



THE INDERAPURA SULTANATE: THE FOUNDATIONS OF ITS RISE AND  
DECLINE, FROM THE SIXTEENTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES\*

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Origins: Economic and Political Evolution

Referred to in Minangkabau usage as Ujung Pagar Ruyung, Inderapura originally constituted the southernmost extremity of the Minangkabau kingdom's western *rantau* or *pasisir* (dependencies). Inderapura together with Benkulen, Painan, Padang and Pariaman on the same coast, and Siak, Inderagiri and Jambi on the eastern flank, made up the eight *bab* or gateways to the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> As Minangkabau political authority declined during the fifteenth century, Inderapura, like other peripheral zones, such as Inderagiri and Jambi, was left to its own devices. But the *negeri* (region) only began its evolution as a separate political entity after Malacca fell to the Portuguese in 1511. A good deal of West Asian trade was then diverted along the west coast of Sumatra and through the Sunda Straits. As in the cases of Aceh and Banten, pepper provided the basis for Inderapura's independent growth and expansion, though the main settlement's notorious reputation for unhealthiness and its inadequate harbor facilities kept it out of the competition for the servicing of traffic.<sup>2</sup> The area thus came to depend heavily on the northern outlets of Tiku and Pariaman, as well as Silebar, to the south, as indicated by a Dutch report of 1616 noting that all the pepper which left these ports originated from Inderapura.<sup>3</sup>

The origins of supra-village authority in the west coast territories, including Inderapura, are traced locally to Minangkabau and ultimately to Rum (Turkey), the fountainhead of sovereignty according to Islamic fables in the Malay world. From the Minangkabau *darat*

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1. E. M. Loeb, Sumatra: Its History and Its People (Vienna: Verlag des Institutes für Völkerkunde der Universität Wien, 1935), p. 98. Throughout this paper the term "kingdom" is used in accord with Schrieke's definition; see B. Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies (2 vols.; The Hague/Bandung: van Hoeve, 1935), I, pp. 170-72.
2. F. Valentijn, "Beschrijvinge van het Eiland Sumatra," in Oud en Nieuw Oost Indiën (5 vols.; Dordrecht/Amsterdam: J. van Braam, 1724-26), VII, pp. 11-12. The Inderapura coast appears to have offered good anchorage but no shelter. See H. T. Colenbrander (ed.), Jan Pietersz. Coen, Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië (6 vols.; The Hague: Nijhoff, 1919), I, p. 241.
3. P. A. Tiele and J. E. Heeres (eds.), Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel (3 vols.; The Hague: Nijhoff, 1886-95), I, pp. 167-68; Colenbrander (ed.), Jan Pietersz. Coen, I, f. 241.

(inland region), the kernel of the kingdom, the influence of the sovereign, together with the laws and usages of Minangkabau, are believed to have passed down the pasisir and the rantau where *raja* were established as royal representatives.<sup>4</sup> Although the authority of the *Rajan Tigo Silo* (namely the *Raja Alam*, *Raja Adat*, and *Raja Idabat*) at Pagar Ruyung was essentially titular, their sacred claims were such that no *raja* could win appointment without their formal sanction. According to tradition, it was *Tuan*ku Darah Putih, the eldest of the three sons of *Cindua Mato*, the legendary founder of Minangkabau endowed with supernatural powers, who established the royal house at Inderapura,<sup>5</sup> otherwise known as *Negeri Dua Puluh Kota*. Legend also identifies the son of *Raja Alam* or the *Yang di Pertuan* of Pagar Ruyung with *Muhammad Syah*, the first ruler of Inderapura.<sup>6</sup>

Theoretically, *raja* in the west coast rantau held jurisdiction on a territorial basis, over one or more *negeri*. In this way administration in the rantau was superficially different from that in the darat, where it was based on genealogical principles.<sup>7</sup> In practice, however, even in the rantau the *negeri*, or "independent village state," functioned as a genealogical unit with the *raja* operating as *primus inter pares* among the *penghulu* (genealogical heads). Each *negeri* was a federation of *kota*, or "village groupings," distinguished by a numerical coefficient according to the original number of *kota* it comprised, such as *Negeri Dua Belas Kota*, *Negeri Lima Kota*, and so on.<sup>8</sup> Effective authority in the *negeri* rested primarily with the *penghulu ka ampe suku* (customary heads of the four clans) who formed the *rapat penghulu* (council of *penghulu*) at the *negeri* council-hall and, at a lower level, with the *penghulu kampung*.<sup>9</sup>

The exact time at which the *raja* at Inderapura achieved independent sovereign status remains uncertain, but it probably coincided with the region's rise to commercial importance through the export of pepper. At the end of the fifteenth century, pepper did not figure among the products that Gujarati traders collected at Singkil on their way to Java.<sup>10</sup> But half a century later the situation had evidently

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4. "Translation of the Undang Undang of Moco Moco," by Richard Farmer, Governor of Benkulen (1717-18), in *Malayan Miscellanies*, II/13 (1822), pp. 8-9.
  5. *Ibid.*, p. 13. According to the *Kaba Cindua Mato*, the hero found refuge in Inderapura to escape his enemy *Imbang Jayo*, king of *Sungai Ngiang*, a *negeri* in the eastern rantau. *Taufik Abdullah*, "Some Notes on the *Kaba Tjindua Mato*: An Example of Minangkabau Traditional Literature," *Indonesia*, 9 (April 1970), p. 7.
  6. *E. Netscher*, "Verzameling van overleveringen van het rijk van Mānangkābau uit het oorspronkelijk Maleisch vertaald," *Indisch Archief*, II/2 (1850), p. 37.
  7. For an account of Minangkabau administrative organization, see *P. E. de Josselin de Jong*, *Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan: Socio-political Structure in Indonesia* (Leiden: Nijhoff, 1951); *Loeb*, *Sumatra*, pp. 97-127; *M. Joustra*, *Minangkabau: overzicht van land, geschiedenis en volk* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1923); *L. C. Westenenk*, *De Minangkabausche Nagari* (Weltevreden: Vissor & Co., 1918); *W. J. Leyds*, "Larassen in Minangkabau," *Koloniale Studiën*, X/1 (1926), pp. 387-416.
  8. For a list of the *negeri* groupings on the western rantau, see *J. Francis*, "Korte beschrijving van het Nederlandsch Grondgebied ter Westkust van Sumatra," *Tijdschrift voor Neerland's (Nederlandsch) Indië (Batavia)*, II (1839), pp. 90-97.
  9. *Loeb*, *Sumatra*, p. 105.
  10. *M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs*, *Asian Trade and European Influence* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1962), pp. 92, 144. Two European vessels which called at Inderapura in

changed, for by this time Inderapura's southern boundaries reached as far as Silebar under the impetus of expanding pepper cultivation. It was, presumably, on the basis of this extensive claim that, according to the *Sadjarah Bantěn*, the territory to the south of Air Urei was given as bride-price on the marriage of the ruler's daughter to Sultan Hasanuddin of Banten (1552-70).<sup>11</sup>

By the mid-sixteenth century, when Aceh began its southward thrust along the Minangkabau coast, Inderapura was able to hold its own as a coherent and independent negeri. It also won the friendship of both Banten and Aceh, the foremost regional powers of that time. Aceh's initial expansion down the west coast under Sultan Alau'd din (Ri'ayat Syah) al-Kahar (1537-68) reached only to the Pariaman area, where a royal representative was stationed under the title of Sultan Mughal.<sup>12</sup> Towards Inderapura, however, a friendly policy was adopted and cemented by marriage alliances. Thus Sri Alam Firman Syah, one of the incumbents of the title of Sultan Mughal at Pariaman and a brother of the sultan of Aceh, Ali Ri'ayat Syah (1568-75), married Raja Dewi, a daughter of Sultan Munawar Syah (Raja Mamulia) of Inderapura.<sup>13</sup> In fact, in view of her flourishing commercial interests on the Minangkabau coast, it was in Aceh's interest to cultivate the alliance with Inderapura to ensure that the vital sources of supply from the south remained open to the Minangkabau pepper ports.

