultan Nur Shah died ca. 1402/3. The last known Sultanah Ala'lilah died in 1379. As the coins of Sultan Nur Shah are very rare we may assume that his reign lasted only a few years. Therefore we assume Nur Shah's reign to have been from 1400 to 1402/3.

There are numerous coins with the name Abdallah. There are numerous types all so different from each other that in all probability they are of different Sultans. Only one Sultan Abdallah is known with any certainty and he died, according to his epitaph, in 1513. There are no other Sultans from Samudra-Pasai with clearly distinct coins. Therefore we could place a Sultan Abdallah (I) after 1379 and before ca. 1400.

##### 4.2.2.2. *The tombstone of Toehan Perbu*

Moquette<sup>170</sup> describes a tombstone of a Sultanah, Sultans daughter, Toehan Perbu, wich says:

*(This is) the beautiful courtyard (metaphor for graveyard) and the immaculate tomb of the proud, the highborn, the pure, the modest and much esteemed Princess, the Sultanah and Sultan's daughter, Toehan Perboe, daughter of Sultan Zain al-Abidin upon whom Allah may grant mercy.*

After protracted argumentation, Moquette comes to the date of death as Friday after seventeen days had passed in the month of Rajab in the year eight hundred and forty-eight of the Hidjrah of the Prophet, the Chosen One. That is Friday October 30 1444 A.D.

Moquette goes further with the claim that this Toehan Perbu must have been the same widow of Sultan Zain al-Abidin II as mentioned in the Chinese reports.

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167 Damais (1968) page 581.

168 Catalogue 6.1.2.12, 'Sultan Nur Shah of Samudra-Pasai' on page 153.

169 See paragraph 4.2.2.1, 'The tombstone of Nur Shah' on page 62.

170 Moquette (1922).

This does not hold up because it is clearly stated:

السلطان توهن قريو بنت السلطان زين العابدين

*Sultan(a) Tuhan Perbu daughter (binat) of Sultan Zain al-Abidin*

It is not recorded that she reigned as Sultanah. No coins have been attributed to her. She was probably the sister of Sultan Addallah of Pasai (1412-1435) and the daughter of Sultan Zain al-Abidin II who reigned from 1402 until ca. 1405.

She may have been regent of the dependency of Samudra.

#### 4.2.2.3. *The tombstone of Mihr Shah*

Damais notes the tomb of a princess with the name Mihr Shah, bint Khodja Ahmad as-Sultan al-Adil<sup>171</sup>. She died between December 28 1459 and December 16 1460.

Her father was a Sultan Ahmad. This indicates that around this time a Sultan Ahmad was in Samudra-Pasai. This would therefore have been Sultan Ahmad III of Pasai (1435-1452).

#### 4.2.2.4. *The tombstone of Zayn al-Abidin*

Damais also notes a tomb of Shaykh Zayn al-Abidin<sup>172</sup>.

He died between Februari 25 and March 17 1460.

This must have been Sultan Zain al'ad-Din III (1452-1460).

#### 4.2.2.5. *The tombstone of Abdallah*

Hulshoff Pol<sup>173</sup> states, referring to Prof. Dr. Husain Djajadiningrat, that among the Pasaic tomb scripts there is one of 'Abdallah bin Mahmud bin Zain al-Abidin', (Abdallah son of Mahmud son of Zain al-Abidin) died in 1513.

Louis Charles Damais<sup>174</sup> notes the existence of a tomb of 'Shaykh (Shah) Zayn al-Abidin', who died in 1460. This is then the Zain al-Abidin mentioned in the tomb script of 1513.

Coins of Sultan Mahmud exist but are very rare. This points to a short reign of Sultan Mahmud. For Sultan Abdallah there are many coins and many varieties. Sultan Abdallah probably would have had a long reign.

Based on the aforementioned tomb, the following genealogy arises:

Zain al-Abidin III (until 1460) was succeeded by his son Mahmud (from 1460 until ca. 1475?) and he in turn was succeeded by his son Abdallah II (from ca. 1475? until 1513).

171, 172 and 174 Damais (1968) page 581.

173 Hulshoff Pol (1929) page 10.

#### 4.2.3. *The annotation in the Sejarah Melayu*

For the period around 1460 there is still an annotation in the *Sejarah Melayu*. Moquette<sup>175</sup> says in a footnote:

*Mr Marre also translates the part from the Sejarah Melayu that relates to Pasai. This source makes note in the 22nd story of a Zain al-Abidin III of Pasai. What is related there takes place under Sultan Mansur Shah of Malacca who, according to Mr. R.J. Wilkinson, came to the throne in 1459 A.D.*

This passage in the *Sejarah Melayu*<sup>176</sup> is:

*Here now is a story of the Raja of Pasai, Sultan Zain al-Abidin, as he was called. This Raja of Pasai was one of two brothers, and the younger desired to supplant the elder as ruler. In this treacherous design he had the support of the people of Pasai and they were for killing their Raja. Sultan Zain al-Abidin accordingly took flight in a small ship and went to Malacca to seek the protection of Sultan Mansur Shah. Sultan Mansur Shah had a fleet made ready to take Sultan Zain al-Abidin back to Pasai. After he has been reinstated he rudely refuses to send his 'obeisance' to Malacca; and when he is again dethroned, the Malacca men leave him to his fate.*

This Sultan Zain al-Abidin cannot be the same as the Sultan Zain al-Abidin II from the Chinese reports. Damais<sup>177</sup> notes the tomb of this Zain al-Abidin III<sup>178</sup>.

He died in 1460. He is the successor to Sultan Ahmad III (1435-1452). Among the Pasaic tomb scripts is one of 'Abdallah bin Mahmud bin Zain al-Abidin' (Abdallah son of Mahmud son of Zain al-Abidin), died in 1513<sup>179</sup>. It is plausible that the grandfather of the deceased Abdallah, is the Zain al-Abidin III who died in 1460, who is mentioned in the *Sejarah Melayu*.

##### 4.2.3.1. *The later rulers of Samudra-Pasai*

On the basis of information from the Chinese reports, tombstones and the *Serajah Melayu*, a picture can be drawn of the Sultans from 1379 until 1513. As one can see in Figure 14, there is much uncertainty in the dates and periods of the reigns of these Sultans. But it is assumed that in broad lines the successions and names are correct.

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175 Moquette (1913) page 2.

176 Brown (1970) page 96-97.

177 Damais (1968) page 581.

178 See paragraph 4.2.2.4, 'The tombstone of Zayn al-Abidin' on page 63.

179 See paragraph 4.2.2.5 'The tombstone of Abdallah' on page 63.

## The establishing of Samudra-Pasai

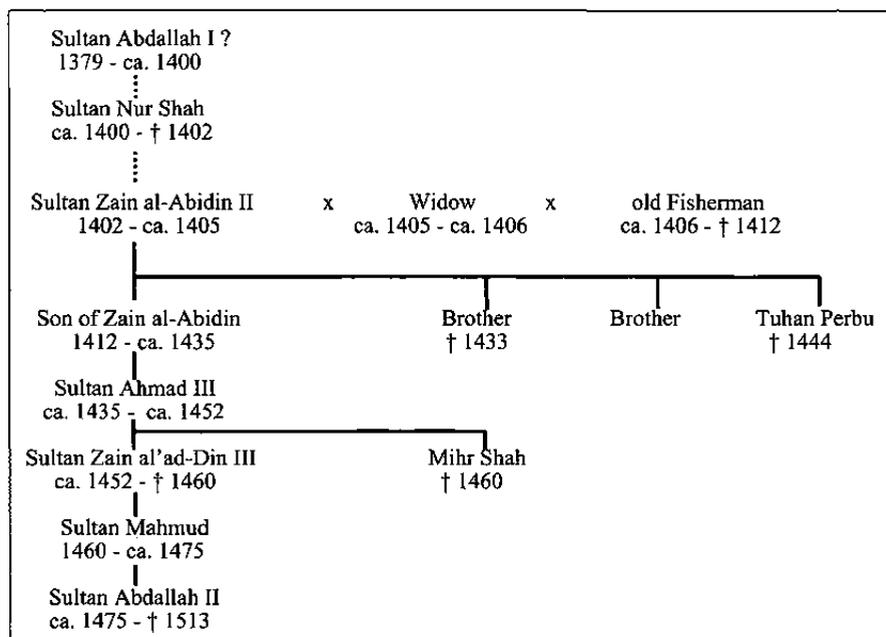


Figure 14. The later rulers of Samudra-Pasai

### 4.2.4. The coins of the later rulers of Samudra-Pasai

Using the preliminary genealogy found so far, it is possible to ascribe with reasonable certainty the coins of the second period of Samudra-Pasai to particular Sultans.

For reference purposes, the coins illustrated correspond to the numbering as used for the coins in the catalogue<sup>180</sup>.

#### 4.2.4.1. The coins of Sultan Abdallah I and II

There must have been another Sultan between 1379, the death of Sultanah Ala'lilah and ca. 1400, the assumed start of the reign of Nur Shah. There is a wealth of coins with the name Abdallah.

These are all so different that they are probably of different Sultans. The most obvious difference between the coins SP 9 and SP 18 is the position of the alif (ا) of 'Allah' (الله) above the ain (ع) of 'Abd' (عبد) in SP 18.

<sup>180</sup> See paragraph 6.1, 'Coins of Samudra-Pasai' on page 143.

The first three types (SP 9a, b and c) have a type similar to the previous coins. Therefore it is possible that these coins are of Sultan Abdallah I (SP 9)<sup>181</sup>. The 'd' of 'Abd' is short and the 'h' of 'Allah' is not closed and there is an 'a' (ا) before 'Allah'.

The script on the other types (SP18a and b) resembles more the script on the later coins<sup>182</sup>.

For this reason it is possible that these coins are of Sultan Abdallah II (SP 18).



A Sultan Abdallah is known, with certainty, to have reigned from 1475 until 1513.

The Sultan who possibly reigned between 1379 and 1400 may have been a different Sultan Abdallah. See no. 9 and no. 18 in Figure 15 on page 2.

The first Abdallah reigned only 11 years and the other quite a long period and none of these coins are scarce. There are five different types of script.

There are three variants of the SP 9 coins:

- a The word 'Abd' is on the first line and 'Allah' on the second line. The word 'Malik' is on the second line too and 'at-Tahir' on the third line.
- b The word 'Abd' is also on the first line and 'Allah' on the second line. The words 'Malik' and the part of 'al-Ta' have changed places. The word 'al-Ta' is on the second line to and 'Malik' and 'hir' on the third line.
- c The whole word 'Abdallah' is on the first line.

181 Catalogue 6.1.2.11, 'Sultan Abdallah I of Samudra-Pasai' on page 152.

182 Catalogue 6.1.2.19, 'Sultan Abdallah II of Samudra-Pasai' on page 157.

#### 4.2.4.2. *The coins of Nur Shah*



There is a rare coin of Nur Shah (SP 10)<sup>183</sup>.  
According to the tomb script, he died in 1403<sup>184</sup>.

On the obverse of the coin is written:

Nur Shah Malik at-Tahir. (نور شاه ملك الطاهر).

On the reverse is the familiar As-Sultan al-Adil  
(السلطان العادل).



The tomb script of Nur Shah is only partially legible.

On the coin are the full Sultan titles.

The coin was of a reigning ruler.

Given the date of death, he must have reigned before Sultan  
Zain al-Abidin.

Because the coin is very rare, the reign must have been  
short, e.g. starting ca. 1400.

#### 4.2.4.3. *The coins of Zain al-Abidin II*



Sultan Zain al-Abidin II (SP 11) was killed fighting the king  
of Nakur.

He reigned only for a short time. (1402-ca.1405)

His coins are rare<sup>185</sup>.

On the obverse is written: Zain al-Abidin Malik at-Tahir  
(زين العابدين ملك الطاهر).

On the reverse is written: As-Sultan al-Adil (السلطان العادل).

The coins deviate from the coins of Sultan Zain al-Abidin I,  
which are ca. 1 mm larger.

These coins differ from those of Sultan Zain al-Din,  
which have a clearly different legend.



#### 4.2.4.4. *The coins of Abbadta Malukah Shah*

The only female mentioned is the widow of Sultan Zain al-Abidin II, who was  
killed in a war against Nakur. She said that she would marry the person who  
could avenge the death of her husband and reign together with him. She mar-  
ried the old fisherman, who killed the king of Nakur.

She ruled Samudra-Pasai only briefly, because after marrying the old fisher-  
man 'all affairs of the palace and country went by his orders.'

It can be assumed that the widow struck coins for a short time.

183 Catalogue 6.1.2.12, 'Sultan Nur Shah of Samudra-Pasai' on page 151.

184 See paragraph 4.2.2.1, 'The tombstone of Nur Shah' on page 62.

185 Catalogue 6.1.2.13, 'Sultan Zain al-Abidin II of Samudra-Pasai' on page 153.



There is a rare coin (SP 12) of a Abbadta Malikah Shah<sup>186</sup>. On the obverse is written: 'Abbadta Malikah Shah' (ابدت ملكه شاه).

The normal title 'Malik at-Tahir' is missing.

On the reverse is: 'Sultan al-Adil' (سلطان العادل) and not the normal 'As-Sultan al-Adil' (السلطان العادل).

There is clearly Malikah (ملكه) on the coin and not Malik (ملك). This coin is of a female. The only female mentioned is the widow of Sultan Zain al-Abidin II. This coin had to have been struck by her between 1405, the death of her husband, Sultan Zain al-Abidin and her marriage in ca. 1406 to the 'old fisherman'.

#### 4.2.4.5. The coins of Abu'l-Din



(SP 13 a)

(SP 13 b)

Coins also can probably be ascribed to the 'old fisherman' (1406-1412).

There is a series of coins that in terms of script is very close to those of Zain al-Abidin<sup>187</sup>.

They are in the name of one 'Abu'l-Din' (Father of the faith) (SP 13 a).

These coins of Abu'l-Din could be from the 'old fisherman'.

The title '*father of the religion (islam)*', points to an older person.

This is not a title a young Sultan would choose.

The coins of Abu'l-Din are of some rarity, which could correspond to a reign of 7 years.

On the obverse of the coin is: Abu'l-Din Malik at-Tahir (ابو لدين ملك الطاهر). On the reverse is the familiar: As-Sultan al-Adil (السلطان العادل).

There is also a coin (SP 13b) of Abu'l-Din with Abu'l-Din *Ahmad* Malik at-Tahir (ابوالدين احمد ملك الطاهر). The addition of the word 'Ahmad' (the most praised) is a Lakab (title of honour) after the revenge for the death of his predecessor. This coin is very rare in comparison to 13a, possibly struck in the beginning of his reign.

186 Catalogue 6.1.2.14, 'Abbadta Malikah Shah' on page 154.

187 Catalogue 6.1.2.15, 'Sultan Abu'l-Din of Samudra-Pasai' on page 155.

#### 4.2.4.6. *The coins of Addallah*



There are also coins of a certain Addallah (inclined to Allah) (SP 14)<sup>188</sup>.

On the obverse of the coin is: Addallah Malik at-Tahir (عدالله ملك الطاهر)

These coins are from Samudra-Pasai.

They are mostly read as being of a Sultan Abdallah (Slave of Allah).

But the 'b' is missing so it is not Abdallah.

As is seen in the catalogue on page 156 there are many different dies with the missing 'd'.

Thus it is not an engraver's mistake and the omission is done on purpose.

There must have been a Sultan who intentionally put Addallah on his coins, although with the same meaning as Abdallah.

The coins of Addallah are common.

As there is no Sultan known by the name of Addallah, we have to wonder who this Sultan can be. The son of Sultan Zain al-Abidin, who became Sultan after the murder of his stepfather, reigned for a relatively long period. His name is not known. The coins of Addallah are possibly his coins.

#### 4.2.4.7. *The coins of Sultan Ahmad III*

There are more coins known with the name 'Ahmad'. In addition to Ahmad II (SP 6) later on there was a Sultan Ahmad III (SP 15) (ca. 1435-ca. 1452).

It has not been possible to determine which coins are of Sultan Ahmad II and which are of Sultan Ahmad III. In the catalogue they are therefore not illustrated separately<sup>189</sup>.

#### 4.2.4.8. *The coins of Sultan Zainal'ad-Din III*



Sultan Ahmad III was succeeded by Sultan Zain al'ad-Din III

There are coins known (SP 16) with on the obverse:

Zainal'ad-Din Malik at-Tahir' (زين العادن ملك الطاهر)

And on the reverse 'As-Sultan al-Adil' (السلطان العادل)<sup>190</sup>.



188 Catalogue 6.1.2.16, 'Sultan Addallah of Samudra-Pasai' on page 156.

189 See 6.1.2.6, 'Sultan Ahmad II or III of Samudra-Pasai' on page 148.

190 Catalogue 6.1.2.17, 'Sultan Zainal'ad-Din III of Samudra-Pasai' on page 156.

The coin is difficult to read correctly.

Zainal'ad-Din should have been written as زين الدين.

This is not, however, on the coin. It is also not a variation of the coins of Abu'l-Din, because the name 'Zain' is quite legible.

There is a close resemblance in script between this coin and the coins of Sultan Abu'l-din (SP 13) and Sultan Addallah (SP 14).<sup>191</sup>

This coin is most probably of Sultan Zainal'ad-Din III.

#### 4.2.4.9. The coins of Sultan Mahmud



Sultan Mahmud (SP 17) is known from an epitaph of his son Abdallah II, who died in 1513.

Sultan Mahmud is the son of Sultan Zainal'ad-Din III.

His coins are extremely rare<sup>192</sup>.

On the obverse is: Muhmud Malik at-Tahir

(محمود ملك الطاهر).

And on the reverse 'As-Sultan al-Adil' (السلطان العادل).



#### 4.2.4.10. The coins of Sultan Murdhi



There are coins (SP 19) of a certain Murdhi (the Satisfier)<sup>193</sup>. It is not known who this Sultan was.

On the obverse of the coin is: Murdhi Malik at-Tahir

(مرض ملك الطاهر).

On the reverse 'As-Sultan al-Adil (السلطان العادل)'.

The coins are certainly of Pasai because the name of his father is not on the coin whereas this is the case on the coins of Aceh.

Murdhi has not yet been fitted into the line of rulers and his period of reign is also unknown.

The place allocated in Figure 15 on page 72 is also not intended as the correct place in terms of time or succession.

191 Catalogue 6.1.2.15, 'Sultan Abu'l-Din of Samudra-Pasai' on page 155.

192 Catalogue 6.1.2.18, 'Sultan Mahmud of Samudra-Pasai' on page 159.

193 Catalogue 6.1.2.20, 'Sultan Murdhi of Samudra-Pasai' on page 159.

194 Catalogue 6.1.2.21, 'Sultan Mumin of Samudra-Pasai' on page 159.

#### 4.2.4.11. *The coins of Sultan Mumin*



There are also coins (SP 20) of a certain Mumin (The Faithful)<sup>194</sup>.

On the obverse of the coin is: Mumin Malik at-Tahir (مومن ملك الطاهر).

On the reverse 'As-Sultan al-Adil (السلطان العادل)'.<sup>195</sup>

The coins of Mumin are also certainly of Pasai because the name of his father is not on the coin whereas this is the case on the coins of Aceh.

Mumin has not yet been fitted into the line of rulers and his period of reign is also unknown

The place allocated in Figure 15 on page 72 is also not intended as the correct place in terms of time or succession.



These coins of Murdhi and Mumin are relatively rare. And there are a lot of forgeries of these coins.

The coins of Murdhi are lighter (0.48-0.45 grams) than the other coins of Samudra-Pasai.

The coins of Mumin are even lighter (0.37-0.44 grams) than the coins of Murdhi.

The coin of Mumin published by Hulshoff Pol<sup>195</sup> was also only 0.40 grams.

The lower weight of the coins of Murdhi and Mumin may be the result of the declining importance and economy of Samudra-Pasai and the rising power of Aceh.

They are very probably from the period from 1513 until 1524 when Samudra-Pasai was conquered by Aceh.

Mumin was probably the last independent ruler of Samudra-Pasai because his coins are the lightest.

#### 4.2.5. *Conclusion*

Assuming that the above is correct, the list of rulers of Samudra-Pasai after 1379 is established.

This genealogy is linked to the genealogy of the first rulers of Samudra-Pasai starting ca. 1270. This makes the list of rulers of Samudra-Pasai complete.

<sup>195</sup> Hulshoff Pol (1929) coin no. 5 on page 9.

4.2.6. Improved list of rulers of Samudra-Pasai

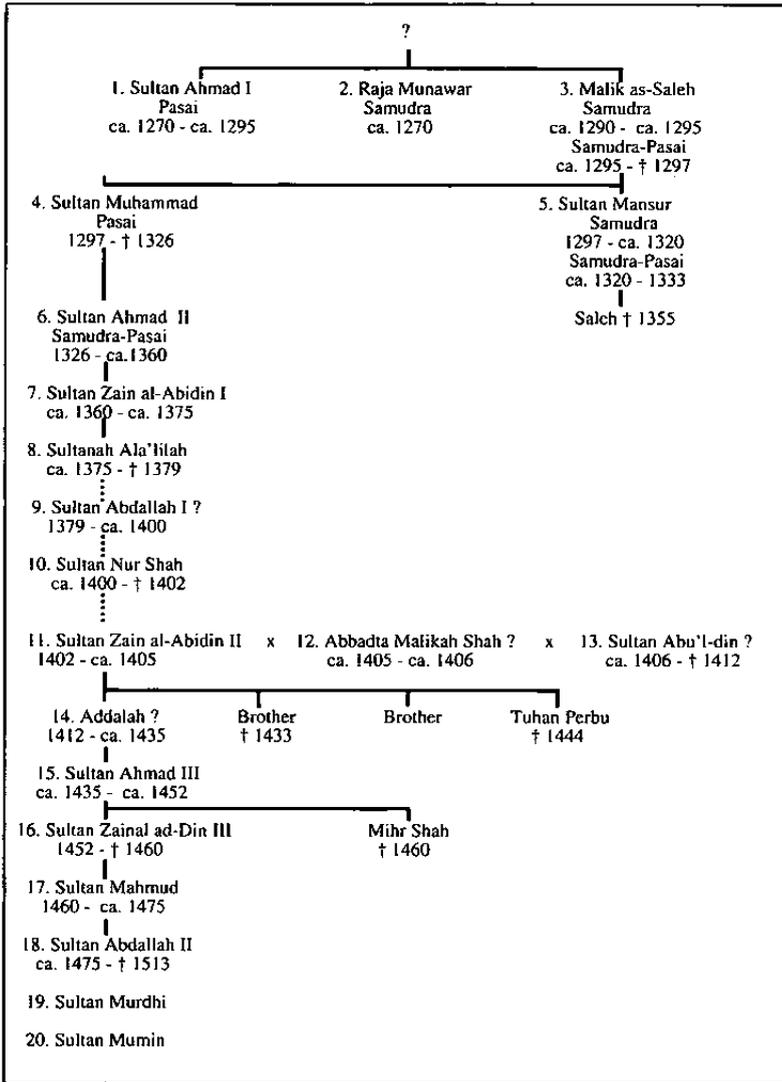


Figure 15. The rulers of Samudra-Pasai

Both the last mentioned Sultans, Murdhi and Mumin, struck coins in Samudra-Pasai, but nothing is known about their period of reign. The sequence of these two Sultans in the chart above is based on the lower weight of their coins.

## 5. The history of Aceh

The history of Aceh<sup>196</sup> pre-1500 is largely shrouded in darkness. In the reports of the Chinese, Arabs and Europeans who visited Sumatra before that time, Aceh is hardly, if at all, referred to.

Native chronicles go back to the start of the 13th century, revealing the ruling power beginning in 1205, when Islam was supposed to have been introduced. These reports are fragmentary, legendary in character and diverse.

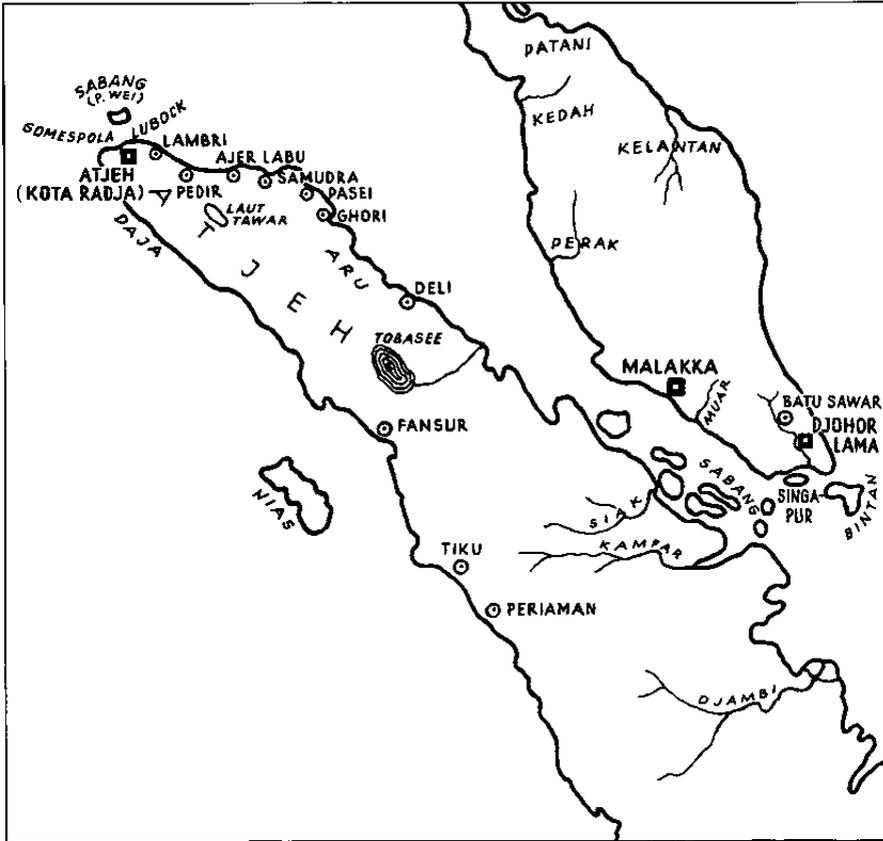


Figure 16. Map of North Sumatra, with Aceh<sup>197</sup>

196 Djajadiningrat (1911).

197 From Penth (1969).

Djajadiningrat<sup>198</sup> provides a summary of the Malaysian works which he examined. On their basis he has made a list of the earliest rulers of Aceh known exclusively through these Malaysian manuscripts.

The list according to Djajadiningrat<sup>199</sup>.

	Hijara year	Christian year
1. Djohan Shah	A.H. 601-631	A.D. 1205-1234
2. Ri'ayat Shah, son of 1 <sup>200</sup>	A.H. 631-665	A.D. 1234-1267
3. Mahmud Shah, son of 2 <sup>201</sup>	A.H. 665-708	A.D. 1267-1309
4. Firman Shah, son of 3	A.H. 708-755	A.D. 1309-1354
5. Mansur Shah	A.H. 755-811	A.D. 1354-1408
6. Ala'ad-Din Djohan Shah, son of 5 <sup>202</sup>	A.H. 811-870	A.D. 1408-1466
7. Husein Shah	A.H. 870-901	A.D. 1466-1496
8. Ali Ri'ayat Shah, father of 9	A.H. 901-917	A.D. 1496-1511
9. Salah ad-Din, removed by 10	A.H. 917-946	A.D. 1511-1539
10. Ala'ad-Din, brother of 9	A.H. 946-975	A.D. 1539-1567

It is unlikely that in a period of almost 300 years (1205-1496) only the first 7 mentioned Sultans reigned<sup>203</sup>.

Kremer<sup>204</sup> writes:

*Upon the arrival of the Portuguese, established in Malacca since 1511, Aceh was called a vassal kingdom of Pidië (Pedir).*

*The Portuguese monopolistic politics, especially for the pepper and the silk, was one of the reasons for the emergence of Aceh.*

*The Portuguese tried to hinder free trade wherever they had influence.*

*In Pasai, too. The result was that the trade in Pasai sought other ports.*

*In this event Aceh, that made itself independent of Pidië and also subjugated Pasai, from where the Portuguese were expelled in 1524 by Aceh.*

*During the subjugation to Pidië, Aceh was ruled by a governor appointed by the ruler of Pidië, following the independence of Aceh (ca. 1520) it gained its own Port Kings or Sultans.*

*The history of the start of the Sultanate and the names of the first Sultans is by no means established. In any case it is certain that Aceh gained in Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah, alias Raja Ibrahim (ca. 1514-1530)<sup>205</sup> its first powerful ruler,*

198 Djajadiningrat (1911) pages 135-141.

199 Djajadiningrat (1911) page 143.

200 First named Sultan Ahmad.

201 He was one year old when he succeeded to the throne, left Kandang Atjeh and when the fort Dar ad-Dunja was built.

202 First named Raja Mahmud.

203 Djajadiningrat (1911) in footnote on page 149.

204 Kremer (1923) page 4.

205 This is a mistake of Kremer (1923) Raja Ibrahim, † 1523, was the brother of Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah.

*who significantly extended the Acehnesse territory: in ca. 1520 he gained the kingdom of Daja on the west coast and around 1524 he conquered Pidië and Pasai.*

It is remarkable that in a period of just 13 years (1511-1524) Aceh was able to expand from a vassal kingdom of Pedir to a powerful kingdom which ruled over large parts of the northwest coast of Sumatra.

### 5.1. The position of the Sultans

The History of the Dutch East Indies<sup>206</sup> states:

*The relationship between the Europeans and Aceh was difficult from the very start.*

*The reason for this lies in the very different nature of the people and government of Aceh compared to the rest of Indonesia.*

*The Acehnesse is intelligent, competitive and self-conscious as well as being a fanatical Muslim who considers himself above the Kafir (unbeliever).*

*The impression of complete unreliability as perceived by the Europeans is largely explained by the structure of the Acehnesse government.*

*Until deep into the 19th century, the Europeans regarded Aceh as a political entity, one kingdom governed by a single ruler, the Sultan. The Europeans believed that a promise made by the Sultan would be kept by the entire population of Aceh. In this they were constantly deceived. It was only much later that they learned how complex the political relationships were in Aceh. And therein they found the explanation for what had thus far been incomprehensible and in many cases the 'unreliability' of the Sultans. The Sultan appeared to have no power in the greater part of Aceh.*

*Of old the entire area inhabited by the Acehnesse people was divided into the actual Aceh (later called 'Great-Acheh' by the Europeans) and the dependencies, of which Pidië, Samudra-Pasai, the Gajo- and the Alas lands were the main. These formed separate states, each with its own government.*

*But in Great-Acheh too the Sultan was no absolute ruler. It was subdivided into a large number of territories, each under an hereditary chief, the Olëe-balang. Different territories together formed a 'Sagi'. The chief of the Sagi, the Panglima-sagi was chosen from amongst the territorial chiefs.*

*Great-Acheh was divided into three Sagis, called the XXII, XXV and XXVI Mukims. A Mukim was a union of kampongs, villages that shared a mosque. Of the three Sagi chiefs the XXII Mukim was the most prominent; he bore the title of Panglima-polem, and was for many in Aceh the highest authority.*

*Next to, but not above, these stood the Sultan of Aceh, originally nothing more than the chief of the small port kingdom on the northern point of Sumatra.*

*In some respects he had more influence than the other chiefs, though he was dependent on them. The Sultanate was not hereditary, but the Sultan was chosen by*

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206 History of the Dutch East-Indies, Part 5, (1940) page 353 and further.

*the territorial chiefs of the three Sagis, who together formed an electoral college. They could choose who ever they wanted, just as in more 'civilised' countries, and money also played a leading role in the election. However, there was a Sultan lineage because the common right (adat) was to select a blood relative of the deceased Sultan as successor. It did not have to be a son. Deviation from this adat was very seldom. From the 17th century the Sultans (or Sultanahs) were entirely under the influence of the territorial chiefs.*

*The Sultan's influence was attributable to three things. Firstly, he was the only Achehnese chief that had traditionally borne the title of Sultan (Soeltan).*

*Secondly, he possessed the 'ninefold seal' (tjab Sikoereuëng or tjap hallintar or thunder seal)<sup>207</sup> to which great magical power was attributed.*

*Finally, the Sultan was by far the richest of the chiefs. In his area lay the only large town of the country with a safe port. Most of the products were exported through this town, also called Aceh (or Bandar Aceh = Port town of Aceh), and this provided the Sultan with a substantial amount for rights and tolls. Moreover, it was there that the Europeans arrived in the large ships, and they had to pay the Sultan a hefty amount to be able to trade.*

*Although the Sultan's influence did not stretch beyond the port town and neighbouring area, he did control the surrounding seas and had great influence even in many foreign ports.*

*The great wealth of the Sultans enabled them, long before the arrival of the Europeans, to build impressive palaces about which fantastic stories spread. Through his title, riches, trade reputation and outward trappings, as well as the fact that in a certain sense he was the representative of the territorial chiefs in foreign relations, the opinion became formed that the Sultan of Aceh was the powerful ruler of the entire country.*

*In reality the chiefs of Great-Acheh were not dependent on him while the heads of the dependencies had nothing at all to do with the Sultan.*

*Wherever the Sultan made a pledge, the other chiefs were not bound to this. They kept their own counsel and were occupied not only with farming and trade but also with piracy and slavery.*

*The Europeans presented their protests to the Sultan, who was not only ignorant of events but could do nothing about them. The Sultan did not want to admit to his powerlessness and often promised to do what he was asked. Thus the conviction arose that the Sultan of Aceh was a powerful but an entirely unreliable ruler whose breach of promise was second nature.*

The Sultans of Aceh were highly dependent for their income on the port.

Bandar Aceh was the only large and safe port in Aceh.

In 1524 Samudra-Pasai, which traditionally had the key ports, was conquered by Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah of Aceh. The Sultan thereby prevented loss of income from a rival port.

That is probably the base-reason for the conquering.

Family (son or brother) of the Sultan was installed as Regent (Vice-Sultan) in Samudra-Pasai to protect the interests of the Sultan.

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207 See paragraph 5.3.5, 'The ninefold seals' on page 129.

This suggests that the Sultan regarded the ports of Samudra-Pasai as under his direct control.

The right to strike coins was exclusive to the Sultan.

The Vice-Sultans of Samudra-Pasai also struck coins there but clearly with permission from the Sultan.

Until recently it was unknown that members of the family of the Sultans in Samudra-Pasai also struck coins during the period of the Sultans of Aceh. These coins could not previously be attributed to a certain Sultan.

These coins of the Vice-Sultans in Samudra-Pasai can be recognised since the legend on the coins deviates from the usual in that period.

Some examples:

Sultan Ala'ad-Din struck in the period 1530-1537, during the reign of his brother Sultan Salah ad-Din, coins with the legend 'Sultan Ala' ad-Din the youngest son of Ali' (= his father Ali Mughayat Shah) without the normal Sultan title 'Malik at-Tahir'. After 1537 and until 1571 he was Sultan of Aceh and he did bear the title 'Ala' ad-Din bin Ali *Malik at-Tahir*'.

Sultan Husain alias Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah struck in the period (1537-1571) coins as Husain, after 1571 and until 1579 as Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah. On the coins with Husain he does not show the name of his father (bin Ala'ad-Din) but only 'Husain Malik at-Tahir', but on coins after 1537 this does appear. He was Sultan of Aceh and he bears on his coins the title 'Ali bin Ala'ad-Din'. The stating of the name of the father was not customary on the older coins of Samudra-Pasai but it was common on the coins of Aceh.

Sultan Abd al-Jalil also struck coins as regent of Samudra-Pasai during the Sultanate of his brother Sultan Husain (1537-1571). Abd al-Jalil also did not state on his coins the name of his father. On his coins is 'Abd al-Jalil Malik at-Tahir'.

He became Sultan of Aceh for a short period in 1579 and bears on his coins the regal title 'Ghiat ad-Din bin Ala'ad-Din Malik at-Tahir'.

Sultan Iskander Thani (1636-1641) first struck coins with 'Sri Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah ibn Sultan Ahmad Shah' during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda.

After 1636 when he succeeded his father-in-law, Sultan Iskandar Muda, his coins bore the supplement 'Iskandar the second' (Iskandar Thani). On the coin is written 'Sri Sultan Iskandar Thani Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah ibn Sultan Ahmad Shah'.

Nothing points to others having struck coins in addition to the Sultan of Aceh or the Vice-Sultans of Samudra-Pasai but it is still possible.

## 5.2. The governmental structure

Acheh's economic and political apex was during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda.

Native chronicles therefore attribute Sultan Iskandar Muda a special place.

To him are attributed political innovations and laws that probably preceded him.

Langen points to these native chronicles.

His comments on the structure of the Acehnesse government is of significance for a better understanding, even though the structure is also attributable to other Sultans.

About the structure of the Acehnesse government Langen<sup>208</sup> writes.

*According to the Acehnesse chronicles the political structure of the kingdom was in Mukims during the reign of Iskandar Muda.*

*As a Mohammedan ruler, as both worldly and spiritual head, he very quickly realised that a theocratic structure of the Acehnesse kingdom would only strengthen the political organism. Up until his time the kampong was the most common political unity, over which an elder, 'Ketjihik'<sup>209</sup> governed.*

*Iskandar Muda decided that for places (kampongs) whose inhabitants used the same Mesdjid (mosque) for their Friday prayers should make up one district or 'Mukim'.*

*Under the control of Iskandar Muda the entire country had only 7 Mesdjid (mosques).*

*The Imam was the leader of the Friday prayers in the mosque. Gradually the Imams gained the worldly authority over the kampongs that said Friday prayers in their Mesdjid. Little by little they left the spiritual concerns of their dependences to another in order to concentrate exclusively on government. That is why the governing head of a Mukim was titled Imam Mukim or Imam Adat to distinguish from the Imam Sembahjang or leader in the Mesdjid.*

*As a population basis for each Mukim 1000 able-bodied men was the number.*

*The growth of the population led to a split of one Mukim into several Mukims.*

*The Imam of the mother Mukim retained authority over the new Mukims, but gained the title of 'Oelébalang', head of the armed forces, whereby in time of war he had to muster the united troops of his Mukims for the chief.*

*Marriage, succession or conquest created the federations of Mukims, known by the names III, IV, V, etc. Mukims.*

Snouck Hurgronje<sup>210</sup> provides the following explanation:

*Mukim' is an Arabic word; the proper meaning of which is the inhabitant of a place.*

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208 Langen (1888) page 390.

209 'Ketjihik' is derived from 'Tjihik' which means 'Old', pronounced as 'Ketjik'.

