Chapter 12

The Rise of Muslim Coastal States in North Sumatra: Coastal Rulers and Powers over Hinterland Fertility

HIROSUE Masashi

Southeast Asia, being located at the maritime crossroads between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, played a significant role in international maritime trade from early centuries. Contacts with the outside world through trade helped to develop coastal entrepôts exporting products from their inland regions. These port cities became highly cosmopolitan urban areas attracting merchants from the East and the West and acting as important economic and political centers of Southeast Asian port polities [Kathirithamby-Wells 1990: 1-16], while at the same time maintaining firm ties with the people residing in their hinterland, who gathered forest products and cultivated foodstuffs at bases of mountains and in upper river basins.

North Sumatra, which connected the Indian Ocean and the Straits of Malacca, was a production base for valuable forest and mineral products from early times, and then for pepper beginning in the fifteenth century. During the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries, coastal states such as Pasai, Barus, Aru and Aceh flourished by exporting products from their respective interiors. Lowland regions, including coastal cities in Insular Southeast Asia, were not generally agricultural centres in pre-modern times, due to tropical climates characterized by swampy and dense rain forest ecologies, with the exception of cities in east and central Java. People who gathered and cultivated commercial commodities generally lived in the upriver regions of the interior. The linkage between the coastal ports and their hinterlands has been an important issue for scholars interested in maritime Southeast Asian history and political culture [Hall 1977; Drakard 1990; Bonatz et al. 2009]. The coastal port needed the hinterland for the latter's products, and the hinterland needed the coastal port in order to barter for such necessities as salt and cotton cloths. Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam helped local rulers in their efforts to glorify their kingly roles as mediators between foreign traders and hinterland peoples. The acceptance of Islam by those rulers resulted in

the strengthening of ties not only with the Islamic world as a whole, but also their own subjects.

Although Muslim Arab and Persian traders had been visiting Southeast Asia since at least the eighth century, it was only from the end of the thirteenth century that Southeast Asian rulers began to embrace Islam, due to the fact that the Indian Ocean trading system was largely in Muslim hands by this time. Contacts with Muslim communities in south India and the conquest by the Muslim sultans in India of the states of Bengal, Deccan and Gujarat, with which Southeast Asians enjoyed commercial ties of long standing, greatly influenced the north Sumatran coastal rulers in adopting Islam, in order to reinforce their authority in the midst of a rapid influx of Muslim traders from West and South Asia and Chinese Muslim traders from East Asia [Fatimi 1963: 1-36; Drewes 1968; Hall 1977; Braginsky 1993: 8]. Sufi orders played an important role in the conversion of Southeast Asian rulers to Islam, as pointed out by A.H. Johns [1961].

In order to respond to increased demands by visiting merchants, Sumatran coastal rulers needed to make close connections with their inland people to guarantee a steady supply of forest and mineral products and pepper. There is no doubt that the military superiority of the coastal rulers may have provided coastal rulers with the means to exercise control over their hinterlands. Nevertheless, military superiority alone was not sufficient to consistently control affairs in the interior and, in particular, to guarantee that the agricultural system would allow the people to collect and cultivate commercial products.[1] In this context, the coastal ruler needed to associate his power with a type of authority which the hinterland people believed was able to control agricultural productivity. Sufism helped to legitimatize the kind of divine power and influence for these rulers to strengthen ties with their peoples, to the extent that hinterland communities often grew and developed under such inland authorities. Although the research so far has tended to interpret these hinterland authorities as culturally different from Islamic coastal society and free of their influence [Geertz 1963: 31, 79; Heine-Geldern 1959: 391-392], this paper will argue that north Sumatran hinterland cultures and societies, including the images they held of 'Sumatra' were crystalized at a time when Pasai, Barus, Aceh, and other Muslim coastal principalities were endeavouring to establish trade networks with both East and West and become leading Islamic centres.[2]

[1] Those coastal cities were generally forced to import food-stuffs and were unable to send them to their distant hinterlands. Until the later part of the nineteenth century, Sumatra's hinterland peoples combined cash-cropping and hunter-gatherer activities with swidden and irrigated cultivation [Kathirithamby-Wells 1992: 29-30].

[2] I would like to take this opportunity to thank H. Kulke, P. Manguin, N. Karashima, T. Hamashita, and A. Tanabe for their comments and advice.

1. Relations between Muslim Coastal Rulers and Hinterland People

In north Sumatra, the volcanic high mountain ranges of the Bukit Barisan closely approach both the east and west coasts. Compared with the central and southern parts of Sumatra, rivers there generally flow too quickly and are too shallow for navigation, except near the coastal regions. Nevertheless, inland trade routes developed from early on. Moreover, since the estuary deltas of Sumatra were generally unsuitable to agricultural production, except for Aceh's narrow littoral, highlands above 500 m were conducive to rice cultivation utilizing water from valleys and upper stream rivers and free from the threat of either malaria or typhoid fever, compared to the lowlands [Reid 2005: 60-63; Miksic 2009]. These interior regions were also production bases of forest products and pepper, and producers there were in a position to choose where to market their products among the surrounding coastal towns. In order to mobilize the population of this interior to gather and cultivate commercial products, the ruler was expected to lead its hinterland people to prosperity through their value systems. Royal chronicles of Sumatran Muslim coastal states, which claim legitimacy of the establishment of the kingship, contain useful sources concerning this point.

One interesting example of this comes from the chronicle of the royal family of Pasai (*Hikayat Raja Pasai*). The kingdom of Pasai was probably established during the later part of the thirteenth century, and the royal family converted to Islam at the end of the century, just after the visit of Marco Polo in 1292-1293 [Yule 1903: 292]. It had become a prosperous port polity by the mid-fourteenth century, when Ibn Battuta visited the capital. Ibn Battuta describes the Sultan of Pasai as a devout Muslim follower of the teachings of Shafi'ite ulamas from Shīrāz and Iṣfahān, and tells us that Pasai had close contacts with the Sultanate of Delhi [Ibn Battuta 1994: 876-878]. Although Pasai's royal family line was interrupted in the later part of the fourteenth century and at the beginning of the fifteenth century [Guillot and Kalus 2008: 69-79; Ma Huan 1970: 116-117], Pasai continued to be an important city for merchants from the East and the West before Malacca flourished from the later part of the fifteenth century on. Malacca revered Pasai as one of the leading Islamic centres in Southeast Asia [Brown 1970: 92-94]. During the 1510s, after the Portuguese conquest of Malacca (1511) , Pasai soon revived its former prosperity, trading eight to ten thousand *bahar* of pepper annually, in addition to silk and benzoin, with merchants from Bengal, Turkey, Arab, Persia, Gujarat, south India, Malay, Java and Siam, according to Tomé Pires, a Portuguese apothecary who visited Sumatra in the 1510s [Cortesão 1944: 142-144]. Although the city was populated by at least twenty thousand inhabitants, kingship there became highly unstable due to a series of usurpations from the end of the fifteenth century on [Alves 1994]. Pasai was finally conquered by Aceh in 1524, and its ruler fled to Malacca.