Through her economic importance to Aceh, Inderapura soon came to wield so much influence with the court at Kota Raja that it caused serious worry to the *ulama* (Moslem scholars) and *orangkaya* (chiefs, noblemen). A *hulubalang* (district chief) of Inderapurese origin was allegedly instrumental in the murder of the infant son of Ali Ri'ayat Syah, thus clearing the way for Sri Alam Firman Syah to ascend the throne in 1576 as Sultan Sri Alam. In addition to the scandal which surrounded his succession, however, the new ruler proved an indifferent administrator, was addicted to cock-fighting, which was frowned upon by the powerful *ulama*,<sup>14</sup> and was indiscreet about his leanings towards the west coast *hulubalang*. The reputed low intelligence of his wife, Raja Dewi, was an additional point against him<sup>15</sup> and, after three

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1529 reported that the inhabitants had gold to sell but hardly any pepper. P. A. Tiele, "De Europeërs in den Maleischen Archipel, 1529-1540," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (BKI), XXVII (1879), pp. 31-32.

11. Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *Critische beschouwing van de Sadjarah-Bantěn* (Haarlem: Enschedé, 1913), p. 34; J. Marsden, *A History of Sumatra*, reprint of the third edition, with an introduction by John Bastin (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 353.
12. J. Kathirithamby-Wells, "Achehnese Control over West Sumatra up to the Treaty of Painan, 1663," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* (JSEAH), X/3 (1969), p. 457. For the chronology and genealogy of the Achehnese rulers I have relied on Hoesein Djajadiningrat, "Critisch Overzicht van de in Maleische Werken vervatte Gegevens over de Geschiedenis van het Soeltanaat van Atjeh," *BKI*, LXV (1911), pp. 135-265.
13. Hoesein Djajadiningrat, "Critisch overzicht," pp. 158-59; T. Iskandar (ed.), *Bustanu's-Salatin* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1966), p. 34 (Bab II, Fasal 13).
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33. H. M. Zainuddin, *Tarich Atjeh Nusantara* (Medan: Pustaka Iskandar Muda, 1961), p. 399.
15. T. Iskandar, "De Hikayat Atjeh," *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (VKI), XXVI (1958), p. 96.

years, his removal was finally effected by the pro-Acehnese faction.<sup>16</sup> Inderapura's influence in Acehnese politics was, however, not so easily removed. For a brief period between 1586 and 1588 Raja Bujang, the brother of Raja Dewi, assumed control of Aceh under the title of Sultan Ali Ri'ayat Syah. The political influence of Inderapura was reestablished at court until the intrigues of the jealous ulama once again brought regicide.<sup>17</sup> So ended the first period of the negeri's connections with Aceh.

#### Period of Eclipse under Acehnese Dominance

Ala'ad-din Ri'ayat Shah Sayyid al-Mukammil (1588-1604), founder of the illustrious dynasty of Dar al-Kamal, adopted harsh methods to end the manipulations of the orangkaya at court and strengthen royal authority. Under his successor, Iskandar Muda (1607-36), the policy of royal absolutism and centralization was pursued further to ensure monopoly control over pepper.<sup>18</sup> While directing campaigns of destruction against the pepper-producing states of the Malay Peninsula, Iskandar Muda tried to secure increased production of, and an effective monopoly over, West Sumatran pepper. Acehnese control was soon extended to the Minangkabau ports as far south as Pariaman and even beyond, so that Inderapura's independence came to be seriously threatened. Its concerted efforts, at first to resist and later to evade Acehnese control, constituted an impressive display of internal cohesion and stability, though ultimately Iskandar Muda's policy showed increasing signs of success.

By 1615, Iskandar Muda had stationed his representatives at Tiku and Pariaman.<sup>19</sup> In 1620, Acehnese influence extended well beyond Tabing or Kota Tengah,<sup>20</sup> but not as far as Inderapura. A Dutch report of 1616 describes Inderapura as prosperous under the rulership of Raja Itam, with a labor force thirty thousand strong engaged in the cultivation of rice and pepper.<sup>21</sup> But the Acehnese *panglima* (viceroy)'s rigid control over trade at Tiku and Pariaman threatened Inderapura's trade via the northern ports, and it reacted by developing its southern outlets. Some of its pepper had always been channeled to Banten through the relatively healthier and better harbor at Silebar. Now the influx of British and Company traders both at Banten and Silebar gave further impetus to Inderapura to shift its exports southwards.<sup>22</sup>

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16. Ibid., pp. 39-40, 95-96.            17. Zainuddin, Tarich Atjeh Nusantara, p. 401.
18. A. Reid, "Trade and the Problem of Royal Power in Aceh, Three Stages: c. 1550-1700," in A. Reid and L. Castles (eds.), Pre-Colonial State Systems in Southeast Asia (Kuala Lumpur: Monographs of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 6, 1975), pp. 48-51; Augustin de Beaulieu, "Voyage to the East Indies," in John Harris (ed.), Navigantium atque Itinerantium bibliotheca (2 vols.; London: Osborne, 1764), I, pp. 253-54.
19. F. C. Danvers, and Sir William Foster (ed.), Letters Received by the East India Company from Its Servants in the East, 1602-17 (6 vols.; London: Sampson, Low, Manston, 1896-1902), III, pp. 210-26.
20. Tiele, "De Europeërs in den Maleischen Archipel, 1618-1623," BKI, XXXVI (1887), p. 245.
21. Tiele and Heeres (eds.), Bouwstoffen, I, p. 167. Colenbrander (ed.), Jan Pietersz. Coen, I (1919), pp. 240-41.
22. Tiele, "De Europeërs in den Maleischen Archipel, 1611-1618," BKI, XXXV (1886), p. 320; "De Europeërs, 1618-1623," p. 245.

There were, in fact, Dutch efforts to collect Inderapura pepper at Silebar early on, although the difficulties of timing the arrival of the pepper there and competition with rival traders<sup>23</sup> eventually persuaded them to try direct collection at Inderapura, even at the risk of dangerous disease.

Sometime before 1624, Captain Van der Goes successfully negotiated with the local ruler, Raja Besar, for the direct collection of produce. To reduce the risk of the Dutch contracting disease, this ruler volunteered to have the vessels loaded without the crew coming ashore. Aided by his principal assistant Muzzaffar Syah, he offered further inducements, such as exemption from payment of *ruba-ruba*, the traditional anchorage fees.<sup>24</sup> The Company was to receive pepper at a new standard rate of two hundred *gantang* (approximately 6½-7½ lbs. avoirdupois) per *bahar*. The ruler himself was to continue receiving pepper from the cultivators according to the traditional *bahar* measure, which was fixed arbitrarily to his advantage, but commanders of Dutch vessels were promised a share in the profits which would accrue to him through the conversion.<sup>25</sup> Needless to say, the arrangement was not totally satisfactory so long as the Dutch, apprehensive of disease and danger to vessels, did not establish a permanent lodge on the spot.

Inderapura's efforts to resist his commercial control alarmed Iskandar Muda. In 1626, rumors circulated about the Acehnese sovereign's plans for extending his authority further south towards Silebar, but evidently they did not check Inderapura's independent activities.<sup>26</sup> When, on Raja Besar's death, his brother Raja Puti (Raja Putih?) became the new ruler, he also acted in defiance of Aceh and continued the duty-free trade with the Dutch. The latter refused Aceh any share of the tolls on the produce received at Inderapura and their stand was supported by Raja Puti, who argued that since the Dutch, in any case, conducted their trade at sea, without coming ashore, they were exempt from the customary duties.<sup>27</sup>

Inderapura's continued defiance finally earned the wrath of Iskandar Muda, who in 1633 dispatched a fleet to take reprisals. Raja Puti and several of the leading dignitaries were put to the sword and all available pepper cargoes seized for conveyance to Aceh. In a manner characteristic of Iskandar Muda's campaigns, the returning expedition carried off large numbers of local inhabitants of all ranks. Raja Muzzaffar Syah himself, notwithstanding his important role in encour-

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23. Colenbrander (ed.), Jan Pietersz. Coen, I (1919), p. 241; II (1920), p. 215.
24. Daghregister gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als ever geheel Nederlandts-India (Batavia/The Hague: Nijhoff, 1888-1931), February 13, 1624, p. 15; July 19, 1625, p. 179; June 20, 1673, "Een brief van eerbiedigheyt, geschreven door Sulthan Mahometsia, Radja Seleman, Radja Malafarcha, Radja Mansourcha ende 20 raetsheeren van de plaetse Indrapoura, aen den heer Gouverneur Generael, Joan Maetsuyker ende de Raden van India . . .," 3de brief, pp. 156-57. The *ruba-ruba* was customarily divided among the chiefs and constituted their main source of cash.
25. Ibid., p. 156. Before the establishment of European influence the size of the *bahar* weight in west Sumatra varied from 360 pounds to 600 pounds.
26. W. Ph. Coolhaas (ed.), Generale missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, 1610-38 (5 vols.; The Hague: Nijhoff, 1960-75), I, February 3, 1626, p. 193.
27. Daghregister, June 20, 1673, p. 157.