210 Hurgronje (1906) page 89 and page 80.

*The Mohammedan's Law, as interpreted by the Shafite school which is dominant in Aceh, teaches that in order to form a quorum for a Friday service the presence of at least forty free male 'Mukims' of full age is required. If the number falls short of forty those assembled must hold in place of the Friday service an ordinary midday prayer. In places where the number of forty can never be reckoned on, no arrangements whatever are made for the Friday service. On the other hand the Muslim law requires of every free male believer of full age that he should attend the Friday service if such be held within a certain distance of his abode. Where a number of gampongs lay sufficiently close to one another to admit of their being united into a single Friday association in accordance with the above-mentioned behest of religious law, they constructed a mosque (meuseugit). The Achehnese call these associations of gampongs 'Mukim'.*

*Acheh proper, outside the limits of the actual Sultanate, is divided into three 'Sagòës' (Sagis) or 'angles', each of which is composed of a certain number of mukims whence they derive their names viz. 'Dua ploh dua' (the XXII Mukims), 'dua ploh nam' (the XXVI Mukims) and 'Teugoh lhèë ploh' (the XXV Mukims). In historical notes in possession of some of the Achehnese chiefs, we meet the statement that the distribution into Sagis came into being in the reign of the Sultanah Nurul-Alam Nakiodin. But such traditions are of very little value<sup>211</sup>.*

About the chief of a Sagi, the Panglima Sagi, Langen<sup>212</sup> writes:

*The first Panglima's Sagi were not chosen from the governing chiefs, Oelée-balangs of the districts, but from the surroundings of the Sultans.*

*Thus a son of Sultan Iskandar Muda, fathered with an Abyssinian slave, brought during her pregnancy to the XXII Mukims where she gave birth, was appointed Panglima Sagi over the Sagi of the XXII Mukims, under the title of Panglima Polim Muda Setia Perkasa (The young commandant of Polim from Perkasa).*

*It quickly became apparent, however, that the centralisation of authority in Mukims was inadequate, at least under the reign of Sultanah Nur al-Alam Nakiat ad-Din when there was an attempt towards greater centralisation by awarding general governance of the lands westward, eastward and southward of the residence to three Panglimas. This split Great-Acheh, with the exception of the district of the Kota Radja and the Mesdjid Raja (great mosque) into three large departments, forming a kind of triangle around the direct district of the Sultan and therefore called Sagi (the side of a triangle or polygon).*

*The chiefs of those three (tiga) Sagis are known as Panglima Tiga Sagi.*

### 5.3. Sources about the rulers

There are various sources for the genealogy of the Sultans of Aceh.

Some sources are reliable; others may prompt differences of interpretation.

The Islamic calendar, the Hijara, does not correspond with the Christian calendar.

211 See in paragraph 5.3.2.18, 'Sultanah Nur al-Alam Nakiat ad-Din Shah' on page 102.

212 Langen (1888) page 392.

If the exact date in a particular year of the Hijara is not known, this may lead to a discrepancy of one year in determining the year according to the Christian calendar.

About the earliest Sultans of Aceh until ca. 1500 only fragmentary data are known.

After deciphering by Prof. Dr. Husain Djajadiningrat and J.P. Moquette of a number of legends on the tombs of Sultans in Aceh and dependencies, a genealogy has been compiled.

This is published in the *Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies*<sup>213</sup>.

In 1960 the genealogy was again published in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, but with a few changes in the dates<sup>214</sup>.

Hulshoff Pol<sup>215</sup> published on the coins of Aceh. Scholten supplemented this 20 years later<sup>216</sup>.

They based the names of the Achehnese Sultans and their reigns on the *Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies*.

The *Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies* derived its information partly from old (Sumatran) manuscripts which are not fully reliable.

The legends on the coins of Aceh are not very legible in parts and the titles deviate from the titles the Sultans bore according to the tombstones.

This has resulted in some erroneous ascriptions in earlier publications.

In addition, coins of other Sultans have been found than stated in the publications of Hulshoff Pol and Scholten, which prompts the need for further examination to arrive at possibly correct ascriptions.

The dates of death of the Sultans in the manuscripts deviate considerably from the legends on the tombstones. The dates of death on the tombstones are also unreliable for the period of reign.

A Sultan can abdicate or be dethroned long before his death.

The *Hikayat Aceh* states, for instance, that Sultan Salah ad-Din died several days after his capture in 1537. The most reliable chronicle, the *Bustan as-Salatin*, states that he lived for nine years after he was deposed.<sup>217</sup>

According to his tomb he died on 25 November 1548, 11 years after his capture in 1537.

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213 *Encyclopaedia* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1917) (*Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies*), Book I, pages 73-77.

See also Figure 18, 'Genealogy of the Sultans of Aceh until 1675' on page 82.

214 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, page 743.

215 Hulshoff Pol (1929) page 1-32.

216 Scholten (1949) page 176-179.

217 Iskandar (1958) page 38.

The following sections explore the various sources for details about the Sultans of Aceh:

- 5.3.1 The epitaphs (page 83)
- 5.3.2 The history of the rulers (page 85)
- 5.3.3 The coins of Aceh (page 113)
- 5.3.4 A Chinese report from the Ming dynasty (page 127)
- 5.3.5 The ninefold seals (page 129)

It is the coins that are able to provide new knowledge on the history of Aceh.

**The Rulers of Aceh.**

1.	Raja Inayat Shah.	
2.	Sultan Muthaffar Shah.	?-1497
3.	Sjamsu Shah.	1497-1514
4.	Ali Mughayat Shah.	1514-1530
5.	Salah ad-Din.	1530-1537
6.	Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Kahhar.	1537-1571
7.	Ali Ri'ayat Shah I alias Husain.	1571-1579
8.	Sultan Muda.	1579-1579
9.	Sultan Sri 'Alam, Raja Priaman alias Ghiat ad-Din.	1579-1579
10.	Zain al-Abidin alias Raja Djainal.	1579-1579
11.	Ala'al-Din Mansur Shah I.	1579-1586
12.	Ali Ri'ayat Shah II alias Radja Bujung.	1586-1589
13.	Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah.	1589-1604
14.	Ali Ri'ayat Shah III alias Sultan Muda.	1604-1607
15.	Perkasa Alam I alias Iskandar Muda.	1607-1636
16.	Iskandar Thani Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah.	1636-1641
17.	Tadj al-Alam Safiat ad-Din Shah.	1641-1675
18.	Nur al-Alam Nakiat ad-Din Shah.	1675-1678
19.	Inayat Shah Zakiat ad-Din Shah.	1678-1688
20.	Kamatat Shah Zainat ad-Din Shah.	1688-1699
21.	Badr al-Alam Sharif Hasjim Djamal ad-Din.	1699-1702
22.	Perkasa Alam II Sharif Lamtoei bin Sharif Ibrahim.	1702-1703
23.	Djamal al-Alam Badr al-Munir.	1703-1726
24.	Djawhar al-Alam Ama'ad-Din Shah.	1726-1726
25.	Shams al-Alam alias Wandi Tebing.	1726-1726
26.	Ala'ad-Din Ahmad Shah alias Maharadja Lela Melayu.	1727-1735
27.	Ala'ad-Din Djohan Shah alias Potjut Auk.	1735-1760
28.	Ala'ad-Din Mahmud Shah I alias Tuanku Radja.	1760-1781
29.	Badr ad-Din Djohan Shah.	1764-1765
30.	Sulayman Shah alias Radja Udahna Lela.	1773-1773
31.	Ala'ad-Din Muhammad Shah I alias Tuanku Muhammad.	1781-1795
32.	Ala'ad-Din Djohan al-Alam Shah alias Husain.	1795-1823
33.	Sharif Sayf al-Alam alias Sayif Abdallah.	1815-1819
34.	Ala'ad-Din Muhammad Shah II alias Tuanku Darid.	1823-1836
35.	Ali Iskandar Shah alias Raja Sulayman.	1836-1857
36.	Ali Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah II alias Tuanku Ibrahim.	1857-1870
37.	Ala'ad-Din Mahmud Shah II.	1870-1873
38.	Tuanku Muhammad Dawot Shah.	1873-1903

Figure 17. The rulers of Aceh (from Encyclopaedia of Islam)<sup>218</sup>.

218 Encyclopaedia of Islam, page 743.



### 5.3.1. *The epitaphs*

The epitaphs are an important source which provides factual information. The Sultan names that are found on the tombs have been numbered according to the list in Figure 17, 'The rulers of Aceh', on page 81 and Figure 18, 'Genealogy of the Sultans of Aceh until 1675' on page 82.

Damais<sup>220</sup> describes a number of tombs:

1. In Daya (Daja) is the tomb of Sultan Salatin Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah bin Sultan Inayat Shah, died November 12 1508 A.D. This was a brother of Sultan Muthaffer Shah (2).
2. Tomb found in Pedir. This is the tomb of Sultan Ma'ruf Shah, died September 14 1511.
3. In the region of Aceh the tomb of Sjamsoe Shah bin Munawar Shah, died September 7 1530 (3)<sup>221</sup>. His father Munawar Shah is cited as son of Sultan Inayat Shah<sup>222</sup>.  
This Sjamsoe Shah was a grandson of Sultan Inayat Shah (1).
4. A tomb of a son of the previous, calling himself Raja Ibrahim, died November 30 1523.
5. Furthermore, the tomb of the first sovereign of Aceh, Ali Mughayat Shah, died August 7 1530 (4).
6. The wife of the abovementioned Sultan, called Siti Hawa, died December 6 1554.
7. The tomb of the son of Sultan Mughayat Shah, the Sultan Salah ad-Din, died november 24 1548 (5).
8. The tomb of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Qahar Zill Allah fi al-Alam died september 28 1571 (6).
9. The tomb of a son of the aforementioned Sultan, Sultan Ali'Riayat Shah, bin Sultan Ala'ad-Din bin Sultan Ali, bin Shams Shah bin Munawar Shah. This tomb provides a precise genealogy. This Sultan died on June 8 1579 (7).
10. The tomb of Sultan Yusuf bin Sultan Abd-Allah bin Sultan Ala'ad-Din. The epitaph is the only information regarding this person. He never was a ruling Sultan. Therefore there is no reference number to the genealogy of Sultans mentioned. He died on June 23 1579.<sup>223</sup>

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220 Damais (1968) page 582.

221 See also Moquette (1913) page 80.

222 Kremer (1923) part I, page 57.

223 He was possibly the grandson of Sultan Ala'ad-Din (6) and the son of Sultan Abdallah, ruler of Aru. If so, he was the brother of Sultan Zain al'Abidin (10).

11. The tomb of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah, also called Makuta Bujung, who ruled for ca. three months and died on June 28 1589 (12).

The Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies<sup>224</sup> states under 'oudheden' (antiquities):

*In the former Dalam of Achehnese rulers, on the burial site 'Kandang Doea Blai'h' tombs have been found, including that of Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah (4). According to his epitaph he dies on Sunday 7 August 1530 A.D. The tombs of his first three successors have also been found there and show their dates of death. Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah is known as the founder of the Achehnese kingdom. This is supported by the fact that his father Sjamsoe Shah ibn Munawar Shah (3) (died 1531 A.D.) was not referred to as Sultan on his tomb<sup>225</sup>. However, in Gampong Biloej the tomb was discovered of a Sultan, who lived before Ali Mughayat Shah. This Sultan Muthaffar Shah (2) ibn Inayat Shah (1) ibn Abdulah al-Malik al-Mubin died on 14 March 1497 A.D.<sup>226</sup> Furthermore, outside Great-Acheh Sultans' tombs have been found revealing that they too died before Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah. This confirms that in Sultans ruled in Daja and Pidië before Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah became Sultan in Aceh.*

Kremer<sup>227</sup> writes:

*Among Aceh's most valuable stone documents of its history are the graves of the old Sultans. These we see first within the earlier Kraton.<sup>228</sup>*

He notes the tombs of:

- Ala'ad-Din Djohan Shah (1735-1760). (27)
- Mahmud Shah (1760-1781). (28)
- Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djauhar al-Alam Shah (1795-1823) (32)
- Sultan Muhammad Shah (1823-1836). (34)
- Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah (1842-1870). (36)

Not far away is another complex of Sultan tombs:

Here are the tombs of, among others:

- Sultan Muthaffar Shah (died in 1497). (2)
- Sultan Sjamsoe Shah (died in 1530). (3)
- Ali Mughayat Shah (died in 1530). (4)
- Sultan Salah ad-Din (died in 1548). (5)

224 Encyclopaedia 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1917) book III, page 202.

225 Near the Gampong Koeta Alam close to Koeta Raja.

226 Damais (1968) says on page 582, 13 Mars 1497.

227 Kremer (1923) page 52-53.

228 The usual name 'Kraton' is not correct. To the Achehers it is the 'Dalam' or 'Kuta Raja'.

- Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Qahar (died in 1571). (6)
- Ali Ri'ayat Shah (died in 1579). (7)
- Ali Ri'ayat Shah (died in 1589). (12)
- Ala'ad-Din Mahmud Shah (died in 1873). (37)

Kremer hereby supplements the list of Damais.

### 5.3.2. *The history of the rulers*

The list of the successive Sultans, Figure 17, 'The rulers of Aceh' on page 81 is taken from the Encyclopaedia of Islam.<sup>229</sup>

The historical dates in this list sometimes deviate slightly from those of the Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies<sup>230</sup>.

The numbering of the Sultans is maintained for the list according to the Encyclopaedia of Islam, the list in Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies and the numbering of Hulshoff Pol as well.

The start of the later Sultanate of Aceh lies in Pidië (Pedir) on the north coast of Sumatra<sup>231</sup>.

In relation to the history of the Sultans of Aceh the history below is taken from the Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies,<sup>232</sup> supplemented by data from Djajadiningrat<sup>233</sup>, Langen<sup>234</sup>, Kremer<sup>235</sup> and other sources.

In the official, Malay documents the ruler of Aceh was called 'Sultan', (Arabic: Sultan = Sovereign) a title borne in former times by various potentates in North Sumatra (e.g., Aru, Samudra, Pidië, Daja).

The Acehnese however referred to Poteu, 'our Lord', in addition to which only of God is stated (Poteu Allah, Poteu Raja), or Raja Aceh.

In the second person he was addressed as 'harab meulia' or 'haram lia' (literally 'glory be upon thee' in the sense equivalent to 'Your majesty'), or with dëëlat (Arabisch 'daulat'), a word that means 'government', and which is also used for the confirmation of acceptance of the order from the Sultan. Berdaulat = the ruling family or belonging to the ruling family.

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229 Encyclopaedia of Islam, page 743.

230 See Figure 18, 'Genealogy of the Sultans of Aceh until 1675' on page 82.

231 See Figure 16, 'Map of North Sumatra, with Aceh' on page 73.

232 Encyclopaedia 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1917) and following years, Book I, page 73.

233 Djajadiningrat (1911) pages 135-265.

234 Langen (1888) pages 381-471.

235 Kremer (1923) pages 3-9, 49-57 and 173-177.

### 5.3.2.1. *Raja Inayat Shah (ca. 1450)*

At the end of the 15th century the district was governed by Raja Inayat Shah, no. 1 in Figure 18 on page 82. He was the son of Abdallah Almalik Almubin and had his seat in Dar al Kamal.

He had two sons:

1. Sultan Salathin Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah, ruler of Daja, died AH 7-7-913 (AD November 12 1508). His tomb is located in Kuala Daja. He was founder of the kingdom of Daja, which after a short existence was annexed in ca. 1520 by Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah from Aceh.
2. Sultan Muthaffar Shah, died on AH 10-7-902 (AD 14-3-1497)

Raja Inayat Shah is not referred to in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, but is mentioned in the Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies.

### 5.3.2.2. *Sultan Muthaffar Shah (? – 1497)*

Raja Inayat Shah was succeeded by his son Sultan Muthaffar Shah, no. 2 in Figure 18 on page 82. He replaced his father in Great-Acheh, but was probably driven out by the ruler of Pidië.

He died on 14-3-1497 and was buried in Biloej.

With the arrival of the Portuguese, Aceh was also called a vassal kingdom of Pidië, governed by the ruler Sjamsu Shah.

Sultan Muthaffar Shah is not referred to in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, but is mentioned in the Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies.

### 5.3.2.3. *Sjamsu Shah bin Munawar Shah (1497-1514)*

Acheh was governed on behalf of Pidië (Pedir) by ruler Sjamsu Shah bin Munawar Shah, no. 3 in Figure 18 on page 82. He had his seat in (Ma-)Kuta Alam and Sjamsu Shah was a 'slave' which had been freed by the Sultan of Pidië and installed as ruler of Samudra-Pasai.

Marsden<sup>236</sup> writes:

*At the period when Malacca fell into the hands of the Portuguese, Aceh and Daya are said by the historians of that nation to have been provinces subject to Pidië, and governed by two slaves belonging to the Sultan of that place, to each of whom he had given a niece in marriage.*

*Slaves, it must be understood, are in that country on a different footing from those in most other parts of the world and usually treated as children from the family. Some of them are natives of the continent of India, whom their masters employ to*

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236 Marsden (1811) page 418.

*trade for them; allowing them a certain proportion of the profits and permission to reside in a separate quarter of the city. It frequently happened also, that men of good birth, finding it necessary to obtain the protection of some person in power, became voluntary slaves for this purpose and the nobles, being proud of such dependants, encouraged the practice by treating them with a degree of respect and in many instances they made them their heirs.*

By understanding this term 'slave', the history related in paragraph 5.3.4, 'A Chinese report from the Ming dynasty' on page 127 may be better understood.

Marsden also writes:

*The slave of this description (Sjamsu Shah) who held the government of Aceh, had two sons, the elder of whom was named Raja Ibrahim, and the younger Raja Lella, and were brought up in the house of their master (the Sultan of Pidië). The father being old was recalled from his post; but on account of his faithful services, the Sultan gave the succession to his eldest son, who appears to have been a youth of an ambitious and very sanguinary temper.*

Here Marsden is incorrect because it is not Raja Ibrahim, but Raja Lella, the later Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah, who was the oldest son.

This mistake is understandable since Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah is called 'Raja Ibrahim' in the literature. Raja Ibrahim is however the brother of Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah<sup>237</sup>.

That independent Sultans ruled in Aceh before the dominance of Pidië is confirmed in a Portuguese report of a sea battle<sup>238</sup>:

*Albuquerque, in 1511 crossing over to Malacca, he fell in with a large junk, or country vessel, which he engaged, and attempted to board. Albuquerque, admiring the bravery of the crew, proposed to them, that if they would strike, and acknowledge themselves vassals of Portugal, he would treat them as friends, and take them under his protection. The offer was accepted, and the valiant defender of the vessel informed the ruler, that his name was 'Jeinal' (Zainal?), the lawful heir of the kingdom of Pasai; he by whom it was then ruled being an usurper, who, taking advantage of his minority, and his own situation as regent, had seized the crown.*

This 'Jeinal' (or Zainal?) may have been the son of Sultan Muthaffar Shah. Sultan Muthaffar Shah, replaced his father Raja Inayat Shah (no. 1 in Figure 18 on page 82) in Great-Aceh, but was probably driven out by the ruler of Pidië.

This 'Jeinal' (or Zainal?) is Almalik Zainnoedin (Zain ad-Din) the forefather of Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah, no. 12 in Figure 18, of whom it is said that he had regal relations with the Sultans 10 and 11 in Figure 18 who ruled at the time.

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237 See Figure 18, 'Genealogy of the Sultans of Aceh until 1675' on page 82.

238 Marsden (1811) page 407.

Sjamsu Shah died in 1531, long after his forced abdication in favour of his son Raja Lella, the later Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah. He is buried in Kuta Alam. His posthumous name is Kubu Pòteu Meureuhom. Sjamsu Shah is not cited in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, but he is mentioned in the Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies.

5.3.2.4. *Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah (1514-1530)*

Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah, no. 4 in Figure 18 on page 82, is also called in the literature 'Raja Ibrahim'. Raja Ibrahim is, however, the brother of Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah.

Ali Mughayat Shah was installed as ruler over Aceh by the Sultan of Pidië<sup>239</sup>. He freed himself from Pidië.

From 1520 until 1524 Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah conquered in succession Djaja, Pidië (Pedir) and in 1524 Samudra-Pasai. From that time Samudra-Pasai was a dependency of Aceh.

Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah thus was the first Sultan of a greater Aceh.

The conquests of Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah were originally assisted by his brother Raja Ibrahim, who died in the fight on November 30 1523.

Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah also successfully took on the Portuguese: in 1521 he repelled the attack of a fleet under de Brito, capturing a lot of artillery which was later used against Pidië.

Marsden<sup>240</sup> writes:

*After the defeat of Brito's party, Raja Ibrahim became so strong in artillery and ammunition, and so much elated with success, that he set his master (the Sultan of Pidië) at defiance, and prepared to defend himself. His force proved superior to that of Pidië, and in the end he obliged the Sultan to fly for refuge and assistance to the European fortress at Pasai, accompanied by his nephew, the chief of Daya, who was also forced from his possessions.*

*Ibrahim had for some time infested the Portuguese by sending out parties against them, both by sea and land; but these being always baffled in their attempts with much loss, he began to conceive a violent antipathy against that nation, which he ever after indulged to excess.*

*He got possession of the city of Pidië by bribing the principal officers; a mode of warfare that he often found successful, and seldom neglected to attempt. These he prevailed upon to write a letter to their master, couched in artful terms, in which they besought him to come to their assistance with a body of Portuguese, as the only chance of repelling the enemy by whom they pretended to be invested. The Sultan showed this letter to André Henriquez, then ruler of the fort, who thinking it a good opportunity to chastise the Achehnese, sent by sea a detachment of*

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239 Langen (1888) footnote on page 387.

240 Marsden (1811) page 418.

*eighty Europeans and two hundred Malays, under the command of his brother Manuel, whilst the Sultan marched over land with a thousand men, and fifteen elephants, to the relief of the place. They arrived at Pidië in the night, but being secretly informed that the king of Acheh was master of the city, and that the demand for succour was stratagem, they endeavoured to make their retreat; which the land troops effected, but before the tide could enable the Portuguese to get their boats afloat, they were attacked by the Achehnese, who killed Manuel and thirty-five of his men.*

With the aid of a fleet from Pidië, he gained superior strength and drove the Portuguese from Pasai in 1524 where for three years they had held a fort.

Marsden<sup>241</sup> has this to say about the 'expulsion' of the Portuguese:

*Henriques, (the ruler of the fort of Pasai, who had sailed to Pidië for help against the Achehnese) after beating sometime against a contrary wind, put back to Pasai and coming on shore, resumed his command. A council was soon held, to determine what measures were fittest to pursue in the present situation of affairs, and taking into their consideration that no further assistance could be expected from the west of India in less than six months; that the garrison was sickly, and provisions short, it was resolved, by a majority of votes, to abandon the place, and measures were taken accordingly. In order to conceal their intentions from the enemy, they ordered such of the artillery and stores, as could be removed conveniently, to be packed up in the form of merchandise, and then shipped off. A party was left to set fire to the buildings, and trains of powder were so disposed as to lead to the larger cannons, which they over-charged, that they might burst as soon as heated. But this was not effectually executed, and the pieces mostly fell into the hands of the Achehnese, who upon the first alarm of the evacuation rushed in, extinguished the flames, and turned upon the Portuguese their own artillery, many of whom were killed in the water, as they hurried to get into their boats. They now lost as much credit by this ill conducted retreat, as they had acquired by their gallant defence, and were insulted by the reproachful shouts of the enemy; whose power was greatly increased by this acquisition of military stores, and of which they often severely experienced the effect. To render their disgrace more striking, it happened that as they sailed out of the harbour, they met thirty boats laden with provisions for their use from the king of Aru (Deli), who was himself on his march over-land with four thousand men: and when they arrived at Malacca they found troops and stores embarked there for their relief.*

In 1528 the Portuguese Sousa was appointed ruler of the Moluccas. On his journey he was forced by a storm to seek shelter and entered an Achehnese port. A fight ensued in which the majority of the Portuguese perished and the remainder were taken prisoner.

The peace negotiations led, by Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah, ensured that the Portuguese, together with neighbouring Aru, ceased their hostilities and sent delegations which were welcomed gloriously, but killed on their return jour-

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241 Marsden (1811) page 422.

ney. A new delegation went with a richly laden ship to Aceh. The ship was seized and the Portuguese captured and killed.

Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah died on August 7 1530. His tomb is in the former Dalam in Kuta Raja. Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah was succeeded by his son Sultan Salah ad-Din.

#### 5.3.2.5. *Sultan Salah ad-Din (1530-1537)*

Of Sultan Salah ad-Din, no. 5 in Figure 18 on page 82, is said that he was more warrior than organiser.

Djajadiningrat<sup>242</sup> writes the following:

*Salah ad-Din ascended to the Achehnese throne. However, this ruler only liked to pursue pleasure and was not interested in government. A favourite called Kasadian Mangku Bumi, and who bore the title of Raja Bungsu, carried out this task for him. A brother of the Sultan, the ruler of Samudra, was irritated by this. He came to Aceh, killed Raja Bungsu, made Salah ad-Din a prisoner, later dying in the dungeons, and put himself on the Achehnese throne with the title Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah.*

Sultan Salah ad-Din was deposed in ca.1537 (certainly before 1539) by his brother Sultan Ala'ad-Din Shah. This suggests that Sultan Salah ad-Din died shortly after being taken captive, but nevertheless his tomb states that Sultan Salah ad-Din died on November 25 1548, some 11 years after being taken prisoner.

His brother, Sultan Ala'ad-Din Shah, as ruler of Samudra, had struck coins. On these is written: 'Sultan Ala'ad-Din bin bungsu Ali'. Translated: 'Sultan Ala'ad-Din youngest son of (Sultan) Ali (Mughayat Shah)'.

#### 5.3.2.6. *Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Qahar (1537-1571)*

Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Qahar, no. 6 in Figure 18 on page 82 was at first ruler of Samudra-Pasai on behalf of his brother.

A number of attacks he undertook against Malacca produced nothing. He warred against the Bataks to bring Islam to them and attacked Aru (Deli), killed its ruler, but had to leave it for Djohore (1540).

According to the manuscript 'Bustan as-Salatin'<sup>243</sup>, Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Qahar had 5 sons:

1. Sultan Abdallah.

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242 Djajadiningrat (1911) page 144.

243 Bustan as-Salatin fi dzikr al-awwalin wa'l-Achirin, 13e chapter of book 2, by Nur ad-Din ibn Hasandji ibn Muhammad Hamid ar-Raniri.

2. Sultan Husain.
3. Sultan Mughal.
4. Sultan Abangta di-Tangkap.
5. Abangta Abd al-Djalil.

Djajadiningrat<sup>244</sup> writes.

*The first was installed as ruler of Ghorî, that is Aru (Deli), and thus called 'Sultan Ghorî'*

*The third, Sultan Mughal, was made chief of Priaman.*

*The 2nd and 5th were kept by the father with him and the 4th killed by him due to his lust for power.*

*In 1547 Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Qahar took on Malacca, without success.*

*In 1564 he feigned to go to Patani, but suddenly raided Djohore, whose Sultan he took with him to Aceh, where he was killed. He then installed his oldest son as chief in Aru (Deli) who perished in 1568 during the fruitless siege of Malacca by his father.*

*In 1569 or 1570 there was sea battle by Aceh against the Portuguese that went badly.*

*Tradition has it that he continued as the organiser of the internal government.*

*Ijalah jang mengadakan segala istiadat karadjaän Aceh' (He ruled, proclaimed to adat, the uses and institutions of the Achehnese kingdom<sup>245</sup>.*

*As ruler he maintained relations with Turkey, from where he was sent cannon casting craftsmen.*

The seal of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan al-Alam Shah (1795-1823)<sup>246</sup> reveals that after the conquest of Djohore, Sultan Ala'ad-Din installed his youngest son Abangta Abd al-Djalil as ruler of Djohore. In this period of rule over Djohore, Abd al-Djalil married the daughter of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah, son of Sultan Ahmad of Perak.

Sultan Ala'ad-Din died on September 28 1571. His posthumous name is Meureuhom Kaha.

Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Qahar was succeeded by his 2nd son Husain as Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah.'

#### *5.3.2.7. Sultan Husain alias Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah (1571-1579)*

Sultan Husain, no. 7 in Figure 18 on page 82, began his rule as Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah.

<sup>244</sup> Djajadiningrat (1911) page 155.

<sup>245</sup> Langen (1888) page 387.

<sup>246</sup> See paragraph 5.3.5.3, 'The seal of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan al-Alam Shah' on page 133, and seal C in Figure 20, 'The ninefold seals' on page 130.

A chronicle<sup>247</sup> relates:

*As we saw above, he had several brothers including Sultan Ghori and Sultan Mughal.*

*They were envious of him because he had got Aceh and they just provincial districts. Incited by Sultan Ghori the other, Sultan Mughal of Priaman, now came to Aceh with apparently friendly intentions but inside scheming of a way to get his brother out of the way. With the aid of two Batak wizards he made him sick. Sultan Ghori also now headed for Aceh. However, the beleaguered brother appeared to get wind of his sibling's plans. He obstructed the Sultan of Ghori from landing, urging him to turn back. Any other time he would have wished, as was the wish of Allah, to meet him. Sultan Mughal of Priaman attempted to gather supporters. When word of this got around, the Acehnese attacked him and his party by cunning means. In the struggle that followed Sultan Mughal was killed, despite the Sultan of Aceh forbidding this but whose order could not be heard through all the noise. As Sultan of Priaman his brother Abangta Abd al-Djalil was installed.*

Abd al-Djalil was known, after his appointment as Sultan of Priaman, as Raja Priaman.

In 1570 an Acehnese fleet battled with the Portuguese, during which the heir died.

Sultan Husain alias Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah was succeeded by his younger son, Sultan Muda.

#### *5.3.2.8. Sultan Muda (1579)*

Sultan Muda, no. 8 in Figure 18 on page 82, an infant of 4 months, died after 7 months<sup>248</sup>, whereafter Sri Alam was elevated to the rank of Sultan.

Note:

There is a problem here in respect of the years of reign.

If Muda only became Sultan on June 8 1579 after the death of his father and died 7 months later, then it is already 1580.

Sultan Muda is succeeded by Sultan Sri Alam.

Then follows Sultan Zain al-Abidin, who is murdered on October 5 1579. The reigns of Sultan Muda, Sultan Sri Alam and Sultan Zain al-Abidin would then cover a period of just 4 months, from June 8 1579 until October 5 1579.

Perhaps what was meant was that Sultan Muda was 4 months old on June 8 1579, thus born in February 1579 and that he died when he was 7 months old, in September 1579.

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247 Djajadiningrat (1911) page 157.

248 Djajadiningrat (1911) page 159.

His successor Sultan Zain al-Abidin is then killed a month later on October 5 1579.

A report from the Portuguese Couto<sup>249</sup> refers to a siege of Malacca by the Acehnese in 1573 and then in February 1575, the latter halted suddenly after 17 days.

Djajadiningrat<sup>250</sup> thinks: 'maybe we should attribute this sudden withdrawal of the Acehnese fleet to the death of the Sultan.'

This is unlikely because on the tombstone of Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah is clearly written that he died on June 8 1579.

Something must have been wrong in 1574, with Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah (possibly his health), which prompted him to recall his brother Abd al-Djalil, alias Raja Priaman, and give him the title Sri Alam as a possible successor.

His son, the later Sultan Muda, had not yet been born.

#### 5.3.2.9. *Sultan Sri Alam (1579)*

Abangta Abd al-Djalil, Raja of Priaman, after his appointment as successor to Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah, gained the title of Sultan Sri Alam. He is no. 9 in Figure 18 on page 82.

According to Figure 18 Sultan Sri Alam was a brother of Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah (no.7)<sup>251</sup>.

As Sultan he took the name Sultan Ghiat ad-Din<sup>252</sup>.

According to one chronicle<sup>253</sup> he was very magnanimous. The kingdom's dignitaries (Orang Kaja) were fearful that his generosity would deprive the kingdom of its riches so they deposed him.

More likely is the account of the Bustan as-Salatin, stating that this ruler was very spiteful and, as related in the other chronicles, was killed after a short period of government.

Sultan Sri Alam was murdered very soon after his appointment and was succeeded by his nephew Sultan Zain al-Abidin.

#### 5.3.2.10. *Sultan Zain al-Abidin alias Raja Djainal (1579)*

Sultan Zain al-Abidin alias Raja Djainal, no. 10 in Figure 18 on page 82, was a son of Sultan Abdallah of Aru who perished in 1568 before Malacca<sup>254</sup>.

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249 Djajadiningrat (1911) page 158.

250 Djajadiningrat (1911) page 159.

251 See also paragraph 5.3.4 'A Chinese report from the Ming dynasty' on page 127.

252 See also paragraph 5.3.3.5, 'The coins of Sultan Ghiat ad-Din' on page 119.

253 Djajadiningrat (1911) page 159.

254 See also paragraph 5.3.4, 'A Chinese report from the Ming dynasty' on page 127.

He was a nephew of Sultan Sri Alam (9) and a grandson of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Qahar (6).

The *Bustan as-Salatin* says that Sultan Zain al-Abidin was full of wrath. He had no appetite until he had seen blood, another chronicle recounts, so he let animals and men fight each other.

He suffered the same fate as his predecessor and was murdered after a short reign on October 5 1579. His successor was Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah.

#### *5.3.2.11. Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah (1579-1585/6)*

Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah, no. 11 in Figure 18 on page 82, was the son of Sultan Ahmad of Perak and thus a foreigner<sup>255</sup>.

Upon an Achehnese invasion in Perlak, the widow of Sultan Ahmad was taken to Aceh with her family where her son Mansur married a Sultan's daughter or another leading member of the ruling family and so became Sultan<sup>256</sup>.

Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah devoted himself to Islam. In August 1582 he sent out a fleet against Djohore, which attacked Malacca on the way, but without success.

New plans against the Portuguese came to nothing because Mansur Shah was murdered in 1585 or 1586.

#### *5.3.2.12. Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah bin Sultan Munawar Shah (1585/6-1589)*

The kingdoms dignitaries (*Orang Kaja*) were divided into two groups.

They disagreed on the choice of a new Sultan.

Some chose an Indrapurese prince with Achehnese regal relations, Raja Bujung, the grandson of Sultan Muhammad Shah of Djohore, the son of Sultan Munawar Shah of Indrapura.

The other group of dignitaries, with Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah as its leader, favoured the under aged grandson, Raja Asjem, son of the murdered Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah, son of the only daughter of the Sultan of Djohore, Sultan Abd al-Jalil Shah, and destined to sit on the Achehnese throne.

The first group won for the time being and Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah was succeeded by Raja Bujung who took the throne as Ali Ri'ayat Shah bin Sultan Munawar Shah, no. 12 in Figure 18 on page 822.<sup>257</sup>

He was murdered on June 28 1589 and succeeded by Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah.

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255 See also paragraph 5.3.4, 'A Chinese report from the Ming dynasty' on page 127.

256 Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1917) Book I, page 74.

257 See also paragraph 5.3.3.6, 'The coins of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Munawar Shah bin Ali' on page 119.

5.3.2.13. *Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah (1589-1604)*

Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah, no. 13 in Figure 18 on page 82, was the aged grandson of Sultan Muthaffar Shah (no. 2) and the son of Almalik Firman Shah.

He killed the grandson of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah (no. 11), the son of Sultan Abdal Jalil Shah of Djohore, for whom he had been until then the protector, probably to strengthen his position in respect of his predecessor. This set Aceh again at war with Djohore.

Aru (Deli) chose the side of Djohore, which resulted in forays, which led to the death of the son-in-law of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah, Mansur Shah, the son of Sultan Abdal Jalil Shah of Djohore (see Figure 18 on page 82) and the father of the later Sultan Iskandar Muda.

Some also attribute the murder of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah (no. 11) to Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah, the former highly esteemed as a brave sailor.

John Davis<sup>258</sup> states in his journal of his first journey to Aceh in 1599:

*The then reigning Sultan of Aceh was called 'Aladin' and was very old. Originally a fisherman, he had so distinguished himself in the wars under the previous ruler that he was appointed admiral and gained one of the Sultan's close relatives as his wife. The Sultan died suddenly, leaving behind just an under aged grandson from the marriage of his daughter and only child of the ruler of Djohore and raised in Aceh in order to succeed his grandfather to the throne. The admiral took pity on the child and took him into protection against the kingdom's dignitaries, many of whom he had executed. Thereafter he also had the child disposed of and put the crown of Aceh on his own head.*

The Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies<sup>259</sup> says:

*During the reign of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah were the first East Indies journeys of the Dutch, French and English.*

*In the beginning they had problems because since 1587 there was peace between Aceh and the Portuguese. Then the brothers Cornelis and Frederik de Houtman, in the service of the Zeeland shipper Balthazar de Moucheron, came to Aceh on 24 June 1599 with two Zeeland ships. First everything went well and there was even participation in an Acehnese foray against Djohore, until, urged by the Portuguese, on 11 September the ships were caught unawares, Cornelis de Houtman and many others perished and his brother Frederik de Houtman and 27 others were taken prisoner by the Acehnese. When a ransom of the prisoners failed, the commanders of both ships decided to head back to Middelburg.*

*In June 1600 J. Wilckens came with four ships to Aceh. He planned to make land, where in his honour a ceremonial reception was being prepared. Wilckens suddenly rejected it, fired a few shots and set sail. He had probably realised that*

258 Djajadiningrat (1911) page 162.

259 Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 1917, Book I, page 74-75.

*plans were being made to attack him. On 21 November 1600 P. van Caerden, who commanded two ships of the Brabant Compagny, arrived in Aceh. He was festively received and was given permission to trade. Two of the prisoners were released and others would follow, but did not. Fleeing, however, they managed to reach Van Caerden, warning him of the plans of the Sultan. Frederik de Houtman, in the interests of the pepper delivery, went to land where he was bound and taken to Pidië.*

*Expecting treachery, on 12 January 1601 Van Caerden emptied all the pepper from the ships that were in port, telling the Sultan that he was doing this to gain assurance for the advanced monies and remaining goods. Fired upon by the Acehnese, Van Caerden set fire to a Portuguese and a couple of other ships and left after several fruitless attempts to get de Houtman released. In mid June 1601 the Sultan feared a complot between the Portuguese and Djohore against him. It turned out better than expected but on 19 June a Portuguese ship chased an Arabic ship near Aceh, which prompted the Acehnese to fire on the Portuguese ship and confiscate it. The Portuguese had also aroused distrust by asking to build a fort in Aceh. This explains the favourable reception at the end of August 1601 when a squadron of 4 ships under le Roy and Bicker arrived in Aceh. A trading post was allowed and Frederik de Houtman freed. A delegation was sent to Prince Maurits.*

*At the beginning of 1603 ships of the squadron of Amiral Wybrand van Waerwyck and vice admiral Sebald de Weert arrived, sent by the United Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) founded in 1602. In 1604 Steven van der Haghen brought the remaining member of the Acehnese delegation back, the other member having died in Holland. The old Sultan had been elbowed out by his son.*

Kremer<sup>260</sup> states the following:

*Another remarkable aspect during the government of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah was that a delegation of two Acehnese dignitaries accompanied returning Zeeland ships (in 1602) to strengthen ties of friendship with Prins Maurits. One of these delegates died during the voyage while the other completed his mission and visited the Prins in the siege camp before Grave.*

According to the chronicle, Sultan Ala'ad-Din had 4 sons and 2 daughters<sup>261</sup>:

1. Maharaja Diraja, who died while her father was still alive.
2. Sultan Muda, who governed Pidië at first but was made co-regent by his father in 1601.
3. Sultan Husain, first ruler of Pasai and thereafter, in 1601, made ruler of Pidië.
4. Sultan Abangta Merah Upa alias Abangta Raja Muthaffar Shah, who died in Djohore.

