

The Politics of Civilizing the Colony: Haji Hasan Mustapa's Malay Guidebook on the Etiquette for Acehnese People towards the Dutch in the Netherland East Indies

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Abstract

This article examines how the Dutch colonial government in the Netherland East Indies attempted to civilize its colony through the work on etiquette. It focuses its analysis on the Malay manuscript of Haji Hasan Mustapa on the code of polite behavior for Acehnese in dealing with the Dutch people, *Kehormatan kepada Orang Belanda* (Cod. Or. 18.097 S9). Hasan Mustapa wrote his work when he served as Chief-*Penghulu* of Kutaraja, Aceh (1893-1895) and sent it to C. Snouck Hurgronje in Batavia. He wrote the book at the request of Teuku Umar, an Acehnese patriot who used to collaborate with the Dutch authorities. Using a philological analysis, this study suggests that the Dutch authority utilized the native officials to write the etiquette guidebook on speaking and behavior to civilize Acehnese people. Hasan Mustapa's work on etiquette shows that he played an important role in maintaining the Dutch honor and bridging the interests of the Dutch colonial government in its colony, the Netherland East Indies.

Key Words

Colonializing mission, etiquette, Dutch colonial government, Aceh, Hasan Mustapa, Teuku Umar

Introduction

Since its arrival in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago at the end of the 16th century, the Dutch colonizers could not solve the problems facing them simply by confronting the natives of the archipelago. They had to learn the customs of the native people to facilitate colonial policy. They did not only employ the Dutch officials but also used the native authorities and learned

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their laws and customs (Rangers 1947:40). One of their efforts was setting ethics rules, which were based on the ethics of the colonizers, targeted at the people of their colony. The Dutch colonizers generally considered themselves more civilized than their colony. This is related to the colonial mission in civilizing colonies by using values adapted to the environment of the colonial state (Fischer-Tiné and Mann 2004).

This article focuses on the philological study of Malay manuscript on etiquette guidebook for Acehese people in facing the Dutch colonial authorities. The manuscript was written by Haji Hasan Mustapa on December 3, 1894. He served as Chief *Penghulu* (the government official for Islamic affairs in a district) of Kutaraja, Aceh, from 1893 to 1895 (Jahroni 1999; Kartini *et al* 1985). This work was written as one of the ways of the Dutch colonial government's mission to civilize Acehese people. This mission was conducted, among other ways, by using the hands of the local authorities in Aceh.

There are many studies of Hasan Mustapa's works such as Kartini *et al.* (1985), Rosidi (1989), Jahroni (1999), Ali (2004), Millie, ed. (2017), and Rohmana (2018). However, Mustapa's work on etiquette is rarely studied. One of the reasons is the work was inserted into his letters when he lived in Aceh (Cod. Or. 18.097 S9). Mustapa attached his etiquette work in his letters. We would never know Mustapa's etiquette work if we did not read his letters. He sent the letters to C. Snouck Hurgronje, the Dutch colonial adviser who lived in Batavia (Moestapa, December 3, 1894). Mustapa was an informant for Snouck Hurgronje providing him with information on various situations in Aceh. He met Snouck Hurgronje in Mecca and both continued their relationship in the Dutch East Indies. He then became Chief-*Penghulu* of Kutaraja Aceh with the suggestion of Snouck Hurgronje to the Dutch colonial government for three years (1893-1895) (Rohmana 2018).

This etiquette guidebook of Hasan Mustapa was originally a request of Teuku Umar (1854-1899) when he collaborated with the Dutch colonial authorities. Teuku Umar as a prominent figure required Hasan Mustapa and other native officials to write an etiquette guidebook for the Acehese in facing the Dutch officials. Teuku Umar officially declared his loyalty to the Dutch in September 1893. He then received various privileges such as the title of Teuku Johan Pahlawan, the commander-in-chief of the Aceh war, the right to his soldiers, weapons, office fees, and houses (Alfian 1987:82-83). He previously fought alongside the Acehese troops against the Dutch colonial power. It was no coincidence that five months after Hasan Mustapa arrived in Aceh and served as Chief-*Penghulu* of Kutaraja,

Teuku Umar chose to collaborate with the Dutch in September 1893. He then turned to attack the Dutch on March 30, 1896, or a few months after Hasan Mustapa left Kutaraja and returned to Bandung on September 1895 (Said 1981:199; Bakker 1993:57).

The work of Hasan Mustapa is not the only one etiquette guidebook in the Dutch colonial period. There are some etiquette guidebooks written by other native officials like Sayyid ‘Uthman (1822-1913) and his son, Yahya. Sayyid ‘Uthman was the colonial adviser on Arab affairs who had also written an etiquette guidebook entitled *Adab al-Insān* (the Etiquette for Humans) on August 1885 or about eight years before the work of Hasan Mustapa (Kaptein 2014:98). The work of Sayyid ‘Uthman discusses broad knowledge on the etiquette for humans such as the relationship between humans and God, children and parents, young people and parents, students and teachers, the etiquette of visiting sick people, attending Friday prayers, burying a human corpse, welcoming *Ramadan* month, carrying out marriages, and the rights of husband and wife in the marriage. Another work of etiquette guidebook was written by Yahya, the son of Sayyid ‘Uthman. He wrote the mosque entrance etiquette, *Dalā’il al-Nāshid ‘an Ahkām al-Walā’im fī al-Masājid* in 1938 (Wieringa 2014:1-15). Both the works of Sayyid ‘Uthman and his son, Yahya, differed from Hasan Mustapa’s etiquette guidebook, which specifically explained the behavioral and speaking etiquette for the Acehnese when facing the Dutch officials. All these etiquette guidebooks were written to be guidelines for the people in the Dutch East Indies peoples during the colonial period.