Hikayat Raja Pasai was very likely compiled between the later part of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century, in order to legitimatize

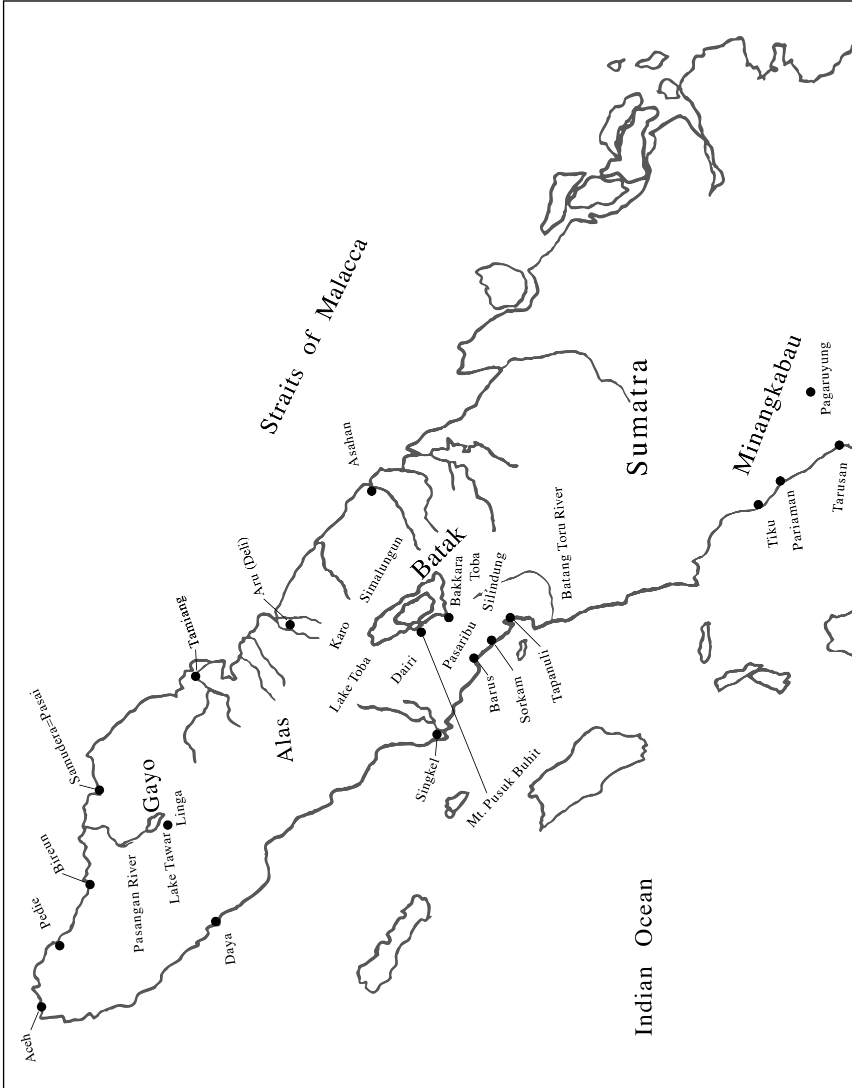

Fig. 12.1: Map of North Sumatra

the founder of the kingdom and his descendants [Teuku Iskandar 2011: 39; Braginsky 1993: 23]. According to the text, the first king of Pasai, Merah Silau, was the offspring of a bamboo girl found in the forest and a boy who was brought up in the forest by a white elephant [Jones 1987: 1-23; Hill 1960: 46-58]. Bamboo often symbolizes the vital energy of the botanical world, while the elephant is regarded as the king of beasts. Southeast Asian royal chronicles occasionally claim that their kingdom's ancestors were born from trees or flowers [Brown 1970: 101; Sturrock 1916: 91-94]. Although departing from historical reality, the myth's message is a clear and distinct claim that due to his birth the king shares power of both the flora and the fauna of the Sumatran forests.

While still in his youth, Merah Silau is said to have successfully transformed galley worms into gold by boiling them and tamed many wild buffalos using the powers bestowed upon him by his parents. The boiling of galley worms to obtain gold might have reflected the power to produce raw silk, which became a valuable export item in Pasai [Reid 1988: vol. 1, 92-93]. Merah Silau became very rich and famous among the local people of Bireun, his north Sumatran coastal home, but he fell out with his brother due to the latter's jealousy over his fame and fortune. Consequently, Merah Silau left Biruen and went into the headwaters of the Pasangan River to find a new home. The inland people of Buluh Telang, which, according to the chronicle, was a prosperous agricultural region, allowed him to stay among them, where he spent most of his time gambling. When he lost, he would pay the sum waged, but when he won, he never asked for payment. He also presented every visitor with a buffalo that he had tamed. The people praised his wealth and generosity, and agreed that he should be their king.

Then a chief of Rimba Jerana by the name of Sultan Malikul Nasir, who also claimed the right of kingship over the people of the upper Pasangan River basin, declared war on Merah Silau. With the support of the people of Buluh Telang, Merah Silau was able to win the war. After Malikul Nasir fled into the interior, Merah Silau successfully conquered Malikul Nasir's strongholds in the mountainous region of north Sumatra and brought them under his rule. By putting the inland regions under his influence, Merah Silau was able to build a city, which he named 'Samudera' (= Pasai),[3] and ruled over it. The chronicle relates that one night after his victory, Merah Silau had a dream in which the Prophet Muhammad apperared, instructed him in Islam and told him that soon a ship would arrive in Samudera from Mecca carrying Syeikh Ismail. As Syeikh Ismail was making his way to Samudera, he stopped off at Mengiri on the Coromandel Coast, where he asked the ruler for directions to Samudera. The ruler decided to abdicate his throne to his son and personally guide

[3] Later the centre of the kingdom moved to Pasai, which was slightly upstream of Samudera. After the island itself began to be called Sumatra after 'Samudera', the kingdom was then generally called Pasai.

Syeikh Ismail to Samudera, being dressed as a fakir. Under the fakir's guidance, Syeikh Ismail finally arrived at Samudera and installed Merah Silau as Sultan Malikul Saleh, ruler of the Islamic kingdom of Samudera Darulsalam. It was in this way that the authority of the first king of Samudera was legitimized by virtue of a bamboo-elephant heritage, his support by hinterland people of the upper Pasagan River and Islam.

Since the hinterland of Pasai produced gold, camphor, benzoin, raw silk and, from at least the beginning of the fifteenth century, pepper, maintaining good relations with the inland people was very important to the city, while its conversion to Islam was significant in order to attract Muslim merchants. Sultan Malikul Saleh was a historical figure who, according to his epitaph, died in 1297 [Drewes 1968: 444-457; Guillot and Kalus 2008: 177-178]. The chronicle also states that Malikul Saleh's successors were generally pious Muslims, and Tomé Pires relates that there were many rich Muslim merchants from Arabia, Persia and Bengal at Pasai during the first half of fifteenth century [Cortesão 1944: 240]. Despite the fact that Pasai became one of the most prosperous Muslim coastal entrepôts in maritime Southeast Asia during that time, relations between its royal family and the hinterland people were based upon Sumatran tradition. Sultan Malikul Nasir, who had declared war on Merah Silu, may have been a Muslim, as his title implies. However, Islam was not an important political or ideological factor at the time when Merah Silau first established his connections with inland peoples [Hall 1977: 223-224].