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260 Kremer (1923) page 5.

261 See also for this paragraph 5.3.6.5, 'Conclusions about the ancestry of Iskandar Muda' on page 138.

One of the daughters, Putri Raja Indra Bangsa, the favourite daughter of the Sutan, was married off to a descendant of the old regal household, Sultan Mansur Shah, son of Abd al-Djalil, grandson of Ala'ad-Din. This marriage produced Perkasa Alam, the later Sultan Iskandar Muda (no. 15)<sup>262</sup>.

In April 1604 Sultan Ala'ad-Din was ousted by his son Sultan Muda as Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah, whom he had taken as co-regent. Sultan Ala'ad-Din died 1 year later.

#### *5.3.2.14. Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah alias Sultan Muda (1604-1607)*

In April 1604 Sultan Ala'ad-Din was ousted by his son Sultan Muda as Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah, no. 14 in Figure 18 on page 82<sup>263</sup>.

His brother, Husain, had been ruler of Pasai and now governed Pidië.

The marriage of his sister with Sultan Mansur Shah, son of Abd al-Djalil who died in Aru (Deli) produced in ca. 1590 Perkasa Alam, alias Maharaja Darma Wangsa Tun Pangkat<sup>264</sup>.

When Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah came to power a year later, he entered into a dispute with his brother, the ruler of Pidië, on account of his nephew Perkasa Alam who had fled because of a punishment by the Sultan to his other uncle in Pidië and was not extradited when the ruler of Aceh demanded so.

Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah advanced on Pidië and Perkasa Alam was put at the head of the troops of Pidië. They refused to fight and the young prince was shackled and handed over to his uncle, the Sultan of Aceh, who took him captive.

When Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah suddenly died on April 4 1607, he was succeeded by his nephew Sultan Perkasa Alam.

#### *5.3.2.15. Sultan Perkasa Alam alias Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636)*

Sultan Perkasa Alam alias Sultan Iskandar Muda, no. 15 in Figure 18 on page 82. His father was Sultan Mansur Shah, son of Sultan Sri Alam (= Ghiat ad-Din) (no. 9).

Mansur Shah died during a foray against Aru.

His mother was Putri Raja Indra Bangsa<sup>265</sup>, daughter of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah (no. 13)<sup>266</sup>.

262 See Figure 18, 'Genealogy of the Sultans of Aceh until 1675' on page 82.

263 See also paragraph 5.3.3.8, 'The coins of Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah' on page 121 and 5.3.3.9, 'The coins of Sultan Ala'Mughayat Shah bin Ali' on page 121.

264 See also for this paragraph 5.3.6.5, 'Conclusions about the ancestry of Iskandar Muda' on page 138.

265 See also for this paragraph 5.3.6.5, 'Conclusions about the ancestry of Iskandar Muda' on page 138.

266 See Figure 18, 'Genealogy of the Sultans of Aceh until 1675' on page 82.

Perkasa Alam was held prisoner due to a revolt when in June 1606 the Portuguese under, the command of Martim Alfonso de Castro, landed and besieged the Acehnesse capital.

Perkasa Alam preferred death in battle against the unbelievers, instead of rotting away in a dungeon. Released, Perkasa Alam fought bravely against the enemy which was defeated. This pushed Perkasa Alam's star ever higher, though not without the cooperation of his ambitious mother, who provided him with money to lavish upon the 'Orang Kajas' (the kingdom's dignitaries). When Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah suddenly died in April 1607, his nephew Perkasa Alam bribed the palace guard, made promises to the officers and threatened the Kadi (Judge) who objected to his coronation, and then was announced Sultan the same day.

Sultan Husein of Pidië, the brother of the deceased Sultan and rightful heir, who came to Aceh the following day, was seized and taken captive for a month. Under the pretext that he would give shelter to his uncle Husein outside the town, Perkasa Alam had him killed on the way there (His tomb is in Oelëë Luëng).

It is understandable that these affairs gave reason for concern and that the legitimacy of Perkasa Alam as Sultan came under discussion. This can also be found on the coins<sup>267</sup>.

The Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies<sup>268</sup> says:

*He governed Aceh first as Sultan Perkasa Alam, later as Sultan Iskandar Muda. With Perkasa Alam, Maharaja Darma Wangsa Tun Pankat or Sultan Iskandar Muda the glory days for Aceh began.*

*In 1612 Aru (Deli) was conquered, in June 1613 the town of Djohore destroyed and Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah and his cousin and right hand Raja Abdallah alias Raja Sabrang, brought captive to Aceh. When sent back Sultan Ala'ad-Din negotiated with the Portuguese, whereupon Iskandar Muda again sent out a fleet against him. Sultan Ala'ad-Din was captured and later killed in Aceh. On the return journey the Acehnesse fleet came up against the Portuguese under Miranda and Mendonça. These were repelled and heavily damaged.*

*In 1618 Pahang was subjugated, in 1619 Kedah and finally Perak.*

*In 1633 it was reported that the 'King of Aceh' had forbidden the sale of pepper to the Dutch and the English in places other than Tiku, Priaman and Indrapura. That pepper monopoly made Aceh very rich and gave Iskandar Muda the means for his violent wars, which only resulted in a strong decline in able-bodied men. The Sultan tried to supplement the population by bringing masses of prisoners to Aceh.*

In 1618 Aceh was visited by the Chinese envoy Tung Yang Káu.

267 See paragraph 5.3.3.10, 'The coins of Iskandar Muda with bin Ali' on page 122.

268 Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1917) Book I, page 74-75.

Tung Yang Káu<sup>269</sup> reports:

*When a ship arrives, there is a guard who looks out and informs the king of it, and an elephant is sent to take the captain, who goes with it and has an audience. Presents of fruit and silk are sent to the king, who on his side gives him dinner. The taxes on the trade are said to be very just.*

Iskandar Muda ranks first among the Sultans to whom everything that is customary law (*adat pôteu meureuhöm* = literally *adat* of the deceased Majesties) and all kinds of 'sarakatas' (= regal edicts) is attributed.

Also attributed to Sultan Iskandar Muda, better known by the Achehnese under his posthumous name of Makuta Alam, is the composition of a sort of statute, or rather a constitution, known by the name 'Adat Makuta Alam' that contains the precepts for government in the Achehnese kingdom, the court ceremony and trade. It must be presumed that a part of this statute was created under the successors of Sultan Iskandar Muda.

Furthermore, he would have been responsible for introducing the 'tjab sikoereuëng', the ninefold seal used as the royal seal<sup>270</sup>.

The Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies<sup>271</sup> states:

*Iskandar Muda was very cruel and mean, to the disappointment of his subjects who had welcomed him with joy as their ruler on account of his magnanimity and benignity, when he revealed his true nature directly after his accession. To prevent a suspected complot against his life, he had many people executed including a son of the ruler of Djohore and a son of the ruler of Pahang. He did not trust his own mother and suspected her of wanting to install a prince of Djohore on the throne. There was even rumour of him wanting to have her executed. More cruel even than he was his son who was sent away three times by him but then started to earn his favour.*

*Iskandar Muda was a tyrant that enjoyed drinking.*

*In the native reports about Iskandar Muda nothing but good is said; no records of his cruelty and bloodthirstiness, not that the whole kingdom was exhausted and depopulated by his wars, oppression and extortions.*

Fourteen days after he had his only son murdered, because he had been irritated by him and feared that his kingdom would end up in a bloodbath after his death, Sultan Iskandar Muda was also murdered, probably by poisoning, on December 27 1636.

His posthumous name is Marhum Makuta Alam.

He was succeeded by his son-in-law Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah.

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269 Groeneveldt (1880) Page 93.

270 See paragraph 5.3.5, 'The ninefold seals' on page 129.

271 Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1917) Book I, page 74-75.

5.3.2.16. *Sultan Iskandar Thani Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah (1636-1641)*

Sultan Iskandar Thani Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah, no. 16 in Figure 18 on page 82 was the son of Ahmad Shah, the ruler of Pahang, who was taken captive in 1618 and brought to Aceh.

According to the chronicle 'Bustan as-Salatin' there was a 'hikmah' of Allah (the will of Allah that is beyond human understanding) in the conquest of Pahang. This is why Iskandar Thani came to Aceh.

He was then just a boy of 7 years old (born in 1610).

Iskandar Muda took him in as a son and gave him the name of Raja Bungsu. Thereafter he actually joined him, when he was 9, to his daughter Putri Sri Alam Permisuri, the later Sultanah Tadj al-Alam Safiat ad-Din (no. 17) and changed his name to Sultan Husain Shah.

Then Iskandar Muda designated him as his heir, in the presence of the Kadi (Judge) Malik al-Adil and the Kingdoms dignitaries. Upon this occasion the young prince acquired the name of Sultan Mughal and a palace, Sri Warna, which was situated next to that of the Sultan.

Two coins of Sultan Iskandar Thani are known. Coins struck with 'Sri Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah ibn Sultan Ahmad Shah' during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda and coins with 'Sri Sultan Iskandar Thani Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah ibn Sultan Ahmad Shah', when he succeeded Sultan Iskandar Muda. This indicates that Sultan Iskandar Thani ruled over Samudra-Pasai during the reign of his father-in-law<sup>272</sup>.

The Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies<sup>273</sup> states:

*He had been in power for eight months when an attack was made upon his life. However, he noticed in time the odd taste of the food in which poison had been mixed that was supposed to kill him.*

*In 1639 he received the Company's (VOC) Commissioner Croock, who was dumfounded at the opulence of the court.*

*The key event during his reign was the fall of Malacca in 1641 taken by the Dutch (under Kaartekoe and Lamotius), with only weak support from Djohore, and with no help from Aceh, from the Portuguese. It remained, with a few interruptions, in Dutch hands until 1825. This brought an end to the role of Portuguese politics, certainly in the Western Archipelago. The entire period of the Portuguese dominance of Malacca was a continuous series of battles. In the 130 years since its foundation, the town had undergone no less than 25 sieges, 14 by the Achehnese alone.*

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272 See paragraph 5.3.3.11, 'The coins of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah alias Iskandar Thani' on page 126.

273 Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1917) Book I, page 74-75.

*After the conquest of Malacca by the V.O.C., Aceh used the intervention of the Dutch to bring to an end the long period of war between Aceh and Djohore. In 1641 there was a peace treaty. As an indirect consequence, Aceh withdrew from the Malay Peninsula, with the exception of Perak.*

Sultan Iskandar Thani died childless on February 15 1641, some 31 years old. His posthumous name is 'Meureuhom Dar es-Salam'. He was succeeded by his widow Sultanah Tadj al-Alam, daughter of Iskandar Muda.

#### 5.3.2.17. Sultanah Tadj al-Alam Safiat ad-Din Shah (1641-1675)

The widow of Sultan Iskandar Thani, Putri Sri Alam Permisuri acceded to the throne as Sultanah Tadj al-Alam Safiat ad-Din Shah, no. 17 in Figure 18 on page 82<sup>274</sup>.

The Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies<sup>275</sup> states:

*'The death of Sultan Iskandar Thani brought much unrest. Each of the kingdom's dignitaries wanted to be king and many people died as a result of the commotion caused. Finally agreement was reached and the widow of Sultan Iskandar Thani, the daughter of Iskandar Muda, was installed after three days of bickering as ruler Sultanah Tadj al-Alam Safiat ad-Din Shah.*

*With this rule of Sultanah Tadj al-Alam began a 58-year period of female rule.*

*The dignitaries gained more influence and ensured they did not lose it.*

*Delegates from Djohore, who came to Aceh, were not allowed to see the queen; they consciously deprived them of the honour due to them out of fear that over-friendly relations with Djohore could lead to marriage between the Sultan of Djohore and the Achehnese queen, in an attempt to gain her hand and kingdom. What Djohore did get was the exemption of homage previously demanded.*

*The years from ca. 1500 until 1550 could be called the era of emergence and the period 1550 until 1650 the golden age of Aceh, with the coronation of a woman the first step towards decline. Aceh weakened and began to slowly disintegrate. The territory of Aceh began to shrink, with the kingdom's borders receding to their old frontiers. Possessions outside of Sumatra (like Pahang) and also on the island itself had to be given up in succession.*

*Pahang and all other lands were ceded to Malacca except for the tin-producing country of Perak, the 'tin quarters' of the peninsula, along with the kingdoms of Kedah, Oedjoeng-Salang and Bangeri. They more or less recognised the authority of Siam.*

*Tin was then a key export item to India and Persia. The rulers of the V.O.C. wanted the benefits of the tin trade for the VOC and demanded them.*

*Aceh fought against these politics, wanting to keep the benefits of the Perak tin trade for itself. Unpleasantries followed culminating in the murder of the Dutch in Perak in 1651. After repeated blockades Aceh promised in the treaty of 1659*

274 See also paragraph 5.3.5.1, 'The seal of Sultanah Tadj al-Alam' on page 130.

275 Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1917) Book I, page 74-75.

*the VOC half of the tin of Perak, exclusive trade in the Acehnesse ports and an office in Padang. The pledge of exclusive trade, already made for the West coast in 1637, was not fulfilled.*

*Aceh was blockaded and forced into new contracts. The Malaysians however opted mostly for Aceh's 'unbearable yoke' to the 'protection of the VOC' and so it took a long time before the Acehnesse element disappeared from the coast.*

*Then the West coast, seeing the weakening Aceh, sought contact with the VOC, who responded, mainly for gold trade.*

*In October 1664 Jacob Couw arrived with 300 men before Indrapura and drove out the Acehnesse from there to the north as far as Tiku.*

*The V.O.C. drove the Acehnesse out of Indrapura, Salida, Padang, Tiku and Priaman, so that by the end of 1664 all the sea ports of the West coast recognised the authority of the Company and had entered into contracts with it. Baros in 1668, Sinkel in 1666-1672 and Nias in 1669 had accepted the protection of the V.O.C.. In 1669 Deli of Aceh also relented.*

When Tadj al-Alam died on October 23 1675, Aceh was simply North-Sumatra again.

Sultanah Tadj al-Alam Safiat ad-Din was succeeded by Sultanah Nur al-Alam.

#### *5.3.2.18. Sultanah Nur al-Alam Nakiat ad-Din Shah (1675-1678)*

The dignitaries again chose a queen, Sri Para Putri with the title of Sultanah Nur al-Alam Nakiat ad-Din Shah, no. 18 in Figure 17, on page 81.

To her the chronicles attribute the division of Aceh into three 'Sagis' of XXII, XXVI and XXV Mukims.

In reality in her time it had been determined that every succession would be according to the decision of the chiefs of the three Sagis which already existed for a long time<sup>276</sup>.

Sultanah Nur al-Alam Nakiat ad-Din Shah died on January 23 1678 and was succeeded by Sultanah Inayat Shah.

#### *5.3.2.19. Sultanah Inayat Shah Zakiat ad-Din Shah (1678-1688)*

Again a queen was chosen, Putri Raja Setia, daughter of one Sultan Muhammad Shah. She took the title of Sultanah Inayat Shah Zakiat ad-Din Shah, no. 19 in Figure 17, on page 81.

Some chronicles call her the daughter of the previous queen.

In 1683 Sultanah Inayat Shah had the 'honour' of receiving a delegation and gifts from the Sharif of Mekka, not originally intended for her but for the Great-Moghul Aurangzeb, who refused to receive the delegates.

The English whom she received in 1684, approximated the queen's age at 40 and described her as large and having a strong voice.

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276 See paragraph 5.1, 'The position of the Sultans', on page 75.

Sultanah Inayat Shah Zakiat ad-Din Shah died on October 3 1688 and was succeeded by Sultanah Kamalat Shah.

#### 5.3.2.20. Sultanah Kamalat Shah Zainat ad-Din (1688-1699)

Since the 18th century the Sultanate presented a picture of complete anarchy. Chiefs and the population deposed Sultans at will and restored them just as randomly.

This began under Sultanah Kamalat Shah Zainat ad-Din, no. 20 in Figure 17, on page 81.

The Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies<sup>277</sup> states:

*Sultanah Kamalat Shah was not chosen by general consensus. Some wanted to have a king. Four of the Orang Kajas thus stood at the head of a quite considerable military force against the town with their opponents drawn up on the other side of the bank of the Aceh River. The whole affair then fizzled out.*

*The opposition submitted to the choice of a new queen who bore the title Sultanah Kamalat Shah (The perfect Queen).*

*The Achehnese had clearly had enough of female rule and wanted the old order back.*

*That the protests found no success, for the time being anyway, was due to the mutual envy among the Orang Kajas. Their influence on the governance was such that system of rule was more reflective of a republic than a monarchy.*

*The Shahbandar (harbour master), who walked around with the idea of bringing about a marriage between the queen and his son, a captain of the guard and high in the queen's favour, understood that this could meet substantial resistance from the other dignitaries of the kingdom. However, he appears to have got his way because that marriage was reported in the chronicles.*

*After protests from those who wanted a male Sultan Sultanah Kamalat Shah was deposed in October 1699 following a letter from a Kadi (Judge), Malik al-Adil, from Mekka, in which it was stated that the performance of the highest authority by a woman was in conflict with the laws of Islam. The queen Kamalat Shah was thus deposed in October 1699 and she died a year later.*

Sultanah Kamalat Shah was replaced by Sultan Badr al-Alam.

#### 5.3.2.21. Sultan Badr al-Alam Sjarif Hasjim Djamal ad-Din (1699-1702)

Sultan Badr al-Alam Sjarif Hasjim Djamal ad-Din, no. 21 in Figure 17, on page 81.

The Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies<sup>278</sup> states:

*Sultan Badr al-Alam, alias Djamal al-Leil, was an Arab. He was chosen at the end of 1699 as Sultan, but illness saw him have to withdraw from the throne. Dur-*

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277 and 278 Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1917) Book I, page 74-75.

*ing his short reign he did not govern to the satisfaction of some of the Orang Kajas. His foreign origin continued to be a thorn in the eye and, in their opinion, poor policy was responsible for the bad choice.*

*By enforcing harbour monies on the English, he provoked animosity.*

*The people took the opportunity to go the palace in large numbers and, under the threat that there would otherwise have to be a woman on the throne, demanded the restoration of the earlier privileges of the English. That is why some of the Orang Kajas had written to the cousin of the last queen, a private citizen in Pidië, if he would come with a small following, they would depose the Sultan and he would have a good chance of replacing him.*

*Sultan Badr al-Alam abdicated voluntarily in 1702 and left the town for the nearby village of Tandjong, where he died 14 days later at the end of May 1702.*

He was succeeded by Perkasa Alam Sjarif Lamtoei, the cousin of Sultanah Kamalat Shah (no. 20), son of Sjarif Ibrahim.

#### *5.3.2.22. Sultan Perkasa Alam Sjarif Lamtoei ibn Sjarif Ibrahim (1702-1703)*

Sultan Perkasa Alam Sjarif Lamtoei ibn Sjarif Ibrahim, no. 22 in Figure 17, on page 81 had a rival in Djamal al-Alam, the son of his predecessor, Sultan Badr al-Alam.

Djamal al-Alam managed to get the Sultan deposed in June 1703. After three months without a ruler, Sultan Perkasa Alam was replaced by his rival Sultan Djamal al-Alam Badr al-Munir.

#### *5.3.2.23. Sultan Djamal al-Alam Badr al-Munir (1703-1726)*

Sultan Djamal al-Alam Badr al-Munir, no. 23 in Figure 17, on page 81, was a son of Sultan Badr al-Alam.

The Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies<sup>279</sup> states:

*When Sultan Djamal al-Alam had ruled for a couple of years, the region Batu Bara defected and he went there himself to restore authority. The rebellious chiefs decided to feign subjection and came to him with gifts, including a poisoned coconut. When becoming sick from eating it, the Sultan went back to Aceh. His fleet followed him shortly after and then the rebels reinforced Batu Bara.*

*Ca. two years later the Sultan went to the XXII Mukims, under the pretext of making an excursion. However, he wanted to put an end to the arrogance of Panglima Polim Muda Setia Perkasa, the son of Sultan Perkasa Alam<sup>280</sup>, Sagi chief of the XXII Mukims and take him captive.*

*Panglima Polim managed to get wind of this in time and fled his residence and gathered troops. After destroying the house of the Panglima, the Sultan returned.*

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279 Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1917) Book I, page 74-75.

280 This Perkasa Alam is Iskandar Muda, further see paragraph 5.1, 'The position of the Sultans', on page 75.

*In the meantime Panglima Polim Muda Setia Perkasa had assembled a large force and now left to confront the Sultan.*

*He defeated the followers of the Sultan and stationed himself in his palace.*

*The Sultan put Maharaja Lela Melaju, a Buginese, as regent of the town and commander of the fort. Sultan Djamal al-Alam went himself with his family to Pidië, but the Panglima's Sagi did not accept this and declared him unworthy in 1726.*

The Panglima's Sagi chose the Maharaja of Kampong Pahang as the Sultan's successor, with the title of Sultan Djawhar al-Alam.

#### *5.3.2.24. Sultan Djawhar al-Alam Ama'ad-Din Shah (1726)*

Sultan Djawhar (Djohan) al-Alam Ama'ad-Din Shah, no. 24 in Figure 17, on page 81, was Maharaja of Kampong Pahang. He died 20 days after his election. Then Wandi Tebing, a cousin of Sultan Djamal al-Alam Badr al-Munir (no. 23) was enthroned as Sultan Sjams al-Alam.

#### *5.3.2.25. Sultan Sjams al-Alam alias Wandi Tebing (1726)*

Sultan Sjams al-Alam alias Wandi Tebing no. 25 in Figure 17, on page 81, was a cousin of Sultan Djamal al-Alam (no. 23). He was deposed after 30 days, at the insistence of Panglima Polim Muda Setia Perkasa, Sagi chief of the XXII Mukims, after he had given the usual gift upon his coronation. Sultan Sjams al-Alam was succeeded by the Buginese Maharaja Lela Melaju firstly installed by Sultan Djamal al-Alam (no. 23) as regent of the town and commander of the fort, and now as Sultan with the title Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ahmad Shah.

#### *5.3.2.26. Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ahmad Shah (1727-1735)*

Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ahmad Shah no. 26 in Figure 17, on page 81, was of Buginese origin.

As Maharaja Lela Melaju he was the town custodian of Sultan Djamal al-Alam (no. 23).

He died in mid 1735 and left four sons:

1. Potjut Auk.
2. Potjut Klëng alias Potjut Laga.
3. Potjut Sandang.
4. Potjut Muhammad.

The 1st and 4th were children of his main wife, the two others of a concubine. On the day of the death of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ahmad Shah, the former Sultan Djamal al-Alam (no. 23), whose headquarters were in the Kampong Djawa,

tried, supported by a couple of lesser chiefs, to again make himself master of the government.

From the mosque Bait al-Rahman<sup>281</sup> he fired on the Kraton<sup>282</sup>, which was defended by Pòteu Oeë (Potjut Auk)<sup>283</sup>, the oldest son of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ahmad Shah.

Sultan Djamal al-Alam failed in his revolt, after which Potjut Auk was elevated by the Panglimas to Sultan with the title Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan Shah.

#### *5.3.2.27. Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan Shah (1735-1760)*

Pòteu Oeë (Potjut Auk), the oldest son of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ahmad Shah (no. 26), accepted the rule as Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan Shah, no. 27 in Figure 17, on page 81.

A situation of armed peace arose, whereby the XXII and XXV Mukims chose the side of the new Sultan and the XXVI Mukims the side of the old Sultan Djamal al-Alam (no. 23). When Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan Shah (Potjut Auk) did not want to end this situation, his younger brother Potjut Muhammad decided to do so. Potjut Muhammad left for Pidië to gather troops. His attempts were successful. After some time Potjut Muhammad arrived in Aceh with a large army and attacked Sultan Djamal al-Alam in Kampong Djawa.

The old Sultan was defeated and saved himself by fleeing in women's clothes. Sultan Djamal al-Alam died a year later in the district of the IV Mukims and was buried in Kampong Kandang.

Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan Shah remained eight more years in the peaceful possession of government, though he did become embroiled with the Panglima's Sagi, whose chief was Panglima Polim Muda Setia Perkasa, Sagi chief of the XXII Mukims, about measures against trade, which prompted a two-month civil war which did not end before Panglima Polim withdrew to his district.

Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan Shah died at the end of August 1760 and was succeeded by his son Tuanku Raja alias Pòtjut Bangta.

#### *5.3.2.28. Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mahmud Shah (1760-1781)*

Tuanku Raja alias Pòtjut Bangta began his reign, after three months of dispute, in December 1760 as Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mahmud Shah, no. 28 in Figure 17, on page 81.

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281 Bait al-Rahman = Abode of the Erbarmer (Allah).

282 The Achehnese called the palace of the Sultan Dalam, not Kraton

283 Pòteu Oeë (Potjut Auk) = prince with the long hair.

The unrest in the country continued. Twice he had to flee temporarily.

A revolt in 1763 forced him to flee first to Kampong Djawa and then to a ship docked in port for the kingdom's ruler Paduka Sinara, alias Maharaja Laboei. In April 1773 he was attacked at night by a gang of 200 men, led by Raja Udahna Lela, who forced him to flee quickly.

Also in his later reign there were disputes, but he managed to keep his throne until his death in June 1781.

He left two sons:

1. Tuanku Raja alias Tuanku Muhammad.
2. Tuanku Tjut.

Some wanted the younger prince and some Tuanku Muhammad.

After 15 days the decision fell upon the older son Tuanku Raja alias Tuanku Muhammad.

#### 5.3.2.29. *Sultan Badr ad-Din Djohan Shah (1764-1765)*

A revolt in 1763 led by the kingdom's ruler Paduka Sinara, alias Maharaja Laboei, compelled Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mahmud Shah to flee first to Kampong Djawa and then to a ship docked in port. The kingdom's ruler Paduka Sinara, took the throne in February 1764 as Sultan Badr ad-Din Djohan Shah, no. 29 in Figure 17, on page 81.

He was killed in August 1765 by supporters of the escaped Sultan, who then reassumed his throne.

#### 5.3.2.30. *Sultan Suleiman Shah (1773)*

In April 1773 Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mahmud Shah's was attacked at night by a gang of 200 men led by Raja Udahna Lela forcing him to flee.

Raja Udahna Lela was a son of Sultan Badr ad-Din Djohan Shah (no. 29) and became Sultan Suleyman Shah, no. 30 in Figure 17, on page 81.

Sultan Suleyman Shah in his turn was deposed after a reign of 3 months by the former Sultan and fled, upon which Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mahmud Shah regained the rule.

#### 5.3.2.31. *Sultan Ala'ad-Din Muhammad Shah (1781-1795)*

Tuanku Raja alias Tuanku Muhammad assumed the throne as Sultan Ala'ad-Din Muhammad Shah, no. 31 in Figure 17, on page 81.

He is known among the Achehnese as Merhum Gedong<sup>284</sup>.

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284 Merhum Gedong = Man of the castle, because, from fear for the heads of the Sagi's, he locked himself up in his palace, where no one was admitted to him.

He is famed for his sense of justice, his wit and good governance, but was in his attempts to restore calm, thwarted by the chiefs. Sultan Ala'ad-Din Muhammad Shah was married to Merah di Awan, daughter of Sultan Badr ad-Din (No. 29)

Sultan Muhammad died in February 1795 and was succeeded by his underage son Husain.

5.3.2.32. *Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djawhar al-Alam Shah (1795-1823)*

Husain took the throne as Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djawhar (Djohan) al-Alam Shah<sup>285</sup>, no. 32 in Figure 17, on page 81.

He was under the guardianship of his mother Merah di Awan and his uncle Tuanku Raja, alias Tuanku Muhammad one of the sons of Sultan Badr ad-Din Djohan Shah (no. 29).

During his reign, changes in Europe affected the Dutch colonies and thus Aceh.

In the History of the Dutch East Indies<sup>286</sup> is written:

*The invasion of the French in 1793 in the south of the Netherlands and in January 1795 in the northern countries created the Batavian Republic. This led to war with England, whereby many colonies like the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon and Malacca were occupied by the English. In 1787 the Dutch republic had made a treaty with England which stipulated that in the event of a war in Europe, the colonies would be occupied by each other's troops as a defence against the common enemy. Until 1793 England had not made recourse to this agreement. When the Batavian Republic was created this situation changed. It was made clear to Prince Willem V in England that this was now the moment. On 7 February 1795 he signed letters in Kew in London to the delegations of all Dutch colonies to be at the disposal of the English who had to be regarded as a Power that came in friendship and as an ally to prevent an invasion of the colonies by the French.' This led in 1811 to English governance in the Dutch East Indies under Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. After Napoleon had been defeated, the Netherlands became a kingdom in 1814 under King Willem I.*

*The English wanted, however, to prevent the restoration of Dutch authority in Indonesia.*

*Finally in the Treaty of London on 17 March 1824 an end came to the English governance.*

*But there was a different situation in Aceh. In 1819 Raffles had agreed a monopoly contract with Aceh.*

*Keeping this would conflict with the Treaty of 1824, which prohibited agreements with native rulers, excluding the other party. So the English negotiators declared that they would give up their privileged position in Aceh if the Dutch govern-*

285 See also paragraph 5.3.5.3, 'The seal of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan al-Alam Shah' on page 133.

286 History of the Dutch East Indies, Part 4, (1939) page 361, Part 5, (1940) page 207-208.

ment promised 'that no measures hostile to the king of Aceh, will be adopted by the new possessors (The Dutch) of Fort Marlborough'. The Dutch negotiators Fagel and Falck, declared in their answer that they believed they could guarantee, 'that their Government would ensure immediate arrangements for Aceh such that this State (Aceh), without losing any of its independence, would offer the seafarer and trader continued safety, which would not seem feasible other than through the moderate exercise of European influence'. Thus the Netherlands agreed to combat the infamous piracy in the Achehnese waters and assumed this could be done simply by exercising influence on Aceh, but did not declare that it would do anything about the independence of Aceh. This pledge bore witness to, among other things, total unfamiliarity with the position of Aceh and the nature of the Achehense.

Concerning the reign of Sultan Ala'ad-Din the Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies<sup>287</sup> says:

*Only in 1802 did Sultan Ala'ad-Din begin to reign himself. His reign was also not characterised by calm. His uncle (his former guardian) wanted to remain in power, rebelled and was killed.*

*His efforts to gain a monopoly, antagonised mainly the coastal chiefs, led by Teku Pakih, ulebalang of Pidië. He had a powerful political party against him who declared him deposed of the throne, forcing him to flee in 1805, for the time being to Pidië. He returned a short time later.*

*During his absence in 1815 to the West coast, to punish unwilling wasé (tax) payers, he was declared deposed by the rebellious chiefs.*

*They gave the throne to Saïd Husain, a rich Arabian merchant in Pulau Penang. This was the grandson of an Arab who was married to a daughter of Sultanah Kamalat Shah (nr. 20). He did not, however, accept the throne for himself but for his son Saïd Abdallah, who under the supervision of British government brought unrest in order to depose Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djawhar (Djohan) al-Alam Shah. The Sultan fled to Penang, thus was his reign of 16 November 1815 until 22 April 1819 broken by Saïd Abdallah as Sultan Sharif Sayf al-Alam. He satisfied the chiefs just as little and when Teku Pakih, self-governing chief of Pidië had made up again with the escaped Sultan, he returned to Aceh.*

*A lengthy struggle ensued with rivals for the throne, until in 1818 the English interfered with the events of Aceh out of fear for the expansion of the Dutch influence after the restoration of the Dutch authority in Indonesia.*

*The British Government ended its support for Sultan Sharif Sayf al-Alam and chose the side of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djawhar entering into an agreement with him in 1819, whereby they insisted on the right to be established in Aceh to the exclusion of other nations (every other European power and likewise all Americans).*

*This agreement was of little significance, since five years later the 1824 Treaty of London was to expire whereby the Netherlands would renounce its possessions in Malacca on the peninsula, while England gave up its possessions on Sumatra to the Netherlands. Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djawhar made up with the chiefs and he ruled in calm until his death.*

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287 Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1917) Book I, pages 74-75.

Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djawhar died on December 1 1823. His posthumous name is Merhum Kuwala. His son Sultan Muhammad succeeded him.

*5.3.2.33. Sultan Sjarif Sayf al-Alam (1815-1819)*

Sultan Sjarif Sayf al-Alam, no. 33 in Figure 17, on page 81, was the son of Saïd Husain, a rich Arab merchant in Pulau Penang. He was not master of the situation.

In the struggle between him and Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djawhar al-Alam (no. 32) the English intervened.

Sultan Sharif Sayf al-Alam withdrew on 22 April 1819, for an annual sum of 6000 dollars.

*5.3.2.34. Sultan Ala'ad-Din Muhammad Shah (1823-1836)*

Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djawhar al-Alam (no. 32) named his legitimate seven year-old son as heir.

The Panglima's Sagi gave the throne instead to Tuwangku Darid, son of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djawhar (no. 32) from a concubine.

Tuwangku Darid took the throne as Sultan Ala'ad-Din Muhammad Shah, no. 34 in Figure 17, on page 81. He reigned until his death in 1836.

He had little energy, was ill and addicted to opium. He was completely spoon fed by his confidants.

Sultan Ala'ad-Din Muhammad was succeeded by his very young son Sultan Sulayman.

*5.3.2.35. Sultan Ali Iskandar Shah (1836-1857)*

The young son Raja Sulayman of Sultan Muhammad (no. 34) carried the title of Sultan Ali Iskandar Shah, no. 35 in Figure 17, on page 81.

Sultan Sulayman is not named in the Encyclopaedia of Islam because he never ruled independently. He is named in the Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies<sup>288</sup>.

He was under the guardianship of his uncle Tuanku Ibrahim, son of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djawhar (no. 32). His uncle let himself be known by the title of Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah and be addressed as Sultan (no. 36). He refused to give governance to his nephew Raja Sulayman when so demanded.

The consequence of this refusal was a major civil war. The battle was long and fierce but Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur managed to hold the Kraton (regal palace) while Sultan Ali Iskandar Shah held a part of the kingdom where he died in 1857.

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288 Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1917) Book I, page 77.

Sultan Ali Iskandar Shah is known by the Acehnese as Merhum Muda<sup>289</sup>. Tuanku Ibrahim alias Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur succeeded Sultan Ali Iskandar Shah.

5.3.2.36. *Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah alias Tuanku Ibrahim (1857-1870)*

Tuanku Ibrahim ruled as Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur, no. 36 in Figure 17, on page 81<sup>290</sup>.

He was the son of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djawhar (no. 32). He first was guardian to his nephew Sultan Ali Iskandar Shah (no. 35).

He was generally a very energetic ruler and reigned in some tranquility until his death in 1870.

Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur is known by the Acehnese as Merhum Baru<sup>291</sup>.

He was succeeded by Sultan Mahmud Shah.

5.3.2.37. *Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mahmud Shah (1870-1874)*

Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mahmud Shah, no. 37 in Figure 17, on page 81.

He was the grandson of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah alias Tuanku Ibrahim (no. 36).

He died in January 1874 and was the last Sultan of Aceh acknowledged by the Dutch government.

5.3.2.38. *Tuanku Muhammad Dawot Shah (1878-1903)*

Sultan Tuanku Muhammad Dawot Shah, no. 38 in Figure 17, on page 81.

He was a grandson of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah alias Tuanku Ibrahim (no. 36)<sup>292</sup>.

In the history of Dutch East Indies<sup>293</sup> there is a sequence to the Treaty of London.

*In 1819 Raffles entered into a monopoly contract with Aceh.*

*This had the result that upon the Treaty of London on 17 March 1824, Aceh was recognised as an independent state by England and the Netherlands. The Netherlands had stated that it would combat the infamous piracy in the Acehnese waters and assumed that this could be done by exercising influence on Aceh but declared it would do nothing to undermine the independence of Aceh.<sup>294</sup>*

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289 Muda = young.

290 See also paragraph 5.3.5.4, 'The seal of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah' on page 134.

291 Baru = new.

292 See also paragraph 5.3.5.2, 'The seal of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Muhammad Dawot Shah' on page 131 and the photo of 'Tuanku Muhammad Dawot Shah', on page 113. The photo is from Hurgronje 1960.

293 History of the Dutch East Indies, Part 5, 1940, page 358.

294 See paragraph 5.3.2.34 'Sultan Ala'ad-Din Muhammad Shah' on page 110.

*Following a number of incidents of piracy by the Achehnese, especially against English ships, England complained to the Netherlands. The Netherlands said that the agreed observance of the Achehnese independence prevented it from acting forcefully.*

*A compromise on this was settled on 2 November 1871 in London between England and the Netherlands, known as the Sumatra treaty. The British crown withdrew all of its objections to expansion of Dutch authority in a part of Sumatra. The Netherlands would now be able to act against the slave trade and, particularly, piracy.*

*After some hesitation not wanting to breach the integrity of Aceh, on 26 March 1873 the Dutch government commissioner J.F.N. Nieuwenhuyzen delivered the declaration of war signed by Gouverneur Mr. J. Loud to the Sultan. The Netherlands declared Great-Aceh as Dutch territory by a proclamation of 31 January 1874.*

*The Aceh war, which lasted ca. 40 years, thus began.*

After the death of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mahmud Shah in January 1874 there was no successor because the Dutch occupied the former Sultanate. A son of the deceased Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mahmud Shah, Muhammad Dawot, was recognised in 1878 by the key district chiefs as the legitimate heir to his father. Since he was underage, Toeangkoe Hasjim acted as his guardian and representative. Toeangkoe Hasjim managed to arrange in 1884 for Muhammad Dawot to be declared of age in the mosque in Indrapuri and inaugurated as Sultan. The Dutch government did not recognise him and referred to him as the 'pretender Sultan'.

The battle against the Dutch was led by the pretender Sultan Muhammad Dawot, the Panglima-Polem and Teuku Oema. When Great-Aceh became too oppressive for the three key leaders they withdrew to Pidië in 1897, which was then considered inaccessible for Europeans, but Pidië was conquered by the Dutch in May 1898.

The three leaders saved themselves by fleeing.

A column of military police attacked a hiding place of Muhammad Dawot on November 26 1902 and took his wife captive. On Christmas day following his most beloved concubine was taken captive.

The Sultan was informed that if he did not surrender within a month both women would be exiled from Aceh. On January 10 1903, Muhammad Dawot surrendered, despite not being informed beforehand that the Sultanate would never be restored.

In 1904 the pretender Sultan Muhammad Dawot, who lived in Kutaradja and received an annular sum from the Dutch government continued to plot against the Dutch government. Muhammad Dawot was arrested and taken to Batavia (Djakarta), from where he was exiled to Ambon.