aging transactions with the Dutch, escaped punishment since Aceh banked on securing his assistance in reorganizing the administration at Inderapura. As a grandson of Raja Dewi<sup>28</sup> (thus with close connections to the Acehese royal house) and as an influential man at Inderapura, he was evidently considered the most suitable person for appointment as governor of the region. Under the terms of his appointment he was to supervise the collection of tolls, payable at the rate of 408 "reals of eight" on each one hundred bahar of pepper exported.<sup>29</sup> The charge was to be made in addition to 209 reals in anchorage and other fees extracted from each vessel. By this time Aceh had installed Mahabath and Sri Raja as panglima at Padang and Salida respectively. In the same tradition, Ponsadapura was now made the first of three successive panglima stationed at Inderapura during the reign of Iskandar Muda.<sup>30</sup>

The 1633 punitive expedition left a deep fear of Aceh, not only among the inhabitants of Inderapura, but also the people in the adjoining pepper district of Pasisir Selatan or Sapuluh Buah Bandar (Bandar X) as well. Though effectively cowed, the Inderapurese felt little incentive to cultivate under the prevailing commercial restrictions. In 1637, production still had not reached its former levels,<sup>31</sup> although Muzzaffar Syah's shrewd diplomacy had brought a relaxation in Aceh's relations with Inderapura. He was quick to take advantage of Iskandar Muda's remarkable mellowing and eagerness for friendship during the closing years of his reign.<sup>32</sup> Muzzaffar Syah is believed to have won Iskandar Muda's confidence especially through his role in cementing Acehese friendship with Johore.<sup>33</sup> In all probability it was during this period that Muzzaffar Syah finally gained recognition as the ruler of Inderapura,<sup>34</sup> persuading Iskandar Muda to withdraw the panglima. In the latter's place, a local dignitary, Raja Bendahara, was designated to administer the trade under the tital of Syaikh Zalam. But Inderapura enjoyed this privileged status only until the end of Iskandar Muda's reign in 1636, after which a new panglima, Indra Palawan was appointed.<sup>35</sup>

Yet the slow decline of Acehese political control over the west coast under Sultan Iskandar Thani (1636-41) and Aceh's first queen, Sultana Tajul-Alam Safiatu'd Din Syah (1641-75), encouraged a gradual resurgence of commercial independence at Inderapura, a situation welcomed by the local panglima in the interests of their personal profits. Inability to maintain effective control over affairs on the west coast finally led Iskandar Thani to yield to Dutch demands to be allowed to make direct collections of pepper, including that part owed as annual tribute to Aceh. But he insisted that prices for the latter, as well as all duties, were to be paid at Bandar Aceh or Kota Raja, in order to maintain his revenues in the face of local defiance. The new

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28. Ibid., p. 162.

29. Coolhaas (ed.), Generale Missiven, I, December 16, 1633, pp. 412-13. The "real of eight" or Spanish dollar was then valued at about 2½ guilders or five shillings.

30. Daghregister, June 20, 1673, p. 163.

31. Coolhaas (ed.), Generale Missiven, I, December 9, 1637, p. 633.

32. In 1632, Iskandar Muda made his first important concession to the Dutch on the promise of support against the Portuguese. Ibid., I, August 15, 1633, pp. 386-87.

33. Daghregister, June 20, 1673, 3de brief, p. 163.

34. He is referred to for the first time during this period as king ("konink"). Ibid.

35. Ibid.

arrangement threatened the west coast panglima financially and they resisted it. The Dutch were refused delivery of pepper unless the king's tolls and duties were paid locally.<sup>36</sup> The permission secured by the Dutch from the queen in 1655 to collect Inderapura pepper at Salida only increased the panglima's irritation and stirred discontent among the Inderapurese. The negeri was then on unfriendly terms with Salida and relations between them were so bad that the Inderapurese declared they would destroy their pepper gardens and make rice fields rather than bring the produce there for export. The queen's attempt, sometime earlier, to find a temporary solution by ordering Inderapura pepper to be delivered to the Dutch at Airhaji had also proved ineffective. Meanwhile, the Inderapurese began gradually to find ready buyers among the British. In 1655 alone the latter are reported to have carried away 1500 bahar of pepper, even at the cost of twenty-five lives. In the same year all the Acehese panglima on the west coast were summoned to court and the new orders with regard to the pepper trade reiterated. The governor of Daya was commissioned shortly after to carry the instructions to Inderapura,<sup>37</sup> which suggests that the local panglima had failed to attend. Presumably, the Acehese royal representative there had long since ceased to act in the interests of his patron or to submit to her orders.

#### Inderapura's Resurgence

The decline of Acehese influence, particularly along the southern fringe of its commercial empire on the west coast, and Dutch efforts to fill the power vacuum, inaugurated a turbulent era which led to Inderapura's ultimate disintegration. The foremost exponent of the Dutch forward policy on the west coast was Johan Groenewegen, who was appointed Resident at Aceh in 1659. Under Groenewegen, Company policy towards Inderapura was significantly different from Aceh's in its heyday, and was temporarily conducive to the resurgence of local political groups. Whereas Aceh had attempted to administer its conquered territories directly through royal representatives, the Dutch at this stage wanted minimum administrative involvement. Acehese policy had tended to mean the suppression of autochthonous political life, but now the Dutch considered it imperative to bolster local authority to ensure against external challenges and to maintain local internal cohesion, the two essential conditions for peaceful trade.

The initial Dutch move was to secure a direct treaty contract and alliance with the ruler of Inderapura. This was achieved in August 1660 in the form of an agreement confirming the relevant clauses of the 1659 Dutch treaty with Aceh, including stipulations pertaining to the payable tolls and duties. On the Acehese side the Company treaty with Inderapura was witnessed by her ambassadors, Sri Indera and Sri Nara Wangsa.<sup>38</sup> But since Inderapura failed subsequently to fulfill the

36. Kathirithamby-Wells, "Achehese Control," p. 465.      37. Ibid., pp. 468-69.

38. Treaty of June 29, 1659, Batavia, in J. E. Heeres (ed.), Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum (5 vols.; The Hague: Nijhoff, 1907-38), II, pp. 152-54; Treaty of August 16, 1660, Inderapura, ibid., pp. 165-67. In addition to presents of cloth and other articles stipulated for the "king," Raja Muzzaffar Syah, the 20 menteri (senior court officials, see below, p. 72) and port functionaries were entitled to the following tolls on every 100 bahar of pepper: 408 real to the queen of Aceh, 25 real to the "king," and 10 real to the port functionaries. An additional anchorage fee was also payable at the rate of 50 real to the "king" and 150 real to the menteri on each shipload of pepper. Ibid., pp. 166-67.



terms pertaining to the payment of tolls to Aceh, the treaty amounted to the region's assumption of formal diplomatic relations with the Dutch, ending a period of formidable Acehnese domination.

Not surprisingly, Aceh's decline had encouraged the resourceful Raja Muzzaffar Syah to consolidate his authority. In furtherance of this ambition he had, in 1660, settled the succession on his son Muhammad Syah, in strict accordance with patrilineal dynastic traditions. It is significant that the new ruler assumed the title of sultan, which his father appears never to have used. Perhaps as a result he came into conflict with the chiefs, who asserted their own authority in accordance with an opposing tradition of nonautocratic rule and matrilineal concepts carried over from the Minangkabau past. The removal of external political domination thus opened the way to a violent internal political struggle. The pull between these two opposing forces became the predominant feature of the region's history during this period and brought into significant focus the administration's internal structure and workings.