Although the chronicle mentions that those inhabitants of Pasai who refused to embrace Islam fled to the upper reaches of the Pasangan River, resulting in them being called 'Gayo' ('runaways') [Hill 1960: 180], in general, good relations between Pasai and the hinterland people were closely maintained. Pires mentions that Pasai merchants widely travelled into the north Sumatran interior to trade as far as the hinterlands of west coastal states of Daya, Singkil and Barus [Cortesão 1944: 163]. The hinterland people who gathered and cultivated commercial products while producing subsistence crops, respected the authority which the royal family of Pasai claimed was associated with the fertility of the Sumatran forests. Pasai itself was not allowed to bring foodstuffs into the remote hinterland. The coastal ruler was expected to respect the reciprocal prosperity of the inland people. Pires states that the wishes of Pasai's hinterland people who cultivated pepper, raw silk and benzoin would always prevail whenever disputes arose between them and Pasai [Cortesão 1944: 143]. It was in this way that the ruler of Pasai became a mediator between the inland Sumatran and the Islamic worlds.

Sufism was important to developing the ruler's divine power as mediator between the inland and maritime worlds. *Hikayat Raja Pasai* mentions that Syeikh Ismail on his way to Samudera was guided by the ex-king who donned the dress of a fakir from Mengiri (according to *Sejarah Melayu*, Ma'abri) . Such a personage was a typical example of peripatetic Sufi ascetic [Johns 1961: 17]. Then upon his arrival

Syeikh Ismail converted all of Malikul Saleh's subjects to Islam and performed the ceremony to install Malikul Saleh as Sultan of Samudera. The fakir, according to *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, remained in Samudera in order to preach Islam after Syeikh Ismail left Samudera [Jones 1987: 17]. The attendance of such Sufi preachers and *ulama* upon the ruler enabled the legend of the supernatural powers which Merah Silau inherited from his parent, his abilities to gain support from the hinterland people and his victory in the war with his rival to be integrated with his conversion to Islam by Muhammad in a dream, and consequently form the ideological underpinnings of the kingship of Sultan Malikul Saleh.

2. Barus and Its Agrarian Hinterland

Firm ties with the hinterland helped coastal rulers to survive struggles with their rivals, and their relations with the interior rice cultivating regions were as important as those with regions providing forest and commercial products. The strengthening of ties between the Muslim coastal rulers and its hinterland people not only enabled the latter to gain access to Islam, but also in many cases led to the restrengthening of their pre-Islamic beliefs in the power of local fertility. A good example of such a dynamic is the relationship enjoyed by the Muslim coastal rulers of Barus and their hinterland peoples.

Barus was a port city well known from early times for its exports of good quality camphor and gold. From about the ninth century, Muslim traders from west Asia began to sail directly to Barus, and during the eleventh century, Tamil merchants established one of their communities there [Drakard 1989; Subbarayalu 2002]. The thirteenth-century Chinese source, *Zhu-fan-chi,* as well as Marco Polo, also mention that Barus exported good quality camphor [Hirth and Rockhill 1912: 193; Yule 1903: 299]. Barus may have adopted Islam as early as Samudera, since *Sejarah Melayu* states that Syeikh Ismail arrived at Barus to convert its inhabitants to Islam on the way to Samudera [Brown 1970: 31]. Barus had become a very prosperous coastal entrepôt attracting Arab, Persian, and Indian merchants according to Tomé Pires' early sixteenth century observation [Cortesão 1944: 161-162]. During the 1530s, Barus came under the influence of Aceh, which strictly controlled trade there until the middle of the seventeenth century through its appointed deputy (*panglima*) [Kathirithamby-Wells 1969: 455-464].

The royal chronicles of Barus relate that before coming under the influence of Aceh, Barus had been ruled by two ruling royal families: one of Upstream Barus (Barus Ulu), the other of Downstream Barus (Barus Hilir).[4] Aceh, which was

[4] The existing chronicles of both the royal families, which were based on their oral traditions, were written in the mid-nineteenth century under the Dutch colonial regime [Drakard 1988:

established at the beginning of the sixteenth century, became an important coastal port for those Asian merchants who chose not to trade at Malacca, owing to the high tariffs imposed by the Portuguese. During the period from the 1520s till the mid-seventeenth century, Aceh became a powerful coastal state and endeavoured to expand its influence over the other states of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. Aceh often abolished the existing royal families ruling over these coastal states, in order to force the reorganization of their trade networks. Nevertheless, the two royal families of Barus managed to survive. After Aceh retreated from Barus, the Dutch East Indian Company established a factory there, and the Company's sources from the latter part of the seventeenth century mention that good quality camphor and benzoin were being brought to Barus by the interior people, over whom the two royal families excercised influence [VOC 1272: 1067; Drakard 1990: 34-35].

Sarakatah Surat Catera Asal Keturunan Raja Dalam Negeri Barus or The Royal Chronicle of Barus Ulu claims that before establishing themselves at Barus, the royal family's ancestor had built villages in its hinterland with the cooperation of comrades from their homeland on Lake Toba and then placed these settlements under their control [Drakard 1988: 123-136]. According to it, the family's founder, Raja Alang Pardoksi, was originated from the Toba Batak clan on the shore of Lake Toba, fertile rice-cultivating regions in Sumatra. Raja Alang Pardoksi left his native village in order to establish new villages and markets among the people in the camphor producing region of Dairi. Among the Toba Batak, to build a new village and to become its chief (*raja*) was one of the most honourable achievements [Vergouwen 1964: 108-117]. However, since the Dairi region was less favourable for rice cultivation [Verslag 1917: 198], ties with the Toba home land remained important. The Chronicle relates that following initial colonization, people migrated from Toba to live in the region. After Alang Pardoksi's death, his elder son Guru Marsakot moved to the coast and became a raja of Pansur and Lobu Tua, places where the Chronicle tells of merchants from Tamil, Arabia and north Sumatra forming trade enclaves, while another Alang Pardoksi's son became a raja of Tuka, near hinterland of Barus.

The Chronicle relates that one of the latter's son's descendant, Tuan Kadir, who was a *raja* of Lobu Tua, was converted to Islam. Lobu Tua, where an inscription written by a Tamil merchant guild bearing the date of 1088 CE was discovered, was a trade centre at Barus during the eleventh century [Subbarayalu 2002]. The Chronicle also states that during Tuan Kadir's reign, Lobu Tua was conquered by 'the Gigantic People', which might refer to either seafaring raiders or Batak warriors [McKinnon 2011; Guillot 2003: 67]. Tuan Kadir and his people then moved to Barus Ulu, where

91, 97]. Although the tales of the chronicle do not always coincide with historical facts due to editing by the story tellers, their content implies that the royal families claimed to be important mediators between foreigners and the inland peoples, who without such mediation had been reluctant to accept Dutch rule.

he became a *raja*. Recent archaeological research suggests that Lobu Tua was suddenly abandoned around the turn of the twelfth century [Guillot 1998: 181; Perret and Surachman 2011: 162]. Meanwhile 'the Gigantic People' were unable to survive at Lobu Tua, according to the Chronicle. Although the extant version of the Chronicle was compiled during 1850s and 1860s, the oral traditions of the royal family still imply that the Muslim coastal state of Barus Ulu overcame hardships at Lobu Tua by maintaining connections with the local and interior populations established by their ancestors.