This was the end of the Sultanate of Aceh.



Figure 19. Tuanku Muhammad Dawot Shah, no. 38

### 5.3.3. *The coins of Aceh*

About the coins of Aceh Langen<sup>295</sup> writes:

*A monetary system first arose under the reign of Sultan Alaoe'd-din Ri'ayat Shah, also known as Marhoem al-Qahar<sup>296</sup> (1530-1577)<sup>297</sup> the legislator of the Aceh-nese kingdom.*

295 Langen (1888) page 429-430.

296 Marhum al-Qahar = the late powerfully.

297 This is a mistake of Langen, the Sultan reigned from 1539 until 1571.

*Native chronicles say that he sent a delegation to the Turkish Sultan who sent him craftsmen experienced in various skills. These must have included coiners who struck golden coins, 'derhams', the name of which, as is known, is given to the Arabian currency.*

*The pilaarmat<sup>298</sup> was the unit of the currency. He introduced and determined from the amount of gold one could get for a pilaarmat that four derhams could be struck, such that four derhams would be equivalent to one pilaarmat.*

*Furthermore, the gold used for this golden coin had to comply with the conditions that the content bore sikoereng moetoe mes<sup>299</sup>, as expressed by the Achehnese, the equivalent of 21.6 carat in our system of gold.*

*The metal from which the derhams were made were also stamped with the name mes (mas = emas = gold).*

*The currency remained unchanged until the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636).*

*Without altering the gold content he decided that from the same amount of gold as stated above, 5 derhams would be struck.*

*So while the intrinsic gold value of the derham reduced, it retained its circulation value such that four golden derhams always maintained a circulation value of one pilaarmat.*

*The derhams struck by Iskander Muda were also known as derham Pedada, though quite why can no longer be reasoned.*

*His daughter, the Sultanah Tadjoe'l Alam Tsafiatoedin Shah (1641-1675)<sup>300</sup> clipped the gold weight of the derhams even more and reduced their gold content too.*

*She raised the number of derhams struck from the quantity of gold to six for one pilaarmat, and reduced their gold content from 9 to 8 moetoe mes, or 19.2 carat in our gold system. Nonetheless, the circulation value remained unaltered.*

*Before her coronation she also had all the derhams issued before collected and melted into new derhams. This is why the derhams from the time of Alaoe'd-din Ri'ayat Shah and Iskander Muda are so very rare.*

*It is remarkable that no years of issue are shown on the derhams. This was probably to assure their circulation value among the following Sultans.*

*Since Tadjoe'l Alam no derhams were struck any more.*

Many inaccuracies are contained in the above piece even though it was considered very authoritative in the past.

In 1946 Stammeshaus<sup>301</sup> accepted in full the description by Van Langen, with the exception that he concluded that older coins existed.

Iskander<sup>302</sup> also writes in the introduction to the Hikajat Aceh, that Sultan Ala'ad-Din (1539-1571) had introduced the currency system.

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298 Pilaarmat or Spaanse mat, called by the Achenese 'Reunggét meureujam' which is cannon dollar, while both pillars on the coins were seen as cannons.

299 Sikoereng (Sikoereuëng) = 9. Moetoe = grade on a scale of ten to value gold; gold of 10 moetoe = 24 karat.

300 Tadj al-Alam Safiat ad-Din Shah.

301 Stammeshaus (1946) page 113-121.

302 Iskandar (1958) page 38. and Penth.

The following comments can be made:

1. Coins had been struck in Aceh already under Sultan Muthaffar Shah (ca. 1490).
2. Coins had been struck much earlier in Samudra -Pasai. (ca. 1270).
3. The name 'derham' is Arabic 'dirham' and simply means 'coin'.
4. The name 'mas' for gold comes from the coins and not vice versa<sup>303</sup>.
5. The content of the coins in Aceh, with just a few exceptions, was always ca. 17 carat, 7 moetoe, and thus not 21.6 carat.
6. In Samudra-Pasai the content was ca. 19 carat, or 8 moetoe.
7. Neither Sultan Iskandar Muda nor Sultanah Tadj al-Alam Safiat ad-Din altered the coin content.
8. Nor was the weight of the coins altered. It remained from Samudra-Pasai until the last one in Aceh at ca. 0.6 grams (between 0.62 and 0.58 grams).
9. Coins before the time of Alaoe'd-din Ri'ayat Shah and Iskander Muda are not rare.
10. After Sultanah Tadj al-Alam Safiat ad-Din many more coins were struck by the subsequent Sultans.

These comments show that Langen's work contains many fundamental errors. Langen's work is in this respect outdated and of no further value in describing the coinage of Aceh.

The excellent work of Hulshoff Pol and Scholten make the ascription of most coins to the right Sultan a relatively straightforward task. However, some coins do generate discussion and there are also coins that neither of them has described.

The family of the Sultan of Aceh occasionally undertook the government of the Samudra-Pasai dependency. These family members, a younger brother or a son (in-law) in some cases also struck coins. It is often difficult to determine to whom these coins can be attributed.

No dates are on the coins of Aceh. The script is poor and lends itself to incorrect reading.

This prompts the need to examine the coins in the following chapters.

Not all coins struck in Aceh or its dependencies will be described in these chapter, but only those about which supplementary information can be gained, which were wrongly ascribed or which were until now unknown. A full list of known coins is illustrated in the 'Catalogue'<sup>304</sup>.

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303 See the conclusion in chapter 2, 'The coins' on page 4.

304 See chapter 6, 'Catalogue', on page 142.

5.3.3.1. *The coins of Sultan Mansur*



Scholten<sup>305</sup> describes this coin, which he ascribes to Sultan Muthaffar Shah of Acheh (no. 2 in Figure 18 on page 82). He reads Muthaffar Malik az-Zahir (مظفر ملك الظاهر). But Mansur Malik At-Tahir (منصور ملك الطاهر) is written. The mistake is understandable because مظفر is very similar to منصور.



On the reverse is 'As-Sultan al-Adil (السلطان العادل). This coin is from Samudra Pasai (SP 5)<sup>306</sup>.

5.3.3.2. *The coins of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Qahar*

Sultan Salah ad-Din (1530-1537), no. 5 in Figure 18 on page 82, was the son of Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah, no. 4 in Figure 18. He was the brother of the later Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Qahar (1537-1571), no. 6 in Figure 18. During the reign of Sultan Salah ad-Din, Samudra-Pasai was governed by his brother Sultan Ala'ad-Din<sup>307</sup>, who struck the coins below.



A 6a



A 6b



A 6c



A 6d

305 Scholten (1949) page 178 no. 33.

306 Catalogue 6.1.2.5 'Sultan Mansur of Samudra-Pasai', on page 147.

307 Catalogue 6.2.1.5, 'Sultan Ala'ad-Din bin Ali' on page 162.

The legend on the coins of 2 mas (A 6a) is:

'Sultan Ala'ad-Din bin bungsu Sultan Ali' (سلطان علاء الدين بن بئسوسلطان علي).

That is Sultan Ala'ad-Din the youngest son of Sultan Ali.

And on his coin of 1 mas (A 6b):

'Sultan Ala'ad-Din bin bungsu Ali' (سلطان علاء الدين بن بئسوعلي).

That is: 'Sultan Ala'ad-Din the youngest son of Ali.'

Bungsu (بئسو) means 'youngest son'.

On the reverse of both coins is 'As-Sultan al-Adil' (السلطان العادل).

Because he was not a reigning ruler of Aceh, the title 'Malik at-Tahir' is missing.

After deposing his brother in 1537, he put, as Sultan Aceh the full Sultan's title including 'Malik at-Tahir' on his coins (A 6c and A 6d). The coin A 6c is also a 2 mas coin of 1.2 gram.

These coins state: 'Ala'oe ad-Din bin Ali Malik at-Tahir'

(علاوالدين بن علي ملك الطاهر).

The reverse remains unaltered 'As-Sultan al-Adil' (السلطان العادل).

### 5.3.3.3. The coins of Sultan Husain alias Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah



Sultan Husain was the 2nd son of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Qahar (1537-1571)<sup>308</sup>.

Coins of Sultan Husain are known (A 7a)<sup>309</sup>.

On the obverse of the coin is: Husain Malik at-Tahir

(حسين ملك الطاهر).

On the reverse: 'As-Sultan al-Adil (السلطان العادل)'.

This coin of Sultan Husain is from the period he was ruling Samudra-Pasai during the reign of his father, Sultan Ala ad-Din (1537-1571).

The coins have all the characteristics of the early coins from Samudra-Pasai.

The older coins of Samudra-Pasai do not contain the name of the father<sup>310</sup>.

Hulshoff Pol describes a coin (A 7b) of Sultan Ali bin Ala'ad-Din<sup>311</sup>.

On the obverse is Ali bin Ala'ad-Din Malik at-Tahir

(علي بن علاء الدين ملك الطاهر).



A 7a

308 See paragraph 5.3.2.6, 'Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Qahar' on page 90.

309 Catalogue 6.2.1.6, 'Sultan Husain alias Sultan Ali bin Ala'ad-Din' on page 165.

310 See paragraph 2.3, 'Dating the coins' on page 8.

311 Hulshoff Pol (1929) coin 10 on page 14.



A 7b



A 7c

On the reverse is 'As-Sultan al-Adil' (السلطان العادل).

The question is to which Sultan does this coin belong?

Both Sultan Ala'ad-Din al-Qahar (1537-1571) and Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah (1589-1604) bear the name 'Ala'ad-Din'<sup>312</sup>. Both their sons called themselves 'Ali Ri'ayat Shah'. That poses a problem in the coins of these sons.

Both were able to bear on their coins the title 'Ali bin Ala'ad-Din Malik at-Tahir'. After 1579 the Sultans no longer bore the title 'Malik at-Tahir'<sup>313</sup> on their coins<sup>314</sup>, so these coins (A7 b en A 7c) can with certainty be ascribed to Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah (1571-1579)<sup>315</sup>.

So Sultan Husain called himself, as Sultan of Aceh, 'Ali Ri'ayat Shah'.

#### 5.3.3.4. The coins of Sultan Abd al-Djalil



Sultan Abd al-Djalil was the 5th son of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Qahar (1537-1571)<sup>316</sup>.

There is a rare coin (A 9a) with the legend:

Abd al-Djalil Malik at-Tahir (عبد الجليل ملك الطاهر).

On the reverse is the familiar: As-Sultan al-Adil (السلطان العادل).



This coin has the characteristics of the early coins from Samudra-Pasai, because the older coins of Samudra-Pasai do not contain the name of the father.<sup>317</sup>

This coin of Sultan Abd al-Djalil is probably from the period he was ruling at Samudra-Pasai, succeeding his brother who became Sultan Husain alias Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah (1571-1579).

312 See no. 6 and no. 13 in Figure 18 on page 82.

313 See paragraph 2.2, 'Malik az-Zahir or Malik at-Tahir' on page 6.

314 See paragraph 2.3, 'Dating the coins' on page 8.

315 Catalogue 6.2.1.6 'Sultan Husain alias Sultan Ali bin Ala'ad-Din' on page 165.

316 See paragraph 5.3.2.6, 'Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Qahar' on page 90.

317 See paragraph 2.3, 'Dating the coins' on page 8.

5.3.3.5. *The coins of Sultan Ghiat ad-Din*



Hulshoff Pol describes a rare coin<sup>318</sup> that he reads as: 'Griats ad-Din bin Ala'ad-Din Malik at-Tahir'

(غياث الدين بن علاء الدين ملك الطاهر).<sup>319</sup>



On the reverse is the usual 'As Sultan al-Adil' (السلطان العادل). Hulshoff Pol could not ascribe the coin to a particular Sultan. This coin (A 9b) had to be of a son of Sultan Ala'ad-Din. There are three Sultans Ala'ad-Din, no. 6, no. 11 en no. 13 in Figure 18 on page 82. Sultan no. 6 reigned from 1537 until 1571 and Sultan no. 11 from 1578 until 1586 and Sultan 13 from 1589 until 1604. Because the title Malik at-Tahir is on the coin, it must have been struck before or in 1579<sup>320</sup>. Of these three Sultans only Sultan 6 reigned before 1579 so this

Ghiat ad-Din must have been a son of Sultan 6 in Figure 18 on page 82. It is known that Abangta Abd al-Djalil, Raja of Priaman and son of Sultan Ala'ad-Din, no 6, is called Sri Alam. In Figure 18, 'Genealogy of the Sultans of Aceh until 1675' on page 2 it is assumed that Sultan Abangta Abd al-Djalil and Sultan Sri Alam are one and the same person. That leaves as only possibility that Abangta Abd al-Djalil bore the title Ghiat ad-Din as Sultan and struck this coin.

5.3.3.6. *The coins of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Munawar Shah bin Ali*



Scholten describes a coin (A 12 B)<sup>321</sup> of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Munawar Shah<sup>322</sup>.

On the obverse is: 'Sultan Ala'ad-Din Munawar Shah bin Ali' (سلطان علاء الدين منور شاه بن علي).

On the reverse is the familiar 'As-Sultan al-Adil' (السلطان العادل).



After 1579 the Sultans no longer carried the title 'Malik at-Tahir' on their coins, but until 1607 'As-Sultan al-Adil' on the reverse<sup>323</sup>. The coin is thus from after 1579 and before 1607. Scholten purports that this coin could be of the father of Sultan Sjamsu Shah bin Munawar Shah (1497-1530), no. 3 in Figure 18 on page 2.

318 Hulshoff Pol (1929) coin 1 on page 4. Correct translation is 'Ghiat' and not 'Griats'  
319 Catalogue 6.2.1.7, 'Sultan Abd al-Djalil alias Sri Alam or Ghiat ad-Din bin Ala'ad-Din' on page 167.

320 See paragraph 2.3, 'Dating the coins' on page 8.

321 Scholten (1949) page 178 no. 34.

322 Catalogue 6.2.1.10, 'Sultan Ala'ad-Din Munawar Shah bin Ali. Sultan Ala'ad-Din Munawar Shah bin Ali' on page 169.

323 See paragraph 2.3, 'Dating the coins' on page 8.

Or the coin could be of the father of Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah<sup>324</sup> (1585-1589) no. 12 in Figure 18 on page 82. Both fathers of these two Sultans bore the name Munawar.

It is, however, not a coin of a son of one Sultan Munawar. As in that case 'bin Munawar' (son of Munawar) should be written. The coin is of one Sultan Ala'ad-Din son of Ali.

Munawar (the illuminated) is a title of honour added to the name.

More obvious is that the coin belongs to the son of Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah, no. 12 in Figure 18 on page 82, who would have reigned over Samudra-Pasai as regent for his father between 1585 and 1589. That also complies with the requirement that the coin was struck after 1579 and before 1607.

The coin adds 'Munawar' to the title 'Ala'ad-Din', possibly in reference to his grandfather. The supplement 'bin Ali', son of Ali, corresponds with the name of his father.

His father was murdered in 1589 and Ala'ad-Din did not succeed him as Sultan.

He was therefore never Sultan of Aceh. This is why he does not appear on the list of Sultans of Aceh and reason why Scholten could not properly ascribe the coin.

### 5.3.3.7. The coins of Sultan Ala'ad-Din ibn Firman Shah bin Ali



Scholten<sup>325</sup> ascribes this coin (A13d) to Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah, no. 13 in Figure 18 on page 82.

On the obverse is 'Ala'ad-Din ibn Firman Shah'

(علاء الدين ابن فرمان شاه).

On the reverse in addition to the usual is 'As-Sultan al-Adil' (السلطان العادل), as described by Hulshoff Pol<sup>326</sup> plus the supplement 'bin Ali' (بن علي).

This is odd since Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah has as father Sultan Firman Shah, as written on the obverse.

Among his ancestors Ali did not appear.

Sultan Ala'ad-Din ibn Firman was as Sultan the successor to Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah (1586-1569), no. 12 in Figure 18.

The term 'son' can also be used for 'successor'.



324 According to page 74 of the Encyclopaedia 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1917) there is a mistake on the chart of Figure 18. The name of Sultan no. 12 is not Ala'ad-din Shah but Ali Ri'ayat Shah.

325 Scholten (1949) page 179 no. 35.

326 Hulshoff Pol (1929) page 16 no. 13.

Possibly the legend on the reverse means: 'the righteous or rightful Sultan son (successor) of Ali'.

#### 5.3.3.8. *The coins of Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah*

Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah (1604-1607) alias Sultan Muda, no. 14 in Figure 18 on page 82, was the son of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah, no. 13 in Figure 18 on page 82.

Hulshoff Pol<sup>327</sup> ascribes no coins to Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah.

It is unlikely that this Sultan would not have had coins struck during his reign of three years.

Djajadiningrat<sup>328</sup> writes in a footnote that he is called 'Ali Mughayat Shah'. This is unlikely as the names are too different. More likely Ali Mughayat Shah refers to a son of Ali Ri'ayat Shah, who was acting Sultan for his father.

There are coins of a Sultan Ala'Mughayat Shah bin Ali. See paragraph 5.3.3.9.

#### 5.3.3.9. *The coins of Sultan Ala'Mughayat Shah bin Ali*



There is a coin (A 14 B) with on the obverse 'Sultan Ala'Mughayat Shah bin Ali' (سلطان علاء مغاية شاه بن علي). On the reverse is the normal 'As-Sultan al-Adil' (السلطان العادل)<sup>329</sup>.

'Malik at-Tahir' is absent so the coin is from 1579 or later. 'As-Sultan al-Adil' is on the reverse, so the coin is before 1607<sup>330</sup>.



This Sultan must be the son of a Sultan Ali.

That is no. 7, 12 of 14 in Figure 18.

Sultan no. 7 in Figure 18 on page 82 reigned from 1571 until 1579.

That is too early for this coin.

The Sultans 12, 'Ali Ri'ayat Shah' (1586-1589), en 14, 'Ali Ri'ayat Shah' (1604-1607), in Figure 18 on page 82, are both from after 1579.

The son of Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah no. 12 is Sultan Ala'ad-Din Munawar Shah<sup>331</sup>.

327 Hulshoff Pol (1929) page 17.

328 Djajadiningrat (1911) page 174.

329 Catalogue 6.2.1.12, 'Sultan Ala'Mughayat Shah bin Ali.' on page 172.

330 See paragraph 2.3, 'Dating the coins' on page 8.

331 See paragraph 5.3.3.6, 'The coins of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Munawar Shah bin Ali' on page 119.

Djajadiningrat<sup>332</sup>, writes in a footnote that Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah (1604-1607) no. 14 is also called Ala'Mughayat Shah. More likely Ala'Mughayat Shah was Ali Ri'ayat Shah's son. This is supported by the bin-Ali on the coins of Ala'Mughayat Shah, who acted as Sultan for his father.

No coins of Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah are known, this can be explained by the coinage of his son Ala'Mughayat Shah bin Ali as acting Sultan. Then, from the very beginning of the reign of Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah (1604-1607), the actual power was in the hands of his son.

#### 5.3.3.10. *The coins of Iskandar Muda with bin Ali*

There is some confusion about the titles on the coins of Sultan Perkasa Alam, alias Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636), no. 15 in Figure 18 on page 82.

In this chapter the genealogy and titles on the coins are discussed on basis of the explanations used until now. But there is more to say about this, which is done after other indications, as for instance from the ninefold seals, is discussed<sup>333</sup>.

There are coins with on the obverse the legend 'Sri Sultan Perkasa Alam', with on the reverse 'Djohan berdaulat *bin Ali*' and there are also coins with on the obverse the legend 'Sri Sultan Iskandar Muda', with on the reverse 'Djohan berdaulat *bin Ali*'<sup>334</sup>.

Hulshoff Pol<sup>335</sup> ascribes all these coins to Iskandar Muda (1607-1636).

The father of Iskandar Muda was Sultan Mansur Shah. Iskandar Muda did indeed also strike coins with 'bin Mansur'. On his later coins (A 15e) he bore the title 'Raja Iskandar Muda *bin Mansur*'<sup>336</sup>.

It is known that Iskandar Muda was called Perkasa Alam in his youth.

It seems unlikely that he used this 'Sri Sultan Perkasa Alam' when he already acted as Sultan. Secondly that he used 'bin Ali' when he actually was 'bin Mansur'.

There is evidence that the ancestry of Iskandar Muda was manipulated<sup>337</sup>:

*Suddenly the Sultan of Aceh died. His nephew Perkasa Alam bribed the palace guard, made promises to the officers and threatened the Kadi (Judge) who objected to his coronation, and was announced Sultan the same day. Sultan Husein of Pidië, the ruler of Pedir, who had heard of the death of his brother, came to*

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332 Djajadiningrat (1911) page 174.

333 See for this paragraph 5.3.6.5, 'Conclusions about the ancestry of Iskandar Muda' on page 138.

334 Catalogue 6.2.2.1 'Sultan Sultan Iskandar Muda' on page 173.

335 Hulshoff Pol (1929) page 18, coin no. 14.

336 Catalogue 6.2.2.1 'Sultan Sultan Iskandar Muda' on page 173.

337 Djajadiningrat (1911) page 175.

*Aceh the following day. The new Sultan had him seized and taken captive for a month. Under the pretext that he would give shelter to his uncle Husein outside the town, Perkasa Alam had him killed on the way.*

It is understandable that these events should have caused some unrest and that the legitimacy of Perkasa Alam as Sultan could come under discussion. The above explains the use of his youth's name 'Perkasa Alam'.

Hulshoff Pol<sup>338</sup> says the following, after consulting Prof. Dr. Husain Djajadiningrat:

*The issue of how to explain that Sultan Iskandar Muda refers to himself on this Mas as 'bin Ali'. Prof. Husain Djajadiningrat amicably shared his opinion on this. In the name Ali on the coin one can probably assume Iskandar Muda's forefather Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah, no. 4 in Figure 18 on page 2, the founder of the great Acehnesse kingdom: the word 'bin' must then be regarded as son in the sense of descendant, offspring.*

*That Iskandar Muda got exactly the greatest name from his forefathers is no surprise and in naming himself after his forefather and not after his father who was not a Sultan suggests he saw it as legitimacy of his claim to the throne of Aceh. It is just as possible that with Ali was intended Iskandar Muda's uncle and predecessor Ali Ri'ajat Shah, no. 14 in Figure 18 on page 2, and that the Sultan Iskandar Muda called himself 'bin Ali', also in this case, to make his claim clearly legitimate.*

*However, this assumption is difficult to square with the relationship between uncle and nephew because Iskandar Muda was far from a favourite nephew or foster child of Ali Ri'ajat Shah and only a relationship between uncle and nephew or foster parent and foster child would have justified to those who were familiar with the relationships that Iskandar Muda named himself after his uncle.*

There is, however, more to be said on the 'bin-Ali' matter:

To support the legitimacy of her father, Iskandar Muda, his daughter, the later Sultanah Tadj al-Alam, (no. 22) did the following:<sup>339</sup>

The 'Tabjan fi ma'rifat al-adjan', a religious work by the writer, Nur ad-Din, the same who wrote the 'Bustan as-Salatin', says that Iskandar Muda was the son of Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah.

In the introduction of that work, it is stated that the author wrote this by order of Sultanah Tadj al-Alam.

In that script the genealogy of Sultanah Tadj al-Alam was revealed as follows:

*Tadj al-Alam Safiat ad-Din bint (daughter of) Sultan Iskandar Muda ibn (son of) Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah ibn (son of) Sultan Firman Shah ibn (son of) Sultan Muthaffar Shah ibn (son of) Sultan Inayat Shah.*

338 Hulshoff Pol (1929) page 19.

339 Djajadiningrat (1911) in footnote on page 175.



A 15a



A 15b

A 15c

A 15d

A 15e

In this genealogy the name, *Mansur*, the father of Iskandar Muda is (consciously?) omitted, and Iskandar Muda is mentioned as son of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah (no. 13) instead of grandson.

On the coins one would expect the titels: Sultan Perkasa Alam *bin Ala'ad-Din* or Sultan Iskandar Muda *bin Ala'ad-Din*, but not *bin Ali*.

Bin Ali on the coins suggests that the previous Sultan, Ali Ri'ayat Shah (no. 14), is the father (maybe the foster father) of Iskandar Muda.

That this was consciously done is borne out by the ninefold seal<sup>340</sup> of Tadj Al-Alam, the daughter of Iskandar Muda. The seal gives the following ancestry<sup>341</sup>:

340 See paragraph 5.3.5, 'The ninefold seals' on page 129.

341 Also accordingly mentioned in the Encyclopaedia 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1917) on page 203.

*Paduka sri Sultanah Tadj al-Alam Safiat ad-Din berdaulat zill Allah fi al-Alam abinat bint, Sultan Raja Iskandar Muda, Djohan berdaulat, ibin as-Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah, ibin as-Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah, ibin as-Sultan Firman Shah, ibin as-Sultan Muzaffar Shah, ibin as-Sultan Inayat Shah, ibin Abdallah Almalik Almoebin.*

Translated:

Her Royal Majesty, Sultanah Tadj al-Alam Safiat ad-Din, ruler as the shadow of Allah in the world, daughter of:

1. Sultan Raja Iskandar Muda (1607-1636),
2. Regent of the State,
3. son of the Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah (1604-1607),
4. son of the Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah (1589-1604),
5. son of the Sultan Firman Shah,
6. son of the Sultan Muzaffar Shah (-1497),
7. son of the Sultan Inayat Shah (ca. 1450),
8. son of the Abdallah Almalik Almoebin.

Here Sultan Iskandar Muda is mentioned as son of Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah al-Qahar (no. 14).

The above explains the use of 'bin-Ali'.

For the coins of Perkasa Alam and Iskandar Muda with 'bin-Ali' can be concluded:

Iskandar Muda first reigned with the title 'Perkasa Alam' as he was known before he was Sultan (coin A 15a, A 15b en A 15c).

Then he reigned with the name that he chose as Sultan 'Iskandar Muda', also with 'bin Ali' on his coins (A 15d).

Hulshoff Pol<sup>342</sup> writes:

*As far as the coin is concerned, on which Iskandar Muda is called, 'bin Mansur' after his father, when they were struck, he clearly felt so firmly on the Achehnese throne that he no longer found it necessary to refer to the association with Sultan Ali, who was then also meant by this. It is also possible that wanted to avoid the ambiguity of the name 'Ali'.*

*The addition of 'Raja' to his title can be explained as an extension, an elevation, of the title.'*

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342 Hulshoff Pol (1929) page 20.

More regarding ancestry of Iskandar Muda is mentioned in Paragraph 5.3.6.5, 'Conclusions about the ancestry of Iskandar Muda' on page 138.

5.3.3.11. *The coins of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah alias Iskandar Thani*

Hulshoff Pol<sup>343</sup> describes a coin (A 16a) with on the obverse:



'Sri Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah'

(سر سلطان علاءالدين مغيية شاه).

On the reverse is: 'ibn Sultan Ahmad Shah'

(ابن سلطان احمد شاه).

This coin must be of Sultan Iskandar Thani<sup>344</sup>. As 'As-Sultan al-Adil' is not on the reverse, the coin is struck after 1607<sup>345</sup>.



The father of the Sultan whose coins these are, is certainly Sultan Ahmad.

There is only one Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah with Sultan Ahmad as father. And that is Sultan Iskandar Thani. He was the son of Ahmad the ruler of Pahang who was brought to Aceh in 1618.

There are also coins (A 16b) with on the obverse:



'Sri Sultan Iskandar Thani Ala'ad-Din'

(سر سلطان اسكندر ثاني علاءالدين).

On the reverse:

'Mughayat Shah ibn Sultan Ahmad Shah'

(مغيية شاه ابن سلطان احمد شاه).

These coins are undoubtedly of Sultan Iskandar Thani, no. 16 in Figure 18 on page 82.



There are therefore two different coins of the same Sultan.

The most probable explanation is that Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah took the title Iskandar Thani after he became ruler of Aceh.

As sucesor to Iskander Muda he was indeed Iskander the second (Thani).

343 Hulshoff Pol (1929) coin 17 on page 21.

344 Catalogue 6.2.2.2, 'Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah alias Iskandar Thani' on page 175.

345 See paragraph 2.3, 'Dating the coins' on page 8.

Iskander Thani was married to the daughter of Iskander Muda.

He could have been regent of a dependency of Aceh under Iskander Muda, probably Samudra-Pasai, where he could have struck coins with on the obverse 'Sri Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah' and on the reverse 'ibn Sultan Ahmad Shah'.

On all coins after 1607, except on both coins of Sultan Iskandar Thani (1636-1641), the title 'berdaulat' is mentioned (meaning 'from the ruling dynasty'). 'Berdaulat' (بر دولة) or 'Daulat' (دولة) with the Malay preposition 'ber' (بر) means:

'the reigning' or 'belonging to the reigning family'.

With respect to the term 'Berdaulat' Netscher and v.d. Chijs<sup>346</sup> write:

*Kasimirski<sup>347</sup> explains 'Daulat' (دولة) by:*

*Power, empire, universal rulership (as a choice, which passed from one to the others). From the reigning dynasty; reigning family; prince of the ruling house; and especially, the Caliphate. See further the powerful princes, recognising the legitimacy of the Khalifat, who carried titles of honour like 'sword of the empire' (Saif al-Daulat, سيف الدولة)<sup>348</sup>.*

Iskandar Thani himself was not 'from the reigning dynasty or the reigning family.'

He was married to the daughter of Iskandar Muda of the ruling dynasty. This explains the absence of 'Berdaulat' on his coins.

#### 5.3.4. A Chinese report from the Ming Dynasty

In the report from the Ming dynasty<sup>349</sup> in the period Wan-Li (1573-1619) two successions are mentioned.

On page 90 we find:

*During the period of Wan-li (1573-1619) the reigning family was twice changed, and at last their king was a slave. At first the master of this slave was one of the great dignitaries of the kingdom and commander of the troops. The slave was*

346 Netscher en v.d. Chijs (1863) page 163.

347 Kasimirski, Dictionnaire Arabe-Français (1847).

348 'Pouvoir, empire, rulerie universelle (comme une chose, qui passe des uns aux autres). The là, dynastie, famille régnante; princes de la maison régnante; et par excellence, le khalifat. Delà vient que des princes puissants, reconnaissant la légitimité du khalifat, se faisaient accorder des titres honorifiques comme ceux-ci: 'Epée de l'empire' (سيف الدولة).

349 Groeneveldt (1880) page 90.

*treacherous and cunning; first his master ordered him to take care of the elephants, and the elephants all became fat; he was ordered to superintend the fish-tax and every day he presented large fish to his master. The latter was much satisfied with him and employed him as an attendant who was always about his person.*

*Once he followed his master to court, where he saw the king exalted and dignified as a god, and his master bowing with the utmost reverence.*

*When they left the palace he said to his master: 'Why were you so very reverent?' His master replied: 'It was the king, how could I dare to be otherwise.'*

*The slave said again: 'It is only that my master does not wish to be king, if he wished he should be at once.' His master scolded him and ordered him to retire.*

*On another day he came again and said: 'The body-guard of the king are few in number; you, as commander of the army, must certainly take leave of the king on going out of the town; I pray you to take me with you and then you must tell the king that you have a secret affair and ask him to send away those who are about him; the king will have no suspicion and then I will avail myself of the opportunity, kill him and make you king; this is as easy as to turn my hand.'*

*His master assented; the slave indeed slew the king and cried out loudly: 'The king did not follow the right path, therefore I have slain him and now my master is king; whoever has to say anything against it, will feel this sword.'*

*The people submitted and dared not stir; his master then usurped the throne and let his slave do whatever he choose; he gave him command of the army and not long afterwards the slave killed his master and put himself in his place. He then took great precautions: he enlarged the palace and made six doors to it, which nobody could enter without permission and even the high officers were not allowed to come to the audience hall with their swords; When he went out he sat on an elephant, bearing a small pavilion all surrounded with curtains, and there were more than a hundred of these animals got up like this, so that the people could not make out on which one the king was sitting.*

*The customs of the people are pretty good and they are quiet in their speech: only the king is much given to cruelty: every year he kills more than ten people and washes his body with their blood, saying that this can prevent diseases.*

A comparison with the Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies suggests the following persons are intended:

1. The king was Sultan Sri Alam (1579) (no. 9 in Figure 18 on page 82), formerly Raja Priaman, a brother of Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah (1571-1579).

He reigned as Sultan Ghiat ad-Din. He was murdered after a short time.

2. Sultan Zain al-Abidin (no 10. in Figure 18 on page 82) succeeded him. This was a son of Sultan Abdallah of Aru who perished in 1568 before Malacca. (He was the commander of the army and master of the slave.) Just as his predecessor this Sultan Zain al-Abidin was murdered in the same year 1579.

3. His successor was Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah (1579-1585) (no.11 in Figure 18 on page 2). He was a son of Sultan Ahmad of Perlak and thus a foreigner.

Upon an Acehnese invasion in Perlak the widow of Sultan Ahmad and her family were taken away to Aceh as slaves.

According to the Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies<sup>350</sup>, her son, the slave referred to above, married a member of the royal family and so became Sultan.

In reality he was already Sultan by usurpation, and his daughter married Sultan Abdal Dalil.<sup>351</sup>

The term 'slave' must be seen as defined by Marsden<sup>352</sup>.

### 5.3.5. *The ninefold seals*

Iskandar Muda (1607-1636) would have introduced the so-called *tjab Sikoereuëng*, the ninefold seal (or *tjap halilintar* = thunder seal) as royal seal<sup>353</sup>.

It is known however that Sultan Ala'ad-Din (1589-1604) already used this seal in a letter to Prince Maurits of the United Dutch Provinces<sup>354</sup>.

These seals are of Hindustani origin.

In Aceh great magical powers were ascribed to the *tjab Sikoereuëng*<sup>355</sup>.

The seals are of great value as they provide information about the ancestry of the Sultan as well as the titles that appear also on the coins of the Sultan and his predecessors.

This chapter describes some important seals that will be used later in paragraph 5.3.6 'Conclusions about the Sultans of Aceh' on page 136.

Some examples from 'Eerde'<sup>356</sup> are shown in Figure 20.

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350 See paragraph 5.3.2.11, 'Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah' on page 94.

351 See paragraph 5.3.6.6, 'Conclusions on the ancestry of Sultan Abd al-Djalil' on page 139.

352 See for this paragraph 5.3.2.3, 'Sjamsu Shah bin Munawar Shah' on page 86.

353 Iskandar (1958) page 45.

354 Dajadiningrat (1911) page 172.

355 The history of the Dutch East Indies, Part 5, (1940) page 354.

356 Eerde (1920).

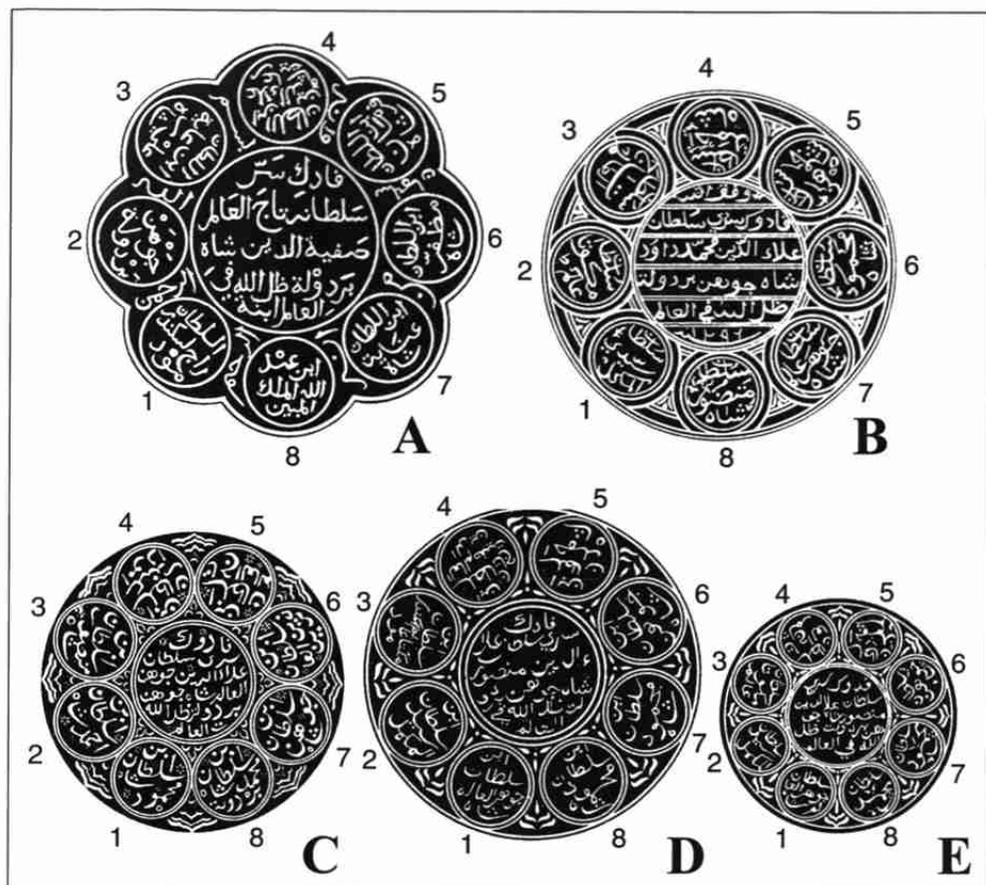


Figure 20. The ninefold seals

### 5.3.5.1. The seal of Sultanah Tadj al-Alam

Seal A is of Sultanah Tadj al-Alam Safiat ad-Din Shah (1641-1675).<sup>357</sup>

On the central part is her name:

فادك سر ساطانه تاح العالم صفية الدين بر دولة ظل الله في العالم ابنة

Paduka sri Sultanah Tadj al-Alam Safiat ad-Din berdaulat zill Allah fi al-Alam ibnat.

<sup>357</sup> See paragraph 5.3.2.17, 'Sultanah Tadj al-Alam Safiat ad-Din Shah' on page 101.

Translated:

Her Royal Majesty, Sultanah Tadj al-Alam Safiat ad-Din, ruler of the world in the shadow of Allah, daughter of:

As ‘ancestors’ named in the eight seals along the edge are:

1. الشيطان راج اسكندر مود = Sultan Raja Iskandar Muda (1607-1636).
2. جوهن بر دولة = Djohan berdaulat.
3. ابن السلطان علي رعاية شاه = ibin as-Sultan Ali Ri’ayat Shah (1604-1607).
4. ابن السلطان علاء الدين رعایت شاه = ibin as-Sultan Ala’ad-Din Ri’ayat Shah (1589-1604).
5. ابن السلطان فرمان شاه = ibin as-Sultan Firman Shah.
6. ابن السلطان مظفر شاه = ibin as-Sultan Muzaffar Shah (-1497).
7. ابن السلطان عناية شاه = ibin as-Sultan Inayat Shah (ca. 1400).
8. ابن عبدالله الملك المبين = ibin Abdallah Almalik Almoebin.