The significance of this study lies in showing the involvement of local authorities as informants in strengthening the power of the Dutch colonial government in the Dutch East Indies. The Dutch colonial government’s effort to strengthen its power in Aceh was not only carried out by the military strategies but also the cultural approaches. The study of the Acehnese culture involved a well-known scholar C. Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) showing serious Dutch efforts in facing the resistance of the Acehnese people. The Dutch colonial government’s attitudes towards the Acehnese people were shaped by a lack of adequate knowledge about Aceh. In addition to possessing adequate knowledge of Indonesian Islam, Snouck’s understanding of the culture of the Acehnese was invaluable in steering the Dutch Islamic policies in Aceh. His principal achievement was no doubt the part he played in the political reorientation which, together with improved military tactics, finally led to the conclusion of the Aceh War (Benda 1958:340-341; Wertheim 1972:320-328; Missbach 2010; Kitzen 2012; and McFate 2018).

Besides, there were some efforts of the Dutch colonial government to conquer, educate, and civilize the Acehnese including the writing of an etiquette guidebook that had to be obeyed by the Acehnese. Every ritual and symbol of etiquette demonstrates the Dutch hegemony over Aceh (Locher-Scholten 2004:167). In postcolonial terms, the Dutch colonial government justified social hierarchy and exclusion in the relation to civilized white race versus the uncivilized non-white race (Gordon 2017; Young 2003:2-3). They assume that civilization can contribute to difficulties to control, indiscipline and chaos. Hasan Mustapa's etiquette guidebook cannot be separated from the context of strengthening the Dutch hegemony over its colonies, the white over non-white, at the end of the nineteenth century.

Hasan Mustapa as a Chief-*Penghulu* of Kutaraja

Hasan Mustapa was appointed as Chief-*Penghulu* of Kutaraja for about three years (1893-1895) in the third phase of the Acehnese-Dutch war (1884-1896), especially during a period of constant decline (1884-1896) after the Dutch government applied the enforcement of the civil administration (1881-1884) in Aceh. The Dutch colonial authorities previously decided to place Aceh-Groot or Aceh Besar under a civilian government in the Staatsblad 1881 No. 79. Meanwhile, the other regions headed by the *uleebalang* (traditional leaders) were permitted to have their authorities (*swapraja*). Pruys van der Hoeven, the Civil and Military Governor in Aceh, divided Aceh into three regions (*afdeling*): Aceh Besar in Kutaraja, North and East Aceh in Lhok Seumawe, and West Aceh in Meulaboh. All regions were headed by the resident and assistant resident who lived in Kutaraja. They were assisted by ten *controllers* or the assistant regional heads in the districts (Alfian 1987:23). Colonel Deijkerhoff was appointed as The Military and Civil Governor in Aceh (1892-1896), while the Dutch Governor-General in Batavia was by C.H.A. van der Wijck since 1893. The Dutch colonial government changed the relationship with the Acehnese, from the war to the situation where the Acehnese were regarded as "rebels," because they refused the sovereignty of the 'legitimate' Sultan of Aceh, Tuanku Muhammad Daud Syah (1874-1904).

The appointment of Hasan Mustapa as Chief-*Penghulu* of Kutaraja was decided by the Dutch authorities shortly after he returned from Mecca in 1885. He had become a religious teacher (*kiai*) at the Great Mosque of Garut and participated in accompanying Snouck Hurgronje on a journey around Java for about two years (July 1889-February 1891). Hasan Mustapa then returned to Garut to continue his activities as the religious teacher.

The appointment of a *penghulu* before the period of 1882 was

entirely decided by the colonial rulers based on their appraisals. Anyone who was considered to have expertise in the field of Islamic law could be chosen as a *penghulu*. The main consideration was the expertise in the field of Islamic law, the experience in the field of administration, and the loyalty to the Dutch authorities. After 1882, when the office of *penghulu* was incorporated into the colonial administration, the recruitment of *penghulu* and the members of the religious council (*raad agama*) began to be controlled by the Dutch administration. The office of advisory for native affairs, where Snouck Hurgronje became the first official, played an important role in the recruitment of *penghulu* (Hisyam 2001:42-44).

Hasan Mustapa was appointed as the Chief-*Penghulu* of Kutaraja on February 22, 1893, based on the recommendation of Snouck Hurgronje. The appointment letter (*besluit*) of his appointment dated January 13, 1893, No. 23 (Jahroni 1999:24). The appointment of the Sundanese to serve as an official in the outer Java region was unusual. Some scholars even think that the position of Chief-*Penghulu* in Aceh never existed. His appointment was a colonial effort to improve peace in a region known to be problematic like Aceh. It was reasonable that before peace was realized, the most essential condition was to get an understanding of the socio-cultural aspects of the Acehnese people (Hisyam 2001:95).