The Chronicle further relates that during the reign of Tuan Kadir's grandson, the founder of Barus Hilir family, who claimed to be descended from the Pagaruyung royal family, accompanied a large number of migrants from central Sumatra and settled in Barus, thus posing another rival to Barus Ulu. Nevertheless, the two royal families managed to co-exist, mainly due to mutually exclusive networks with their respective hinterlands.

The Royal Chronicle of Barus Hilir (*Sejarah Tuanku Batubadan*) relates that the first king, Sultan Ibrahim, travelled around the Toba Batak hinterland and established connections with the local people in the forest product regions and one of the rice production regions on the shores of Lake Toba [Tambo 1872: 9-16; Drakard 1988: 194-202].[5] Historically, the interiors of north Sumatra had close ties with their counterparts in central Sumatra through inland routes from as early as the eleventh century [Miksic 2009]. Tomé Pires describes that the hinterland between Aru and Barus was commercially connected to the Minangkabau region [Cortesão 1944: 148]. The arrival of the royal family of Barus Hilir suggests a further development of the connections between the two regions in the form of a coastal city tied to its hinterland.

The Royal Chronicle of Barus Hilir tells how this Muslim royal family were accepted among the non-Muslim Toba Batak. According to it, Sultan Ibrahim left his home land of Tarusan on the west coast of central Sumatra with his companions because of a dispute with his father. They then proceeded up the west coast as far as the mouth of the Batang Toru River and turned inland to the Toba Batak area in search for a new home. Ibrahim first arrived at Silindung, a Batang Toru upriver basin where benzoin was produced. He was honoured by the people, who praised his power over such a large following and asked him to be a *raja* of Silindung. Accordingly, he appointed four deputies there and made them promise to send him tribute in two years' time, warning them that their rice stalks and yams would wither if they failed to fulfill their promise.

The next place Sultan Ibrahim and his followers stopped was Bakkara, located on the west shore of Lake Toba. While neither a benzoin nor camphor region, Bakkara was one of the most productive rice cultivating regions in north Sumatra. The Chronicle says that the people at Bakkara were at first not able to understand

[5] The extant version of the Chronicle was written during 1834-1872 [Drakard 1988: 95-99].

Ibrahim's language. Ibrahim only answered that he was travelling with a thousand (*seribu*) people. To this the people replied that his clan must be Pasaribu and that they also belonged to the same clan. He was again honoured by the local chieftains and endeavoured to convert the people to Islam. They refused it, but continued to regard him as their *raja*. Ibrahim married one of the chieftains' daughter, who did convert to Islam, and told the people that the child borne by this wife would be called Singa Maharaja and would act his deputy in the Batak area. Ibrahim also warned the people that if they ignore his order, rice stalks would wither, causing their death.

Ibrahim then moved to Pasaribu, a region near the hinterland of Barus, producing benzoin and camphor. There he informed the inhabitants that his clan was also Pasaribu and that he had come from Bakkara, winning both their welcome and respect. Here Ibrahim also appointed four deputies, and after a brief stay, headed for the coast where at last he found the place where he should settle. He named the place Barus and the settlement prospered, according to the Chronicle.

The importance of Sultan Ibrahim's story to the subject of this study is the way in which he established ruler-subject relationships among the non-Muslim Toba Batak by keeping both his and their different religious beliefs and value systems intact. The reverence for Ibrahim held by the Toba Batak of the regions he visited was associated with their belief that one of their holy ancestors had moved to an island off the west coast of Barus and was granted invulnerability by the Batak high god. They believed that this holy ancestor, by the name of Raja Uti ('The Magical King') , was the elder brother of the founder of the Pasaribu clan, to which the people believed Ibrahim also belonged, and that Raja Uti was an influential key to their agricultural productivity [Ypes 1932: 423-425; Korn 1953: 121-122; Heine-Geldern 1959: 385-389]. It is highly probable that this Raja Uti symbolized among the Toba Batak the powers of the outside world, especially the monsoon from the Indian Ocean, which brought rain essential to their agricultural production.

The four deputies of Silindung and Singa Maharaja, whom Toba Batak called Si Singa Mangaraja occasionally sent tribute to the ruler of Barus Hilir until the beginning of the twentieth century. The Toba Batak believed that the tribute was then remitted to Raja Uti and that they would suffer bad harvests if it were not sent [Vergouwen 1932: 551-552; Ypes 1932: 56-57]. The royal family of Barus Hilir were able to link its royal authority with the Toba Batak beliefs regarding Raja Uti, by claiming the ability of the king to mediate between the Toba Batak and the outside world.

These ties established between the two royal families of Barus with their respective hinterlands helped in their struggles with the newly-rising power of Aceh, which from the 1520s began to conquer the north Sumatran coastal states of Pedie, Pasai, and Daya, in order to put trade conducted at these outlets under its control. During the 1530s, upon gaining military support from the Ottoman Empire in return for pepper trade, Aceh brought the kingdoms of Barus, Aru and Batak (Tamiang) on

the east coast under its rule [Boxer 1969: 415-416; Lombard 1967: 36-37]. Mendez Pinto visiting north Sumatra in 1539 mentions that Aceh endeavoured to cut off the networks linking those outlets with the Minangkabau royal family [Pinto 1989: 26, 54]. The chronicle of Barus Hilir informs that Sultan Ibrahim was killed by troops of Aceh [Drakard 1988: 138]. However, Aceh was unable to abolish the royal family of downstream Barus, without them it was thought that the hinterland peoples would be reluctant to bring their products to Barus out of fear of enslavement at the hands of foreigners. Aceh also recognized the authority of Si Singa Mangaraja among the Toba Batak, who believed that Raja Uti was associated with the Sultan of Aceh [Dijk 1895: 301; Ypes 1932: 27].

3. Fertility Powers in the Hinterland in the Hands of Coastal Rulers

The prosperity of Muslim coastal cities often resulted in the further development of hinterland agricultural society, leading to the revision of local beliefs to fit new economic reality. Aceh's capital of Kuta Raja, which became a prosperous port of trade exporting pepper and other forest and mineral products, was a highly cosmopolitan city, which was inhabited not only by local north Sumatrans, but also people captured in war and brought to the capital as slaves, as well as foreign merchants from such diverse places as Europe, Turkey, Arab, Gujarat, Malabar, Coromandel, Bengal. According to *Hikayat Aceh*, the royal family of the Sultanate of Aceh were descendents of Iskandar Dzulkarnain (Alexander the Great), and the prosperity of Aceh was praised by the caliph of the Ottoman Empire [Teuku Iskandar 1958: 71, 168-169]. *Hikayat Aceh* also tells us that the Sultan was able to control animals and had gained power over the Batak people, who had previously exerted their magical influence now and then on the Sultans before Iskandar Muda [Teuku Iskandar 1958: 92, 146-147]. On the other hand, Aceh was forced to import foodstuffs from Bengal, Pegu and Deli, because of its increasing population [Ito 1982: 37-38],[6] implying that Aceh was already dependent on its hinterland agricultural regions for all surplus food they could provide.