During the late seventeenth century, Inderapura proper, constituting the river basins of Airhaji and Batang Inderapura, was described as the Negeri Dua Puluh Kota or the land of the twenty *menteri*. Theoretically, the *menteri* administered the twenty kota in the same tradition as the *penghulu* in Minangkabau. The subordinate region of Anak Sungai, which included the Menjuto and Airdikit basins (the Negeri Empat Belas Kota) and Mukomuko (or Lima Kota), were similarly organized, each under its respective number of *menteri*.<sup>39</sup> Airdikit, Bantal, Triamang, Ipuh, Airami, Seblat, Ketaun and Urei constituted the southern extremity of the Inderapura territories. Here the Minangkabau administration gave way to the south Sumatran tribal tradition, according to which the villages were under the authority of *peroatin* (chiefs in charge of settling disputes and lawsuits at river-mouths) of which there were originally fifty-nine (*peroatin nan kurang satu enam puluh*). In the same fashion as the kota groupings headed by the *menteri*, the villages headed by a *peroatin* operated as a federation. Above the *menteri* and *peroatin* stood the authority of the raja or sultan.<sup>40</sup>

In the late seventeenth century, the *peroatin* of the Inderapura "kingdom" continued their functions as village authorities responsible for the maintenance of peace and order and the collection of tribute for the royal overlord.<sup>41</sup> In contrast, the role of the *menteri* had undergone significant changes. Following the process of Inderapura's evolution from a Minangkabau negeri to a separate kingdom under its own ruler, the *menteri* had, in addition to their role as territorial chiefs, taken on court duties in accordance with feudal tradition. These feudatory functions inevitably varied in importance according to the physical proximity of the respective groups of *menteri* to the royal headquarters. The *menteri dua puluh kota* at Inderapura took pride of place and acted as the ruler's counselors and advisors. The *menteri empat belas* came next and rendered immediately services at court.

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39. Farmer (trans.), "Undang Undang of Moco Moco," pp. 11-12.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-12.

41. Marsden, *A History of Sumatra*, p. 353. For the late seventeenth century the names of the fifty-nine *peroatin*, in a total of nine districts, are listed by Valentijn, in *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, V, pp. 14-15. The *peroatin* carried high-sounding titles, such as baginda, raja, datuk, patih and sometimes kiai.

Their duties were "to carry and to place [as the dishes at an entertainment], to arrange and to put in order, to estimate and serve out accordingly, to furnish attendants and people to do the work, to support [the ruler's] dignity. . . ." The menteri lima kota, who ranked lowest, were obliged to collect building materials (earth, attap and rattan) for the ruler and were also entrusted with the general defense of the territories, keeping guard "lying on the ground exposed to the dews."<sup>42</sup>

More important than their feudatory and ceremonial functions was the role of the menteri as guardians of the adat. The importance ascribed to this duty was probably in the spirit of the original Koto Piliang adat tradition,<sup>43</sup> based on the sterner laws of the *adat Katemenggungan*, believed to have been more prevalent than the adat Bodi Caniago or *adat Perpatih (nan) Sebatang* in Inderapura.<sup>44</sup> During the period of Acehnese influence, the presence of the panglima and their retinue of Acehnese officials had overshadowed the power of the menteri, but this situation rapidly changed with the reassertion of independence by the ruler. The menteri once again came into their own and, in accordance with the egalitarian traditions of the region,<sup>45</sup> expected to work as a corporate body with the sultan in running the affairs of the kingdom, perhaps on the model of the *raja nan tigo silo* and the ministers, the *basa empat balai*, at Pagar Ruyung. The menteri were, therefore, quick to oppose the authoritarian leanings of Raja Muzzaffar Syah and to champion the preservation of Minangkabau institutional traditions.

Raja Muzzaffar Syah's appointment of his son, Muhammad Syah, as successor did not, strictly speaking, transgress the existing Minangkabau succession principle which, although in all other respects stringently matrilineal, recognized the patriline in the case of the rulership. Not until the death in 1676 of Sultan Ahmad Syah, ruler at Pagar Ruyung, was the rule challenged in Minangkabau proper, when the title of Raja Alam was contested between his son and nephew. This struggle was apparently settled in 1683 in favor of the matrilineal system,<sup>46</sup> but had been anticipated some two decades earlier by a similar institutional challenge, *mutatis mutandis*, in Ujung Pagar Ruyung or Inderapura.

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42. Farmer (trans.), "Undang Undang of Moco Moco," pp. 11-12.

43. The Koto Piliang negeri recognized a hierarchy of chiefs including the penghulu, the menteri (adat clerk), the malim and the hulubalang, known collectively as the orang empat jenis (men of four types). In the Bodi Caniago negeri, characterized by more egalitarian rules, hierarchical positions were less sharply defined and the rank of menteri was not known. Joustra, Minangkabau, p. 100.

44. According to the adat Katemenggungan, high crimes were punished with death and offenses with fines. See Farmer (trans.), "Undang Undang of Moco Moco," pp. 9-10.

45. This found expression, for instance, in the Minangkabau proverb in the Kaba Cindua Mato, which ran dilahir urang majambah, dibatin kito manjambah meaning, "externally the ruler is to be respected by his subjects, but actually it is the ruler who has to respect his subjects." Zahara Daulay, "Minangkabau: A Preliminary Study of the Culture and People" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Cornell University, 1960), p. 38; A. M. Datuk Maruhum Batuah and D. H. Bagindo Tanameh, Hukum Adat dan Adat Minangkabau (Jakarta: Poesaka, 1956), p. 31.

46. L. Andaya, "Satu Prinsip Baru Penggantian di Pagar Ruyung diakhir Abad Ketujuhbelas," Jurnal Sejarah (Kuala Lumpur), XV (1972/73), pp. 99-101.

Although the inauguration of Muhammad Syah as sultan did not in itself meet overt opposition from the menteri, the subsequent extension of his authoritarian influence into the Negeri Empat Belas Kota (or Menjuto) provoked a reaction. De facto authority in this region was in the hands of Raja Adil (or Raja Itam), Raja Muzzaffar Syah's eldest sister's son. He had the undivided support of the fourteen menteri who favored the matrilineal tradition, but the old Muzzaffar Syah, ignoring popular wishes, appointed his son-in-law Sulaiman to the rank of *wakil* (deputy).<sup>47</sup> This was a deliberately calculated move to hold Raja Adil in check in the knowledge that the young chief aimed ultimately at attaining the rulership of Inderapura on the basis of his matrilineal claims, as opposed to the patrilineal claims of Sultan Muhammad Syah. When "civil war" ensued, even the twenty menteri at Inderapura threw in their lot with Raja Adil, forcing the sultan and his father to seek assistance in November 1662 from the Dutch at Salida.

The arrival of the Inderapura rulers at Salida was well-timed. A delegation of chiefs from the Minangkabau coastal region was then about to depart on a mission to Batavia to obtain ratification of their treaty alliance with the Dutch, rejecting Acehnese suzerainty. The prospect of securing the participation of Inderapura in the same treaty appealed to Johan Groenewegen. Conditional on the restoration of Sultan Muhammad Syah, the Dutch were promised exclusive rights over pepper. In March 1663, while the sultan remained at Salida awaiting further Dutch action, his son Mansur Syah joined Groenewegen's mission to Batavia to sign what came to be known as the treaty of Painan.<sup>48</sup>

Groenewegen's temporary absence from the west coast offered, however, an opportunity for Aceh to make a final effort to regain its hold on Inderapura. Through the mediation of two *bujang* or ambassadors, Sultan Muhammad Syah and the menteri agreed to a reconciliation. In October 1663, the ruler returned to Inderapura on the clear terms that he would acknowledge Raja Adil as *wakil* at Menjuto<sup>49</sup> though, in actual fact, the former continued under the influence of his old father, Raja Muzzaffar Syah, who was unhappy about the arrangement. There was little prospect of lasting peace however, and, anticipating the rapid withdrawal of the Acehnese representatives, the rulers planned to reopen negotiations with Groenewegen as soon as he returned.<sup>50</sup>

Sultan Muhammad Syah's ambitions for the removal of Raja Adil did not totally coincide with Dutch policy. Since their sole interest in the area was the procurement of Menjuto's pepper supplies, they were not prepared to engage in hostilities against Raja Adil without first feeling out his attitudes towards themselves. In January 1664, Company forces were therefore sent to investigate the Raja's inclinations, with instructions not to attack unless provoked.<sup>51</sup> Adil did not respond amicably, being fully aware that an alliance with the Dutch would mean a forced compromise with Sultan Muhammad Syah. In August 1665, therefore, the Dutch launched an expedition, together with Sultan Muhammad Syah, which forced Raja Adil to withdraw to Seblat. Menjuto came under Dutch influence,<sup>52</sup> though only temporarily, for on Groenewegen's death

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47. W. J. A. de Leeuw, Het Painansch Contract (Amsterdam: Paris, 1926), p. 27.