As can be seen in Figure 18, ‘Genealogy of the Sultans of Aceh until 1675’ on page 82 Sultanah Tadj al-Alam follows the ancestry via the mother of her father.

#### 5.3.5.2. *The seal of Sultan Ala’ad-Din Muhammad Dawot Shah*

Seal B is of Sultan Ala’ad-Din Muhammad Dawot (1873-1903)<sup>358</sup>.

He is known by the Dutch as Toeankoe Muhammad Dawot.

He was not recognised as Sultan by the Dutch government and he was called the Pretender Sultan.

On the central part is his name:

وقف الله فادوك سري سلطان علاء الدين محمد داود شاه جوهن بر دولة ظل الله في العالم  
سنة ١٢٩٦

Waqaf Allah, Paduka sri Sultan Al’ad-Din Muhammad Dawot Shah Djohan berdaulat zill Allah fi al-Alam, sanat 1296.

358 See paragraph 5.3.2.38, ‘Tuanku Muhammad Dawot Shah’ on page 111.

Translated as<sup>359</sup>:

May Allah give good guidance to His Majesty Sultan Al'ad-Din (Achehnese pronunciation: *Alaédin*) Muhammad Dawot Shah (Achehnese pronunciation: *Muhammad Dawot Tjah Djuhan*) the blessed, Allah's shadow in the world, year 1296.

The Hijra year 1296 corresponds to 1879 AD, the year of his recognition as Sultan.

As 'ancestors' named in the eight seals along the edge are:

1. سلطان سيد المكمل = Sultan Said al-Mukammal.
2. سلطان مكوئا عالم = Sultan Makoeta Alam (1607-1636).
3. سلطان تاج العالم = Sultan Tadj al-Alam (1641-1675).
4. سلطان احمد شاه = Sultan Ahmad Shah (1727-1735).
5. سلطان جوهرن شاه = Sultan Djohan Shah (1735-1760).
6. سلطان محمود شاه = Sultan Mahmud Shah (1781-1795).
7. سلطان جوهر علم شاه = Sultan Djohar Alam Shah (1795-1823).
8. سلطان منصور شاه = Sultan Mansur Shah (1857-1870).

According to the chronicles Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah (1589-1604) is known as Sultan Said al-Mukammal.

Items of lesser importance were not approved with the ninefold seal, but instead with a *simple seal*<sup>360</sup>.

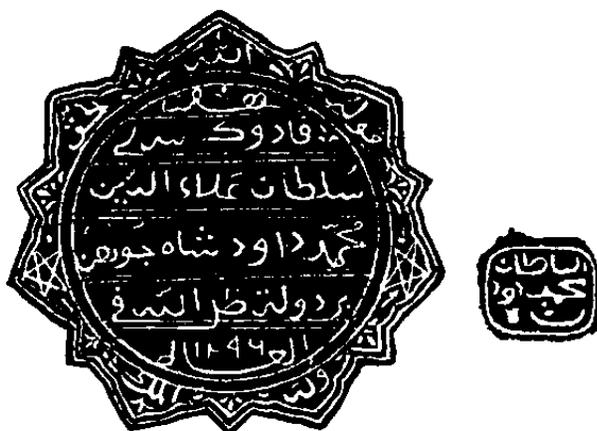


Figure 21. Simple seal of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Muhammad Dawot

359 The translation is from Hurgronje (1893) page 199.

360 See Figure 21.

On this simple seal there is more or less the same in the centre as on the large ninefold seal. Along the edge is: *اللَّهُ قَوْلُهُ الْحَقُّ وَالْمَلِكُ*.

Meaning: 'Allah' and 'His word is the truth and He is the kingdom'<sup>361</sup>.

The simple seals are legalised by a small seal. (See Figure 21)

This contains just: *السلطان محمد دود ساه*, As-Sultan Muhammad Dawot Shah.

### 5.3.5.3. The seal of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan al-Alam Shah

Seal C is of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan al-Alam Shah (1795-1823)<sup>362</sup>.

On the central part is his name:

*فادوك سر سلطان علاءالدين جوهن العالم شاه جوهن بردولة ظل الله في العالم*

Paduka sri Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan al-Alam Shah Djohan berdaulat zill Allah fi al-Alam.

Translated:

His Royal Majesty Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan al-Alam, ruler of the world in the shadow of Allah.

As 'forefathers' named in the eight seals along the edge are:

1. *ابن سلطان محمود شاه* = ibin Sultan Mahmud Shah.
2. *ابن سلطان احمد شاه* = ibin Sultan Ahmad Shah.
3. *ابن سلطان منصور شاه* = ibin Sultan Mansur Shah (1579-1586).
4. *ابن سلطان سكندر مود* = ibin Sultan Sekander Muda (1607-1636).
5. *ابن سلطان تاج العالم* = ibin Sultan Tadj al-Alam (1641-1675).
6. *ابن سلطان زين العابدين* = ibin Sultan Zain Al'abid-Din (1688-1699).
7. *ابن سلطان جوهن شاه* = ibin Sultan Djohan Shah (1735-1760).
8. *ابن سلطان محمد شاه بردولة* = ibin Sultan Mohammed Shah berdaulat (1781-1795).

The Sultan Mansur Shah named in position 3 in this seal of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan al-Alam Shah (C) probably is Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah, no. 11 in Figure 18, because he was reigning ruler.

It could also refer to Sultan Mansur Shah, the father of Sultan Iskandar Muda. Sultan Ahmad, named as no. 2, is certainly Sultan Ahmad of Perlak, the father of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah.

361 The translation is from Hurgronje (1893) page 201.

362 See paragraph 5.3.2.32, 'Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djawhar al-Alam Shah' on page 108.

This reveals that the daughter of Sultan Mansur Shah named in Figure 18 was married to Sultan Abd al-Djalil, the grandfather of Sultan Iskandar Muda. At the time of that marriage Sultan Abd al-Djalil was ruler of Djohore. This was during the reign of his father, Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah (1537-1571)<sup>363</sup>.

#### 5.3.5.4. The seal of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah

Seal D is of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah (1857-1870)<sup>364</sup>.

On the central part is his name:

فادك سرسلطان علاء الدين منصور شاه جوهن بر دولة ظل الله في العالم

Paduka sri Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah djohan berdaulat zill Allah fi al-Alam.

Translated:

His Royal Majesty Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah, ruler of the world in the shadow of Allah.

As 'ancestors' named in the eight seals along the edge are:

1. ابن سلطان جوهن العالم شاه = ibin Sultan djohan al-Alam Shah (1579).
2. ابن سلطان سيد المكمل = ibin Sultan Said al-Mukammal (1589-1604).
3. ابن سلطان مكتا عالم سكندر مود = ibin Sultan Makota Alam Sekandar Muda (1607-1636).
4. ابن سلطان العالم صفية الدين = ibin Sultan al-Alam Safiat ad-Din (1641-1675).
5. ابن سلطان احمد شاه = ibin Sultan Ahmad Shah (1727-1735).
6. ابن سلطان جوهن شاه = ibin Sultan Djohan Shah (1735-1760).
7. ابن سلطان محمود شاه = ibin Sultan Mahmud Shah (1760-1781).
8. ابن سلطان محمد شاه = ibin Sultan Muhammad Shah (1823-1836).

363 See paragraph 5.3.2.6, 'Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Qahar' on page 90.

364 See paragraph 5.3.2.36, 'Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah alias Tuanku Ibrahim' on page 111.

According to the chronicles Sultan Ala’ad-Din Ri’ayat Shah (1589-1604) is known as Sultan Said al-Mukammal.

Seal E is also of Sultan Ala’ad-Din Mansur Shah. On the central part his name is entirely as above. Also the same ‘ancestors’ are named in the smaller seals along the edge, but with the word ابن (ibin = son of) omitted.

The photo below (Figure 22) is an example of the use of the so-called *tjab Sikoereuëng* which is the ninefold seal (or *tjab halilintar* = thunder seal) as royal seal.

It is a letter of appointment to the Olé Glé by Sultan Ibrahim Mansur (1857-1870).

The letter is of AH 1280 (AD 1863). The photo is from ‘Zentgraaf’<sup>365</sup>.

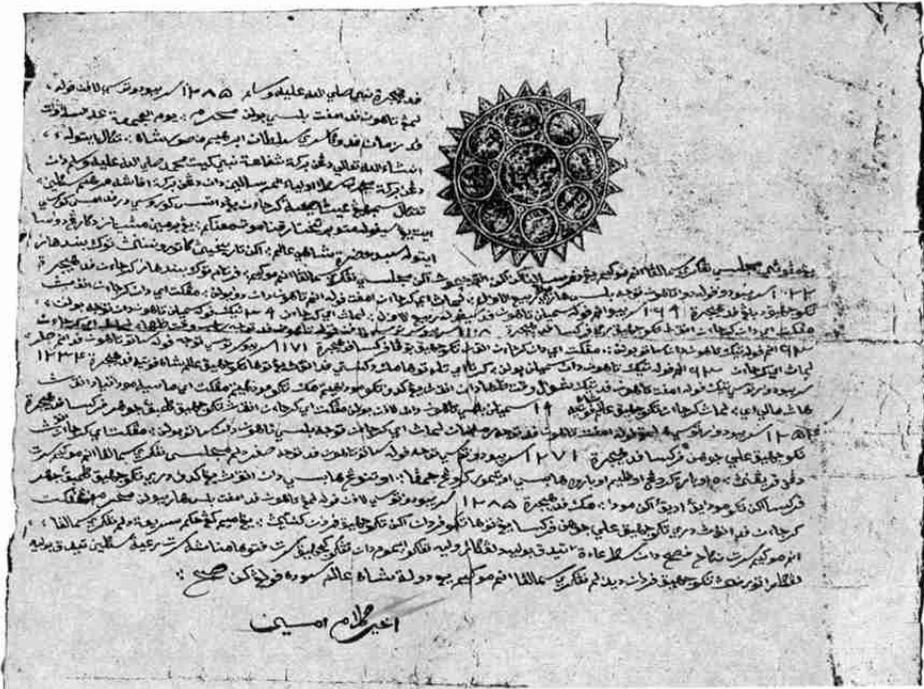


Figure 22. A letter of Sultan Ibrahim Mansur Shah with the ‘*tjab Sikoereuëng*’

365 Zentgraaf (1939) page 252.

### **5.3.6. Conclusions about the Sultans of Aceh**

The history of the Sultans of Aceh is substantially copied from the Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies<sup>366</sup>.

The Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies compiled the history from the epitaphs of the Sultans' tombs and native writings.

The native writings are not very reliable. In the previous section on the history of Aceh, the account of the Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies is supplemented by many later sources<sup>367</sup>.

This leads to some remarkable conclusions.

#### *5.3.6.1. Conclusion from the tombstones*

The tombstones have revealed the dates of death and part of the ancestry of a number of Sultans. Also Munawar Shah, the father of Sultan Sjamsoe Shah (no. 3), would have been a son of Raja Inayat Shah (no. 1).

#### *5.3.6.2. Conclusions after studying the coins*

From studying the coins it is clear that during the dominance by Aceh, coins were struck in Samudra-Pasai by:

1. Sultan Ala'ad-Din Riayat Shah al-Quahar (no. 6),
2. Husain (no. 7),
3. Abd al-Djalil (no. 8),
4. Iskandar Thani (no. 16),

Possibly also by:

5. Sultan Ala'ad-Din Munawar Shah (the son of Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah, no.12).

#### *5.3.6.3. Conclusion derived from the Chinese report*

The Chinese report from the Ming dynasty teaches that in 1579:

- Abd al-Djalil, alias Raja Priaman, alias Sultan Sri Alam, alias Sultan Ghiat ad-Din (no. 9) was killed by Raja Djainal, alias Sultan Zain al-Abidin (no. 10).
- Sultan Zain al-Abidin (no. 10) was killed by the 'stranger' Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah (no. 11).

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366 Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1917) Book I, pages 73-77.

367 See paragraph 9.8, 'Bibliography' on page 223.

#### 5.3.6.4. *Conclusions from the ninefold seals of Sultanah Tadj al-Alam*

Studying some of the ninefold seals generates an extraordinary conclusion<sup>368</sup>. On the seal (A) of Sultanah Tadj al-Alam Safiat ad-Din (no.17) is (translated)<sup>369</sup>:

Her Royal Majesty, Sultanah Tadj al-Alam Safiat ad-Din, ruler of the world in the shadow of Allah, daughter of:

- 1 Sultan Raja Iskandar Muda (1607-1636),
- 2 Regent of the State,
- 3 son of the Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah (1604-1607),
- 4 son of the Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah (1589-1604),
- 5 son of the Sultan Firman Shah,
- 6 son of the Sultan Muzaffar Shah (-1497),
- 7 son of the Sultan Inayat Shah (ca. 1450),
- 8 son of the Abdallah Almalik Almoebin.

As can be seen in Figure 18 on page 82, Sultanah Tadj al-Alam follows in her seal the ancestry via her father, Sultan Iskandar Muda and follows the line of Iskandar Muda's mother, Putri Radja Indra Bangsa. (Putri = daughter, princess.):

Putri Radja Indra Bangsa was the daughter of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah (1589-1604), no. 13 in Figure 18. He is named as no. 4 on her seal.

From this we can conclude that the name of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah before he became Sultan has been Radja Indra Bangsa.

There is no doubt about the persons on position 1 and 4 on the seal. The question is who is person number 2 and why does Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah (no 14) appear on position 3?

In the second position in the seal of Sultanah Tadj al-Alam, now occupied by Djohan berdaulat (Regent of the State), should be the Sultana's grandmother, Putri Radja Indra Bangsa, or her grandfather, Sultan Mansur Shah.

Neither Putri Radja Indra Bangsa nor Sultan Mansur Shah was reigning ruler of Aceh. This explains why position number 2 is 'Regent of the State' and not Sultan.

According to Figure 18, Sultanah Tadj al-Alam could not have put Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah (no 14), the son of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah, as number 3 in her seal.

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368 See paragraph 5.3.5, 'The ninefold seals' on page 129.

369 See paragraph 5.3.5.1, 'The seal of Sultanah Tadj al-Alam' on page 130.

A possible explanation is that she wanted to suggest the ancestry of her father, Sultan Iskandar Muda, or Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah. A second more likely explanation is that the ancestry in the Encyclopaedia is incorrect.

#### 5.3.6.5. Conclusions about the ancestry of Iskandar Muda

The histories about the Sultans Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah, Ali Ri'ayat Shah and Iskandar Muda are from chronicles, which are not reliable.

Paragraph 5.3.2.13, 'Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah (1589-1604)' on page 95, reads:

*'According to the chronicle, Sultan Ala'ad-Din had 4 sons and 2 daughters: One of the daughters, Putri Raja Indra Bangsa, the favourite daughter of the Sutan, was married off to a descendant of the old regal household, Sultan Mansur Shah, son of Abd al-Djalil, grandson of Ala'ad-Din. This marriage produced Perkasa Alam, the later Sultan Iskandar Muda (no. 15).'*

Due to the similarity in names, it is easy to exchange Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah and Ali Ri'ayat Shah. If this has happened, the named children of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah could in reality have been the children of Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah.

In that case, the Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies, which is also partly based on the chronicles, will also be wrong about the mother of Iskandar Muda.

In case this exchange of names in the chronicles has indeed taken place, a comparison with other sources should give the evidence.

Based on the coins:

If Putri Radja Indra Bangsa was the daughter of Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah (no 14) instead of the daughter of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah, (no. 13 in Figure 18), then Iskandar Muda could put rightfully 'bin Ali' on his coins, pointing to his grandfather, the former Sultan.

Based on the seal of Sultanah Tadj al-Alam:

Position 2 'Regent of the State' refers to her grandmother (not her grandfather), who in her place is the daughter of Ali Ri'ayat Shah, son of Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah, respectively numbers 3 and 4 on the seal. This gives a perfectly logical sequence that supports the likelihood of a mistake in the chronicles.

These two points make clear that an exchange of names in the chronicles is likely to have happened.

This change of names is a simple and logical explanation that could replace the complex discussion between Hulshoff Pol and Djajadiningrat in paragraph

5.3.3.10, 'The coins of Iskandar Muda with bin Ali' on page 122:

It explains why Iskandar Muda calls himself on his first coins 'Perkasa Alam bin Ali'.

He was known as Perkasa Alam during that time. He could rightfully say that he was a descendant of the last sultan.

Later on he called himself Iskandar Muda and still (grand-) son of the late Sultan.

On his coins is 'Iskandar Muda bin Ali'.

In both coins he passes by his own father Sultan Mansur, because his father was never Sultan of Aceh.

On his last coins he put the correct title 'Raja Iskandar Muda bin Mansur', referring to his father.

In the seals of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah and Sultan Ala'ad-Din Muhammad Dawot a Sultan Said al-Mukammal is mentioned:

The seal of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah (D), Sultan Said al-Mukammal is named (in position 2) as ancestor of Makuta Alam Iskandar Muda (no. 3 on that seal).

In the seal of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Muhammad Dawot (B), Sultan Said al-Mukammal is named at no. 1 as the forefather of Sultan Makuta Alam = Iskandar Muda.

According to the chronicles Said al-Mukammal is assumed the posthumous name of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah (1589-1604), no. 13 in Figure 18, but the explanation given above makes it the posthumous name of Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah (1604-1607) (no. 14).

#### *5.3.6.6. Conclusions on the ancestry of Sultan Abd al-Djalil.*

Based on the ninefold seal C of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan al-Alam Shah, more can be concluded as to the ancestry of Sultan Sri Alam (no. 9 in Figure 18), also known as Sultan Abd al-Djalil<sup>370</sup> and of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah (no. 11 in Figure 18).

Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan al-Alam Shah is number 32 in Figure 17, 'The rulers of Aceh'.

Position 4 in seal C of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan al-Alam Shah mentions Iskandar Muda.

Sultan Mansur Shah is named in position 3 (no. 11 in Figure 18). His father is mentioned in position 2 as Sultan Ahmad, Sultan of Perlak.

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370 See paragraph 5.3.2.9, 'Sultan Sri Alam' on page 93.

This brings Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah in the line of Sultan Iskandar Muda. The Encyclopaedia of the Dutch East Indies does not give this link.

The Encyclopaedia writes that the daughter of Sultan Mansur Shah was married to a Sultan Abd al-Djalil. The grandfather of Sultan Iskandar Muda is also an Abd al-Djalil.

It is logical to assume that these two Abd al-Djalil's are one and the same person. This brings the link that is missing in the Encyclopaedia.

At the time of that marriage Sultan Abd al-Djalil was ruler of Djohore. This was during the reign of his father, Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah (1537-1571)<sup>371</sup>.

This seal also shows that an ancestor, probably the grandfather, of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mansur Shah (no. 11) was one Sultan Mahmud Shah. This Sultan can be added to the genealogy of the sultans of Aceh.

It is noticeable that *this ancestry* in seal C runs through Sultan Mansur Shah, the father of Iskandar Muda (no. 15). The seals A, B and D all follow the ancestry through Putri Radja Indra Bangsa, the mother of Sultan Iskandar Muda. This is remarkable.

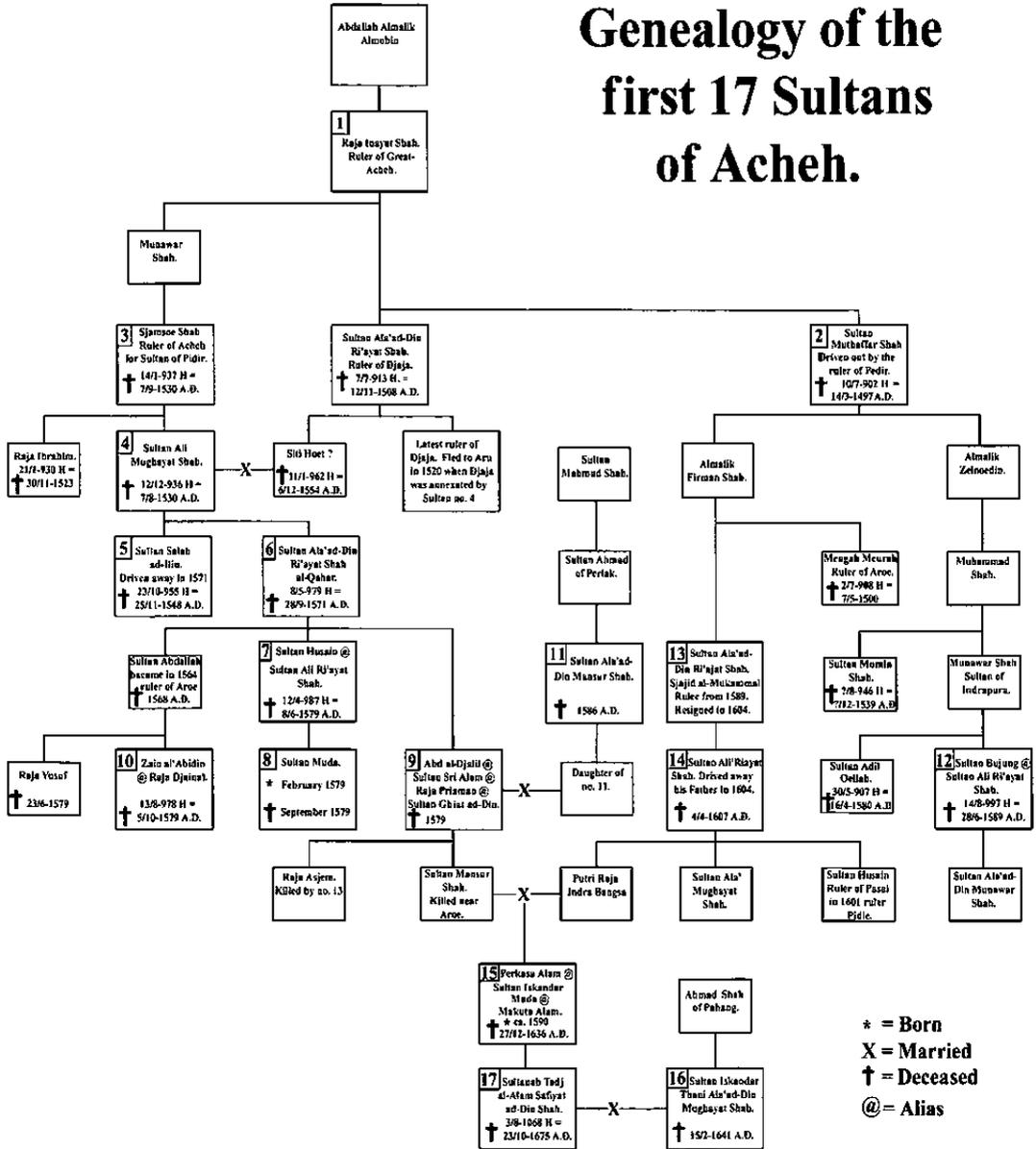
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371 See paragraph 5.3.2.6, 'Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Qahar' on page 90.

5.3.6.7. Revised genealogy of the Sultans of Aceh

The conclusions about the sultans of Aceh are summarised in Figure 23. This figure replaces Figure 18 on page 82.

# Genealogy of the first 17 Sultans of Aceh.



\* = Born  
 X = Married  
 † = Deceased  
 @ = Alias

Figure 23. Genealogy of the first 17 Sultans of Aceh

## 6. Catalogue

The numbers with 'SP' correspond with Figure 15, 'The rulers of Samudra-Pasai' on page 72 and the numbers with 'A' correspond with Figure 17, 'The rulers of Acheh' on page 81.

Variations of the coins of a particular Sultan will be marked with 'a', 'b', etc. Coins of Sultans who are not in Figure 15 or Figure 17 are marked with a capital letter 'B'.

The script on coins of the same Sultan can vary. This is due to the many dies used for hammering the coins.

The size of the coins is small and the script is rather difficult to read, which can lead to misreading. Misreading and assuming engravers mistakes Cowan<sup>372</sup> attributes coins of Sultan Ala'ad-Din bin Ali to Ala'ad-Din bin Abdallah, a coin of Abu ad-Din to Abu Zaid, a coin of Addallah to Abdallah and so on. Scholten<sup>373</sup> misreads a coin of Mansur as of Muthaffar.

Differences in dies of one and the same sultan can lead to attribution to different sultans. To avoid mistakes, where available, more than one coin is shown. On the other hand, one has to be very careful in assuming engravers' mistakes.

If there is more than one die of a coin, with small differences compared with the legend of other coins, then these are not engravers' mistakes but intentional. For instance:

Coins of a Sultan with the name 'Addallah' (SP 14).<sup>374</sup>

The coins are all from different dies and there is no 'b' so the name is not *Abdallah*.

It is not an engraver's mistake and there must have been a Sultan who intentionally put Addallah on his coins, although with the same meaning as Abdallah.

In this case these coins are of a different Sultan or period than coins of Sultans with the name Abdallah on their coins.

The catalogue depicts the obverse of the coin above the reverse.

The coins in the catalogue are reproduced about two times enlarged.

Along the left side of the pictures is a ruler with millimetre divisions.

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372 Cowan (1938) page 204-214.

373 Scholten (1949) page 175,

374 Catalogue 6.1.2.16, 'Sultan Addallah of Samudra-Pasai', on page 156.

## 6.1. Coins of Samudra-Pasai

### 6.1.1. The half and quarter mas coins

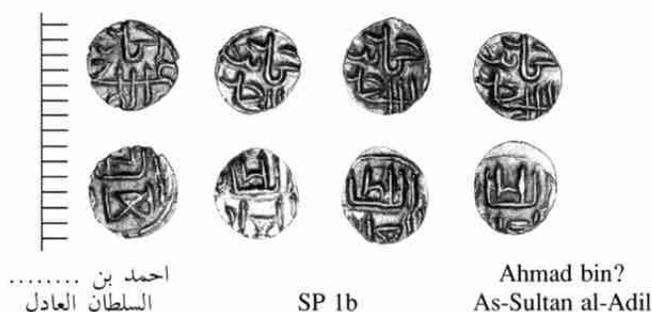
#### 6.1.1.1. Sultan Ahmad I of Samudra-Pasai (ca. 1270-ca. 1295)

Shown are 4 different coins of  $\frac{1}{2}$  and one possibly  $\frac{1}{4}$  mas with the name of Ahmad<sup>375</sup>.

The flans are too small for the whole inscription. This makes them difficult to read.



The last coin is 0.168 grams thus a  $\frac{1}{4}$  mas or a clipped  $\frac{1}{2}$  mas. These coins have the simplest inscriptions. That places them at the beginning of the series.



The reading of the obverse of this coin is uncertain. Especially the lower part of the inscription is off flan on all these coins.<sup>376</sup>

<sup>375</sup> See paragraph 4.1.5.1, 'The small coins or masakas of Ahmad' on page 46.

<sup>376</sup> See Figure 12, 'Ahmad bin?' on page 56.

The obverse probably reads *أحمد بن مستنجد بالله*, 'Ahmad bin Mustandjad Bullah' meaning Ahmad son of who implores the help of Allah.



The inscription on these coins is the standard for all the coins of Samudra-Pasai of 0.6 grams.

So it must be the latest in these series.

6.1.1.2. *Raja Munawar of Samudra-Pasai (ca. 1270)*

Two different coins of  $\frac{1}{2}$  mas with the name of Munawar are known.<sup>377</sup>

The flans are too small for the whole inscription. This makes them difficult to read.



<sup>377</sup> See paragraph 4.1.5.2, 'The small coins or masakas of Munawar' on page 45.

Catalogue



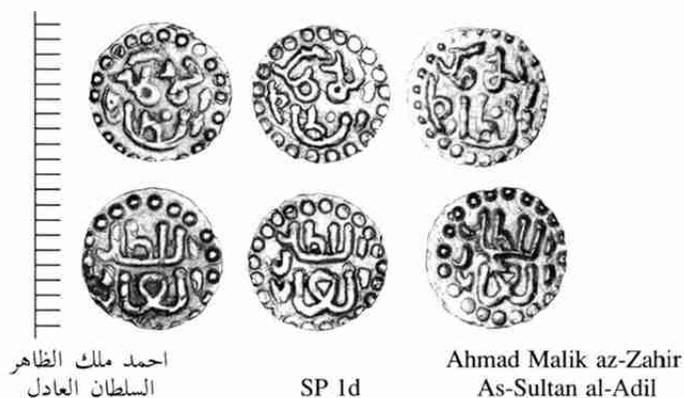
The obverse is the same as the foregoing coin, but the loop of the 'w' (و) is joined by the 's' (س) of Shah. On the reverse the 'h' or 'hir' (هر) is joined to the 'a' of 'Ta' (طا).

### 6.1.2. The mas and two mas coins

#### 6.1.2.1. Sultan Ahmad I of Samudra-Pasai (ca. 1270-ca. 1295)

All the coins of Ahmad I have a dot on the (ظ) in Zahir<sup>378</sup>.

These coins with the dot on the ظ are considered to belong to the first Sultan Ahmad of Samudra-Pasai. All the later coins do not have this dot.



<sup>378</sup> See paragraph 4.1.5.3, 'The coins of Sultan Ahmad I' on page 46.

6.1.2.2. *Raja Munawar of Samudra (ca. 1270)*

No coins of ca. 0.6 grams are known of Raja Munawar of Samudra.

6.1.2.3. *Malik as-Saleh of Samudra (ca. 1290-1297)*

The coins of Salah ad-Din don't have the reigning title Malik at-Tahir<sup>379</sup>. Salah ad-Din was vice Sultan in Samudra under his older brother Ahmad. Some of these coins have one or two dots above the 'S' (ص) of Salah.



6.1.2.4. *Sultan Muhammad of Samudra-Pasai (1297-1326)*

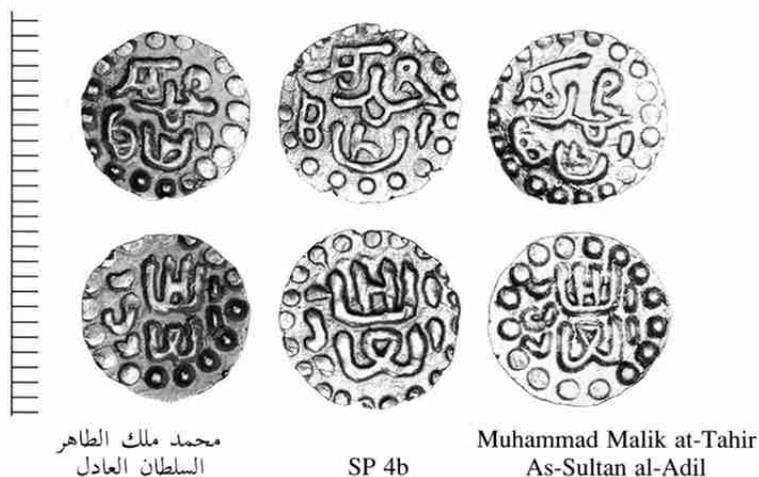
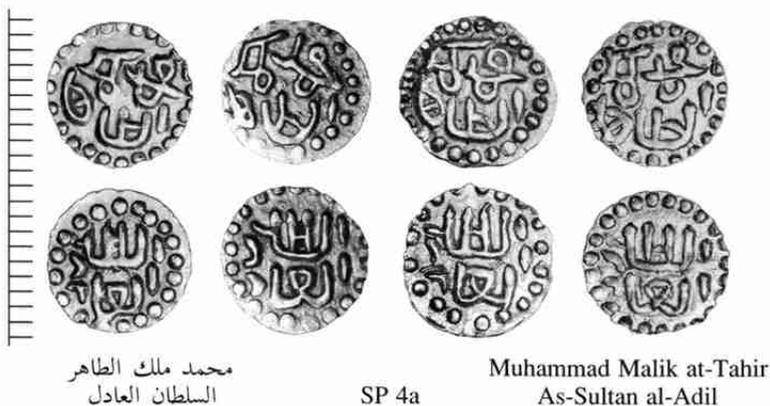
There are two different cointypes of Sultan Muhammad.

The difference is how the name of Muhammad is placed on the coin.

The 'd' (د) of Muhammad (محمد) in the first four coins is clearly above the 'm' (م) of Malik

(ملك), this is type SP 4a. On the other three the 'd' (د) is around the 'm' (م) this is type SP 4b.

379 See paragraph 4.1.5.4, 'The coins of Malik as-Saleh' on page 46.



#### 6.1.2.5. Sultan Mansur of Samudra-Pasai (1297-1333)

Sultan Mansur of Samudra-Pasai was Sultan in Pasai only during the time that his brother Muhammad was prisoner in Siam<sup>380</sup>.

These coins must be from this period, as the title 'Malik at-Tahir' appears on the coin.

<sup>380</sup> See paragraph 5.3.3.1, 'The coins of Sultan Mansur' on page 116.

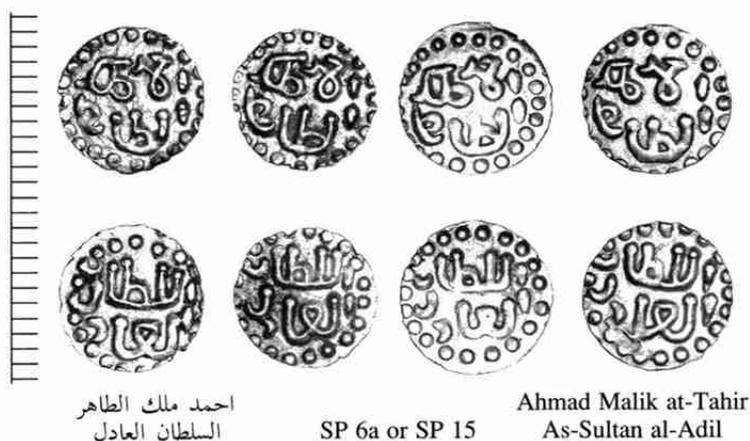


6.1.2.6. *Sultan Ahmad II or III of Samudra-Pasai*

Three Sultans bore the name Ahmad<sup>381</sup>. The first (SP 1) reigned from ca. 1270 until ca. 1295; the second (SP 6) from 1326 until ca. 1360 and the third (SP 15) from 1435 until ca. 1452.

The coins of Ahmad I are different from the others<sup>382</sup>.

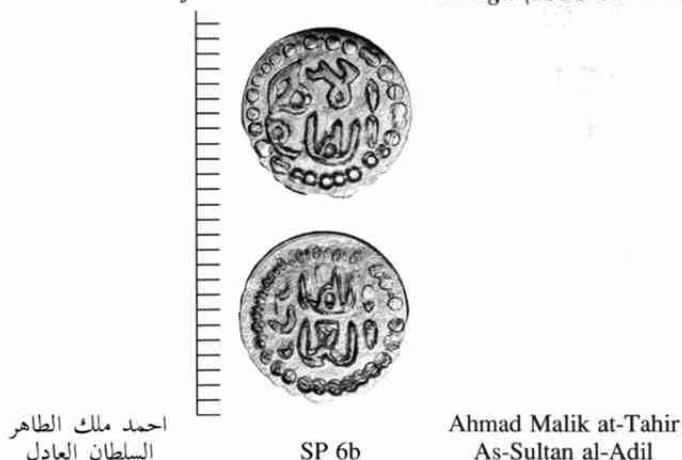
It is not possible to distinguish between the coins of Sultan Ahmad II and III.



381 See Figure 15, 'The rulers of Samudra-Pasai' on page 72.

382 See paragraph 4.1.5.3, 'The coins of Sultan Ahmad I' on page 46 and the note at Sultan Ahmad I (SP 1) on page 146. See also paragraph 4.1.5.7, 'The coins of Sultan Ahmad II' on page 48.

6.1.2.7. *Sultan Ahmad II of Samudra-Pasai at Menduga (1326-ca. 1360)*



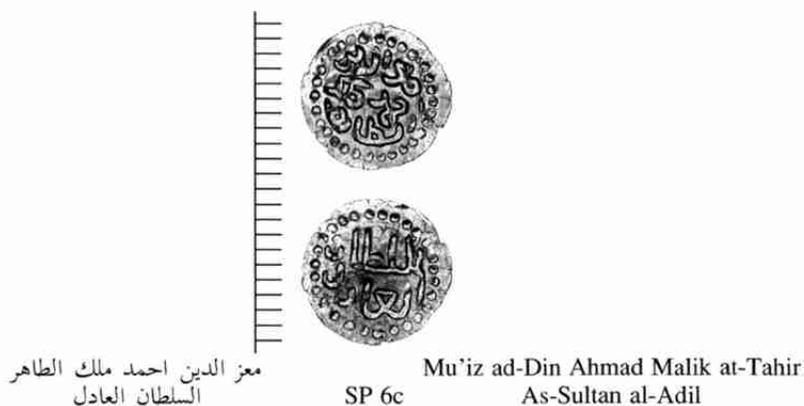
Sultan Ahmad II had to flee to Menduga during the occupation of Samudra-Pasai by the kingdom of Majapahit around 1360. All coins struck at Menduga are different from the other coins.

They are larger and thinner, but still weighing 0.6 grams<sup>383</sup>.

6.1.2.8. *Sultan Mu'iz ad-Din Ahmad at Menduga (1326-ca. 1360)*

This coin of Sultan Ahmad is also larger and thinner than the normal coins of 0.6 grams.

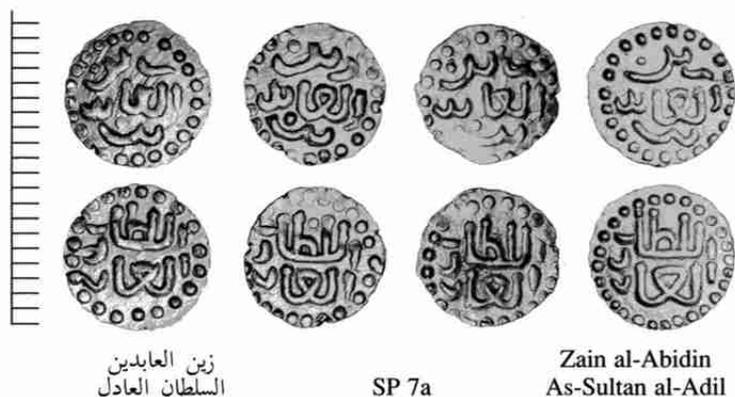
The coin probably belongs to the same Ahmad (SP 6) who added the Lakab 'Mu'iz ad-Din' (Who gives glory to the faith) to his name while in exile<sup>384</sup>.



383 See also paragraph 4.1.5.7, 'The coins of Sultan Ahmad II' on page 48.

384 See paragraph 4.1.5.8, 'The coins of Sultan Mu'iz ad-Din Ahmad' on page 49.

6.1.2.9. Sultan Zain al-Abidin I (ca. 1360-ca. 1370)



There is no Malik at-Tahir on these coins<sup>385</sup>.

So these coins of Sultan Zain al-Abidin were struck when he was the vice Sultan at Samudra.

As the size of the coins is regular and small compared to the following coins of Zain al-Abidin, these coins were struck during the reign of Sultan Ahmad II and before the occupation of Samudra-Pasai by the kingdom of Majapahit around 1360.