The prosperity of Aceh inevitably led to the development of rice cultivation in the Karo highlands and the shores of Lake Tawar and Toba. During the reign of Iskandar Muda, Aceh annually imported 360-480 tons of rice from Deli [Ito 1982: 35]. The Karo highlands provided exports to trade for it; and under such changing political and economic circumstances, the Karo Batak people and the royal family of Deli [Aru] revitalized their belief in Puteri Ijo, a legendary inland fertility authority that they believed supported the prosperity of Aru. According to one legend among the

[6] A. Reid estimates the population of Kuta Raja in 1621 to be 160,000, based upon Beaulieu's accounts [Reid 1993: vol. 2, 72].

Karo Batak, Puteri Ijo was born from a banyan tree at Siberaya in the Karo highlands, the fertile hinterland of Aru [Singaribun 1975: 6-7]. She was said to be extremely beautiful and had two brothers, one a big snake, the other a cannon, symbolizing the powers of water and the earth. She was in due course able to become a princess of the kingdom of Aru (Deli Tua).

However, when Aru was captured by the Aceh army, Puteri Ijo was brought to Aceh. Aru, nevertheless, was able to recover its independence with the aid of Johor, which destroyed most of Aceh's fleet off Aru in 1540 [Pinto 1989: 51-57]. Puteri Ijo's story may reflect this event in that she is said to have successfully fled from Aceh with the assistance of her brother the huge sea snake [Milner, McKinnon, and Tengku Luckman Sinar 1978: 17]. The snake carried Puteri Ijo out to the sea, where they disappeared. However, Aru was finally destroyed by the Aceh army in 1612 during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda. It was renamed Deli, and a new ruler was installed by the Sultan, who also appointed the four deputies each among the Karo Batak and the Simalungun Batak, in order to re-establish trade networks in the hinterlands [Joustra 1910: 196; Dijk 1894: 171-172]. These groups of deputies in both regions ensured the maintenance of firm trading ties with the rulers of Deli.

The royal family of Deli regarded Puteri Ijo as important to the kingdom as did the rulers of Aru, and compiled a new version of the story in the form of a *syair*, a Malay poem consisting of quatrains with a rhyming scheme [Rahman 1927; Braginsky 1993: 41]. Some of the Karo Batak also migrated through the Alas valley to shores of Lake Tawar, which *Hikayat Aceh* claims was under the rule of Sultan Iskandar Muda [Teuku Iskandar 1958: 164-165; Bowen 1991: 15-16]. After being converted to Islam at Aceh, these Karo settlers proceeded to engage in agricultural production around the Lake [Snouck Hurgronje 1903: 65-68] and also created a revised version of the Puteri Ijo legend to suit their new surroundings. A legend among the Gayo people recorded at the beginning of the twentieth century tells of Puteri Ijo living with a big serpent at the bottom of Lake Tawar [Snouck Hurgronje 1925: 375-383].[7]

Like the case of the inhabitants of Lake Tawar, the people around Lake Toba reorganized themselves during the fifteenth-seventeenth centuries into agricultural settlements, which included migrants from the Minangkabau region and the hinterlands of Singkel under Acehnese rule, as suggested by the Royal Chronicle of Barus Hilir and Neumann [Neumann 1926]. The Chronicle states that Sultan Ibrahim stopped at Bakkara and ordered the people to regard his yet to be born child, Singa Maharaja, as his deputy in the Batak area. Although Singa Maharaja was, according to the Chronicle, the son of Ibrahim by his Muslim wife, the Toba Batak explain the

[7] Here Puteri Ijo is portrayed as a daughter of one of the chiefs of the Lake Tawar shores who refuses the marriage arranged by her father to a young man who was actually her brother returning from Aceh. But her father did not recognize it as such. In order to avoid the incestuous union, she finally dived into Lake Tawar.

birth of Si Singa Mangaraja in their own cultural terms based on indigenous and Hindu beliefs. According to one legend in Bakkara, the wife of one of the local chiefs became pregnant after eating the rose-apple (*jambu barus*), which was believed to lead to heaven [Pleyte 1903: 3-15]. Batara Guru sent a swallow as messenger to deliver a written proclamation that his son Si Singa Mangaraja, would be born. Si Singa Mangaraja was born after his mother carried him for seven years, an event that was accompanied by earthquakes and heavy thunderstorms.

Since Si Singa Mangaraja resided in a fertile wet rice cultivation region, this divine king was believed to be associated with the agricultural productivity, being revered as having the supernatural power to control the growth of rice and yams, and to summon rain and successfully locate wells so essential to their cultivation [Beck 1917: 452-453; Joustra 1926: 218; Helbig 1935: 91-92]. Like the case of the Pagaruyung royal family in Minangkabau, this holy king was expected to maintain stable relations between the coastal polities and their hinterland regions, rather than to rule directly over the people [Castles 1979: 73-74; Hirosue 1994: 337]. There were successive Si Singa Mangaraja figures in Bakkara, constantly 'reincarnated' from around the sixteenth century until 1907, when the last one (usually called Si Singa Mangaraja XII) was killed by the Dutch colonial army.

4. The Origins of the Island of Sumatra

As the case of the Karo Batak migration to the shores of Lake Tawar suggests, agricultural hinterland society developed through the acceptance of new settlers. During the fifteenth-seventeenth centuries, such rice cultivating regions arose in the hinterland as renewed centres of population in conjunction with the growth and prosperity of the coastal cities. As the ties between coastal cities and their hinterlands were fortified, the importance of the soil as an agricultural production base increased among the interior inhabitants, resulting in creating an image of the island of Sumatra centered upon their agrarian surroundings and culture.

Lakes, the shores of which were important agricultural bases, are often associated with the ethnogenesis of many interior peoples in Insular Southeast Asia [Reid 2005: 65]. In Sumatra, there are Lake Tawar of the Gayo and Lake Toba of the Batak in north Sumatra and Lake Kerinci of the Kerinci in central Sumatra. As coastal rulers went about enforcing their rule over their respective hinterlands, inland peoples accordingly went about integrating their coastal rulers into their local genealogy. Most of the legends associated with ethnogenesis recorded during eighteenth-twentieth centuries relate that their first ancestors were able to successfully control the water and that Sumatran coastal rulers generally originated from the inland location which each interior people believed to be the birthplace of Sumatra.

Although the shores of the above lakes had probably been inhabited from as early as 2000 BCE, those of Lake Tawar and Toba were converted into renewed rice cultivating centres with the migration of new agriculturally-minded settlers. After struggles with the local inhabitants, the Karo Batak migrants to the shores of Lake Tawar were finally integrated into Gayo society, where the chief of Linga who had been installed by Aceh as one of the four deputies and was on good terms with the chief at the Karo highlands, also installed by Aceh as one of its four deputies [Snouck Hurgronje 1903: 65-68]. The Acehnese map drawn in the mid-nineteenth century as a gift to the caliph of the Ottoman Empire shows that the Acehnese perceived Lake Tawar to be a highly important agricultural region [Feener, Daly, and Reid 2011: 273]. The early twentieth century oral tradition among the Gayo people tells us that Linga was the birthplace of the Gayo and the starting point for the formation of the whole island [Bowen 1991: 216-217]. The founder of the Gayo was Si Déwajadi, who flew from a remote continent on a kite on the tail of a sudden strong wind and landed in the sea after a full day's journey. By the will of God, he descended on a sandbank brought down by one of God's deputies. The land began to expand and trees and grass began to flourish. This place was Linga, the source of Sumatra. The chiefs of Linga were descendants of Si Déwajadi, and the ruler of Aceh was a younger brother to them. Those who first lived in Sumatra were the Batak people, say the Gayo. Those who were converted to Islam by Syeikh Ismail became the ancestors of the Gayo people, of whom one among them migrated to Aceh and became the first ancestor of the rulers of that kingdom. Those who refused to become Muslim fled south and became ancestors of the Karo Batak. This legend re-enforces the ties between the Gayo and the rulers of Aceh through the existence of close bonds of kinship.