The position as a *penghulu* opened a new world for Hasan Mustapa. He was fully involved in the religious affairs in the Dutch administration. He was responsible for Islamic religious affairs in Kutaraja such as marriage, alms, *waqf*, and others. His involvement in the Dutch colonial bureaucracy was directly related to his close relationship with Snouck Hurgronje. He recommended Hasan Mustapa to the Governor of Civil and Military in Aceh for the position of Chief-*Penghulu* in his letter dated October 26, 1892. It was a letter that was considered by van Koningsveld as significant in the study of Aceh and about Snouck Hurgronje (van Koningsveld 1990:XVII and L). Hasan Mustapa was the right person for the position because he was considered capable of handling several important issues in Aceh. He would be able to be a good mediator between the Dutch authorities and the Acehnese people, as he had proven while accompanying Snouck Hurgronje on his journey around Java several years before.

Hasan Mustapa's position as Chief-*Penghulu* of Kutaraja had political implications. This can be seen from the letter of Snouck Hurgronje dated May 22, 1894, to the secretary of Governor-General in Buitenzorg. He believed that Hasan Mustapa would be able to develop a close relationship with the Acehnese people. He could understand the situation in the local areas of Aceh. The letters of Hasan Mustapa to Snouck Hurgronje (Cod.

Or. 18.097) which were used as the object of studies proved the truth of Snouck Hurgronje's belief. Hasan Mustapa reported a lot of information related to the political situation in Aceh.

Hasan Mustapa initially refused some positions that were offered to him, including that of the Chief-*Penghulu* of Kutaraja. However, he finally decided to accept the position based on the instigation of Snouck Hurgronje. According to Snouck Hurgronje, it was easier to propose the name of Hasan Mustapa to the Dutch authorities in Batavia than to persuade him to leave his independent life to be replaced by a difficult environment in Aceh. Hasan Mustapa's decision to accept the position as Chief-*Penghulu* of Kutaraja was related to his close relationship with Snouck Hurgronje. Snouck Hurgronje as his close friend had been well known by Hasan Mustapa since his first meeting in Mecca in 1885. He accepted the position, although the salary as *penghulu* was lower than his salary as a manuscript copyist (van Koningsvel 1990:LI; Jahroni 1999:25).

By proposing Hasan Mustapa as Chief-*Penghulu* of Kutaraja, Snouck Hurgronje expected him to be his assistant and informant in Acehnese affairs. It reminds us of the appointment of Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat (1854-1914) as a drogman at the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah based on the proposal of Snouck Hurgronje to the Dutch authorities. Snouck Hurgronje succeeded in employing Aboe Bakar as an informant on the daily activities of the Muslims and the Nusantara '*ulamā*' in Mecca (van Koningsveld 1990: XIV-XV). Snouck Hurgronje's book, *Mekka*, was derived from the manuscript of *Tarājim 'ulamā' al-Jāwā*, the biography of the Nusantara '*ulamā*,' which sent by Aboe Bakar to Snouck Hurgronje after his return to the Netherlands (Laffan 2003:61; Hurgronje 2007).

This is also true for Snouck Hurgronje's proposal on the position of Hasan Mustapa as the Chief-*Penghulu* of Kutaraja. He employed Hasan Mustapa to access the information about the situation in Aceh. The required information was passed through the letters of Hasan Mustapa to Snouck Hurgronje and became the important source of the official recommendation of Snouck Hurgronje to the Dutch colonial government. Although Snouck Hurgronje previously came to Aceh two years earlier (July 16, 1891-February 4, 1892) before Hasan Mustapa arrived in Aceh, it was too short for him to collect adequate information about Aceh. Understandably, he expected Hasan Mustapa to continuously inform him about the situation in Aceh.

Since his meeting with Snouck Hurgronje in Mecca 1885 and then in the Dutch East Indies (1889-1906), Hasan Mustapa continued to make contact with Snouck Hurgronje who was believed to be a Muslim (Algadri 1996:134). Snouck Hurgronje succeeded to utilize Hasan Mustapa to work

his mission in gaining the knowledge of Islam and the Muslim community in the Indonesia archipelago (Benda 1958:340-341). This success marked his reputation as the father of Islamic studies in Southeast Asia who was considered the most influential in colonial history and constituted an important period of the colonization of knowledge in the Dutch East Indies (Steenbrink 1995; Benda 1980:44; Suminto 1996:115-125).

Therefore, the letters of Hasan Mustapa play an important contribution to Snouck Hurgronje's reputation as a scholar and adviser to the Dutch colonial government. The information Mustapa provided covers a wide range of current situations of Aceh including politics, religious, social, and personal matters. This reflects more than just an ordinary friendship that was far from suspicious and prejudice. This relationship is related to the position of Snouck Hurgronje as an *Adviseur voor Inlandsche Zaken* who advised the Minister of the Colonies as illustrated in the works of Gobée and Andrianse. On one hand, their relationship was open, but on the other hand, it was colored by an opportunistic attitude and can be said to be a collaboration in a negative sense (Jahroni 1999:27). All this is illustrated in a letter written by Hasan Mustapa for Snouck Hurgronje on the etiquette that prescribes how the Acehnese people were expected to behave before the Dutch colonial officials.