48. Daghregister, April 4, 1663, p. 137; March 27, 1663, pp. 91-92.

49. Ibid., February 17, 1664, p. 48.

50. De Leeuw, Painansch Contract, p. 56.

51. Ibid.

52. Daghregister, August 27, 1665, p. 238; October 31, 1665, p. 312.

in December the same year, the "rebel" chief regained control of the area.<sup>53</sup>

Even at Inderapura conditions remained unsettled. Of the twenty menteri in the negeri only nine remained firmly in support of the ruler, which was not surprising in view of Raja Muzzaffar Syah's continued interference in the government and tyrannical exercise of power. There were complaints of unduly heavy taxes and levies and, in consequence, there was an exodus of population to the south, in search of better conditions and security under Raja Adil.<sup>54</sup>

With Raja Adil riding a tide of popularity, Groenewegen's successor, Abraham Verspreet, thought it prudent to make new efforts to reconcile him with Sultan Muhammad Syah, using the "rebel" leader's close friend, Raja Matari of Batang Kapas, as mediator. The new Dutch representative simultaneously took steps to organize matters in Inderapura on a more stable footing, first and foremost by gradually increasing the influence and effectiveness of Sultan Muhammad Syah. The ruler was temporarily relieved of power in Inderapura, which was turned over to the more characterful and influential Raja Muzzaffar Syah and the twenty menteri. Meanwhile, the sultan himself was to gain the necessary experience in the exercise of independent authority by serving away from his father; for this purpose, he was invited to assist the Company in reorganizing affairs in negeri Sepuluh Buah Bandar (Bandar X) in the north.<sup>55</sup> This extensive pepper area, which included Painan and Salida and composed the territory between Inderapura and Padang, consisted, as the name suggests, of ten districts, each under a chief. Supreme authority rested, in theory, with a council of four raja,<sup>56</sup> although in reality their powers were so limited that they were unable to maintain the territories as a cohesive unit.<sup>57</sup> Under the Company's plan for effecting political stability and economic improvement, the negeri received the new name Adilas, the original name Salida in reverse, and was placed under the supervision of Muhammad Syah.<sup>58</sup>

To the disappointment of the Dutch, affairs in Inderapura did not fare well under Raja Muzzaffar Syah, who failed to develop a working relationship with the twenty menteri. After a time, however, the latter did show some willingness to pledge cooperation with Sultan Muhammad Syah, who consequently returned to resume control,<sup>59</sup> leaving Adilas in the care of Sri Nara, the influential chief of Bunga Pasang. It was evidently the Company's broader aim to resuscitate the kingdom of Inderapura, incorporating Adilas, under Sultan Muhammad Syah. The plan, however, was never realized because Sri Nara was unwilling to

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53. Kolonial Archief (KA) (The Rijksarchief, The Hague), Overgekomen Brieven (OB) 1149, Evert Michielsen, Pulau Cinko to G.G. and Raden (Council), June 23, 1766, ff. 2121-22; H. Kroeskamp, De Westkust en Minangkabau, 1665-1668 (Utrecht: Schotanus & Jens, 1931), p. 53.

54. Ibid., pp. 67, 105.

55. Ibid., p. 103.

56. The council of four chiefs (Raja nan Empat) consisted of Raja Airhaji, Raja Bunga Pasang/Lakitan, Raja Kambang and Raja Pelangkai.

57. De Leeuw, Painansch Contract, p. 17.

58. KA 1155, OB, Instruction for Jacob Jorrisse Pits, head of the west coast of Sumatra, May 23, 1667, ff. 281-86.

59. Ibid., Report of Commander Abraham Verspreet to G.G. and Raden, June 13, 1667, ff. 287-94; Kroeskamp, Westkust, p. 129.

accept the overlordship of the sultan. He had the full sympathy of the chiefs and inhabitants of Adilas who, following the republican traditions of the area, resented the ruler's pretensions to authority over their negeri<sup>60</sup> and his interference in their affairs at the general assembly of chiefs at Padang.<sup>61</sup>

Despite Dutch efforts to bolster the authority of Sultan Muhammad Syah, he was unable to win political credibility even in Menjuto and the southern territories of Anak Sungai. Here Raja Adil continued to hold independent sway. While eventually he came to have cordial relations with the Company and, in 1668, assisted it in securing a treaty with the Kerinci chiefs for the purchase of gold,<sup>62</sup> towards the sultan he remained hostile. In 1673, the Company made yet another effort to reconcile the two men,<sup>63</sup> but Raja Adil was adamant, probably taking advantage of his opponent's insecurity in Inderapura itself. The chief source of trouble there was Raja Muzzaffar Syah who, embittered by his disassociation from the government, had begun to create mischief, acting once again in league with his son-in-law Sulaiman. The old raja (who survived till 1674) circulated a rumor of an impending Acehese invasion, which gained wide currency, particularly on the return from Aceh of Raja Palawan, a leading penghulu of Bajang, who corroborated the story that an armada was expected to arrive in a few months.<sup>64</sup> The consequent unrest affected economic activity in the negeri, which was already heavily in debt to the Company. Menjuto, by contrast, flourished under Raja Adil, who succeeded in forging a viable political and commercial alliance with Banten.<sup>65</sup>

#### The Entry of Rival European Interests and Inderapura's Disintegration

Sultan Muhammad Syah's inability to establish de facto authority in the territories nominally under his charge constituted only one aspect of the disappointment the Dutch faced at Inderapura. Dutch commercial returns from the area also fell far short of expectations. The prospect of exploiting the legendary gold mines of Inderapura, believed to have been long jealously guarded and concealed from the Acehese, had been a major incentive for Dutch expansion into the region.<sup>66</sup> Caught up in financial troubles, the sultan might have been willing to give the Dutch access to the mines, had any existed. But in 1670,

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60. KA 798, OB, Report of Commander Abraham Verspreeet to G.G. and Raden, October 29, 1667, ff. 724-25.
  61. Kroeskamp, Westkust, p. 127. Under the treaty the Company signed in August 1680 with the west coast chiefs, Sri Nara was recognized as governor of Salida. See also Heeres (ed.), Corpus Diplomaticum, III, "West Sumatra," p. 220.
  62. KA, 1158, OB, Contract between the Company and the Minangkabau king on the one side and the twelve adipati of Kerinci on the other, 12th Syawal H 1076.
  63. KA, 1184, OB, "Vrede contractt" between Sultan Muhammad Syah and Raja Adil of Menjuto (undated), ff. 493a-94.
  64. Kroeskamp, Westkust, p. 129; Daghregister, April 3, 1670, p. 279.
  65. W. Ph. Coolhaas (ed.), Generale Missiven, 1675-85, IV (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1971), pp. 286, 387.
  66. The most important sources of gold in Sumatra were Agam, Rau and Salida. Some sand-gold was also exported from Kerinci. Dutch company officials during this period were, however, misled in regarding the island as an El Dorado.

encouraged the Company's hopes for a number of years, he and the menteri confessed the emptiness of the claim and pleaded that in originally representing Inderapura as a "gold mine" they had referred to nothing more than its wealth in pepper.<sup>67</sup>

But even in terms of the pepper trade, the Company found conditions unsatisfactory as Raja Adil continued his shipments to Banten in settlement of tribute and for sale.<sup>68</sup> Menjuto had traditionally made an important contribution to Silebar's pepper exports to Banten, and this line of trade had guaranteed the necessary economic base for the "separatist" movement headed by Raja Adil. The British settlement of Benkulen in July 1685, however, which gave them control over Silebar pepper,<sup>69</sup> and their treaty alliance earlier that year with Sultan Muhammad Syah,<sup>70</sup> with the intention of establishing his de facto authority in Menjuto, now threw Raja Adil's fate in the balance.