Syeikh Ismail is the person who, the *Hikayat Raja Pasai* claims, installed Malikul Saleh as Sultan of Samudera Darulsalam. Although *Hikayat Raja Pasai* relates that the Gayo people refused to embrace Islam, they finally converted to Islam during the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, when Aceh ruled over them. The story claims that the Gayo were descendants of the first Sumatran Muslims and that the ethnic identity of the Gayo was formed after they were converted to Islam. Here we have an example of a newly-reorganized hinterland society creating an ethnogenetic account of Sumatra celebrating themselves as elder brothers of the rulers of Aceh.

A similar type of story was also recorded among the Toba Batak in the later part of the eighteenth century by Dutch scholar J.C.M. Radermacher describing Bakkara as the birth place of all mankind:

> They [the Batak] do not know where the original land and water come from, or who shaped them, because they tell that when there was nothing other than the water, the most prominent their gods, Batara Guru, had a daughter by the name of Puti Orla Bulan, who asked him if she could descend from the heaven. The daughter mounted a screech-owl and flew down with a dog. Because of

> the water she was unable to land there, so she had her father drop from heaven a tall mountain, named Bakkara, which today stands in Batak country. From this mountain, all the other lands gradually grew.... After having lived on the earth for some time, Puti Orla Bulan bore three sons and three daughters, who propagated the entire human race. [Radermacher 1824: 9-10]

Bakkara, where Si Singa Mangaraja resided, enabled the local people to collect and cultivate commercial products and to trade in Barus. Barus itself imported foodstuffs from the Toba Batak hinterland [Verslag 1917: 259] and along with its neighbouring ports of Sorkam and Tapanuli, which were also under the influence of the royal family of Barus Hilir, continued to be important outlets for the Toba Batak [Marsden 1966: 374-375]. Some of the Toba Batak oral traditions claim that Sianjurmulamula, which lies at the foot of Mt. Pusuk Buhit on the west shore of Lake Toba, was the birth place of mankind [Hoetagaloeng 1926: 26-27]. The Royal Chronicle of Barus Hilir also tells us that Sianjurmulamula was where Sultan Marah Laut, a descendant of Sultan Ibrahim, installed two deputies [Drakard 1988: 219].

Toba Batak oral traditions generally relate that the first human was the grandson of Puti Orla Bulan and that one of his great grandchildren went to Aceh and another one went to Barus and became the rulers of those polities. One oral tradition published in the 1920s relates that the contemporary Toba Batak people were 20-30 generations removed from the the first Batak (Si Raja Batak), whom they believe to have been a grandson of the great grandson of the first human [Hoetagaloeng 1926: 26-27; Ypes 1932: 26]. One of the main purposes in preserving such genealogies was to claim priority rights over land utilization in the territory where their ancestors established settlements [Vergouwen 1964: 108-117]. Although such oral traditions do not always reflect historical reality, there is no denying that Toba Batak genealogy developed under the influence of Aceh and Barus, both of which depended on agrarian societies in their respective hinterlands.

The Minangkabau highlands in central Sumatra were also fertile rice cultivation regions, and the royal family of Pagaruyung also claimed that their capital was the starting point of the island. Marsden recorded in the latter part of the eighteenth century the story of the king of Johor, the third son of Iskandar Dzulkarnain (Alexander the Great), who raised Sumatra out of the water by killing a huge snake, thus becoming the founder of the Minangkabau royal family [Marsden 1966: 341-342]. The Malacca-Johor ethnogenetic narrative of the Minangkabau royal family was widely shared with the Malay people residing around the Straits of Malacca. *Sejarah Melayu* claims that the royal family of Minangkabau, as well as those of Malacca counterparts, were descendants of Alexander the Great [Brown 1970: 15].

The Minangkabau king of Pagaruyung likely embraced Islam during the later part of the fifteenth century through marriage to a sister of the Sultan of Malacca.[8]

Sometime during the 1680s, the royal family moved to Tanah Datar from the former residence on the Sinamaru River for the purpose of faciliating trade with both the east and west coasts [Dobbin 1983: 65-66; Drakard 1999: 108]. Tanah Datar was a fertile rice cultivation region at the foot of Mt. Merapi and possessed gold deposits. The story is an attempt to legitimatize the establishment of the new capital at Tanah Datar and the development of gold and pepper trades between the Minangkabau region and the Straits of Malacca. The Minangkabau people further developed the story to include the rulers of Aceh, Palembang, Jambi and other coastal states on both the east and west coasts as descendants from the highlands of central Sumatra [Legende 1859: 379-381].

All these stories suggest that the strengthening of ties between coastal cities and hinterlands motivated hinterland peoples both to create the image of the island of Sumatra whose center (origin) was the location of their agricultural production and to develop a consciousness that they were island's native people, from whom its coastal rulers originated.

Conclusion

The rise of Muslim coastal states in north Sumatra between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries can be viewed as a transformation process of those states from polities based on the religio-mystical loyalty of the subordinate regions to polities characterized by military-administrative control by a central power over smaller communities in its hinterland. K. Hall suggests that Pasai's case shows a higher degree of structured integration between the coast and its upriver hinterland than seems to have been the case in Śrīvijaya [Hall 1985: 229]. During the fourteenth-seventeenth centuries, Pasai, Barus and Aceh became prosperous urban towns where merchants from Europe, West and South Asia, China and other Southeast Asian regions visited in order to barter for pepper and forest and mineral products. These products were generally from the upper inland river basins, where they had been gathered or cultivated by local people. In order to mobilize the people of their hinterlands, the rulers of such coastal polities needed not only to exercise military control over the people, but also to associate his political authority with powers which the people would believe controlled their agricultural production.

Sufism helped those rulers in connecting their divinity with these latter hinterland powers. As argued here, Pasai merchants widely travelled into the hinterland to trade,

[8] Pires mentions that the Minangkabau king of Pagaruyung embraced Islam after he was married to a sister of Sultan Mansur Syah of Malacca [Cortesão 1944: 248].

and Barus sent messengers to the Toba Batak region in order to inform the people of the arrival of trading ships [Drakard 1990: 34]. These merchants from the coast were often at the same time Islamic preachers, through whose efforts the Gayo and the Toba Batak communities developed their *Weltanschauung* and religion in accord with the wishes of their coastal rulers. The importance of these inland people converting to Islam was to coastal rulers only secondary to the main priority of strengthening ties with hinterland society in order to attract as many foreign merchants as possible to their ports in search of local commodities.