385 See paragraph 4.1.5.9, 'The coins of Sultan Zain al-Abidin I' on page 49.

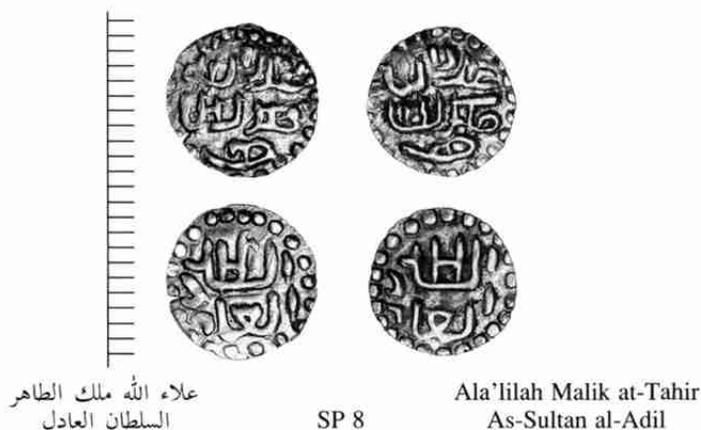
Catalogue



These coins are struck at Menduga after the death of his father Sultan Ahmad II.

All coins struck at Menduga are different from the other coins. They are larger and thinner, but still weighing 0.6 grams.

6.1.2.10. Sultanah Ala'lilah (ca. 1370-1379)



This must be the coin of the queen who died in 1379<sup>386</sup>.

<sup>386</sup> See paragraph 4.1.4.4, 'The tombstone of Sultanah Ala'lilah or Varda Rahmat Allah' on page 40.

6.1.2.11. *Sultan Abdallah I of Samudra-Pasai (1379-ca. 1400)*

These coins have a script that corresponds with the foregoing coins<sup>387</sup>.

The 'd' of 'Abd' is short and the 'h' of 'Allah' is not closed and there is an 'a' (l) before 'Allah', but no 'a' (l) before at-Tahir.

Because of these peculiarities in the script, it is presumed that these coins (variants SP 9a, b and c) belong to Sultan Abdallah I (SP 9).



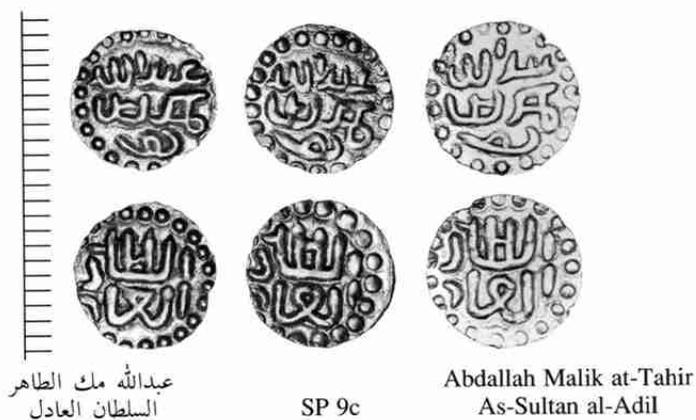
On these coins Abdallah is on two lines.



Abdallah is on two lines and the words Malik and Tahir exchanged.

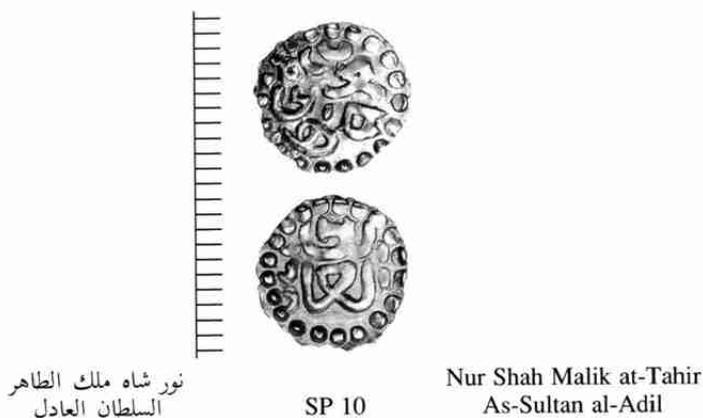
<sup>387</sup> See for these coins 4.2.4.1, "The coins of Sultan Abdallah I and II", on page 65.

Catalogue



On these coins Abdallah is on one line.

6.1.2.12. Sultan Nur Shah of Samudra-Pasai (ca. 1400-1402)



The coins of Nur Shah are very rare<sup>388</sup>.

<sup>388</sup> See paragraph 4.2.4.2, 'The coins of Nur Shah' on page 67.

6.1.2.13. *Sultan Zain al-Abidin II of Samudra-Pasai (1402-ca. 1404)*



Sultan Zain al-Abidin II has been killed fighting the king of Nakur<sup>389</sup>.

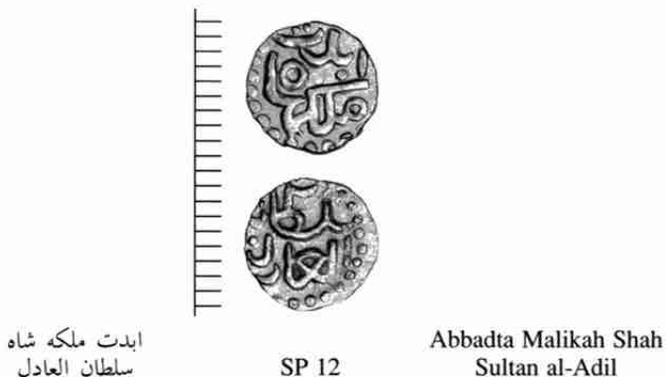
His widow (SP 12) and an old fisherman, called Abu ad-Din (SP 13), succeeded him as Sultan.

This coin is quite different from the coins of the Sultans Zain al-Abidin (SP 7b) and Zainal'ad-Din (SP 16).

The coin is rare, in correspondence with the short period of his reign.

6.1.2.14. *Abbadta Malikah Shah (ca. 1404-ca. 1405)*

There is clearly Malikah on the coin. This coin is of a female. The only female, mentioned in this period, is the widow of Sultan Zainal'ad-Din II, who had been killed in a war against Nakur<sup>390</sup>.



389 See paragraph 4.2.1, 'Reports from the Chinese delegations' on page 58.

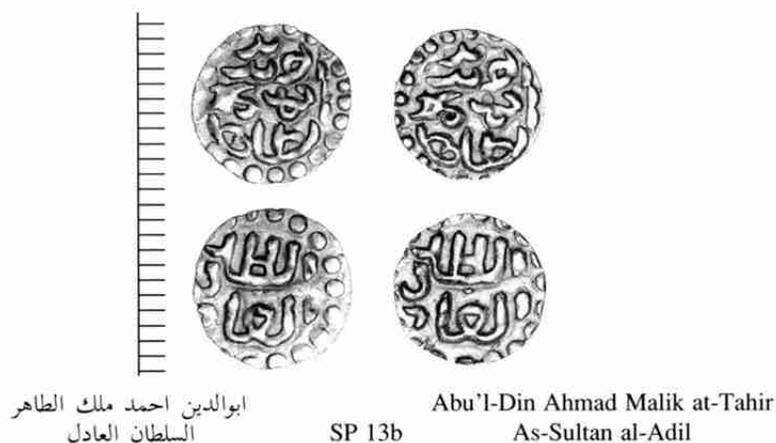
390 See paragraph 4.2.4.4, 'The coins of Abbadta Malikah Shah' on page 67.

6.1.2.15. Sultan Abu'l-Din of Samudra-Pasai (ca. 1405-1412)



These coins closely resemble in script to those of Sultan Zainal'ad-Din III (SP 16).<sup>391</sup>

Abu'l Din (father of the religion) is not a suitable title for a young Sultan. But it is a perfect title for the old fisherman who married the widow of Sultan Zain al-Abidin II.

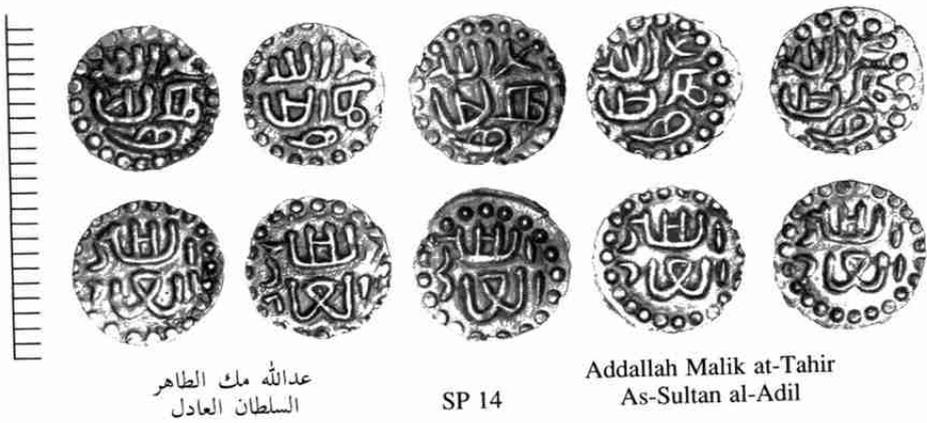


This coin also belongs to Abu'l-Din<sup>392</sup>.

The adding of the word 'Ahmad' (the most praised) is a Lakab (title of honour), possibly referring to the revenge of the death of his predecessor.

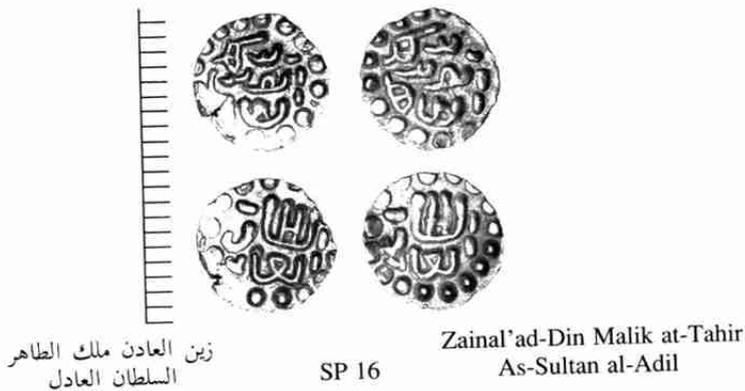
391 and 392 See paragraph 4.2.4.5, 'The coins of Abu'l-Din' on page 68.

6.1.2.16. Sultan Addallah of Samudra-Pasai (1412-ca. 1435)



On these coins the 'b' is missing.  
Nevertheless, they are usually read as of a Sultan Abdallah<sup>393</sup>.

6.1.2.17. Sultan Zainal'ad-Din III of Samudra-Pasai (1452-1460)



There is a close resemblance in script between this coin and those of Sultan Abu'l-din (SP 13a) and Sultan Addallah (SP 14),<sup>394</sup> which led to the conclusion that this coin must be of Sultan Zainal'ad-Din III<sup>395</sup>.

393 See paragraph 4.2.4.6, 'The coins of Addallah,' on page 69.

394 See paragraph 6.1.2.15, 'Sultan Abu'l-Din of Samudra-Pasai (ca. 1405-1412)', on page 155.

395 See paragraph 4.2.4.8, 'The coins of Sultan Zainal'ad-Din III' on page 69.

It is not a variant of the coins of Abu'l-Din, because the name 'Zain' is quite legible.

The differences between these coins and those of Abu'l-Din are obvious.

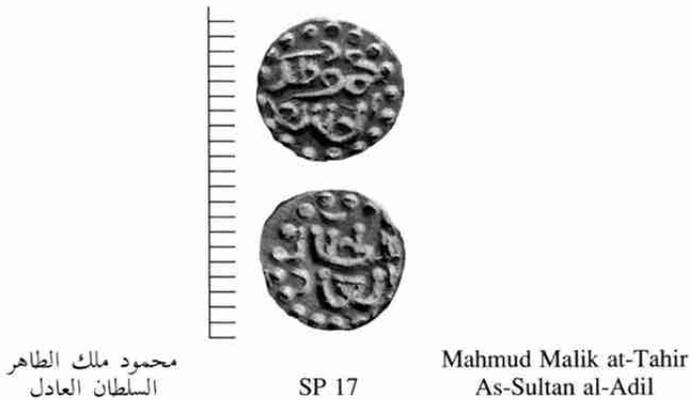
On these coins the word 'Malik' is on the first line and in fact before 'al'ad-din'.

On the coins of Abu'l-din the word 'Malik' is placed after 'Abu'l-din'.

There are differences on the reverse of the coins as well.

The 'd' in 'Adil' on these coins has the form of a 'v' with the opening up while on the coins of Abu ad-Din the opening is to the left.

6.1.2.18. *Sultan Mahmud of Samudra-Pasai (1460-ca. 1475)*



This coin is very rare. There is only one Sultan with the name of Mahmud. His reign must have been short.

6.1.2.19. *Sultan Abdallah II of Samudra-Pasai (ca. 1475-1513)*

On these coins there is no 'a' (ا) before 'Allah' and no 'a' (ا) before at-Tahir. The 'b' of 'Abd' is above the 'A' of 'Abd'<sup>396</sup>.

There is a 'b' in 'Abd' so these coins are not of Sultan Addallah (SP14).

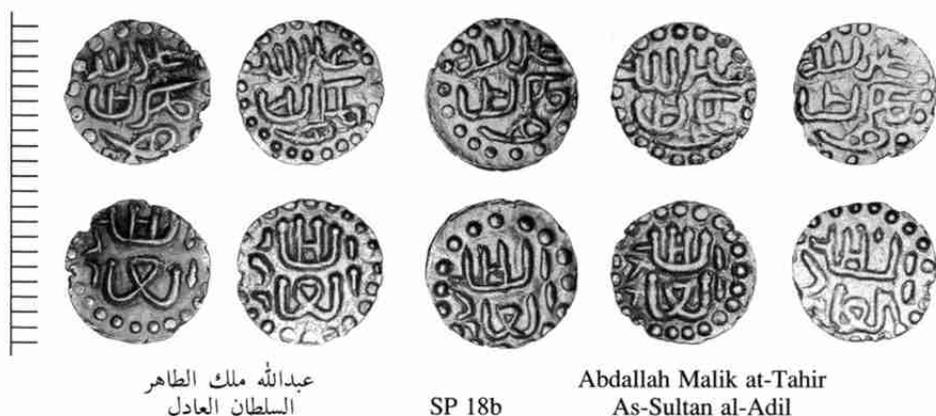
On the basis of these peculiarities in the script, it is presumed that these coins (variants SP 18a and b) are of Sultan Abdallah II.

396 See for these coins paragraph 4.2.4.1, 'The coins of Sultan Abdallah I and II', on page 65. See also note 385.

Catalogue



On this variant (SP 18a) of a coin with 'Abdallah' 'Allah' is above 'Abd'.  
The 'a' of 'Allah' is closed.

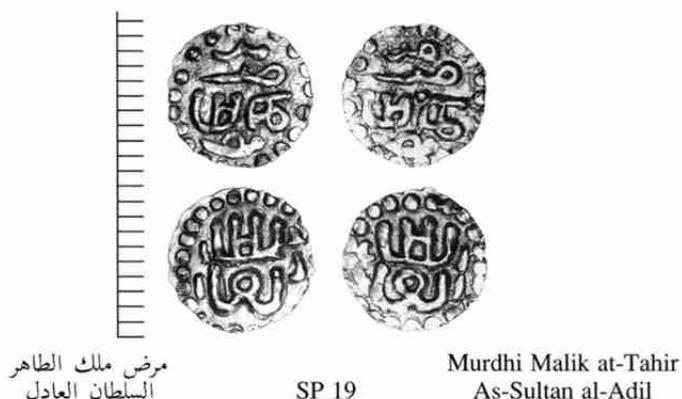


On this variant (SP 18b) 'Abdallah' is on the first line.

Like in variant (SP 18a) the 'a' of 'Allah' on the third and fifth coin is closed.  
On coins 1, 3 and 5 the 'b' is on top of the 'a' of Abdallah, and all have a line  
between the 'b' and 'd' of Abdallah.

The alif before Allah is missing and the last letter of Abd is like an 'L', so it is  
possible that the name on the coin is not Abdallah.

6.1.2.20. *Sultan Murdhi of Samudra-Pasai*



More than his name is not known of this Sultan. The coins are certainly from Samudra-Pasai<sup>397</sup>.

The weight of all coins of this Sultan is low.

These coins are often misread as coins of Sultan Mumin (SP 20).

It is assumed that the coins of Murdhi were at the end of the series of coins from Samudra-Pasai. The coins illustrated weigh 0.483 and 0.446 grams only.

6.1.2.21. *Sultan Mumin of Samudra-Pasai*



397 See paragraph 4.2.4.10, 'The coins of Sultan Murdhi' on page 70.

It is also not known who this Sultan was, but the coins are certainly from Samudra-Pasai<sup>398</sup>.

The weight of genuine coins is far less than 0.6 grams.

The coin published by Hulshoff Pol<sup>399</sup> was also only 0.40 grams.

Therefore it is assumed that the coins of Mumin were the latest in the series of coins from Samudra-Pasai. The coins on the photo weigh 0.367, 0.441 and 0.343 grams respectively.

## 6.2. Coins of Aceh

The coins of Aceh are listed in this part of the Catalogue.

The coins of Samudra-Pasai, which were struck by vice 'kings' during the rule of Aceh are listed here as well.

### 6.2.1. Coins with 'As-Sultan Al-Adil' on the reverse, until 1607

#### 6.2.1.1. Raja Inayat Shah (-1497)

No coins are known of Raja Inayat Shah of Aceh.

#### 6.2.1.2. Sultan Muzaffer (1497-1514)



398 See paragraph 4.2.4.11, 'The coins of Sultan Mumin' on page 70.

399 Hulshoff Pol (1929) coin no. 5 on page 9.

This coin has been engraved in reverse but reproduced here in good reading position by inverting the photo. This rare coin has not been published before<sup>400</sup>. It is questionable whether this coin is genuine or fake. It however makes plausible the existence of coins of Sultan Muzaffer.

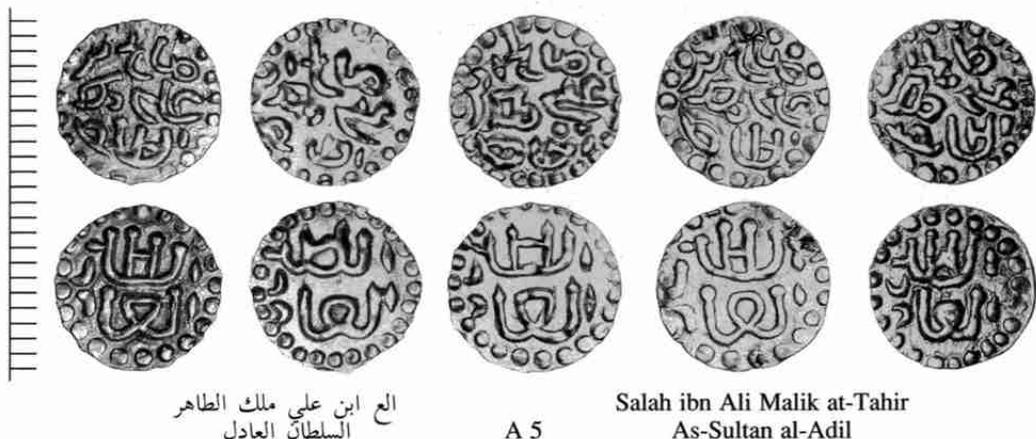
6.2.1.3. *Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah (1514-1530)*



Although quite different sizes occur all the coins weigh about 0.6 grams. Both smaller coins have a dot on the 'i' of Ali. As the coins minted in Samudra-Pasai are smaller than the coins of Aceh, it is possible that these smaller coins, with the dot, were minted in Samudra Pasai.

<sup>400</sup> See also paragraph 5.3.3.1, 'The coins of Sultan Mansur' on page 116 about the coin that Scholten attributed to Sultan Muzaffer.

6.2.1.4. *Sultan Salah ibn Ali (1530-1537)*



These are the first coins of Aceh to bear the name of the father of the Sultan. Coin no. 3 has two dots below the 'i' of Ali.

6.2.1.5. *Sultan Ala'ad-Din bin Ali (1537-1571)*

The coins A 6a and A 6b from Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah while he was regent of Samudra-Pasai (1530-1537).

On these coins there is no 'Malik at-Tahir' but the obverse inscription starts with 'Sultan'.<sup>401</sup> The word 'bungsu' means youngest son.

So he was the youngest son of Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah (A 4).

<sup>401</sup> See paragraph 5.3.3.2, 'The coins of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Qahar' on page 116.

Catalogue



سلطان علاء الدين بن بغيو سلطان علي  
السلطان العادل

Sultan Ala'ad-Din bin bungsu Sultan Ali  
A 6a As-Sultan al-Adil

This coin is a 2 mas and its weight is 1.21 grams.<sup>402</sup>



سلطان علاء الدين بن بغيو علي  
السلطان العادل

A 6b Sultan Ala'ad-Din bin bungsu Ali  
As-Sultan al-Adil

These are coins of 1 mas.

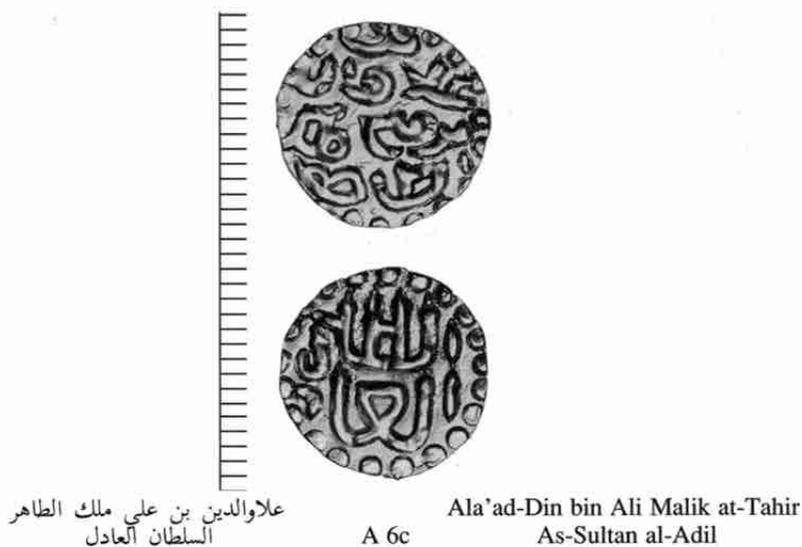
The coins A 6c and A 6d are of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah (on these coins written as *Ala*oe ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah) while he was Sultan of Acheh<sup>403</sup>.

402 Note the diacritical marks (three dots) on the Arabic 'ع' (ain) which makes it the Malay 'ng'

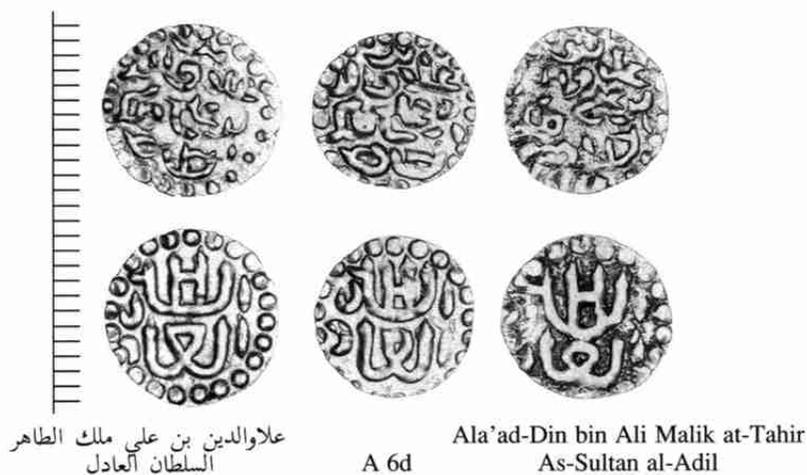
403 See paragraph 5.3.3.2, 'The coins of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Qahar' on page 116.

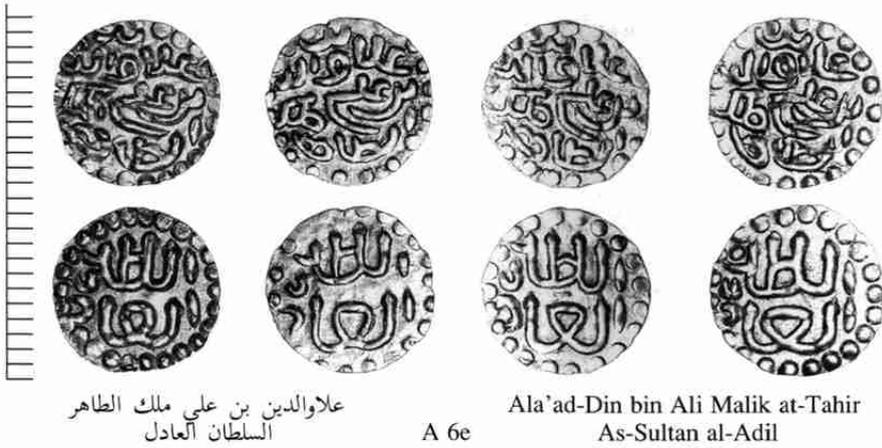
The differences, between A 6c, A 6d and A 6e, are on the obverse of the coins. On the coins no. A 6c and A 6d 'bin' and 'Ali' are written with short and not overlapping lines.

On the coin no. A 6e 'bin' and 'Ali' are written with long and overlapping lines.

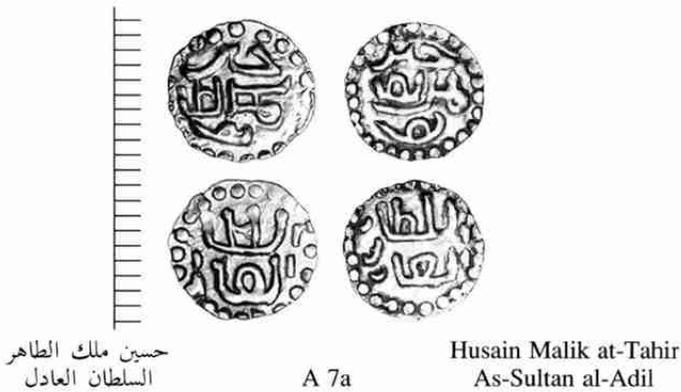


This coin is a 2 mas and its weight is 1.20 grams.





6.2.1.6. *Sultan Husain alias Sultan Ali bin Ala'ad-Din (1571-1579)*



This coin of Sultan Husain is from the period when he was ruling Samudra-Pasai during the reign of his father, Sultan Ala ad-Din (1537-1571).

Sultan Husain called himself 'Ali Ri'ayat Shah' after becoming Sultan of Aceh, on his coins abbreviated to just 'Ali'.

The differences between the coins A 7b and A 7c are on the obverse.

On the coins A 7b the first line is 'Ali bin'

On the second line 'Ala ad-Din Malik'

On the third line 'at-Tahir'

On the coins A 7c the first line is 'Ali bin Ala'

On the second line 'ad-Din Malik'

On the third line 'at-Tahir'

Catalogue



علي بن علاء الدين ملك الطاهر  
السلطان العادل

A 7b

Ali bin Ala'ad-Din Malik at-Tahir  
As-Sultan al-Adil



علي بن علاء الدين ملك الطاهر  
السلطان العادل

A 7c

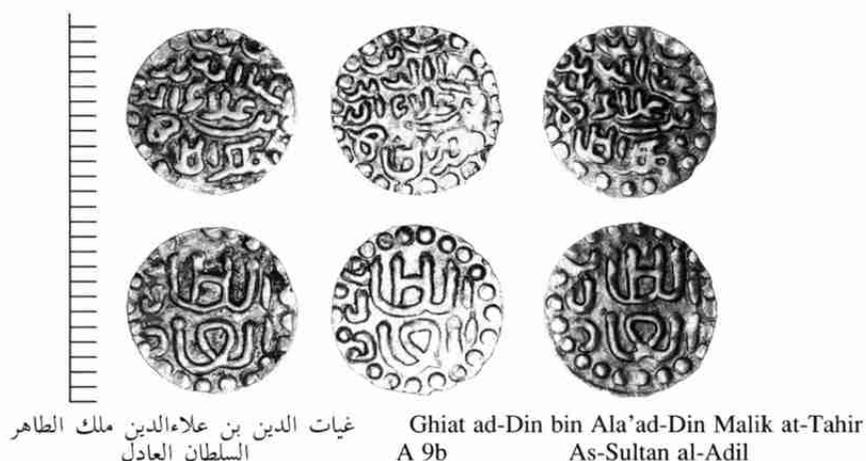
Ali bin Ala'ad-Din Malik at-Tahir  
As-Sultan al-Adil

6.2.1.7. *Sultan Abd al-Djalil alias Sri Alam or Ghiat ad-Din bin Ala'ad-Din (1579)*

This coin of Sultan Abd al-Djalil is from the period when he was ruling at Samudra-Pasai, during the reign of his brother, Sultan Husain alias Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Shah (1571-1579)<sup>404</sup>.



Sultan Sri Alam (1579), no. 9 in Figure 18 on page 82, is the same as Sultan Abd al-Djalil, who named himself Ghiat ad-Din as Sultan<sup>405</sup>.



404 See paragraph 5.3.3.4, 'The coins of Sultan Abd al-Djalil' on page 118.

405 See paragraph 5.3.3.5, 'The coins of Sultan Ghiat ad-Din' on page 119.

6.2.1.8. *Sultan Ala'ad-Din ibn Ahmad (1579-1586)*



The coins of A 11a have a long 'n' in 'ibn', going under the 'H' of Ahmad.



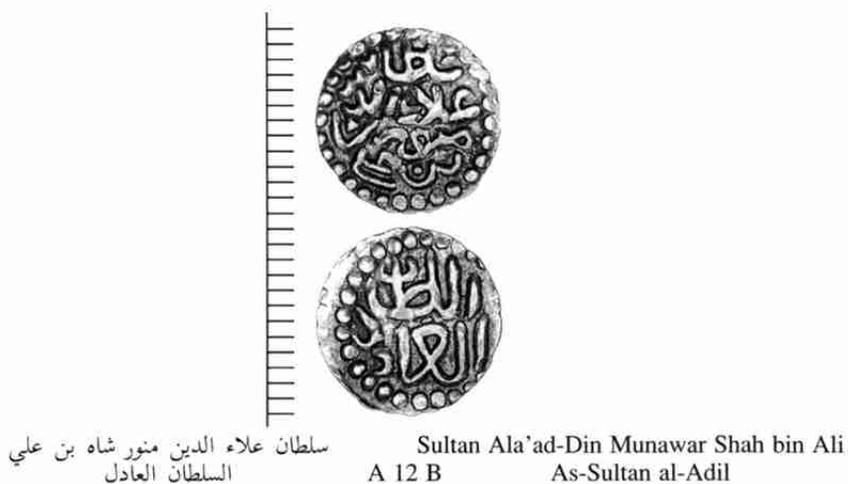
The coins of A 11b have a short 'n' in 'ibn', stopping before the 'A' of Ahmad.

6.2.1.9. *Sultan Ali ibn Munawar Shah (1586-1589)*



6.2.1.10. *Sultan Ala'ad-Din Munawar Shah bin Ali. (? – 1589)*

This coin is of the son of Sultan Ali ibn Munawar Shah (No. 12)<sup>406</sup>.  
Coins of Sultans who are not in Figure 15 or Figure 17 are marked with a capital 'B'.



A comparable coin, on which the word 'Shah' (شاه) is missing, exists also.

<sup>406</sup> See also paragraph 5.3.3.6, 'The coins of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Munawar Shah bin Ali' on page 119.

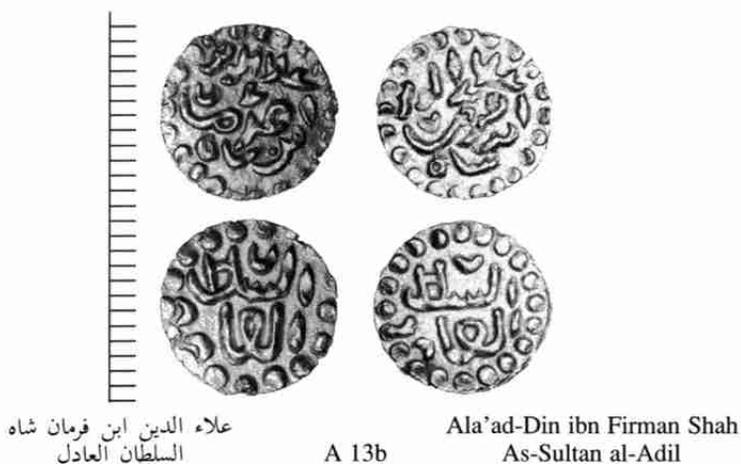
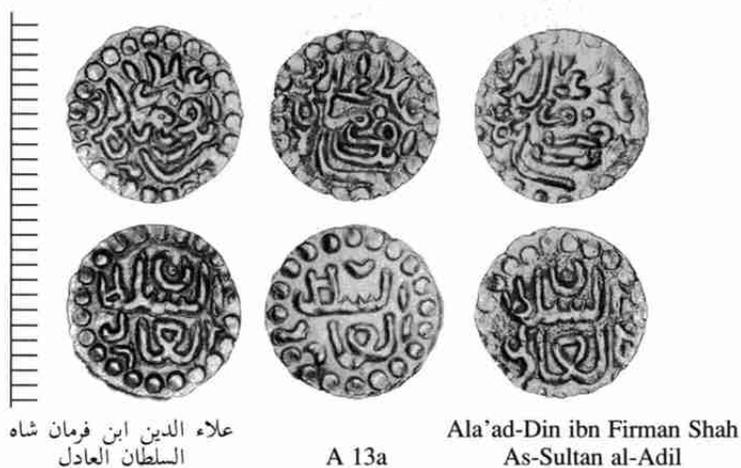
6.2.1.11. *Sultan Ala'ad-Din ibn Firman Shah (1589-1604)*

The coins in A 13a have a long 'S' in 'Shah'. The coins in A 13b have a short 'S' in 'Shah'

On the reverse of the coins in A 13a and A 13b the 'n' of 'Sultan' is on top of the coin.

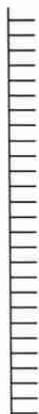
The coins in A 13c have the word 'Shah' above the 'n' of 'Firman' and on the reverse the 'n' of 'Sultan' is connected to the 'a' in 'Sultan'.

Coin A 13d is a variant with 'bin Ali' (بن علي) on the reverse<sup>407</sup>.



407 See paragraph 5.3.3.7, 'The coins of Sultan Ala'ad-Din ibn Firman Shah bin Ali' on page 120.

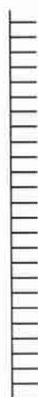
Catalogue



علاء الدين ابن فرمان شاه  
السلطان العادل

A 13c

Ala'ad-Din ibn Firman Shah  
As-Sultan al-Adil



علاء الدين ابن فرمان شاه  
السلطان العادل بن علي

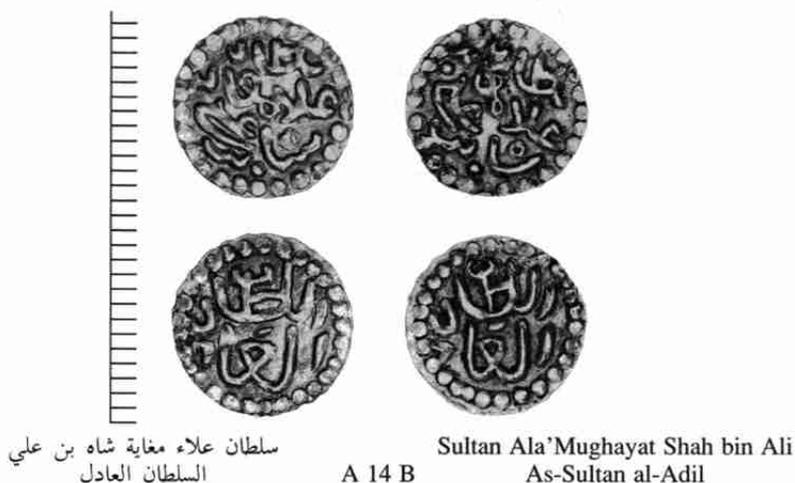
A 13d

Ala'ad-Din ibn Firman Shah  
As-Sultan al-Adil bin Ali

6.2.1.12. *Sultan Ala'Mughayat Shah bin Ali. (?-1607)*

This coin is of the son of Sultan Ali bin Ala'ad-Din<sup>408</sup>.

Coins of Sultans who are not in Figure 15 or Figure 17 are marked with a capital 'B'.



6.2.2. *Coins with titles on the reverse, after 1607*

6.2.2.1. *Sultan Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636)*

On his earlier coins Sultan Iskandar Muda called himself son of Ali<sup>409</sup>.

On his later coins he called himself son of Mansur.

Two coins of Sultan Iskandar Muda, from his earliest period, do not have the normal round form, but a more floral design. These coins must be from the start of the series.

The first one is of 4 mas and the second of 1 mas. They are very rare.

408 See paragraph 5.3.3.9, 'The coins of Sultan Ala'Mughayat Shah bin Ali' on page 121.

409 See for the coins of 'Perkasa Alam' or 'Iskandar Muda' with 'bin Ali', paragraph 5.3.3.10, 'The coins of Iskandar Muda with bin Ali' on page 122 and paragraph 5.3.6.5, 'Conclusions about the ancestry of Iskandar Muda' on page 138.



سلطان العادل و الخاقان الفاضل  
سرسلطان فرکاس عالم جوہن بر  
دولتہ بن علی

A 15a

Sultan al-Adil wa al-Khaqan al-Fazul  
sri Sultan Perkasa Alam djohan  
berdaulat bin Ali

This is a coin of 4 mas and its weight is 2.4 grams.

Khaqan (خاقان) is an adaptation of the old Mongol title of Jenghiz Khan 'Kaghan', a word that contracts to the even shorter form 'Khan' (خان).

Catalogue

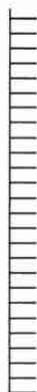


سر سلطان فرکاس عالم  
جوہن بر دولۃ بن علی

A 15b

Sri Sultan Perkasa Alam  
Djohan berdaulat bin Ali

This coin and the following are 1 mas.



سر سلطان فرکاس عالم  
جوہن بر دولۃ بن علی

A 15c

Sri Sultan Perkasa Alam  
Djohan berdaulat bin Ali



سر سلطان اسکندر مود  
جوهن بر دولة بن علي

A 15d

Sri Sultan Iskandar Muda  
Djohan berdaulat bin Ali



سر سکهطان راج اسکندر مود  
جوهن بر دولة بن منصور شاه

A 15e

Sri Sultan Raja Iskandar Muda  
Djohan berdaulat bin Mansur Shah

6.2.2.2. *Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah alias Iskandar Thani (1636-1641)*

Under Iskander Muda, Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah was regent of Samudra-Pasai<sup>410</sup>. This coin was struck there.