The thrust of British influence into the area compelled the Dutch to support Bantenese claims to Benkulen. However, the Bantenese expedition fitted out in 1685 with Dutch assistance failed to expel the British from Benkulen.<sup>71</sup> The moment seemed ripe for Sultan Muhammad Syah finally to undermine his opponent with British assistance, though, as it turned out, this was not provided with any degree of generosity due to exigencies at Benkulen.<sup>72</sup> The sultan's relations with the British were further strained by his failure to settle long standing debts with the Company.<sup>73</sup> The Dutch took advantage of the situation to press the sultan to expel the British, but the shrewd Raja Adil seized the opportunity to retrieve his own economic position. Now that British control over Silebar blocked up his supplies to Banten, Raja Adil arrived at a *modus vivendi* with the English Company. Accepting the sultan's commercial agreement with the Company as well as his nominal authority over Anak Sungai,<sup>74</sup> he admitted British trade at

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67. Dagregister, August 11, 1670, p. 400.
68. N. MacLeod, "De Oost-Indische Compagnie op Sumatra in de 17e eeuw," De Indische Gids, IV/1 (1905), pp. 126-27.
69. P. Wink, "Eenige Archiefstukken betreffende de Vestiging van de Engelsche factorij te Benkoelen in 1685," Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Batavia), LXIV (1924), pp. 464-69.
70. Java Factory Records (India Office Library, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London), 7, Inderapura-East India Co., March 10, 1685/6, f. 61; H. Dodwell (ed.), Records of Ft. St. George: Letters to Ft. St. George (Madras: Madras Government Press, 1917), III, Ralph Ord and Thomas Stubbs, Madras Representatives, Inderapura, October 9, 1685, pp. 205-7.
71. J. K. J. de Jonge, De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost-Indië (13 vols.; The Hague: Nijhoff, 1862-88), VIII, pp. L-LI; Wink, "Eenige Archiefstukken," pp. 482-86.
72. Letters to Ft. St. George, III, Benjamin Bloome and Robert Bellamy, York Fort, December 30, 1686, p. 125.
73. Sumatra Factory Records (India Office Library, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London), 2, Letters and Consultations (Cons.), November 7, 1687; MacLeod, "De Oost-Indische Compagnie op Sumatra in de 17e eeuw," De Indische Gids, XXVIII/2 (1906), p. 1420.
74. Letters to Ft. St. George, III, Joan[n]es Camphuys, Batavia, April 30, 1685, pp. 207-9; Sumatra Factory Records, 2, Letters and Cons., Inderapura to York Fort, translation of a letter from the menteri of Menjuto and Raja Adil to Hammon Gibbon, Governor of Inderapura, October 21, 1687.

Menjuto. Aside from such economic considerations, this temporary reconciliation was made imperative by the outbreak of civil war in Menjuto, where Larangan, a grandson of Sultan Bakopia of Dua Belas Kota to the north of Pariaman,<sup>75</sup> attempted to seize power.<sup>76</sup> In fact, these developments in Menjuto drew Sultan Muhammad Syah away from his embarrassing situation in the north. He appears to have appreciated the new opportunity to gain de facto control over Menjuto which was economically more significant than the core region of Dua Puluh Kota. The administration in Inderapura he left in the hands of his niece, the *raja perempuan* or *tengku padusi*, who acted as custodian in keeping with Minangkabau tradition. The *raja perempuan*'s marriage connection with the *panglima raja* of Padang,<sup>77</sup> where the Dutch had their headquarters meant, however, that ideal conditions were emerging for Inderapura's absorption into the Dutch sphere of influence in the north.

Soon after Sultan Muhammad Syah's transfer of power to his niece the activities of Larangan and his adherents began to affect politics in Inderapura proper. Within the short space of a year the situation became difficult for the *raja perempuan*, who sought refuge in Padang leaving the country in unrest and turmoil. The *menteri*, under the leadership of Raja Mansur, the brother of the *tengku padusi*, appealed formally in 1689 for Dutch intervention.<sup>78</sup>

Meanwhile, Sultan Muhammad Syah, who was still busy in Menjuto, finally conceded Raja Adil's original bid for recognition as heir-apparent to the Inderapura throne, on condition that the latter married one of his daughters. In 1689, Raja Adil left for Inderapura to fulfill the nuptial contract, an occasion the sultan seized to try to salvage matters at his capital. He commissioned Raja Adil to remain behind in Inderapura to supervise the administration, but since this ran counter to the will of his son-in-law who was anxious to return to Menjuto, the Sultan's political interests in Inderapura remained neglected.

In Anak Sungai, on the other hand, the sultan's fortunes showed a temporary improvement. The support of the fourteen *menteri* had swung dramatically in his favor as they were determined at all costs to prevent Larangan from taking power, on account of his nonlocal origin and his tyrannical disposition.<sup>79</sup> The sultan was aware that their adherence was temporary, however, and appreciated the necessity of relying on Buginese and Company forces,<sup>80</sup> particularly as Larangan had by then entered a formidable alliance with the Minangkabau adventurer Ahmad

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75. MacLeod, "De Oost-Indische Compagnie" (1906), p. 1420; Coolhaas (ed.), Generale Missiven, V, December 23, 1687, p. 178; December 27, 1688, p. 231.
76. Sumatra Factory Records, 2, Letters and Cons., October 21, 1687; March 26, 1689.
77. Ibid., March 13, 1688, p. 178; December 27, 1688, p. 231. The *panglima raja* headed Padang and was assisted by a *datuk bendara* and seven regents or *panglima*.
78. Sumatra Factory Records, 2, Letters and Cons., Inderapura to York Fort, March 29, 1689; MacLeod, "De Oost-Indische Compagnie" (1906), p. 1421; Coolhaas (ed.), Generale Missiven, V, December 30, 1689, p. 324.
79. Sumatra Factory Records, 2, Letters and Cons., Inderapura to York Fort (translation of a letter from the *menteri* of Menjuto and Raja Adil to Hammon Gibbon, governor of Inderapura), October 21, 1687; ibid., January 9, 1688.
80. Ibid., November 4, 1689.

Syah ibn Iskandar, whom the British expelled from Benkulen in 1689.<sup>81</sup> The enemy was soon vanquished and it was only a matter of time before support for Sultan Muhammad Syah once again declined. In 1691, he was overthrown in Anak Sungai by a local chief, Raja Itam, the son of "Incik Redik," a descendant of the ruling house of Pariaman.<sup>82</sup> In Inderapura, too, the sultan's cause was lost as British interest in the area gradually waned through a combination of factors such as Dutch harassment, increasing conviction of Inderapura's limitations as a source of pepper,<sup>83</sup> and the lack of assistance from Benkulen. Pressed on all sides, the sultan formally decided in 1691 to lay down his government at Inderapura, whereupon the Dutch happily installed their protégé, Raja Mansur, as Sultan Mansur Syah.<sup>84</sup> This event sealed the local fate of the British who, in 1693, evacuated their lodge in Inderapura and withdrew permanently from the Minangkabau areas north of Menjuto.<sup>85</sup>

The appointment of Raja Mansur as sultan also confirmed the new matrilineal succession arrangement in Inderapura. Accordingly, on Raja Mansur Syah's death in 1696 he was succeeded by Raja Pasisir, the tengku padusi's grandson, who was only six years old.<sup>86</sup> During his minority the government was managed therefore by his grandmother and the twenty menteri.<sup>87</sup>

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81. Ibid., Stephen Anderson to York Fort, ? 1689. For more on Ahmad Syah ibn Iskandar, see my "Ahmad Shah ibn Iskandar and the Late 17th Century 'Holy War' in Indonesia," Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JMBRAS), XLIII/1 (1970), pp. 48-63.
  82. O. L. Helfrich, "De Adel van Benkoelen en Djambi," Adatrechtbundel, XXII (1923), p. 315.
  83. Sumatra Factory Records, 2, Letters and Cons., Ft. St. George to York Fort, October 24, 1688; July 24, 1689; Letters to Ft. St. George, IV, Hammon Gibbon and John Field, Inderapura, February 28, 1686/7, p. 127. This may have been due partly to current political upheavals in the negeri, but pepper production seems generally to have declined here and in Menjuto, as both were superseded by Mukomuko (see below, p. 83, n. 110). By the mid-eighteenth century production in Mukomuko, in turn, was on the decline and the southern pepper districts of Manna, Kawur and Krue came to the fore as the English Company's main producers. This decline in output, following a period of high productivity, was most probably on account of soil exhaustion.
  84. E. B. Kielstra, "Onze kennis van Sumatra's Westkust omstreeks de helft der achttiende eeuw," BKI, XXXVI (1887), p. 556; MacLeod, "De Oost-Indische Compagnie" (1906), pp. 1424-25; Coolhaas (ed.), Generale Missiven, 1686-95, V, January 31, 1692, p. 474.
  85. Letters to Ft. St. George, V, September 18, 1693, p. 135; February 11, 1694/5, p. 20.
  86. According to Coolhaas (ed.), Generale Missiven, IV, December 11, 1692, p. 539, Raja Mansur married the daughter of the tengku padusi and the panglima raja of Padang, which would make him the father of Raja Pasisir. This relationship does not seem likely, as Raja Mansur was a brother of the engku adusi and would have been prevented by Minangkabau custom from marrying a niece on the maternal side.
  87. The grandmother acted as guardian, apparently in accordance with Minangkabau custom, in her capacity as the tengku padusi. On her death in 1698, the mother of Sultan Pasisir succeeded to the title, but de facto authority passed into the hands of the menteri. To reestablish the internal balance of power Sultan Muhammad Syah was invited to return to Inderapura as advisor to the young ruler. He