When firm connections between the coastal rulers and their hinterlands were established, foreign visitors began to look upon these interior peoples, whom these rulers claimed were at their beck and call, as highly troublesome to cope with directly. While Pasai became a prosperous coastal town and was revered as a leading Islamic centre in Southeast Asia, its hinterland people appeared to foreigners very strange and barbarous. Nicolò de' Conti and Pires describe that cannibals dwell in the hinterland of Pasai and that foreign visitors would be captured and devoured soon after encountering these inlanders [Conti 1857: 8-9; Cortesão 1944: 148]. Other Portuguese travellers, Joã de Barros and Duarte Barbosa, also thought that cannibals inhabited the inland between Barus and Aru [Dames 1921: 188; Marsden 1966: 390-391]. Those under the influence of the powerful coastal rulers appeared to foreign visitors highly warlike and savage beings, with whom only coastal authorities were proper terms and able to cope.[9]

The rise of Muslim coastal states in north Sumatra resulted in forming both Islamic centres and their hinterland communities based upon newly-organized Sumatran beliefs. Hinterland authorities, which the interior peoples perceived were imbued with powers over the fertility of their land, were also believed by them to be important elements in the prosperity of coastal rulers. While those coastal rulers claimed the people of their hinterlands to be their subjects, the latter responded to them through compilation of genealogies based on ethnogenetic legends about their population centres, from which they claimed those rulers originally hailed. Although it has been often argued that hinterland society was culturally different from coastal Islamic society and even closed to its influence, Sumatran inland cultures, social systems and their image of the island of Sumatra were created in response to the rise and development of cosmopolitan Muslim coastal cities.

[9] After Aceh became an influencial coastal state, the rumours of inland cannibalism further developed. During the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda, Aceh brought both the north Sumatran ports of Pidie, Pasai, Daya, Aru, Barus, Asahan and the gold and pepper producing west coast outlets of Tiku, Pariaman and Salida in central Sumatra under its control. In the process, caused a new wave of cannibal-phobia among foreign visitors. A French commodore, Augustin de Beaulieu, who resided in Aceh for about seven months during 1621 refers to not only the Batak people but also the Minangkabau people as cannibals [Beaulieu 1744: 742] . See also Hirosue 2009.

Bibliography

Alves, Jorge M. dos Santos. 1994. 'Princes contre marchands au crépuscule de Pasai (*c*. 1494-1521)'. *Archipel* 47(1): 125-146.

Beaulieu, Augustin de. 1744. 'The Expedition of Commodore Beaulieu to the East-Indies'. In *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca: A Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ed. John Harris, vol. 1, London: T. Woodward et al., pp. 717-749.

Beck, W.J. 1917. 'Si Singa Mangaradja'. *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur* 53: 450-457.

Bonatz, Domink, John Miksic, J. David Neidel, and Mai Lin Tjoa-Bonatz, eds. 2009. *From Distant Tales: Archaeology and Ethnohistory in the Highlands of Sumatra*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Bowen, John R. 1991. *Sumatran Politics and Poetics: Gayo History, 1900-1989*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Boxer, Charles R. 1969. 'A Note on Portuguese Reactions to the Revival of the Red Sea Spice Trade and the Rise of Atjeh', 1540-1600. *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 10(3): 415-428.

Braginsky, V.I. 1993. *The System of Classical Malay Literature*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

Brown, C.C., ed. 1970. *Sejarah Melayu or Malay Annals*. Kuala Lumpur, London, New York, and Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Castles, Lance. 1979. 'Statelessness and Stateforming Tendencies among the Batak before Colonial Rule'. In *Pre-Colonial State Systems in Southeast Asia*, ed. Anthony Reid and Lance Castles, Kuala Lumpur: The Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 67-76.

Conti, Nicolò dé. 1857. 'The Travels of Nicolò Conti, in the East'. In *India in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. R.H. Major, London: Hakluyt Society, pp. 3-39.

Cortesão, Armando, ed. and tr. 1944. *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*. 2 vols. London: Hakluyt Society.

Dames, Mansel Longworth, ed. and tr. 1921. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*. Vol. 2. London: Hakluyt Society.

Dijk, P.A. L.E. van. 1894. 'Rapport betreffende de Si Baloengoensche landschappen Tandjoeng Kasau, Tanah Djawa en Si Antar'. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 37: 145-200.

———. 1895. 'Eenige aanteekeningen omtrent de verschillende stammen (margas) en de stamverdeeling bij de Battaks. Het priesterhood Si Singa Mangaradja, zijn ontstaan en zijne afkomst. Het eten van menschenvleesch bij de Battaks'. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 38: 296-315.

Dobbin, Christine. 1983. *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy: Central Sumatra, 1784-1847*. Copenhagen: Curzon Press.

Drakard, Jane, ed. 1988. *Sejarah Raja-Raja Barus*. Jakarta and Bandung: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

———. 1989. 'An Indian Ocean Port: Sources for the Earlier History of Barus'. *Archipel* 37: 53-82.

———. 1990. *A Malay Frontier: Unity and Duality in a Sumatran Kingdom*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University.

———. 1999. *A Kingdom of Words: Language and Power in Sumatra*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Drewes, Gerardus W.J. 1968. 'New Light on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia?' *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 124(4): 433-459.

Fatimi, S.Q. 1963. *Islām Comes to Malaysia*. Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute Ltd.

Feener, R. Michael, Patrick Daly, and Anthony Reid, eds. 2011. *Mapping the Acehnese Past*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

Geertz, Hildred. 1963. 'Indonesian Cultures and Communities'. In *Indonesia,* ed. Ruth T. McVey, New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 24-96.

Guillot, Claude, ed. 1998. *Histoire de Barus: Le site de Lobu Tua I*. Paris: Cahiers d'Archipel.

———. 2003. *Histoire de Barus: Le site de Lobu Tua II*. Paris: Cahiers d'Archipel.

Guillot, Claude, and Ludvik Kalus. 2008. *Les monuments funéraires et l'histoire du Sultanat de Pasai à Sumatra*. Paris: Cahiers d' Archipel.

Hall, Kenneth R. 1977. 'The Coming of Islam to the Archipelago: A Reassessment'. In *Economic Exchange and Social Interaction in Southeast Asia: Perspectives from Prehistory, History, and Ethnography*, ed. Karl L. Hutterer, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, pp. 213-231.

———. 1985. *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia*. Sydney and Wellington: George Allen & Unwin.

Heine-Geldern, Robert. 1959. 'Le pays de P'-kien, le Roi au Grand Cou et le Singa Mangaradja'. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 49: 361-404.

Helbig, Karl. 1935. 'Der Singa Mangaradja und die Sekte der Pormálim bei den Batak'. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 67: 88-104.

Hill, Anthony H., ed. 1960. 'Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai'. *Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 33(2): 1-215.

Hirosue Masashi. 1994. 'The Batak Millenarian Response to the Colonial Order'. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 25(2): 331-343.

———. 2009. 'The Role of Local Informants in the Making of the Image of "Cannibalism" in North Sumatra'. In Bonatz et al. 2009, pp. 169-194.

Hirth, Friedrich, and W.W. Rockhill, trs. 1911. *Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Entitled Chu-fan-chï*. St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences.

Hoetagaloeng, W.M. 1926. *Poestaha taringot toe tarombo ni bangso Batak*. Laguboti: Zendings-Drukkerij.