On the Manuscript of *Kehormatan kepada Orang Belanda*

There is no title in this unpublished Malay manuscript by Hasan Mustapa. For the purpose of this study, I entitle it *Kehormatan kepada orang Belanda* as Hasan Mustapa started with these words in the first paragraph of his work (see Figure 1). In addition to the Malay language, Hasan Mustapa used Sundanese vocabularies such as *atawa* (*atau* [or]), *misti* (*mesti* [must]), *ati-ati* (*hati-hati* [be careful]). One sentence is influenced by Arabic style: *minum rokok*, which is similar to *shurb al-dukhān* (to drink the cigarette [to smoke]).

This Malay manuscript is inserted into the Arabic letter collection of Hasan Mustapa Cod. Or. 18.097 S9.1. dated December 3, 1894, which was held by the Leiden University Library. There is a short explanation of the curator or librarian on the cover of the manuscript: "*Letters from Hasan Moestapa (et al) and documents regarding 'Sjair Prang' and 'Keumala'*" and *Aantekenboekje Hasan Moestapa, 4 laatste Dejoemada 1312* (Hasan Mustapa's notebook dated the last 4 Jumadil Ula 1312). If we read the contents of the letters of Hasan Mustapa, it should be inserted into Cod. Or. 18.097 S9.2.006-007 dated December 4, 1894, not Cod. Or. 18.097 S9.1.

The manuscript was written in a notebook that was brownish colored. There is an image of decorated floral motifs on its front cover entitled “Memorandum in account with a book.” There is also a calendar at the back of the cover in the form of tables entitled “Almanac for 1891” and “Almanac for 1892.” The title of the table calendar of “Almanac for 1893” and “Almanac for 1894” can be found on the back part cover.

The manuscript is 30 pages long, including the front and back cover. Hasan Mustapa used lined papers. There are 19 lines on every page of the manuscript. From the number of pages, Hasan Mustapa wrote on the right side of the page (*recto*) in round numbers 12 pages. He left blank on the left side of the page (*verso*). Both pages 1 and 2 are left blank. He also left blank the page of even number from page 4 to page 26.

This manuscript was written by Hasan Mustapa after he completed another unpublished Malay work on the Acehese entitled *Kashful Sarā'ir fī Haqīqati Aceh wa Fidir* (Cod. Or. 7636 dated July 25, 1894), revealing the reality of Aceh and Pidie. It is a book of questions and answers that contains Hasan Mustapa's reflection on political, social, cultural, and religious subject matters. The *Kehormatan kepada Orang Belanda*, in the same manner as *Kashful sarā'ir*, was presented in classical Malay with hard-to-understand sentences: the punctuation is not clear; it contains complicated subject-object-predicate relations and long sentences, and some paragraphs contain only one sentence which takes more than one page. He indeed acknowledged that in writing this book he just followed his mind and practiced the etiquette (Ali 2004:70).

I found out at the end of the manuscript that Hasan Mustapa wrote the etiquette guidebook to serve Teuku Umar's request when Umar collaborated with the Dutch authorities (1893-1896). Hasan Mustapa mentioned the titles *Johan Pahlawan* and *Panglima Besar Government*, the great commander of the Dutch government, that refer to Teuku Umar, in the colophon after the place and date Koetaradja 4 Jumadilakhir 1312 (December 3, 1894).

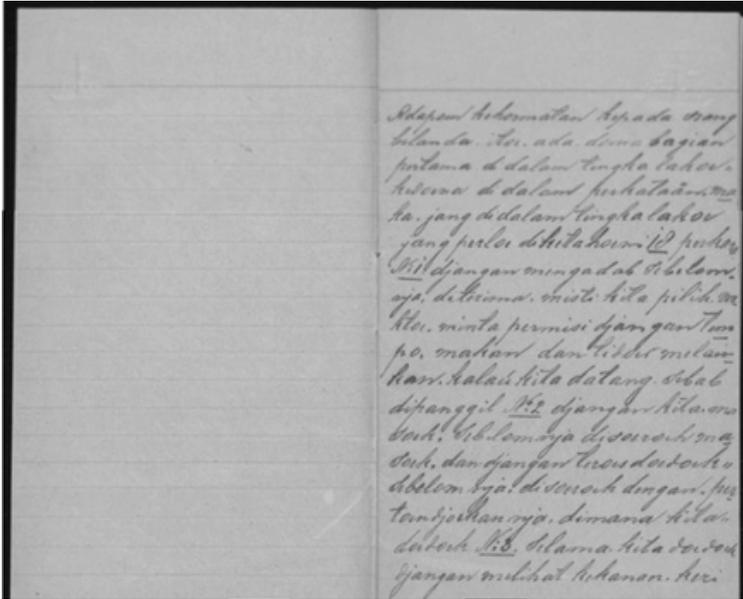


Figure 1

The Guidebook of *Kehormatan kepada orang Belanda*

Source: Haji Hasan Moestapa, *Arabic Letters from Kutaraja (Correspondence with Snouck Hurgronje)*, 1893-1895, December 3, 1894, Cod Or. 18.097 S.9.1, the University of Leiden Library.