The campaign initiated originally by Sultan Muzzaffar Syah and continued after him by Sultan Muhammad Syah, to establish strong monarchical rule based on patrilineal succession, had proved futile. Ironically, the failure of the movement turned out not to the advantage of the *menteri*, the staunch guardians of the Minangkabau republican tradition, but the Dutch administration, whose influence gained steady ascendance in the region after the abdication of Sultan Muhammad Syah. By the mid-eighteenth century the Dutch were in full control of political affairs at Inderapura, including the royal succession. Evidence of this is to be found in the events following the death of the sultan of Inderapura shortly after Adolphus Eschels-Kroon was appointed Resident at Airbangis in 1766. The Company, he recorded, adhered to its policy of upholding the matrilineal succession principle. But the claims of the two older nephews were set aside because of their excessive addiction to opium, cock-fighting and the *seraglio*. Instead, the Company sought the selection of the youngest, twenty-five-year-old Datuk Muda, reputedly a man of sense and unusual enterprise and, moreover, an *imam* (leader at mosque prayers). Under the circumstances the Company had little difficulty in departing from the normal practice of recognizing the oldest claimant, by using the influence which the *malim* (religious authorities) wielded among the people. In a general assembly of the negeri arranged by the Resident, these religious dignitaries secured the public election of the Company's nominee without apparent signs of general dissatisfaction or protest.<sup>88</sup>

The subordination of local institutional forms to the superior will and sanction of the Company was also attested in procedures pertaining to the confirmation of all appointments and titles at Inderapura. Each appointment, including that of the ruler, the *mangkubumi*<sup>89</sup> and other chiefs, was subject to the approval of Batavia which, in recognition of the title, made out a certificate with an official seal issued on payment of a fee proportionate to the income of the chief. In token of its authority, the Company also allocated to each chief a stick or cane, mounted with a knob of gold alloy or silver or copper, according to his particular rank.<sup>90</sup> The titles of the sultan and *menteri* remained in form only. By the early nineteenth century, the former, with the *tengku panglima* of Padang, assumed the status of *raja* of the first rank, which carried with it little more than the empty honor of a thirteen-gun salute and a reception by the Resident at Governor House. The heir-apparent himself worked as a clerk in Pariaman, "a measure of how far the family's fortunes had declined."<sup>91</sup>

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did not remain long in that position, however, for in 1701 he got involved in a rebellion against the Dutch.

88. Gottlob Benedict van Schirach (intro.), Adolphus Eschels-Kroon, "Account of the Island of Sumatra" (contains translations into English of extracts of Adolph Eschels-Kroon's Beschrijving van het Eiland Sumatra [Haarlem: Bohn, 1783]) in Mackenzie Collection 1822 (India Office Library, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London), XVII, ff. 24-31.
89. The mangkubumi (sultan's principal assistant) stood over and above the twenty *menteri*. The position appears to have been defunct during the reigns of Muzzaffar Syah and Muhammad Syah who fought for royal absolutism.
90. Mackenzie Collection 1822, XVII, ff. 24-31. This custom had early origins. On the Dutch Company's initial establishment of formal relations with Inderapura, a gold-plated stick mounted with a knob was presented, evidently as a mark of honor to the ruler. Daghregister, June 20, 1673, p. 156.
91. "Nota over de Statie der Voornamen Hoofden Langs de Westkust van Sumatra, van

### Anak Sungai's Emergence as a Separate Sultanate

While Inderapura proper carved out its independent destiny under Dutch tutelage, in the seceded territory of Anak Sungai, where Raja Itam died soon after his victory at Anak Sungai<sup>92</sup> leaving a minor, Gulemat, as successor,<sup>93</sup> civil war continued to reign. The territory was unable to establish itself on a stable footing under an independent head, due largely to the internal strains brought on by the lingering political allegiance of the menteri to the old royal capital, and the local ruler's lack of power to control them.

British anxiety to see peaceful conditions of trade in Anak Sungai under a centralized autochthonous authority should have been satisfied by Sultan Muhammad Syah's renewed plan to consolidate his claims in the south after Raja Itam's death. Earlier relations between the two parties had, however, been unsatisfactory. Finally, the sultan's abdication in Inderapura in 1691, which made way for the Dutch installation of Raja Mansur, irreparably damaged British opinion of him.<sup>94</sup> They opted therefore to espouse the claims of Gulemat against Muhammad Syah's bid for recovery of the territory.<sup>95</sup>

Despite Gulemat's youth, Muhammad Syah faced strong military opposition. The raja perempuan, mother and guardian of the young ruler had, since the death of her husband, married Raja Makota, a man of considerable influence among the menteri. The local faction in support of Gulemat was also joined by the old rebel, Raja Adil, who, embittered by the Dutch confirmation of Raja Mansur as sultan of Inderapura, reentered politics in the south. Their combined forces succeeded in expelling Muhammad Syah from the southern districts of Anak Sungai, but the capital of Menjuto remained in his hands.<sup>96</sup> There was also the problem of how best to accommodate the ambitions of Raja Adil. As the man initially responsible for Anak Sungai's separation from Inderapura, he still commanded wide popularity in the region "gained by his gentle and mild government." The menteri and peroatin even went so far as to espouse his claims to the legitimate rulership of the negeri.<sup>97</sup> Hence, despite their misgivings about the fidelity of Raja Adil, the British

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Indrapoera tot Tico, Welke Alhier Zullen Gerangschikt Worden Volgens hunne Classe en Waardigheid." Padang c. 1820. Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde [Royal Institute of Ethnography, Leiden], Manuscript H113, quoted in E. Graves, "The Ever-Victorious Buffalo: How the Minangkabau of Indonesia Solved Their 'Colonial question'" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1971), p. 150.

92. See p. 79.

93. Sumatra Factory Records, 3, Diary and Cons., York Fort and Triamang, September 6, 1695.

94. Ibid., September 16, 1695.

95. Ibid., September 6, 1695.

96. Sumatra Factory Records, 2, Letters and Cons., York Fort, Inderapura, January 18, 1691/2; March 10, 1692; March 18, 1692; April 21, 1692. The Dutch evidently landed their forces at Menjuto at the time Muhammad Syah held it. Later, in 1695, when Gulemat's government stepped up operations against Muhammad Syah (see below, p. 82), the Dutch forced the latter to relinquish, formally, the transfer both of the Dua Puluh Kota (Inderapura) and the Empat Belas Kota (Menjuto), at a meeting attended by the menteri of the respective regions. Coolhaas (ed.), Generale Missiven, V, February 14, 1695, p. 725.