سر سلطان علاء الدين مغاية شاه  
ابن سلطان احمد شاه

Sri Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah  
A 16a Ibn Sultan Ahmad Shah



سر سلطان اسكندر ثاني علاء الدين  
مغاية شاه ابن سلطان  
احمد شاه

Sri Sultan Iskandar Thani Ala'ad-Din  
A 16b Mughayat Shah ibn Sultan  
Ahmad Shah

This coin is of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah alias Sultan Iskandar Thani Ala'ad-Din<sup>411</sup>, when he was the Sultan of Aceh.

410 and 411 See paragraph 5.3.3.11, 'The coins of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Mughayat Shah alias Iskandar Thani' on page 126.

6.2.2.3. *Sultanah Tadj al-Alam (1641-1675)*

There are two cointypes of Sultanah Tadj al-Alam.

On the most common type, A 17a, the word 'Tadj' (تاج) is on the third line.

On the rare type, A 17b, the word 'Tadj' (تاج) is on the second line.



فادك سر سلطانه تاج العالم  
صفية ادین بر دولة شاه

A 17a

Paduka Sri Sultanah Tadj al-Alam  
Safiat ad-Din berdaulat Shah

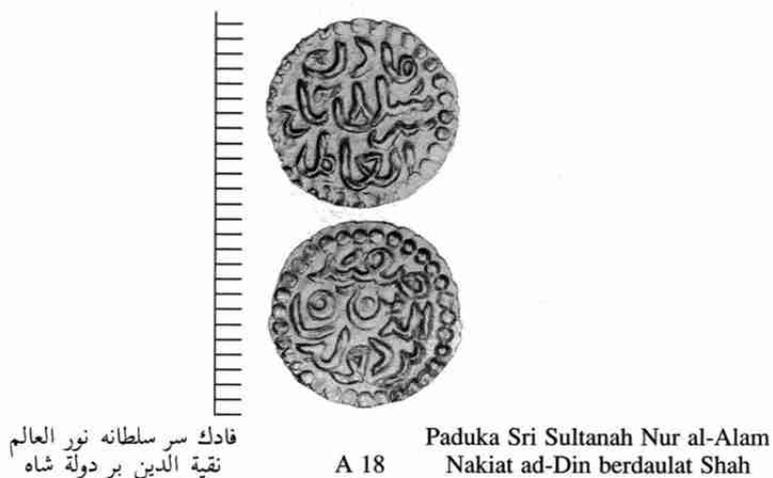


فادك سر سلطانه تاج العالم  
صفية ادین بر دولة شاه

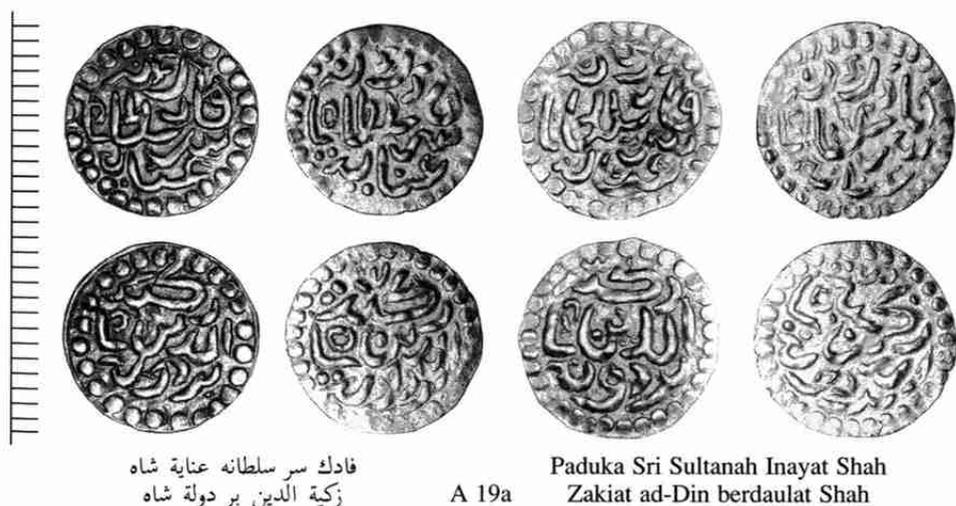
A 17b

Paduka Sri Sultanah Tadj al-Alam  
Safiat ad-Din berdaulat Shah

6.2.2.4. *Sultanah Nur al-Alam (1675-1678)*



6.2.2.5. *Sultanah Inayat Shah (1678-1688)*



The first coin is of a very high weight (1.07 grams), but the legend on the coin is correct.

It is too light to be a two mas piece but far too heavy for a single one.

In spite of its fine script it could also be a counterfeit.

Catalogue



فادك سر سلطانه عنايه شاه  
زاكية الدين بر دولة شاه

A 19b

Paduka Sri Sultanah Inayat Shah  
Zaakiat ad-Din berdaulat Shah

The last coin is of a high weight (0.72 grams), but the legend on the coin is correct.

It is far too light to be a two mas piece but too heavy for a single one. In spite of its fine script it could also be a counterfeit.

6.2.2.6. Sultanah Kamalat Shah (1688-1699)

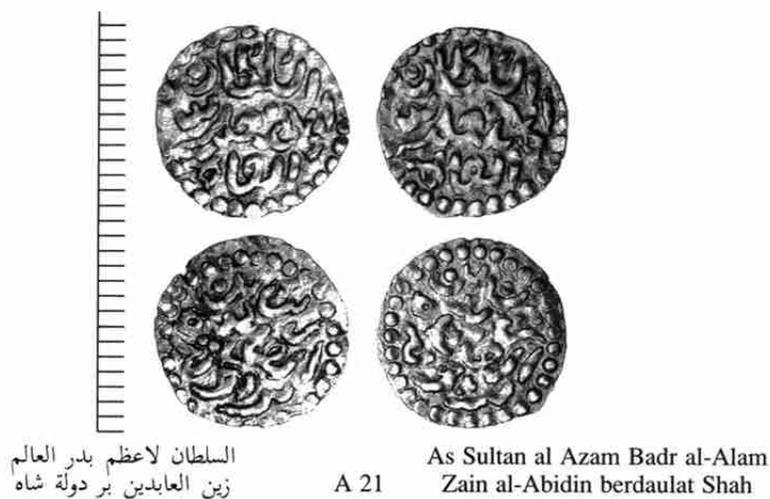


فادك سر سلطانه كماله شاه  
زينه الدين بر دولة شاه

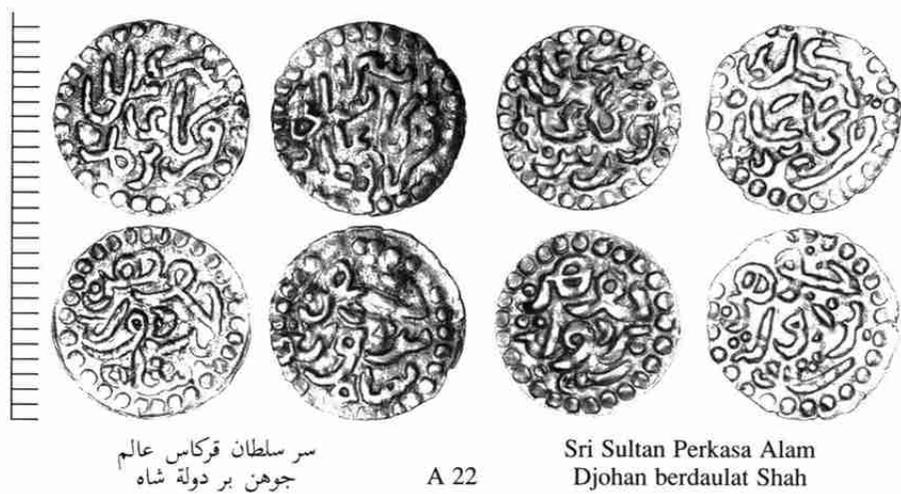
A 20

Paduka Sri Sultanah Kamalat Shah  
Zainat ad-Din berdaulat Shah

6.2.2.7. *Sultan al Azam Badr al-Alam (1699-1702)*



6.2.2.8. *Sultan Perkasa Alam (1702-1703)*



6.2.2.9. Sultan Djamal al-Alam Badr al Munir (1699-1702)



فادك شر سلطان جمال عالم  
بدر المنير جوهن بر دولة

A 23

Paduka Sri Sultan Djamal al-Alam  
Badr al Munir Djohan berdaulat

6.2.2.10. Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ahmad Shah (1727-1735)



سر سلطان علاء الدين  
احمد شاه جوهن بر دولة

A 26a

Sri Sultan Ala'ad-Din  
Ahmad Shah Djohan berdaulat

Catalogue



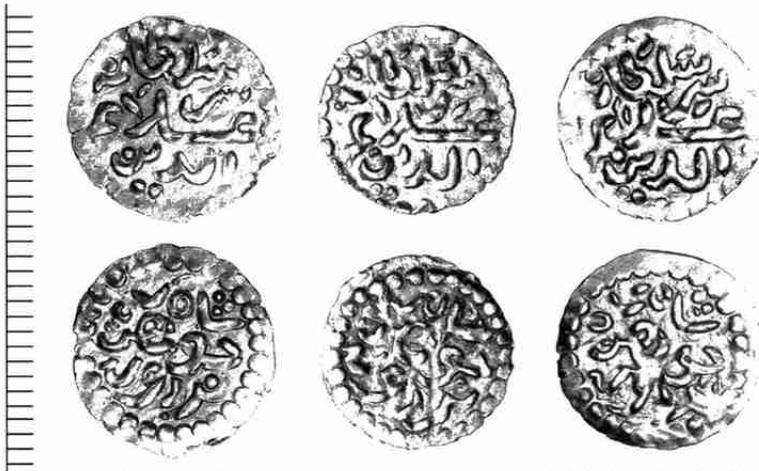
سر سلطان علاء الدين جوهن شاه  
ابن سلطان علاء الدين احمد شاه

A 26b Sri Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan Shah  
Ibn Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ahmad Shah

This is a very rare coin.

The long Ala' (علاء) on both sides of the coin of this Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ahmad Shah is also on the coins of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan Shah (A 27). It consequently forms the bridge to the coins of the next Sultan and must be placed at the end of the reign of Sultan Ala'ad-Din Ahmad Shah.

6.2.2.11. Sultan Ala'ad-Din Djohan Shah (1735-1760)



سر سلطان علاء الدين  
شاه جوهن شاه بردولة

A 27 Sri Sultan Ala'ad-Din  
Shah Djohan Shah berdaulat

## 7. Suspected coins

Not all the coins listed in this chapter are counterfeits, but they are suspected not to be official coins of Samudra-Pasai or Aceh<sup>412</sup>.

### 7.1. Coins of an unknown Sultan



Weight: 0.501-0.554-0.505 grams.

These coins are of an unknown Sultan or are counterfeits.

They are of poor quality and the obverse is not clearly legible.

On the obverse the word 'bin' possibly is followed by the name of the father.

This points to coins from Aceh after 1530.

The reverse reads 'As-Sultan al-Adil' (السلطان العادل).

This points to coins from Aceh before 1607.<sup>413</sup>

412 See paragraph 2.4, 'Real, Fake or Forgery' on page 12.

413 See paragraph 2.3, 'Dating the coins' on page 8.

## 7.2. Hybrids



فادك سر سلطانه عنايه شاه  
زينة الدين بر دولة شاه

A 19 hyb

Paduka Sri Sultanah Inayat Shah  
Zainat ad-Din berdaulat Shah

Weight: 0.521-0.457-0.458 grams.

The first coin is a hybrid of Sultanah Inayat Shah (A 19) with the obverse legend 'Paduka Sri Sultanah Inayat Shah' (فادك سر سلطانه عنايه شاه) twice.

The other two coins are hybrids with the obverse of Sultanah Inayat Shah (A19) and the reverse of Sultanah Kamalat Shah (A 20) with 'Zainat ad-Din berdaulat Shah' (زينة الدين بر دولة شاه).

All three coins have low weight, thus considered to be counterfeits.

There are lots of these types of hybrids, of other Sultans as well. All of these are considered to be counterfeits.

## 7.3. Upside down and mirror script

The code for these coins is:

SP = Samudra-Pasai and A = Acheh  
ov = obverse and rv = reverse  
ms = mirror script and ud = upside down.

So 'A 13b rvms' means: The coin is of the type of coin 13b from Acheh on which the reverse is in mirror script.

Suspected coins



محمد ملك الطاهر  
السلطان العادل

SP 4 rvms

Muhammad Malik at-Tahir  
As-Sultan al-Adil

Weight: 0.425 grams.

Based on the poor quality of the script and the low weight, this coin is considered to be a counterfeit.



علاء الدين ابن فرمان شاه  
السلطان العادل

A 13b rvms

Ala'ad-Din ibn Firman Shah  
As-Sultan al-Adil

Weight: 0.589 grams.

This coin may be a genuine one, but based on the mirror script on the reverse, it is considered to be a counterfeit.

Suspected coins



سر سلطان راج اسکندر مود  
جوهن بر دولة بن منصور شاه

Sri Sultan Raja Iskandar Muda  
Djohan berdaulat bin Mansur Shah

A 15e ovud

Weight: 0.569 grams.

Although the weight is good, this coin is considered to be a counterfeit, based on the quality of the upside-down script on the obverse as well as its colour, indicating low gold content.



فادك سر سلطانه تاج العالم  
صفية الدين بر دولة شاه

Paduka Sri Sultanah Tadj al-Alam  
Safiat ad-Din berdaulat Shah

A 17a ovud

Weight: 0.667-0.672 grams.

These coins are too heavy and as the obverse is upside-down, they are considered to be counterfeit.

Suspected coins



فادك سر سلطانہ تاج العالم  
صفیة الدین بر دولۃ شاہ

Paduka Sri Sultanah Tadj al-Alam

**A 17b ovud** Safiat ad-Din berdaulat Shah

Weight: 0.485 grams.

The weight of these coins is too low and as the obverse is upside-down, it is considered to be a counterfeit.



فادك سر سلطانہ عنایة شاہ  
زکیة الدین بر دولۃ شاہ

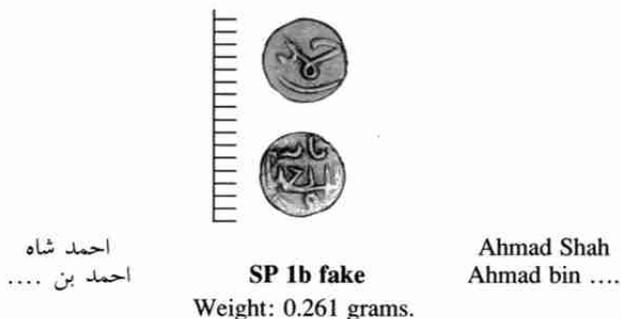
Paduka Sri Sultanah Inayat Shah

**A 19b rvms** Zakiat ad-Din berdaulat Shah

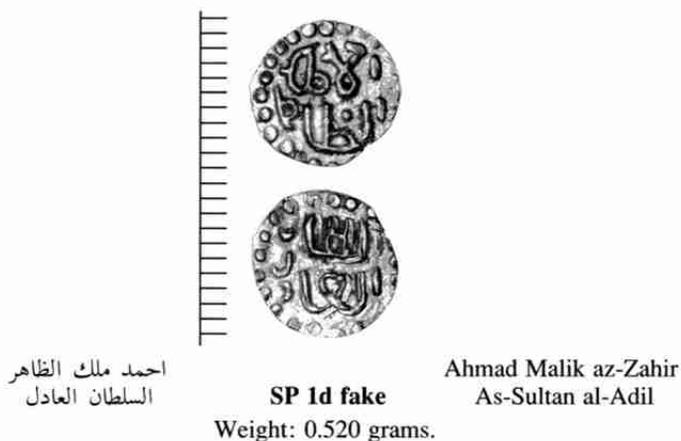
Weight: 0.668 grams.

This coin is too heavy and the reverse is in mirror script, so it is considered to be a counterfeit.

#### 7.4. Fakes and counterfeits

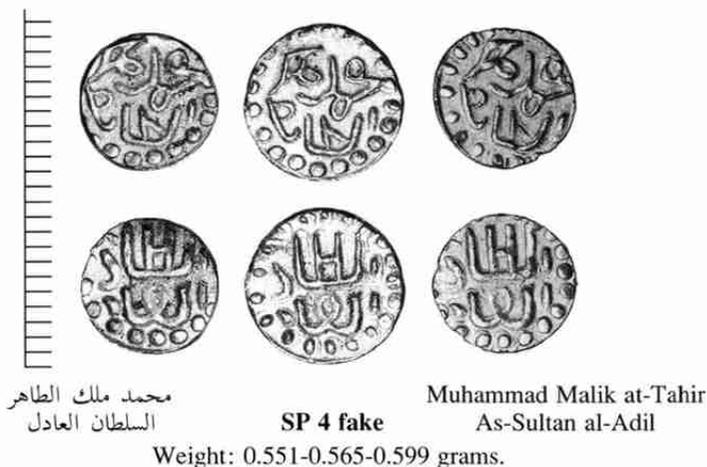


This coin could be a variety of the half mas, coin SP 1a and SP 1b. The obverse of this coin is as coin 5 in SP 1a. The reverse is the same as the obverse of the foregoing coin SP 1b. This coin probably is a forgery.



The script is blundered and seems to be of Ahmad II or Ahmad III but the dot on Zahir is like Ahmad I and its weight is low, thus considered to be a counterfeit.

Suspected coins



Blundered script, thus considered counterfeits.



All these coins are from a same pair of dies, and of low weight.

There were 180 of these coins found in one lot.

So they were probably a 'mass' production for jewellery, and no 'mas' production.

Suspected coins



Weight: 0.549-0.347-0.309-0.465 grams.

On some of these 'coins' something is recognisable of the intended legend, but these are clear counterfeits.

*7.4.1. 'Coins' from two soldered thin metal discs*

There is a special kind of 'coin' that is made from two thin metal discs soldered together.

The metal is between 0.1 mm and 0.15 mm thick.

These fake 'coins' are probably old and intended to circulate as real currency.



Weight: 0.110-0.087-0.084-0.271 grams.

These are one-sided 'coins' discs from which the fakes are made.

The first three have a thickness of 0.1 mm and the last one has a thickness of 0.15 mm.

They are the half-fabrications of the following 'coins'

Suspected coins



Weight: 0.498-0.413-0.341 grams.

These 'coins' are made of two single discs as in the foregoing figure, soldered together.

The first one looks on the obverse like a coin of Sultanah Inayat Shah (A19) with 'Paduka Sri Sultanah Inayat Shah' (فادك سر سلطانه عنايه شاه) and on the reverse like a coin of Sultanah Kamalat Shah (A20) with 'Paduka Sri Sultanah Kamalat Shah' (فادك سر سلطانه كماله شاه).

The other two are illegible. The second 'coin' was made from two identical disks and for the third 'coin' two different disks were used.

## 8. Coin weight and coin name

### 8.1. Antique weight systems

As Ridgeway<sup>414</sup> has already shown, the need to weigh is the first premise in the determination of the quantity of gold. Gold is such an expensive and desired article that there has always been the need to weigh small amounts accurately.

Plants or seeds were used for weighing in the past.

The unit of the weight system of gold was the seed of a common plant.

In England it was the barleycorn, used under the name 'grain' (grain troy) which now has a *standardised* weight of 0.0648 grams.

This unit was also known, albeit under various names, in the rest of Europe and to a lesser extent in Asia and Persia. In Dutch 'grein' or 'korrel', in Latin 'granum', in Arabic 'chabba', in Hindu 'java'.

Another much used grain for weighing was the wheat grain, in English 'grain' and Dutch as 'aas', (Latin 'as') with a weight of 0.0486 grams.

Arabia used the 'kirat', the name of the seeds of the 'carob' or 'St. John's Bread'. The name is in English 'carat', in Dutch 'carat' (Greek 'keraton', Latin 'ceratonia siliqua'). The 'kirat' was divided into either three or four parts, both called 'chabba'.

The division into three or four parts was not so remarkable since the weight of the 'kirat' was equal to 0.195 grams, three times the weight of the barleycorn or four times that of the wheat grain ( $3 \times 0.0648 = 4 \times 0.0486 = 0.195$  grams). In current times the 'kirat' (carat) is standardised at 0.2 grams.

These numbers, to three decimals, suggest that the system is very accurate and the weight of the seed was constant. This is not the case. Irrespective of the mutual differences in the weight of the seeds from one batch, the difference in the weight of the seeds depends on the place where the plant grows. In drier climates the weight of the seeds tends to be higher. The quality of the soil has an influence as well. Since the mutual ratios are constant, a system based on the weight ratios of the local seeds can be used over a large area.

In northern India the weight system is derived from that of Persia, which used the barleycorn. The *ancient* (Persian) weight of the barleycorn was around 0.059 grams (the old 'grain avoirdupois' of 0.059 grams in contrast to the current grain of 0.0648 grams) and the gunja seed (*Abrus Precatorius*) common

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414 Ridgeway (1892) reprint 1976.

throughout India and with a weight of 0.118 grams, exactly twice that of the Persian barleycorn. Because the 'gunja' is also found in southern India where it is called 'ratti' and where rice rather than barley is the staple food, the 'gunja' became the standard weight throughout India. A grain of rice weighs about 0.03 grams. A 'gunja' ('ratti') can be divided into 4 rice grains (Pady).

Thus: one gunja (ratti) of 0.118 grams = two barleycorns of 0.059 grams = four rice grains of 0.03 grams.

The system in the West developed into a system based on the wheat grain and the barleycorn and the Eastern system developed into one based on rice grains.

## 8.2. The coin weight and its alloy

Coins are a means of exchange with a certain ascribed value.

In older times the metal from which the coin was made largely determined the value of a coin (the intrinsic value of the coin).

The mas of Samudra-Pasai and Acheh was struck from gold the value of which is determined by weight and gold-content.

Most of the gold coins of Samudra-Pasai and Acheh have a weight<sup>415</sup> of ca. 0.6 grams. There are also coins with half the weight of ca. 0.3 grams

Very rare exceptions are coins of double weight (ca. 1.2 grams) and quadruple weight (ca. 2.4 grams). Equally rare is a coin at a quarter of the most common weight (ca. 0.15 grams).

There are two old accounts concerning the coin weight.

1. About Sumatra Groeneveldt<sup>416</sup> writes, prompted by a Chinese delegation of 1416:

*The money used are coins of gold and tin. The golden coins are called dinar and contain seven tenths of pure gold; they are round, have a diameter of 5 Fen official measure (1.6 centimetres) and weigh 2 Fen 3 Li (a little more than 9 decigrams).*

In a footnote Groeneveldt<sup>417</sup> says:

*Instead of 2 Fen 3 Li however, we have to read 2 Ch'ien 3 Fen, which is ten times as much, and then we get a weight of about 10 grams for*

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415 The modern term is 'mass', but 'coin weight' is so well known that the term 'weight' is used.

416 and 417 Groeneveldt (1880) page 87.

*the dinar, which suits its size better and agrees with the details given on the next page.*

2. On this 'next page'<sup>418</sup> is another account by a delegation of 1436:

*The gold dinar<sup>419</sup> is a golden coin, twenty which weigh 5 Taels and 2 Mace of gold<sup>420</sup>.*

This suggests the following:

The first account is based on a coin with a diameter of 5 *fen*. Groeneveldt assumes a *fen* of 3.2 mm and then arrives at 16 mm for the diameter of the coin. This does not correspond with the actual size of the coins. If we use the old measurement of the *fen* in 1436 of 2.707 mm, the diameter of the coin becomes ca. 13.5 mm. The coins from this period have indeed this diameter.

The error is not in the weight, as Groeneveldt says in the footnote. A coin of 16 mm with a weight of 10 grams would be a good 3 mm thick. The coins are, however, ca. 0.3 mm thick.

He thought that the circulating coin would be a tenth of the coin standard<sup>421</sup>. He thus gave the correct weight of 'a little more than 0.9 grams', being a tenth of the (coin standard) *dinar* of a good 9 grams.

According to the second account 20 *dinar* weighs 5 *tael* and 2 *mace*

The *tael* = 37.57 grams and the *mace* 3.757 grams<sup>422</sup>.

5 *tael* and 2 *mace* make therefore 195.36 grams.

The *dinar* comes out at  $195.36/20 = 9.768$  grams.

However, no coins of ca. 10 grams have been found, which means that this concerns the official coin standard. The circulating coin is thus a part of this coin standard. This tends to be a coin with a nominal weight of ca. 0.6 grams = 1/16 of the coin standard.

We can conclude that the Chinese delegate was inadvertently using the decimal system of China, instead of the 16-part system which was used in Acheh.

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418 Groeneveldt (1880) page 88.

419 *Dinar* is the Arabic (also Persian) name for 'coin'. Here is meant 'the standard coin' and not the name for a specific coin.

420 In the Chinese text is *Ti-nap*, translated by Groeneveldt (1880) as *dinar*. In Acheh this was, however, a weight in use under the name 'Tael', of ca. 9.6 grams, 1/4 of the Chinese Tael. This Achehnese 'Tael' was equal to the *Suvarna*. Possibly 'Tael' is intended instead of 'Dinar'.

421 Coin standard is the mass of metal from which a certain number of coins has to be struck. E.g. from a standard of 9.6 grams one can strike 16 coins of 0.6 grams, or 32 coins of 0.3 grams.

422 Doursther (1840) on page 511 under Tael. Chine, Canton: Le tael, tale ou taile (liang), poids pour l'or et l'argent, 16<sup>c</sup> du catti, = 10 mass ou maces = 100 condorines (fuen) = 1000 caches (lis) = 579,84 grains anglais = 37,57 Grammes.

Coin weight and coin name

The nominal coin weight can only be determined if sufficient (good appearance and not clipped) coins are available to make a good analysis. Of some Sultans sufficient coins are available for practically the entire period in which these coins were struck.

These are coins of the following Sultans:<sup>423</sup>

SP 6	Ahmad II	(1270-1295)
SP 7	Zain al-Abidin	(1360-1375)
A 6	Ala'ad-Din bin Ali	(1537-1571)
A 7	Ali bin Ala'ad-Din	(1571-1579)
A 17	Tadj al-Alam	(1641-1675)
A 19	Inayat Zakiat	(1678-1688)
A 20	Kamalat Zainat	(1688-1699)

A respective 54, 16, 41, 27, 65, 49 and 29 coins have been weighed.

Weight (grams)	SP 6	SP 7	A 6	A 7	A 17	A 19	A 20	Total
0.52	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	4
0.54	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	6
0.55	2	2	1	0	0	1	1	6
0.56	1	0	1	0	3	1	1	7
0.57	3	0	1	3	4	3	7	21
0.58	3	1	5	1	9	11	10	40
0.59	5	2	15	16	27	15	4	84
0.60	10	4	18	6	17	4	2	61
0.61	15	4	0	0	0	1	0	20
0.62	12	3	0	0	2	0	0	17
0.63	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	54	16	41	27	65	49	29	281

Figure 24. Number and weight of the weighed coins<sup>420</sup>

The coins were weighed with an accuracy of 0.1 mg. Then the values found were rounded at 10 mg and then ranked, for weight category and coin type. (See Figure 24).

<sup>423</sup> SP6... A 20 are the codes under which these coins are mentioned in the catalogue part, chapter 6 on page 142.

Coin weight and coin name

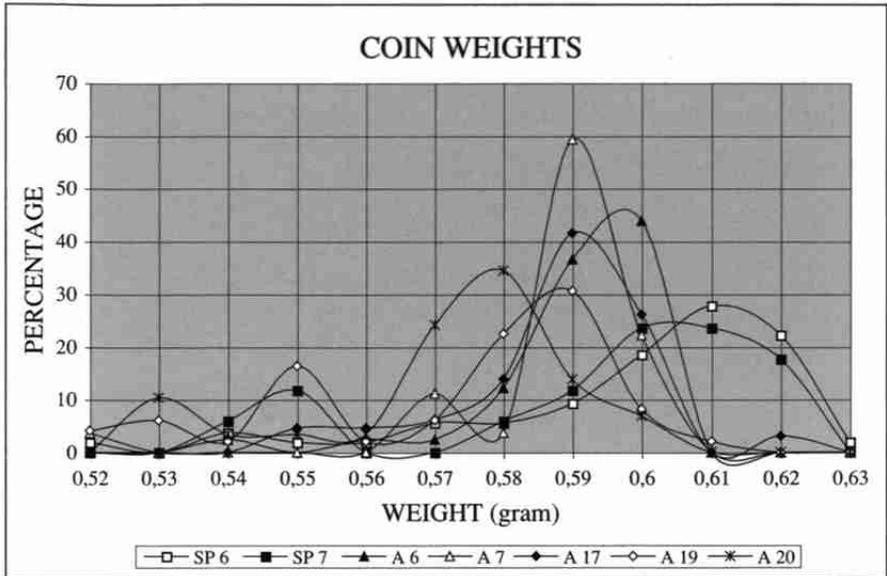


Figure 25. The relative coin weights

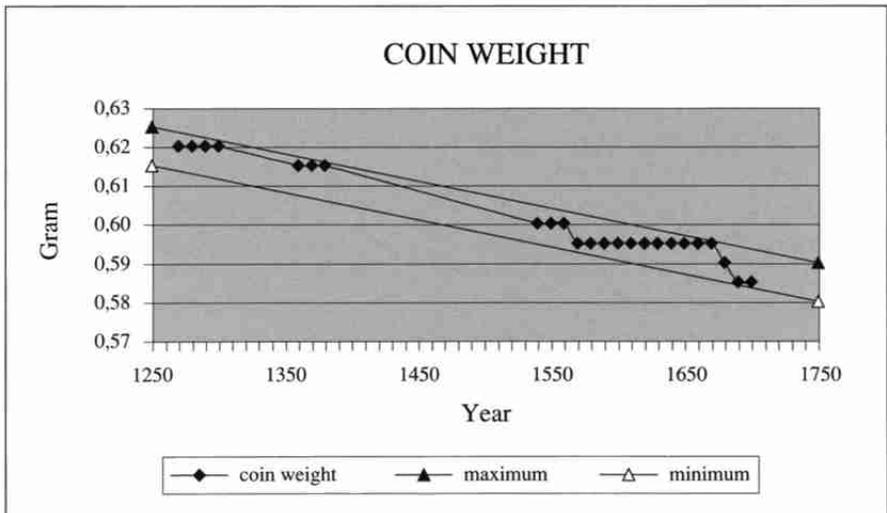


Figure 26. Decline in coin weight

Figure 25, 'The relative coin weights' on page 196 shows the numbers in percentages of the total per Sultan. It may be assumed that the highest weight still appearing in reasonable quantities for a certain coin is the nominal coin weight. That a mint should issue, except for an occasional error, coins with a weight exceeding the nominal coin weight is virtually excluded. The table and the graph show the nominal coin weight at the time of the various Sultans as:

	Sultan	Reigning period	Coin weight
SP 6	Ahmad II	(1270-1295)	0.620
SP 7	Zain al-Abidin	(1360-1375)	0.615
A 6	Ala'ad-Din bin Ali	(1537-1571)	0.600
A 7	Ali bin Ala'ad-Din	(1571-1579)	0,595
A 17	Tadj al-Alam	(1641-1675)	0,595
A 19	Inayat Zakiat	(1678-1688)	0,590
A 20	Kamatat Zainat	(1688-1699)	0,585

Figure 27. Average coin weights

Coins with a lower weight are either within the permitted tolerances or worn or clipped. It appears that the nominal coin weight varies in time.

This is illustrated in Figure 26, 'Decline in coin weight' on page 196.

The accuracy with which the nominal coin weight can be determined using this method is  $\pm 5$  milligram. All the values found lie within the minima and maxima lines in Figure 26, which are 10 milligram apart.

The weight of the coins of the Sultans over the period of ca. 1270 till ca. 1700 varied between ca. 0.620 and ca. 0.585 grams. The average coin weight over the entire period was ca. 0.6 grams.

The change in weight also altered the intrinsic value of the coin.

Hulshof Pol<sup>424</sup> has already shown that in the period of Samudra-Pasai the gold content, except for the coins of Sultan Mumin, was ca. 18 to 20 carat.

The content of the coins of Aceh remained constant over the entire period from 1270 until 1760 AD at ca. 17 carat.

The intrinsic value in 1300 is:  $0.620 \text{ grams} \times 19/24 = 0.49 \text{ grams fine gold}$ .

The intrinsic value in 1700 is:  $0.585 \text{ grams} \times 17/24 = 0.41 \text{ grams fine gold}$ .

So a coin debilitation of ca. 16 % in 4 centuries.

The above shows that the contentions of Langen<sup>425</sup> about the coin weight and content of the coins of Aceh are incorrect.

424 Hulshoff Pol (1929).

425 See paragraph 5.3.3, 'The coins of Aceh' on page 113.

### 8.3. The weight system of India

The origin of the traders who established themselves on the northwest coast of Sumatra was the west coast of India.

The most obvious place to look for the origin of the weight standard in Samudra-Pasai and Acheh is therefore the system for weights and measures in India.

The original Hindi weight standards are based on natural seeds.

A number of sources provide information on the weight system in India.

1. A standard can be found in the Lilavati of Brahmegeupta, who wrote his Algebra and Claculus in ca. 600 A.D.

Quoting from the 'Algebra'<sup>426</sup>, insofar as it relates to the weighing of gold:

*A Gunjá (or seed of Abrus) is reckoned equal to two Barley-Corns (Yavas).*

*Half ten Gunjás are called a Mashá by such as are conversant with the use of the balance.*

*A Karsha contains sixtien of what are called Másha.*

*A Pala four Karshas.*

*A Karsha of gold is named Suvarna.*

The 'Barley-Grain' mentioned here is the *old* 'Grain Avoirdupois' of 0.059 grams<sup>427</sup>.

This makes the Gunjá 0.118 grams.

5 Gunjás = 1 Mashá of 0.59 grams

1 Karsha = 16 Mashás = 9.44 grams

1 Pala = 4 Karshas = 37.7 grams

2. Tavernier<sup>428</sup> writes:

*The ordinary Rati varied from 1.75 to 1.84 grains troy.*

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426 Colebrooke (1817).

427 See paragraph 8.1, 'Antique weight systems' on page 192.

428 Tavernier (1676) Vol. II, in footnote on page 69.

In the appendix is:<sup>429</sup>

*The ordinary rati (the seed of the Abrus precatorius) varied from 1.75 up to 1.9375 grains troy, the mean of which is 1.843 grains troy.*

This makes a *Gunja* of 0.113 to 0.1256 grams, averaging at 0.119 grams.

Resulting in the weight of the *Másha* of 0.565 to 0.628 grams, averaging at 0.596 grams and the *Karsha* between 9.04 en 10.05 grams, averaging at 9.54 grams.

3. Sircar<sup>430</sup> in his 'Studies in Indian Coins' writes in reference to Vincent A. Smith and A. Cunningham that they put the *Rati* (= *Gunja*) at 1.825 and 1.83 Grains respectively.

Which makes the *Gunja* respectively 0.1183 and 0.1186 grams, the *Másha* 0.591 and 0.593 grams and the *Karsha* 9.46 en 9.49 grams.

The average weight of the *Másha* is 0.592 grams and the *Karsha* 9.47 grams.

The above also reveals that the *Suvarna* or the standard gold weight is equivalent to the *karsha* of 80 *Gunjás*.

The *Gunjá* is also known by the names of *Krisnala* and *Raktika*.

4. According to Codrington<sup>431</sup> the old weight system of ca. 700 AD is as follows:

*The Karsha was usually divided into four Tankas or 16 Máshas  
The Masha is equal to 9 Grains.*

9 Grains = 9 x 0.0648 grams = 0.583 grams. The *Karsha* then equals 9.33 grams.

5. With reference to the *Yuktikalpadruma* text of the eleventh century, Chattopadhyaya<sup>432</sup> comes to a weight of the *Kalanju* of 30 *Gunjas* equal to 54 Grains.

The *Gunja* is therefore 1.8 Grains = 0.1166 grams and the *Karsha* 9.33 grams and the *Másha* 0.583 grams.

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429 Tavernier (1676) Vol I, page 333.

430 Sircar (1968) Studies in Indian Coins.

431 Codrington (1924) in Ceylon Coins and Currency

432 Chattopadhyaya (1977) page 153

6. Doursther<sup>433</sup> in his *Dictionnaire Universel des poids et mesures*, gives for the 'Gonje' of Bombay a weight of 1.79 Grains Anglais.  
That is  $1.79 \times 0.0648$  grams = 0.1160 grams.  
This would make the *Karsha* 9.280 grams and the *Másha* 0.580 grams.
7. W. Ridgeway<sup>434</sup> gives in his book the weight of the *Gunja* at ca. 1.75 Grains Troy.  
That is  $1.75 \times 0.0648$  grams = 0.1134 grams, making the *Karsha* a little lighter at 9.072 grams and the *Másha* 0.567 grams.
8. Davis<sup>435</sup> says:

*The weight of the kahápana changed of course a good deal, as much as at least as different specimens of the fruit of the karsha (Terminalia bellerica) vary among themselves.*

And in a footnote<sup>436</sup>:

*Mr. Thomas considers that this Myrobalan seed formed the basis upon the old Karsha of 140 grains was framed. It constituted an article of extended commerce, in its dry state it was little subject to change, it was readily available in the Bázárs as a countercheck of other weights, and finally the ordinary weight accords closely with the required amount. Indeed selected specimens of desiccated seed from Bhilsa, now in the India Museum, weigh as high as 144 grains.*

Davis<sup>437</sup> continues with:

*Lastly, it should be mentioned that, according to Mr. Childers, the word Kahápana itself meant primarily a small weight, and that it is equal to sixteen máshas, each of which =  $2\frac{1}{2}$  másakas = 5 ratis.*

According to Davis the karsha is thus 140 or 144 grains, that is (x 0.0648 grams) 9.07 or 9.33 grams. The karsha was 16 másha and the másha 5 ratis.

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433 Doursther (1840) page 160.

434 Ridgeway (1892) page 178.

435, 436 and 437 Davis (1975) page 4.

Summarising the above sources:

the <i>Karsha</i>	the <i>Másha</i>
10.05 grams	0.628 grams
9.54 "	0.596 "
9.47 "	0.592 "
9.44 "	0.590 "
9.46 "	0.591 "
9.45 "	0.591 "
9.33 "	0.583 "
9.28 "	0.580 "
9.07 "	0.567 "
9.04 "	0.565 "

The coins weigh between 0.57 and 0.60 grams, which corresponds to the weight of the *másha*. This makes the weight for the *karsha* between 9.12 and 9.60 grams.

A summary of all the weight systems is shown below:

(Based on the *gunja* = 2 grains and the grain = 0.059 grams<sup>438</sup>, the 'grain' here is the old 'grain avoirdupois' of 0.059 grams and not the later grain troy of 0.064 grams.)