Summary of Hasan Mustapa's Etiquette Guidebook

Hasan Mustapa said in his first sentence that the book describes the etiquette before the Dutch people. He wrote: “*Adapun kehormatan kepada orang Belanda itu ada dua bagian. Pertama di dalam tingka laku, kedua di dalam perkataan*” (The etiquette towards the Dutch people was two parts. First, in the behavior, and second, in the words).

Furthermore, Hasan Mustapa divided the etiquette of behavior into eighteen commands and prohibitions. He then described the etiquette in a series of numbers. He said, for instance: “No. 1, Do not face someone before being permitted. We have to choose a time. Do not (face) when he is eating or sleeping, unless we come because we are called by him; No. 5 Do not spit, to throw phlegm or belch, but it does not matter during blow nose; No. 9, we must be careful, do not button your shirt or adjust your head coverings in front of him; No. 10, do not smoke our cigarettes; No. 13, when we stand, we must strongly face. Keep our feet fixed. Do not stand with arms akimbo or put your hand in your pocket; and No. 18, if

another Dutch person wants to come, it is better to you to ask him, “can I sit down or go home?”

Likewise, in his etiquette of words, Hasan Mustapa explained eighteen things, for instance: “1. Do not dare to promise someone that you cannot fulfill it; 6. Do not interrupt someone when he is speaking to others, especially in secret; 11. Do not show your thought or intelligence if you do not ask; and No. 18, do not dare to praise someone, do not disapprove of his goodness, and do not pan someone. He certainly has the mistakes, but he still has a mind.”

After making a list of 36 etiquette behaviors and words, Hasan Mustapa explained that the work was written based on the request of someone. He said, “Inilah saja menoelis sependjang sobat poenja permintaan tetapi saja ambil pendek sadja jang boleh di pake sehari2...” (this is what I wrote for my friend’s request. I wrote a concise work (on the etiquette) that can be practiced every day”).

Hasan Mustapa suggested that the etiquette guidebook could be used as a daily guideline and published by the Dutch government in the form of a printed book to help the Acehnese behave appropriately before the Dutch people. But, he at the same time stated that the book was written based on his knowledge. If someone wanted to have a better understanding of the etiquette, Hasan Mustapa suggested them to come to a teacher who could teach them the etiquette. He said: “Akan tetapi djikalau sobat maoe taoe terang betoel hal kehoormatan satoe2 toewan besar dan ketjil baroe ketemoe kenalan atawa soedah biasa, itoe lebih baik sobat tidak koerang boeat goeroe pengadjaran jang goena dia poenja pertoendjukan sebab saja sendiri belom sebegitoe tjoekoep kerana beloem sebegitoe lama” (However, if you want to know the etiquette towards the high or low rank [Dutch] officials and when to meet your friends, you should study with a teacher who knows the etiquette. I do not have enough knowledge about it because I am new in Aceh).

Hasan Mustapa’s *Kehormatan kepada orang Belanda*

The following section is the transcription of the manuscript of Hasan Mustapa’s *Kehormatan kepada orang Belanda*. The transcription was written following the spelling in the source text by using a philological approach. I then will translate the text into English.

- /1r/ (flower motif on the front cover of the book)
- 1 Memorandum/
 - 2 in account with/
 - 3 book/
- /1v/ (Kalender)
- 1 Almanac for 1891/
 - 2 Almanac for 1892/
- /2r/ (blank page)
- /2v/ (blank page)
- /3r/
- 1 Adapoen kehormatan kepada orang/
 - 2 belanda itu ada doea bagian./
 - 3 pertama di di dalam tingkah lakoe./
 - 4 kedua di dalam perkataan. Ma/
 - 5 ka jang di dalam tingkah lakoe/
 - 6 jang perloe diketahoewi 18 perkara./
 - 7 No. 1 djangan mengadab¹ sebelum/
 - 8 nja ditirima, misti kita pilih wa/
 - 9 ktoe, minta permisi, djangan tem/
 - 10 po makan dan tidoer melain/
 - 11 kan kalau kita datang sebab/
 - 12 dipanggil. No. 2 djangan kita ma/
 - 13 soek sebelumnja disoeroeh ma/
 - 14 soek dan djangan teroes doedoek''/
 - 15 sebeloemnja disoeroeh dengan per/
 - 16 toendjoekannja² dimana kita''/
 - 17 doedoek. No. 3 selama kita doedoek/
 - 18 djangan melihat kekanan kiri/
- /3v/
- 1 jang paling tidak baik/
- /4r/
- 1 jang paling tidak baik melihat/
 - 2 apa² toelisan diatas medjanya/
 - 3 biar kita tidak mengerti. No. 4/
 - 4 djangan angkat kaki atawa³ toe/