Ibn Battuta. 1994. *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa AD 1325-1354: Translated with Revisions and Notes from the Arabic Text edited by C. Defrémery and B.R. Sanguinetti by H.A.R. Gibb*. Vol. 4. London: Hakluyt Society.

Ito Takeshi. 1982. 'A Note on Some Aspects of the Trade of Aceh in the 17th Century'. *Nampo-Bunka: Tenri Bulletin of South Asian Studies* 9: 33-60.

Johns, Anthony H. 1961. 'Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History'. *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 2(2): 10-23.

———. 1993. 'Islamization in Southeast Asia: Reflections and Reconsiderations with Special Reference to the Role of Sufism'. *Southeast Asian Studies* 31(1): 43-61.

Jones, Russel, ed. 1987. *Hikayat Raja Pasai*. Petaling Jaya: Penerbit Fajar Bakti SDN. BHD.

Joustra, Meint. 1910. *Batakspiegel*. Leiden: Bataksch Instituut.

———. 1926. 'De Singa Mangaradja-figuur'. In *Gedenkschrift voor het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Leiden, pp. 211-221.

Karashima Noboru, ed. 2002. *Ancient and Medieval Commercial Activities in the Indian Ocean: Testimony of Inscriptions and Ceramic-sherds: Report of the Taisho University Research Project 1997-2000*. Tokyo: Taisho University.

Kathirithamby-Wells, Jeyamalar, 1969. 'Achehnese Control over West Sumatra up to the Treaty of Painan, 1663'. *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 10(3): 453-479.

———. 1992. 'Socio-political Structures and the Southeast Asian Ecosystem: An Historical Perspective up to the Mid-Nineteenth Century'. In *Asian Perceptions of Nature*, ed. Ole Bruun and Arne Kalland, Copenhagen: NIAS, pp. 18-38.

Kathirithamby-Wells, Jeyamalar, and John Villiers, eds. 1990. *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity: Rise and Demise*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.

Korn, V.E. 1953. 'Batakse offerande'. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 109: 32-51, 97-127.

Legende. 1859. 'Legende van de afkomst der Sumatranen en van hunne instellingen'. *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* 30(1): 579-589.

Lombard, Denys. 1967. *Le Sultanat d'Atjéh au temps d'Iskandar Muda 1607-1636*. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

Ma Huan. 1970. *Ying-yai Sheng-lan:* '*The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores*' [1433]. Ed. and tr. J.V.G. Mills. Cambridge: Haklyut Society.

Manguin, Pierre-Yves, A. Mani, and Geoff Wade. 2011. *Early Interactions between South and Southeast Asia: Reflections on Cross-Cultural Exchange*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies; New Delhi: Manohar.

Marsden, William. 1966. *The History of Sumatra*. Reprint. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

McKinnon, Edwards E. 1984. 'Kota Cina: Its Context and Meaning in the Trade of Southeast Asia in the Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries'. Ph.D. dissertation submitted to Cornell University.

———. 2011. 'Continuity and Change in South Indian Involvement in Northern Sumatra: The Inferences of Archaeological Evidence from Kota Cina and Lamreh'. In Manguin et al. 2011, pp. 137-160.

Miksic, John. 2009. 'Highland-Lowland and Connections in Jambi, South Sumatra, and West Sumatra, 11th to 14th Centuries'. In Bonatz et al. 2009, pp. 75-102.

Milner, Anthony C., Edwards E. McKinnon, and Tengku Luckman Sinar S.H. 1978. 'A Note on Aru and Kota Cina'. *Indonesia* 26: 1-42.

Neumann, J.H. 1926. 'Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Karo-Batakstammen'. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 82: 1-36.

Perret, Daniel, and Heddy Surachman. 2011. 'South Asia and the Tapanuli Area (North-West Sumatra): Ninth-Fourteenth Centuries CE'. In Manguin et al. 2011, pp. 161-176.

Pinto, Mendes Fernão. 1989. *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*. Ed. and tr. Rebecca D. Catz. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Pleyte, C.M. 1903. 'Singa Mangaradja, de heilige koning der Bataks: Zijne afkomst en de openbaring der eerste wetten'. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 55: 1-48.

Radermacher, J.C.M. 1824. 'Beschrijving van het eiland Sumatra, in zoo verre hetzelve tot nog toe bekend is'. *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 3: 1-89.

Rahman, A. 1927. *Sja'ir Poeteri Hidjau*. Weltevreden: Balai Poestaka.

Reid, Anthony. 1988-1993. *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680*. 2 vols. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

———. 2005. *An Indonesian Frontier: Acehnese & Other Histories of Sumatra*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

Singarimbun, Masri. 1975. *Kinship, Descent and Alliance among the Karo Batak*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.

Snouck Hurgronje, C. 1903. *Het Gayōland en zijne bewoners*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.

———. 1925. 'De Blauwe Prinses in het Gayō-Meer'. In *Verspreide Geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, vol. 5, Bonn and Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, pp. 373-383.

Sturrock, A.J., ed. 1916. 'Hikayat Marong Maha Wangsa or Kedah Annals'. *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 72: 37-123.

Subbarayalu, Y. 2002. 'The Tamil Merchant-Guild Inscription at Barus, Indonesia: A Rediscovery'. In Karashima 2002, pp. 19-26.

Tambo. 1872. *Tambo asal-oesoel ketoeroenan Radja-Taroesan datang kenegeri Baroes*. V.E. Korn Collection, no. 436 (in Koninklijk Instituut Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden) .

Teuku Iskandar. 1958. *De Hikajat Atjéh*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

———. 2011. 'Aceh as Crucible of Muslim-Malay Literature'. In *Mapping the Acehnese Past*, ed. R. Michael Feener, Patrick Daly, and Anthony Reid, Leiden: KITLV Press, pp. 39-64.

Tideman, J. 1922. *Simeloengoen: Het land der Timoer-Bataks in zijn vroeger isolatie en zijn ontwikkeling tot een deel van het cultuurgebied van de Oostkust van Sumatra*. Leiden: Van Doesburgh.

Vergouwen, J.C. 1932. 'Een Italiaan onder de Bataks'. *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* 21: 547-560.

———. 1964. *The Social Organization and Customary Law of the Toba-Batak on Northern Sumatra*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Verslag. 1856. 'Verslag van eene reis in het land der Bataks, in het binnenland van Sumatra, ondernomen in het jaar 1824, door de Heeren Burton en Ward, zendelingen der Baptisten, medegedeeld door wijlen sir Stamford Raffles'. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 5: 270-308.

———. 1917. 'Verslag van een reis van den controleur van Baros naar de beoosten Baros gelegen onafhankelijke landschappen in het jaar 1883'. *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur* 52: 195-205, 252-265.

VOC 1272. 1669. Raport vanden ondercoopman Francois Backer aengaendesijn verrichiten voor Baros, 30 August 1669 (in Nationaal Archief, The Hague).

Ypes, W.K.H. 1932. *Bijdrage tot de kennis van de stamverwantschap, de inheemsche rechtsgemeenschappen en het grondenrecht der Toba- en Dairibataks*. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff.

Yule, Henry, ed. and tr. 1903. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo: The Venetian Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*. Vol. 2. London: J. Murray.