			Gunja	Grain	grams
Rice grain	= Padi	= Visa	= 0.25	0.5	0.030
Yava	= Barley Corn	= 2 Padi	= 0.50	1.0	0.059
Gunja	= Rati	= Krisnala	= 1.00	2.0	0.118
Carat	= Kirat		= 1.50	3.0	0.177
Rupya Másha	= Máshaka	= Manjadi	= 2.00	4.0	0.236
Pana	= Kaha Pana	= Aksha	= 4.00	8.0	0.472
Másha	= Suvarna Másha		= 5.00	10.0	0.590
Tanka	= Sana = Dharana		= 20.00	40.0	2.36
Kalanju	= Yadyanaca		= 32.00	64.0	3.77
Gadjana	= Kalanda	= Kalanju	= 40.00	80.0	4.72
Karsha	= Suvarna	= Pana	= 80.00	160.0	9.44
Pala	= Satamana		= 320.00	620	37.7

438 A different assumption of the original weight of the *gunja* means that the other weight accounts must be adjusted accordingly.

Concluding from the above, the possible standards for the coin weight are:

1 <i>Gunja</i> of <i>Ratika</i>	=	0.117 grams
1 <i>Másha</i>	= 5 <i>Gunjas</i>	= 0.585 grams
1 <i>Karsha</i> = 1 <i>Suvarna</i> = 16 <i>Máshas</i> = 80 <i>Gunjas</i>		= 9,360 grams

The standard in India was the *karsha* of ca. 9.4 grams.

A quantity of gold with a weight of one *karsha* gold was called a *Suvarna*.

The circulating coin *may* have been based on the weight of 1/16 *Karsha* = the *Suvarna másha* of ca. 0.59 grams.

Also according to Chinese sources the coin was based on a standard corresponding to the *karsha* and the circulating coin also appears to be the weight of 1/16 *karsha*, which is equal to 1 *másha*.<sup>439</sup>

#### 8.4. The Chinese weight system

The Chinese weights system:

	Grain <sup>440</sup>	grams
1 Candarin = Fen =	5.798	0.3757
10 Candarin = Chien = Mace =	57.98	3.757
100 Candarin = Liung = Tael =	579.8	37.57
1000 Candarin = Nen = 10 Tael =	5798	375.70
1600 Candarin = Chin = <i>Catty</i> =	9277	601
160000 Candarin = Shih = Picul =	927700	60100

Basis of the table above is the Chinese '*catty*' for gold and silver.<sup>441</sup>

The Chinese generally had a single decimal system.

This also produced a weight of one 1000th part of the *catti*, that is the *cupang* of 1.6 *candarin* = 9.9277 grain = 0.601 grams.

4 *cupangs* = 6.4 *candarin* = 2.40 grams called a *mace*.

439 See Groeneveldt in paragraph 8.2, 'The coin weight and its alloy' on page 193.

440 Grain Troys of 0.0648 grams

441 Doursther (1840) on page 511 under Tael. Chine, Canton: Le tael, tale ou taile (liang), poids pour l'or et l'argent, 16<sup>e</sup> du catti, = 10 mass ou maces = 100 condorines (fuen) = 1000 caches (lis) = 579,84 grains anglais = 37,57 Grammes.

Also according to Doursther<sup>442</sup> there were:

- In the former English colony of Bencoolen on Sumatra, a weight in use by the name *Mas* or *Mace* of 2.5836 grams.
- In Padang on Sumatra, a *Mas* of 2.5755 grams.
- In Jamby on Sumatra, in Bandar Massin on Borneo, in Maccassar on Celebes a *Mas* of 2.4864 grams.

In all these cases this *mas* or *mace* was divided into 4 *cupangs*.

The *mas* or *mace* (four times the size of the *cupang* = 6.4 *candarin* = 37.1 grains = 2.40 grams) valid *outside Atcheh* in Southeast Asia corresponded to 80 rice grains (*padi* or *pady*).

This *mas* or *mace* could be as high as 2,8 grams depending on the weight of the local rice grain.

These weights of ca. 2,4 grams for the *mace* and ca. 0.6 grams for the *cupang*, led some writers to give the name *cupang* to the coins of Acheh, on the basis of their weight.

Concluding:

The circulating coin *may* have been based on the weight of the Chinese *cupang* of ca. 0.6 grams. The weight of the four times as large *mace*, is then ca. 2.4 grams.

## 8.5. The relationship between the systems

The relationship between the Indian and Chinese system is:<sup>443</sup>

				Barley Grain	India grams	China grams
1.6	Candarin = Cupang	= Mas	=	9.92	0.590	0.601
6.4	Candarin = Mace	= Tanka	=	39.68	2.36	2.404
10	Candarin = 32 Gunja	= Chien = Kalanju	=	57.98	3.77	3.757
25	Candarin = Karsha	= Suvarna	=	144.96	9.44	9.392
100	Candarin = Liung	= Pala = Tael	=	579.84	37.7	7.572
1000	Candarin = 3200 Gunja	= Nen = Dharana	=	5798.4	377	375.72
1600	Candarin = Chin	= Catty	=	9277		601

442 Doursther (1840) page 252.

443 Based on a Barley Grain of 0.0648 grams.

It is evident that the occurrence of an Indian Mas of 0.59 grams next to a Chinese Coupang of 0.60 grams can be confusing.

The following possibilities for the coin weights are:

	India		China		grams
Suvarna	80	Gunja	25	Candarin	9.4
Mas (Masha)	5	Gunja			0.6
Cupang	1.25	Gunja			0.15
Mas (Maes. Mace)			6.4	Candarin	2.4
Cupang			1.6	Candarin	0.6

At this point we cannot conclude which weight system was the basis for the coins.

A study to the origin of the name of the coins, will give the final conclusion.

### 8.6. The name of the coins

The weight of most coins appears to be ca. 0.6 grams.

On the basis of both the Indian Suvarna masha of ca. 0.6 grams and the Chinese cupang of ca. 0.6 grams the coins can be named 'mas' or 'cupang'.

The question is whether the *name* of the coins as ascribed and applicable in Aceh, follows from the *weight mas (masha)* of ca. 0.6 grams from India or from the coin of ca. 0.6 grams '*cupang*' from the weight of the Chinese *cupang*, a quarter of the Chinese *mace* of 6.4 *candarin* = ca. 2.4 grams.

Many authors take the second option, based on the usual term of *cupang* for a weight of ca. 0.6 grams used in the rest of Sumatra and in Southeast Asia.

According to Doursther<sup>444</sup>, under Tael: Aceh, island of Sumatra;

*The tael, 5<sup>th</sup> of the buncall, = 2,8 pagodas = 3.2 mayons or miams = 16 maces or mas = 64 copangs or coupangs = 148.2 grains Anglais = 9.60 grams.*

Doursther<sup>445</sup> makes the following note:

444 Doursther (1840) page 511. 'Le tale, 5<sup>e</sup> du buncall, = 2,8 pagodes = 3,2 mayons ou miams = 16 maces ou mas = 64 copangs ou coupangs = 148,2 grains Anglais = 9,60 grams.'

445 Doursther (1840) page 512. *Nous ferons observer que le poids du tale (tael) d'Achem, indiqué ci-dessus, d'après toutes les métrologies, est basé sur d'anciennes données, de l'exactitude desquelles on peut douter, d'autant plus que ce poids ne s'accorde en aucune manière avec ceux des autres parties de l'île Sumatra, telles que Bencoulen et Fort Marlborough dont les poids ont été vérifiés à Londres sur des étalons reçus directement en 1821.*

*We have observed that the weight of the Tael of Acheh, which is given above is, according to all metrologists, based on an ancient weight, which exact value is a little in doubt.*

*This the more while this weight does not in any way correspond with the other parts of the island of Sumatra. Those of Benculen and Fort Marlborough have let verify this weight in London against direct received standards in 1821.*

This reveals that the weight system in Acheh is different from the rest of the island of Sumatra.

Benculen and Fort Marlborough were in English hands and their weights system was based on trade with China and the tael of 37.57 grams.

In Acheh a tael was still used corresponding to the Indian karsha of 9.6 grams, (suvarna, as gold weight) subdivided into 16 mashas or mas.

Also according to Doursther<sup>446</sup>, under *mas* (mass, massa, masse, masha, mace): Acheh, island of Sumatra;

*The Mass or Mace, 16e of the tael, = 4 Copangs = 9.2625 Grains = 0.6001 grams.*

This corresponds to a tael (= *Suvarna*) of 9.6 grams.

'mas' was a usual name *only in Acheh* for a weight of 0.6 grams and a quarter *mas* is called *cupang* there, with a weight of 0.15 grams.

This indicates the name 'mas' for a coin of 0.6 grams.

In Klimpert<sup>447</sup> we find:

*Mas, a golden coin of meagre content, weighing 583 mg with a value of 1.20 Mark.*

Davis<sup>448</sup> writes:

*In the fifth century commentaries we find the words kahápana and másaka, also called másha (which originally meant a weight) explained as names for pieces of money on which images or figures were stamped or marked.*

In India it was thus already normal in the fifth century, for coins with the weight of one *masha* (ca. 0.6 grams), to also be called *masha* themselves. This is an important point, because the traders which established themselves in Samudra-Pasai and later in Acheh originated from India.

The most straightforward answer can be found in the name which the Achehnese themselves gave to the coin. This can be found in the standard work of Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje.

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446 Doursther (1840) page 252. 'Le Mass ou Mace, 16e du taile, = 4 Copangs = 9.2625 Grains = 0.6001 grames.'

447 Klimpert (1896) page 213.

448 Davis (1975) page 13.

*We have called the office of a village headman an honorary one, and indeed the sources of income to which he may lay claim according to the adat are scarcely worth mentioning.*

*They are in fact confined to what is called the 'ha' kitab' or 'ha' chupeng', the fees for his indispensable help in the arrangement of the marriage of a woman of his gampong (village). Even though everyone adds what his means allow to the amount, absurdly small for these times, of 1/4 of a dollar (samaih = one mas) allowed by the adat.<sup>449</sup>*

*'Where there are navigable rivers, 'wasé kuata', a toll of 1 dollar (according to some originally 'samaih = 1/4 dollar) on every vessel that sails up the river.'<sup>450</sup>*

*'The various tasks connected with the cultivation of rice are in the lowlands performed by men only: in Pidië, Daya and some parts of the highlands the planting out (pula) is left to the women, who work for a small daily wage formerly 1 gupang = 12 1/2 cent.<sup>451</sup>*

From the daily wage of 1 goepang (cupang) = 12½ cent comes the mas = 4 x 12.5 cent = f 0.50.

*Thatch made of sugarcane-leaves at three mas the thousand.*

*One mas (maih) = 1/4 dollar.<sup>452</sup>*

*'A bunkay of gold is reckoned as 25 dollars for the purpose of marriage contracts, but at 20 dollars only in gambling and in the pepper trade.*

*A 'tahé' = 1/5 th of a bunkay.<sup>453</sup>*

The real value of the 'Bunkay', in the trade, was 20 dollars.

The 'tahé' was 4 dollars or 16 'mas' = *Achehse tael* = 'karsha' = 'suvarna'.

There are other sources too:

In the travelogue of John Davis<sup>454</sup> of 1598<sup>455</sup>:

*There are different types of coin: Cashes, Mass, Koupan, Pardaw and Tayell. Captain Davis only saw two types: one of gold, called Mass, the size of a stiver, as common as in England; the other lead (Tin?), called caxas or cashes. About 1600 cashes make a Mass; 400 cashes a koupan; 4 koupans one Mass. Five Mass are 4 English shillings; 4 Mass make a pardaw; four pardaws are a tayell.*

Also here: 4 'mas' = 'pardouw'.

4 'pardouw' = 16 'mas' = *Achehnese tael* = 'karsha' = 'suvarna'.

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449 Hurgronje (1906) page 66.

450 Hurgronje (1906) page 117.

451 Hurgronje (1906) page 267.

452 Hurgronje (1906) page 318.

453 Hurgronje (1906) footnote on page 339.

454 John Davis, not T.W. Rhys Davis.

455 Prevost, historical description of travels, etc., part I, p. 449.

J.J. de Roij also says in his 'Voyage to Borneo and Acheh' in the year 1691 and later, p. 127:<sup>456</sup>

*The most common coin, that is all the rage here (in Acheh) is golden Mas, each worth 1/4 rijksdaalder, though it is the same as a good alloy and not the excellent gold, and that it is so good is attributable to the queen taking the power to strike the coins and thus retaining the benefit for herself.*

Marsden writes:<sup>457</sup>

*They have a small, thin, adulterated gold coin, rudely stamped with Arabic characters, called mas or massiah. Its current value is said to be about fifteen, and it's intrinsic, about twelve pence, or five Madras fanams. Eighty of these are equal to the bangkal, of which twenty make a katti.*

This means that the 'mas' = 5 'fanams'.

The mas is also 5 'gunjas', so 'fanam' = 'gunja'

Langen writes in his chapter on coins:<sup>458</sup>

*The Portuguese introduced the pilaar or Spanish mat, called by the Achenese 'Ringgit Mariam' or 'Cannon dollar' because both pilaars have the aspect of cannons. This coin type is familiar enough and requires no further description. The pilaarmat is also called Rejal in Acheh and is theoretically subdivided according to the following plan:*

*1 Pilaarmat = 4 Mas (Mes of Soekoe, Soekèe)  
1 Soekoe = 4 Koepang (Goepang)  
1 Koepang = 2 Boesoek  
1 Boesoek = 2 Piak.*

*Later on the Mas became an actual coin type.*

He also illustrates a number of the gold coins of ca. 0.6 grams and says their value is f 0.625.

As stated above, the Boengkay gold is valued at 20 dollars (ad f 2,50) in the pepper trade and is equal to 5 tahé. One tahé = 4 dollars = 16 mas.

16 mas = 4 dollar or 4 Dutch 'rijksdaalders' = 10 Dutch 'guilders' (f 10,-)

The tahé appears to be equal to the suvarna or 16 mas = 9.6 gram golden coin.

The mas is thus  $f \frac{10}{16} = f 0.625$

This is the same as the account of Langen in his chapter on coins<sup>459</sup>.

The Boengkay seems to be a sum of f 50.

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456 Netscher en v.d. Chijs (1863) page 162.

457 Marsden (1811) on page 401.

458 Langen (1888) page 429.

459 Langen (1888) page 429.

In all texts quoted above, reference is made exclusively to the coin with the name 'mas' and the 'cupang' as  $\frac{1}{4}$  'mas'.

The 'mas' was therefore the name of the circulating gold coin.

And 16 'mas' = *Achehnese tael* = 'karsha' = 'suvarna'.

It is possible to derive the weight of the 'mas' coin from its value:

The mas =  $\frac{1}{4}$  Pillar dollar =  $\frac{1}{4}$  Straits dollar =  $\frac{1}{4}$  Dutch rijksdaalder.

The intrinsic value of the Spanish mat or Pillar dollar in 1767 = f 2.14 but in traffic has the value of the rijksdaalder = f 2.50.

Pilaarmat = dollar = Spaanse mat = rijksdaalder = 4 mas = 4 x f 0.625 = f 2.50

The Dutch gold ten-guilders had a weight of 6.729 grams, a content of 900/1000 and a fine gold content of 6.06 grams. The value is f10, with one gram of gold worth f 1.65.

The gold coin of Acheh had a weight 0.58 grams, a content of 700/1000 and a fine gold content of 0.406 grams. The intrinsic value is then  $0.406 \times f 1.65 = f 0.67$ .

The gold coin of Acheh was undervalued at ca. f 0.625

The goepang (= cupang) was valued at ca. f 0.125

If with mas a coin of ca. 2.4 grams and with the cupang a coin of ca. 0.6 grams is meant, as many English writers believe, then the *intrinsic value* of the mas (= 4 cupang) would have been greater by a factor of four.

The cupang would then be worth f 0.625 and the mas  $4 \times f 0.67 = f 2.68$ .

However, from the literature consulted we know the value in the traffic of the cupang at f 0.125 and the mas f 0.625. So where the quoted literature speaks of mas with a value of  $\frac{1}{4}$  dollar it can only be a 'mas' of ca. 0.6 grams.

Originally the English took on the Chinese terms *picul*, *catty*, *tael* and *mace* from their trade in Southeast Asia.

The names *mas* or *mace* of 80 rice grains (padi, pady) of ca. 2.4 grams, and the cupang of 0.6 grams were derived from trade with China.

Later the Dutch also used these terms in Java.

The weights, of 0.6 grams for the Chinese *cupang* and 2.4 grams for the Chinese *mace*, led (mainly English) writers to giving the coins of Acheh the name *cupang*, on the basis of their weight.

As shown above the correct name for the Achehnese gold coins of 0.6 grams is 'MAS', with a weight of one 'Suvarna Masha'

And an Achehnese gold coin of 0.15 grams: 'CUPANG.'

On this last McLean writes<sup>460</sup>:

*We are therefore led to the conclusion that weighing and valuing were synonymous in the earliest days, and that weight was only present in the practical minds of commercial men as the test of value, which was determined by the heaviness of a standard measured quantity of a stated precious material.*

This indicates that both the name and the weight of the coins had their origin in India.

## 8.7. Conclusions

1. The coin weight is based on an old Indian system. This system came with the traders that originated from India and established themselves on the northwest coast of Sumatra.
2. Since European trading companies never dominated Aceh, the weight system from India was able to remain in Aceh, while trading in the rest of Southeast Asia adopted another system, originating from China.
3. The suvarna of 80 gunjas was the gold standard and the suvarna masha, mas for short, was a sixteenth part thereof or 5 gunjas. The coin was called 'mas' in Aceh, after the weight of a suvarna masha.
4. The value of the coin was also 'one mas', equal to  $\frac{1}{4}$  dollar or  $\frac{1}{4}$  Dutch rijksdaalder.
5. Based on Childers<sup>461</sup> the small coins of ca. 0.3 grams from Samudra-Pasai could be called 'masakas'.
6. The Aceh mas based on the Indian weight system weighs 0,6 gram. The cupang, based on the Chinese tael, used in large parts of Southeast Asia also weighs 0,6 gram.

Both the Chinese and the Indian system specify the cupang as a quarter of the mas, though the Chinese is four times as heavy.

It has become clear that the cause of the confusion in name of the coins lies in the colonial past of Southeast Asia, whereas Aceh was never colonised. As a consequence the Indian system could maintain itself in Aceh.

It is now clear that the correct name for the gold coins of Samudra-Pasai and Aceh is 'mas', a half mas can be called 'masaka' and a quarter mas a 'cupang'.

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<sup>460</sup> McLean (1912) page 19.

<sup>461</sup> Davis (1975) page 4. 'Lastly, it should be mentioned that, according to Mr. Childers, the word *Kahápana* itself meant primarily a small weight, and that it is equal to sixteen *máshas*, each of which = 2 *másakas* = 5 *ratis*.'

7. As the name 'mas' came from India, the coins were not named after the word for gold on Sumatra, as Langen<sup>462</sup> suggests. In fact, the former name of gold in the Indonesian archipelago was 'su', short for suvarna, which word came, also with the Hindu culture, from India. Later, through the use of the common coins of 0,6 grams from Majapahit and Aceh, which were called 'mas', the name for gold in the Indonesian archipelago turned into 'mas'.

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462 Langen (1888) page 429-430, see also paragraph 5.3.3, 'The coins of Aceh' on page 113.

## 9. Appendices

### 9.1. Arabic letters

To be able to read the coins, some knowledge of Arabic script is necessary. The legends on the coins are in a Persian – Arabic script. The Arabic script has four shapes for the same letter<sup>463</sup>.

The shape of the letters varies when written:

1. At the beginning of a word.
2. Between other letters.
3. At the end of a word.
4. If the letter is isolated.

Some letters (a, d, z, r and w) are never connected to the following letter and thus have no separate letter shape for between the other letters, the shape is the same as that at the end of a word.

The article 'al' (ال) is always connected to the following noun.

When the following letter is a so-called 'Sun' letter (ن ل ظ ط ض ص ش س ز), the pronunciation of the 'L' (ل) then liaises with the sound of the following letter.

Thus al-Din is pronounced as ad-Din (الدين).

The long vowels (aa, ie, oe) are written (ا, ي, و). The short vowels (a, oe, i) and a double letter are shown by a diacritical mark above or below the letter preceding the vowel. On the coins the diacritical marks are generally not written. Also the dots below and above a letter character, showing the differences between letters, tend to not being found on the coins.

This creates difficulties with interpretation<sup>464</sup>.

On the coins the 'S' (س) is often omitted.

In this article the Arabic text is, for easy reading, written in 'Simplified Arabic'.

On the coins, tombstones and seals the legend is in 'Traditional Arabic'.

The differences are in the way the letters are connected to each other.

This must be taken in account when studying the coins.

Some examples are:

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463 See Figure 28, 'Arabic characters, including Persian and Malay forms' on page 212.

464 See Figure 29, 'Rarely appearing diacritical marks on the coins' on page 213.

Appendices

Traditional	Simplified	Translation
عالم	عالم	Alam
بدر المنير	بدر المنير	Badr al-Munir
جمال العالم	جمال العالم	Djamal al-Alam
محمد	محمد	Muhammad
صالح	صالح	Salih

Transcription	Letter name	Isolate	Final	Medial	Initial
A	Alif	ا	ا	ا	ا
B	Be	ب	ب	ب	ب
P	Pe (Persia)	پ	پ	پ	پ
T	Te	ت	ت	ت	ت
Sh (Ch)	The, Se	ث	ث	ث	ث
Tha	Ta (India) = ط	ط	ط	ط	ط
J, Dj	Jim	ج	ج	ج	ج
Ch	Chim (Persia)	چ	چ	چ	چ
H	Ha	ح	ح	ح	ح
Kha	Kha	خ	خ	خ	خ
D	Dal	د	د	د	د
Z, d	Zal	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ
D	Da	ڊ	ڊ	ڊ	ڊ
R	Re	ر	ر	ر	ر
Z	Ze	ز	ز	ز	ز
Z	Zhe	ڙ	ڙ	ڙ	ڙ
S	Sin	س	س	س	س
Sh	Shin	ش	ش	ش	ش
S, s	Sad	ڙ	ڙ	ڙ	ڙ
Z, Dh, d	Zad, Dhad	ڙ	ڙ	ڙ	ڙ
T, t	Ta	ٽ	ٽ	ٽ	ٽ
Z, z	Za	ڙ	ڙ	ڙ	ڙ
' , 'A	Ain	ع	ع	ع	ع
Gh	Ghain	غ	غ	غ	غ
Ng	Nga (Malay)	ڱ	ڱ	ڱ	ڱ
F	Fe	ف	ف	ف	ف
Q, K	Qaf	ق	ق	ق	ق
P	Pa (Malay)	پ	پ	پ	پ
K	Kaf	ک	ک	ک	ک
G	Gaf (Persia et al)	گ	گ	گ	گ
Ga	Sagher nun (Malay)	ڱ	ڱ	ڱ	ڱ
L	Lam	ل	ل	ل	ل
M	Mim	م	م	م	م
N	Nun	ن	ن	ن	ن
N	No (Malay)	ڱ	ڱ	ڱ	ڱ
W, U	Waw	و	و	و	و
H	He	ه	ه	ه	ه
Y	Ye	ي	ي	ي	ي
La	Lam - Alif	لا	لا	لا	لا

Figure 28. Arabic characters, including Persian and Malay forms<sup>465</sup>



The words on the coins are often shown corrupted.

The examples in Figure 30 are derived from photos of coins in the catalogue. If 'ad-Din' is followed by 'bin', then the same 'character' seems next to each other three times.

The first part of 'at-Tahir' is often read as 'Sultan' due to the corrupted script.

## 9.2. Personal and honorary titles

Islamic rulers were not only known by their personal names ('Alam: علم e.g. Ahmad) but also by their relationship to a father or other relative, real or hypothetical (Kunyat: كنيه e.g. Ahmad bin Abdallah). Persons were also known by various personal honorary titles (Laqab: لقب e.g. Safiat ad-Din, pure in the faith). The titles on the coins were often combinations of Alam and Laqab and sometimes the Laqab alone. Personal names must not be translated, but they do have a certain meaning. The vocabulary provides transcriptions and translations or indications of the meaning.

## 9.3. Vocabulary

This vocabulary provides the words that can be found on the coins of Samudra-Pasai and Aceh and their meaning.

ابدت	Abbadat	Eternity; May live long
ابدت مآكه	Abbadta Malikah	Make her reign eternal
عبدالله	Abdallah	Slave of Allah
عبد القاهر	Abd al-qahir	Slave of the victorius (of God, of Allah)
عبد الجليل	Abd al-Djalil	Slave of the Illustrious (Allah)
عدالله	Addallah	Inclined to Allah; Slave of Allah
ابو	Abu	Father.
ابوالدين	Abu ad-Din	Father of the Religion (the faith, the Islam)
ابو سعيد	Abu Sa'id	Father of happiness, of fortune
الدين	ad-Din	Of the Religion (the faith, the Islam)
عدل	Adil	Justice
عدل الله	Adil-Lilah	Justice of Allah
احمد	Ahmad	The most praised; Most Laudable
الاء الدين	Ala'ad-Din	Elevation of the Religion (the Islam)
علاو الدين	Ala'oe ad-Din	Elevation of the Religion (the Islam)
عابد	Abid	Worshipper.

عابدين	Abidin	Worshipper of the faith.
العابدين	Al-Abidin	Of the servants of the Religion (of the faith)
العادل	Al-Adil	The just (Morally pure)
علاء	Ala'	Up to
علاء الله	Ala'lilah	Up to Allah; to Allah.
علاء مغايت	Ala'Mughayat	To the Honoured (to Allah)
عز	Azz	May his victory be glorious; May it be glorious.
عز الله	az-Zallah	Glory of Allah.
الاعظم	al-Azam	The greatest; Superior; Very mighty
علي	Ali	The grandson of Mohammed
عالم	Alam	The universe; The world
الطاهر	at-Tahir	The pure (of the mind; in the religion)
الظاهر	az-Zahir	The evident; The obvious; The Victorious; Manifest
بدر العالم	Badr al-Alam	Full moon of the world
بدر المنير	Badr al-Munir	Illuminating moon
دولة	Daulat	State; Government
بر دولة	Berdaulat	Of the state; Sovereign
بن	bin	Son of
ابن	ibn	Son of
بنت	bint	Daughter of
ابنه	ibnah	Daughter of
بقسو	Bungsu	The youngest born (son)
جمال العالم	Djamal al-Alam	Beauty of the world
جوهن	Djohan	Of the world
جوهن بردولة	Djohan berdaulat	Regent of the state (of the world)
دار	Dar	Home; Abode; City
دنيا	Dunya	World
فاضل	Fazul	Excellent
فرمان	Firman	Decree
غيات الدين	Ghiat ad-Din	Abundance of the Religion (the Islam)
حسين	Husain	Husain, Grandson of the Prophet
عناية	Inayat	Providence
اسكندر مود	Iskandar Muda	Alexander the younger
اسكندر ثاني	Iskandar Thani	Alexander the second
كمالة شاه	Kamalat Shah	The perfect Queen
خاقان	Khaqan	Khan.
محمود	Mahmud	Laudable
ملك	Malik	King

Appendices

ملكه	Malikah	Queen
منصور	Mansur	Conqueror; Whom is given the victory
مود	Muda	Young, also used as 'vice'
مستنجد بالله	Mustandjad Bullah	Who implores help of Allah
محمد	Muhammad	The praised; The prophet Mohammed
معز الدين	Mu'iz ad-Din	Who gives glory to the faith
مومن	Mumin	The faithful; The Believer (Muslim)
منور	Munawar	The illuminated; Who satisfied Allah
منير	Munir	Shining
مرض	Murdhi	The satisfier (Whom satisfied Allah)
مظفر	Muzaffar	Conqueror; Whom is given the victory
نقية الدين	Nakiat ad-Din	The pure of the Religion (the faith, the Islam)
نور	Nur	Light
نور العالم	Nur al-Alam	The light of the world
نور الدين	Nur ad-Din	Light of the faith (the Islam)
فادك	Paduka	Lord; Master
فركاس عالم	Perkasa Alam	Ruler of the world
قاهر	Qahar	Conqueror; Powerful
راج	Raja	King (Hindi), a high rank in Indonesia
رعاية	Ri'ayat	Submissive (to Allah)
صفية الدين	Safiat ad-Din	Pure in the Religion (the faith, the Islam)
صلاح	Salah	Good; Welfare
الصلاح	as-Salah	The Pious; Honnest
صالح	Salih	The morally good (the Pious)
سنة	Sanat	Year
سعيد	Sa'id	Fortunate; Happy
شاه	Shah	King (Persian), a high rank in Indonesia
سلطان	Sultan	Sultan (literally 'power')
السلطان	As-Sultan	The Sultan
سر سلطان	Sri Sultan	His Majesty the Sultan
السلطانه	As-Sultanah	The Sultanah.
سر سلطانه	Sri Sultanah	Her Majesty the Sultanah
تاج العالم	Tadj al-Alam	Crown of the world
ثاني	Thani	The second
زين العابدين	Zain al-Abidin	Ornament of the servants of Allah
زين العادن	Zain al-Adin	Ornament of the Religion (the Islam)
زينة الدين	Zainat ad-Din	Ornament of the Religion (the Islam)
زكية الدين	Zakiat ad-Din	Purity; Pure in the Religion (the faith, the Islam)
زأكية الدين	Zaakiat ad-Din	Purity; Pure in the Religion (the Islam)
ظل لله	Zill-Lilah	Shadow of Allah

### 9.4. Reading the coins

The coin die-cutters probably read or wrote no Arabic.

Nevertheless, few unintended errors appear on the coinage. Even when a coin legend is incomplete the text on the many die variants of the coin of a particular Sultan remain the same and unaltered.

The Arabic script is written right to left and from top to bottom.

On the coins the various words, or parts of words, are not always placed in the right sequence.

Not seldom (parts of) words are placed higher or lower than should be the case when correctly written.

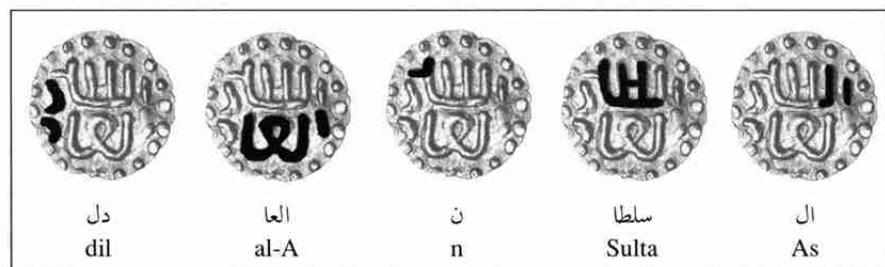
The 'S' (س) is mostly written as just the connecting line between the letters and sometimes an 'A' (ا) is omitted.

The article Al (ال) often follows the pronunciation of the subsequent noun.

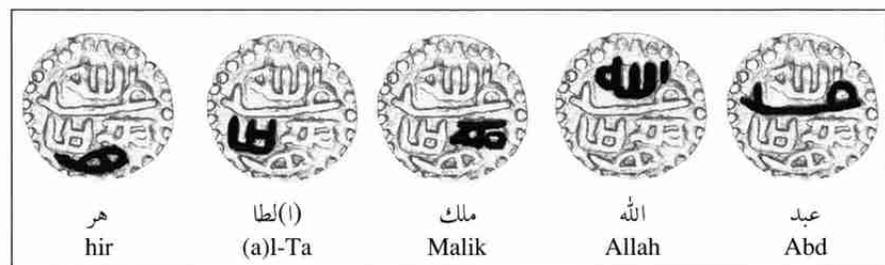
E.g. Al-Sultan is pronounced as As-Sultan and al-Din as ad-Din.

Some examples of the coin script.

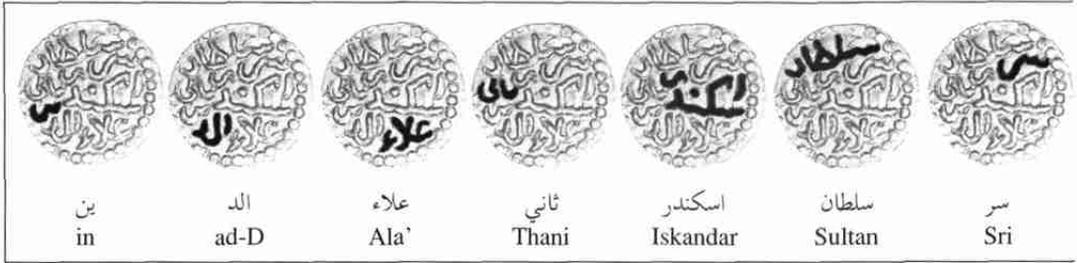
1. The very common السلطان العادل As-Sultan al-Adil.



2. SP 18a with عبد الله ملك الطاهر Abdallah Malik at-Tahir.



3. A 16b with سر سلطان اسكندر ثاني علاء الدين Sri Sultan Iskandar Thani Ala'ad-Din.



**9.5. Photographing the coins**

Drawing 1 illustrates the cross-section of the coin with a character (the legend).

The normal way to photograph is with skimming light from one side (See drawing 2).

The illuminated edge of the character is then strongly lit and the other side contains a cast shadow. Seen from above the position of the character appears to have shifted in the direction of the shadow.

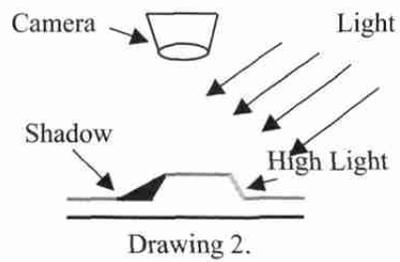
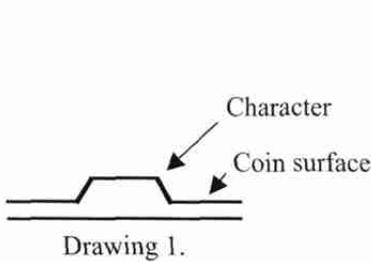
Details contained in the shadow are no longer visible.

For the catalogue the coins are photographed, where available, using perpendicular light (See drawing 3).

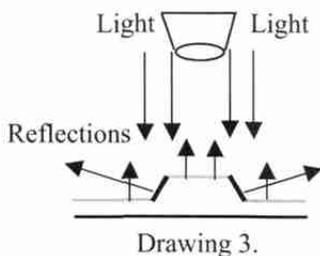
This is done using a ring of light directly around the photographing lens.

This enables clear illumination of the coin surface and the upper side of the character but the sides of the character reflect the light away.

Seen from above the character is bordered by two dark lines that accurately reveal the position and width of the character. No details are lost in a shadow.



## Appendices



Photographs of the same coin with skimming and perpendicular light.

## 9.6. Reference table

Publications on the gold coins of Acheh can be found in:

- N&CH. Netscher en van der Chijs, *De munten van Nederlands Indië*, 1863.  
Mill. H.C. Millies, *Recherches sur les Monnaies des Indigènes de l'archipel Indien*, 1871.  
VOG. Collectie H. Vogel, *Veilingcatalogus J. Schulman*, 22 mei 1928.  
HP. J. Hulshoff Pol, *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde*, XVI. 1929.  
Scho. C. Scholten, *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde*, XXXVI. 1949.  
Mitch. Mitchiner, M.: *Oriental coins and their values The World of Islam*, 1979.

The key publication is that of J. Hulshoff Pol, supplemented by C. Scholten. The table below gives a cross-reference of the different publications of the 1 mas coins of ca. 0.6 grams. There are no earlier publications on the half and quarter coins, nor on a coin with the double or quadruple weight.

The publication of Mitchiner contains many erroneous readings and transcriptions of the legends on the coins. Notes: – The numbers SP 6a and SP 15 cannot be distinguished from each other. – HP 22 is possibly a counterfeit. – Millies 145 is not a coin of Acheh, but from Patani-Kalantan. The legend on the obverse is 'Asma-adil' and on the reverse. 'Paduka Shah Alam'. – Mitchiner 3081 is a counterfeit, the legend on the reverse is upside down.

Appendices

Ley.	N&CH.	Mill.	VOG.	HP.	Scho.	Mitch.
SP 1a						
SP 1b						
SP 1c						
SP 1d				3		
SP 2a						
SP 2b						
SP 3				7 <sup>468</sup>	32	
SP 4a			463	2		
SP 4b						
SP 5					33 <sup>469</sup>	
SP 6a			464			3074
SP 6b						
SP 6c					31	
SP 7a						
SP 7b			465	4		
SP 8						
SP 9a						
SP 9b						
SP 9c			466	6		
SP 10						
SP 11						
SP 12						
SP 13a						
SP 13b						
SP 14						
SP 15			464			3074
SP 16						
SP 17						
SP 18a						
SP 18b						
SP 19			468-469 <sup>470</sup>			
SP 20			467 <sup>471</sup>	5		
A 2						
A 4						
A 5		132	471- 472 <sup>472</sup>	8		3076
A 6a						
A 6b			476			
A 6c						
A 6d			473			3078
A 6e		133	473	9		3077

468 Hulshoff Pol did read the legend wrongly, Scholten is correct.

469 Scholten 33 is wrongly read, must be 'Mansur'.

470 Is 'Murdhi' instead of 'Firman' or 'Muzaffar'

471 Is 'Mumin' instead of 'Muzaffar'.

472 Of the numbers 471, 472, 473, 477, 478, 479, 482 483 and 489 of the Vogel auction are no photographs.

Appendices

Ley.	N&CH.	Mill.	VOG.	HP.	Scho.	Mitch.
A 7a						
A 7b			474	10		
A 7c						
A 9a						
A 9b			475	1		
A 11a			477	11		
A 11b		136	477			
A 12			470	12		
A 12 B					34	
A 13a			478-479			
A 13b		134	478-479			3080
A 13c		135	478-479	13		
A 13d					35	
A 14 B						
A 15a						
A 15b						
A 15c			486	14	36 <sup>473</sup>	
A 15d			481	15		
A 15e			480	16		
A 16a	184	137	482	17		
A 16b						
A 17a	183	138	483 <sup>207</sup>	18		3083
A 17b			483 <sup>207</sup>			
A 18		139	483	19		3084
A 19a	182	140	483	20		
A 19b			483	21		3085
A 20	185	141	468-469 <sup>474</sup>	23		3086
A 21			484	24		
A 22	181	142	485	25		
A 23		143	487	26		3087 <sup>475</sup>
A 26a			488	27		
A 26b						
A 27	186	144	489	28 <sup>476</sup>		3088

473 Scholten points here to Hulshoff Pol no. 25, but it is published by Hulshoff Pol as no. 14.

474 Is 'Murdhi' instead of 'Firman' or 'Muzaffar'.

475 Michiner 3087 is wrongly read. The obverse 'Djamal al-Alam' not 'Djamal ad-Din'. The reverse not 'Shah'.

476 Hulshoff Pol reads on the obverse 'Shah', this part of the legend is on the reverse.

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