- 5 mpang loetoet atawa kaki madjoe/
 6 kemoeka. No. 5 djangan meloedah/
 7 atawa bedahak atawa sandao/
 8 tetapi tidak apa selemo mengeloe/
 9 arkan ingoes. No. 6 tempo poelang/
 10 djangan poetar belakang sebelum/
 11 nja tabek dan minta idjin. No. 7/
 12 djangan datang sebelumnja sa/
 13 mpei waktoe djandji dan dja/
 14 ngan lat⁴ dari djandji. No. 8 djan/
 15 ngan bawa teman kapan kita tidak/
 16 kasih taoe doeloe biar anak²/
 17 sendiri. No. 9 misti kita ati² djangan/
 18 sampei bikin betoel kantjing bajoe/
 /4v/ (blank page)
 /5r/ 1 atawa atau tengkoeloe⁵ dimoekanja dia/
 2 Sepoeloh, djangan berani minoem/
 3 roko dari kita poenja. No. 11 djangan/
 4 berani ambil roko lebih dari/
 5 satoe bidji. No. 12 tempo dikasih’’/
 6 tangan djangan kita pegang roko/
 7 No. 13 tempo kita berdiri misti me/
 8 ngadab betoel kaki tetap, djang/
 9 an menolak pinggang atawa/
 10 masoekkan tangan didalam/
 11 sak.⁶ No. 14 misti kita berdiri kapan/
 12 datang lagi lain toean yang patoet/
 13 No. 15 djangan bawa tongkat ata/
 14 wa pajoeng masoek kemana/
 15 tempat doedoek. No. 16 kalau kete/
 16 moe di djalan² kita melimat/
 17 ka samping kanannja. No. 17 dja/

- 18 ngan berani melihat moekanja/
 /5v/ (blank page)
 1 melainkan selama dia bitjara/
 2 sama kita. No. 18 kalau ada/
 3 toean lain maoe datang lebih/
 4 baik kita tanjak apa hamba/
 5 boleh doedoek atawa poelang/
 6 sadja. Adapoen kehormatan/
 7 didalam perkataan'' itoe ada/
 8 No. 18 perkara jang misti diketahoe/
 9 wi/
 10 1
 11 djangan berani djandji sekira2/
 12 itoe perdjandjian tidak bisa djadi./
 13 No. 2 Kalau kita datang dipanggil/
 14 djangan moelain tjerita bitjara/
 15 sebelumnya terbit dia poenja maksoed./
 16 3 djangan mengoempat orang/
 17 melainkan kalau dipinta kete/
 18 rangan djoega djangan lebih dari/
 19 Tjerita orang atawa lihat sendiri/
 /6v/ (blank page)
 1 4. djangan bitjara sebelomnja dia/
 2 poenja tjerita habis./
 3 5 djangan mengeloewarkan per/
 4 kataan jang tidak patoet dip/
 5 ertjaja melainkan dengan tanda/
 6 betoel./
 7 6 djangan tjampoer moeloet/
 8 tempo dia bitjara sama orang/
 9 lain apalagi di dalam rahsiha./
 10 7 djangan bitjara sama kita poe/

- 11 nja teman apa lagi diseroepa/
 12 kan rahasia”./
 13 8 djangan kita loepa mengerti di/
 14 dalam bitjara jang kita tidak tjam/
 15 poer./
 16 9. djangan ada permintaan lebih/
 17 dari satoe kali di dalam satoe/
 18 perkara biar dia belum menjahoet./
 /7v/ (blank page)
 /8r/ 1 10 djangan tjirita jang bersalakan/
 2 sama tjirita jang soedah ditjiri/
 3 takan di dalam lain tempat/
 4 jang sama patoetnya dan kepa/
 5 da lain toean apa lagi toean/
 6 satoe tjirita satoe diboeka doewa/
 7 tiga kali./
 8 11 djangan menimboelkan pi/
 9 kiran atawa kepintaran kalau/
 10 tidak ditanja betoel2./
 11 12 djangan manjilak pikiran/
 12 orang2 atawa toewan2 apalagi/
 13 manjilak bangsa sendiri sebab/
 14 satoe2 orang melihara dia poe/
 15 nja diri./
 16 13 djangan pindah tjerita jang/
 17 lebih djaoeh dari jang ditjeritakan/
 18 ketika itu seperti tempo kita/
 /8v/ (blank page)
 /9r/ 1 tjerita atoeran negeri teroes pin/
 2 dah tjirita perkara beniaga/
 3 melainkan kalau dia jang/
 4 molai pinda./

- 5 14 apa2 jang dia tanja atawa/
 6 hiroh djangan kita teroes/
 7 menjaoet sebelumnja menger/
 8 ti lebih baik kita tanjak min/
 9 ta mengerti lebih dahoeloe./
 10 15 sekali2 tidak patoet menentoe/
 11 kan kedjadiannja satoe per/
 12 kara dibelakang hari melain/
 13 kan pake sepandjang taksi/
 14 ran atawa agah2./
 15 16 sekali2 tidak patoet boeka/
 16 tjirita hal igama apa lagi/
 17 kalau kita boekan ahlinja/
 18 17 djangan sekali2 menetapkan/
 /9v/ (blank page)
 /10r/ 1 satoe kesenangan atawa kebentji/
 2 an pada satoe perkara diseboe/
 3 t menoeroet sepandjang igama/
 4 melainkan setelah kita ten/
 5 toe itoe perkara tidak bersala/
 6 an dengan kita poenja bitjara/
 7 di dalam satoe tempo di belakang/
 8 hari./
 9 No. 18 djangan berani memudji orang sebe/
 10 lumnja tentoe tidak bersalaan kaba/
 11 ikannja dan menjila orang sebelum/
 12 nja tentoe dia poenja kesalaan’’/
 13 melainkan dengan pake sepandja/
 14 ng pikiran./
 /10v/ (blank page)
 /11r/ 1 Inilah saja menoelis sepandjang sobat/
 2 poenja permintaan tetapi saja am/