97. Sumatra Factory Records, 3, Diary and Cons., York Fort and Triamang, September 23, 1695.

considered it "convenient for the bett[er] strengthening against the Emperor," if he were recognized in joint authority with Gulemat. The Company made a calculated and tactful move; by accommodating Raja Adil and securing thereby the cooperation of the chiefs, it hoped to maintain a united stand in Anak Sungai against the threat posed by Muhammad Syah.<sup>98</sup> On the implementation of the plan the expected support came from the orangkaya, menteri and peroatin. Muhammad Syah was thus isolated and pushed out of the region.<sup>99</sup>

The arrangement offered a temporary solution until the restless Raja Adil came once again to a brief reconciliation with Muhammad Syah.<sup>100</sup> A desperate effort was made by the British representative, Charles Barwell, to maintain the status quo by a division of the Anak Sungai territories, with Raja Adil in independent control of Menjuto and Gulemat of the remaining districts in the south. The partition did not last and Raja Adil broke his alliance with the British and continued to stir up trouble in Menjuto.<sup>101</sup>

The rebellion of Raja Adil caused a decline in popular support for Gulemat, particularly as the latter had grown up to display few characteristics of strength and independence. According to British official opinion, he was a man of sense and wisdom but given to women and gambling, a trait which his stepfather, Raja Makota, who had taken charge of his education, had not tried to check. In fact, on the occasion of a misunderstanding with the raja perempuan, Raja Makota exploited Gulemat's weakness to persuade the menteri to support the rival claims of his natural son, Sulaiman, to the throne.<sup>102</sup> An additional factor against Gulemat was the menteri's skepticism about the legality of his claims, as his appointment had never been confirmed by the royal house of Inderapura.<sup>103</sup>

Gulemat's failure to win unanimous support came as a shock to the British who, having helped establish the de facto framework for an independent sultanate in the south, free of Dutch interference, had expected to see lasting peace. On finding otherwise, they were disposed to secure formal sanction from the ruler of Minangkabau to guarantee stability in Anak Sungai.<sup>104</sup> However, with the Dutch firmly in control of Inderapura, this plan proved abortive.

Gulemat's precarious position was further complicated by the arrival of a new deputy-governor of Benkulen, Joseph Collet (1712-16) who, in the interests of minimizing British commitments, adopted a

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98. Ibid., June 27, 1695; August 12, 1695; September 13, September 16 and 26, 1695.

99. Ibid., September 24, 1695.

100. By 1697, the alliance had broken up and Muhammad Syah was reported to have fled to Kota di-Hulu. Coolhaas (ed.), Generale Missiven, V, January 19, 1697, p. 793; Sumatra Factory Records, 4, Diary and Cons., York Fort, May 31, 1699.

101. Ibid., 3, Diary and Cons., September 14, 1695; October 8, 1695; ibid., 4, Diary and Cons., York Fort, May 31, 1699.

102. Ibid., 7, Abstracts of Letters from Sumatra, February 26, 1708; May 15, 1714.

103. Helfrich, "De Adel," p. 315.

104. The British seem to have believed that the "Emperor" of Minangkabau was the legitimate authority who had previously appointed the administrative heads at both Inderapura and Anak Sungai. Sumatra Factory Records, 7, Abstracts of Letters from Sumatra, February 26, 1708.

strict policy of neutrality in internal politics.<sup>105</sup> Even after Gulemat lost Menjuto and Mukomuko in 1712, Collet stuck resolutely to his policy of noninterference.<sup>106</sup> Conditions in Anak Sungai deteriorated further and the fourteen menteri at Menjuto joined the rebel forces. With Gulemat's fate endangered and pepper cultivation severely affected, Collet was finally forced to change his policy. Reinforcements from Benkulen were rushed to Anak Sungai and by 1713 Mukomuko and Menjuto were retaken. The latter area in particular, due to its proximity to Inderapura, had provided fertile ground for opposition against Gulemat. But by 1714, after the expulsion of the rebel leaders from Menjuto, the territory was incorporated for all time with Anak Sungai, under Gulemat's rule.<sup>107</sup>

Internal conditions in Anak Sungai remained unsettled due to Gulemat's continuing failure to win the confidence and support of the menteri. Raja Makota's surviving son, Raja Kecil Besar, took advantage of the situation to undermine the authority of the ruler, who fell ready victim to a plot to alienate him from his British allies. On receiving a letter purportedly written by his confidant, Pengeran Mangku Raja of Sungai Lemau, warning him of a Collet plan to depose him, Gulemat withdrew quietly from court in June 1716 to avoid personal disgrace at the hands of the Company.<sup>108</sup> Failing to persuade him to return, the British were obliged to invite the Raja Kecil Besar or "Tengku di Bawa Pauk," as the next in line, to take the throne. The move was misinterpreted by Gulemat as confirming his suspicions of British intentions. From Kerinci, where he established his headquarters, he began instigating the neighboring chiefs and joined a general movement against the British at Benkulen, which forced their temporary expulsion in 1719.<sup>109</sup>

Gulemat disappeared from the scene on the reestablishment of British control during the next decade. His successor, Raja Kecil, who ruled under the title of Sultan Kecil Muhammad Syah proved able, although the fact that his title was unconfirmed by Inderapura remained a sore point with the menteri. On the ruler's nomination of his son as heir-apparent, the menteri broke out in open opposition. In their quest for a candidate with the necessary connections with Inderapura, they nominated Merah Bangun, who, as well as being a prince from that royal house, had established substantial local connections during his years of service as court advisor to Gulemat. The local British representative, Farthingham, endorsed their aspirations, seeing this as the only means to settle the succession problem in Anak Sungai. By an act of regicide in 1728 the menteri brought their plan to fruition. (The British Resident's implication in the affair remains uncertain.) Merah Bangun was invested with the title of Sultan Gundam Mersah (1728-30) at the new royal capital at Mukomuko<sup>110</sup> and the Company saw fair pros-

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105. *Ibid.*, February 28, 1708; December 30, 1708.

106. *Ibid.*, 8, Letters and Cons., York Fort, September 1, 1712; October 22, 1712.

107. H. H. Dodwell (ed.), The Private Letter Books of Joseph Collet (London: Longmans, Green, 1933), pp. 61-67; Sumatra Factory Records, 8, Letters and Cons., York Fort, September 12, 1713; May 15, 1714.

108. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1714.

109. Letters to Ft. St. George, XIV (1932), Thomas Cooke, Ft. Marlborough, November 29, 1718, pp. 13-14; June 23, 1719, pp. 57-58.

110. As early as January 1696 the English Company had favored Mukomuko as a suitable royal capital because it had a more pleasant location and, by then, furnished

pects of a lasting peace.<sup>111</sup> Whether the menteri actually received the sanction of the ruler of Inderapura for Merah Bangun's appointment as sultan of Anak Sungai remains unclear. But the relative peace prevailing in the area after the investiture implies that the new ruler's direct blood relationship with the old court fulfilled, in part at least, the necessary conditions for establishing a legitimate dynasty in Anak Sungai. The menteri's final reconciliation to the situation marked an important turning-point, after which it gradually became easier for the British to organize a separate and independent polity at Anak Sungai, free of Inderapura's influence. With the English Company now the dominant authority, the precarious balance of power between ruler and menteri was finally broken. The area moved away from the matrilineally-inclined traditions of the Minangkabau north towards the patrilineal traditions, based on territorial rather than genealogical rule, favored by the British at Benkulen.<sup>112</sup>

In its evolution as an independent polity and in its later endeavor to preserve the unity of its component parts, the Inderapura kingdom experienced the classic "power conflict between the king and the local notables."<sup>113</sup> But, in addition, the chronic instability and disorder within the core area of Dua Puluh Kota itself must be explained in part by the region's remarkable attachment to Minangkabau lineage and institutional practices. The egalitarian character of Minangkabau political organization caused strong resistance to centralized autocratic rule by an independent sovereign. European interference certainly added to the political complications. The disintegration of the Inderapura kingdom was the inevitable consequence, leading to the polarization of the component territories towards the respective European headquarters at Padang and Bengkulu.

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more pepper than Menjuto. The ruler and chiefs, however, were adamantly opposed, because Menjuto was the traditional capital. Sumatra Factory Records, 4, Diary and Cons., York Fort, January 13, 1696; January 15, 1696.

111. Ibid., 8, Letters and Cons., York Fort, September 30, 1728. According to Helfrich, "De Adel," p. 315, the appointment was made on the menteri's request to the ruler of Inderapura, though there is nothing in the British records to support this claim. Insofar as the English Company was concerned, the formal investiture of the new sultan took place in August 1728 at Mukomuko. See Sumatra Factory Records, 8, Letters and Cons., York Fort, September 30, 1728.
112. For an account of this process, see my "A Survey of the Effects of British Influence on Indigenous Authority in Southwest Sumatra (1685-1824)," BKI, CXXIX/2 & 3 (1973), pp. 239-68.
113. Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies, I, p. 171.