- 3 bil pendek sadja jang boleh di/
 4 pake sehari² djoega saja boekan/
 5 ambil sengadja dari pengadjaran/
 6 tjoema itoelah jang saja soedah/
 7 pake. Maka hal diterimanja/
 8 atawa ditjilanja sama orang/
 9 orang besar saja tidak taoe./
 10 Akan tetapi djikalau sobat ma/
 11 oe taoe terang betoel hal kehoer/
 12 matan satoe² toewan besar/
 13 dan ketjil baroe ketemoe kena/
 14 lan atawa soedah biasa, itoe/
 15 lebih baik sobat tidak koerang/
 16 boeat goeroe pengadjaran jang/
 17 goena dia poenja pertoendjukan/
 /11v/ (blank page)
 /12r/ 1 sebab saja sendiri belum sebegitoe/
 2 tjoekoep kerana beloem sebegitoe/
 3 lama./
 4 dan lagi itoe jang saja toelis 36/
 5 perkara barang tentoe ada koerang/
 6 nja atawa lebihnja sebab tentoe/
 7 koerang dari sebab itu toean soed/
 8 ah lama kenalnja dan itoe/
 9 kedoedoekan antara jang perloe/
 10 dan tidak perloe tentoe ada be/
 11 danja./
 12 Dan antara kita datang handa/
 13 mengadap sendiri dan kita/
 14 datang dipanggil tentoe ada/
 15 bedanya./
 16 Dan antara perkara rahsia dan/

- 17 bukan perkara rahsia tentoe/
 18 ada bedanja./
- /12v/ (blank page)
- /13r/ 1 Dan antara kita doedoek di roema/
 2 hnja dan di dalam katornja/
 3 tentoe ada bidanja./
 4 Dan antara kita koempoelan/
 5 bitjara pekerdjaan'' dan koempoe/
 6 lan di dalam pelesiran seperti/
 7 pesta atawa rizepsi tjampoer/
 8 adoek toewan2 banjak tentoe ada/
 9 bedanja./
 10 Dan lagi antara toewan2 sivil/
 11 dan Militter dan pereman2 jang/
 12 kenal jang tidak tentoe ada beda/
 13 nja, maka dari itoe tidak bisah/
 14 tentoe kehormatan misti pa/
 15 ke sependjang timbangan/
 16 jang kita niat merendahkan/
 17 diri dan boedi dan/
 18 djangan harap kabaikannja sebelum/
 19 nya kita punya pekerdjaan goena adanja./
- /13v/ (blank page)
- /14r/ 1 Kotaradja 4 Djomadilakir/
 2 H 1312/
 3 Tanda saja jang bikin boekoe/
 4 ini dengan permintaan/
 5 Joehan Pahlawan dan Penglima/
 6 Perang besar Gouvernement./
 7 H. Hasan Moetapa/
- /14v/ (blank page)
- /15r/ Almanac for 1893/
 Almanac for 1894/
 /15v/ (flower motif on the back cover)

Translation

“There are two parts of etiquette towards the Dutch people. First, the courtesy of behavior; second, the etiquette of words. The etiquette of behavior has 18 rules:

1. Do not face a Dutch official until you are permitted to do so. We have to choose a time. Do not (face) when he is eating and sleeping except we come because we are called by him.
2. Do not enter before we are ordered to enter. Do not sit before we are ordered to do so with the instructions where we should sit.
3. While sitting, do not look into left and right. The worst is to see or read anything on his table, although we do not understand.
4. Do not sit with your legs crossed or put your knees or legs forward.
5. Do not spit, throw phlegm, or belch, but it does not matter during blowing nose.
6. When you will go back, do not turn back before you say a greeting and ask permission.
7. Do not come before the appointment time and do not be late at the appointed time and condition.
8. Do not bring friends and even our children when we do not tell first.
9. We must be careful, do not adjust the shirt button or *tengkuluk* (veil) in front of him.
10. Do not smoke from our cigarettes.
11. Do not take more than one cigarette.
12. When we were given the cigarettes, we must not hold the cigarettes at the same time.
13. When standing, we must properly face. We keep our feet fixed. Do not stand with akimbo arms or put your hand in your pocket.
14. We must stand up when another Dutch official comes.
15. Do not bring a cane or umbrella into your sitting place.
16. If you meet the official in the streets, you must look to the right side.
17. Do not dare to look at his face except he talks to us.
18. If any other Dutch people want to come, you should ask him, “Can I sit down or go home?”

Meanwhile, the etiquette of words towards the Dutch people contains 18 rules:

1. Do not dare to promise a Dutch official that you cannot fulfill it.
2. If we are called by a Dutch official, do not start to talk, before he tells his purpose.
3. Do not curse anyone, except if you are asked for the information. Do not tell the story that more than said by the people or that you see directly.
4. Do not talk before he finishes telling his story.
5. Do not talk the untrustworthy words, only the truth.
6. Do not interfere with the Dutch official when he is speaking to others, especially in secret.
7. Do not talk to our friends only, especially in secret.
8. Do not forget to understand that we do not talk to him.
9. Do not have more than one request in one question as long as he does not answer.
10. Do not tell the story that is similar to another story that has been told on another occasion, do not tell that to your lord. One story is told two or three times.
11. Do not show your thought or intelligence if you are not asked.
12. Do not criticize the opinion of the people or the lord. Do not criticize your nation, because everyone has to save himself.
13. Do not tell the story told by other people at that time. When we tell the story of the state rules, for instance, we move into the story of the business, except if he starts moving into the story.
14. Whatever he asks or cares about something, do not respond to him before we understand his talk. It is better to ask him to understand first.
15. It is not appropriate to determine the occurrence of the future but use your estimate.
16. It is not appropriate to tell about religious matters especially if we are not experts.
17. Do not determine one pleasure or hatred in one case decided by the religious rule, except after we believe that the case will not disapprove with our opinion in the future.
18. Do not dare to praise someone, do not disapprove of his goodness, and do not pan someone. He certainly has the mistakes, but he still has a mind.

This is what I am writing to fulfill the request of my friend. However, I write a short work that can be used by him every day. I write this work that does not refer to my previous learning but it is just what I have practiced every day. Hence, I do not know whether this work will be received or rejected by him. However, if my friend wants to know the etiquette towards a Dutch lord or when you meet your acquaintances or your familiar friend, it would be better for my friend to learn from the teacher who knows. I do not have enough knowledge because I have not been living long in Aceh. It is what I am writing about 36 etiquettes of behavior and words, of course, there is less or more useful because you have known before. You know more than me that there are some differences between usefulness and unusefulness.

There are differences between the two conditions. If we come directly or we come when called by a Dutch lord; between the secret and not secret; when sitting in the house and the office; when talking about the jobs together and making a tour like a party; between civilian or military people and the private agency. Therefore, there is no doubt that etiquette must be used to humble ourselves. Do not expect his goodness before we have a good job for him.

Kotaraja, 4 Jumadil Akhir 1312 H.

My signature was added to know that I wrote this book with the request of Johan Pahlawan and the Commander of the Great War in the Government.

Haji Hasan Mustapa

Hasan Mustapa and the Politics of Civilizing the Colony

Hasan Mustapa sent various information about the people and culture of Aceh to Snouck Hurgronje during his position as *Hoofd-Penghulu* of Kutaraja (1893-1895). It can be seen in Hasan Mustapa's *Kashful Sarā'ir fī Haqīqati Aceh wa Fidir (Boekoe Rahayat Aceh dan Pidir)* which was written in Kotaraja on July 25, 1894. Some of the transcripts of this manuscript were published in Ajip Rosidi (1989) and studied by Mufti Ali (2004).

According to Mufti Ali, *Kashful Sarā'ir* contains Hasan Mustapa's reflection on the political, social, cultural, and religious situations in Aceh. Mustapa used a question-answer method that spent 190 pages. One of his viewpoints in *Kashful Sarā'ir* is that he looked down at the Acehnese people (Ali 2004:70). According to him, the Acehnese people always deceive each other. They were stubborn and firm. They easily forgot the

kindness of other people and reject their advice. Once they are disturbed by others, they will be angry (Questions 31 and 32).

These characters of Acehese people are related to low awareness, illiteracy, and rejections to be obedient to the ruler and faithful to the Dutch colonial power (Questions 51 and 53). Hasan Mustapa then concluded that the reasons why the Dutch colonial government had difficulty conquering Aceh were the refractory of the Aceh kings and the folly of their people (Question 53).

In the context of civilizing the Acehese people, Hasan Mustapa wrote a manuscript on the etiquette guidebook for Acehese people in facing the Dutch people. He agreed that the Dutch government was a powerful ruler so that the Acehese people had to be ruled by the powerful rulers (the Dutch) to prosper and achieve their glories. For Mustapa, therefore, all Muslims had to be loyal to the Dutch colonial government.

As noted above, the etiquette guidebook was written by Hasan Mustapa at the request of Teuku Umar (1854-1899) when Umar collaborated with the Dutch authorities in Aceh from 1893 to 1896. Teuku Umar as a respected figure had an interest in civilizing the Acehese people. He meant it to civilize them and to be regarded as loyal to the Dutch authorities. Hence, Teuku Umar then asked Hasan Mustapa to write the etiquette guidebook. Hasan Mustapa was regarded as a worthy figure because of his position as Chief-*Penghulu* of Kutaraja who understood both the customs of the Dutch and the culture of the Acehese people.

The request of Teuku Umar to the Dutch colonial government to write the etiquette guidebook was submitted in June 1894. It can be seen from the information of Hasan Mustapa in his letter on June 24, 1894 (Cod Or, 18.097 S16.2.036-39) to his colonial friend, Snouck Hurgronje. Hasan Mustapa informed that he gained the information from Muhammad Mubarak, his friend in the office of *Penghulu* of Kutaraja who said that Teuku Umar came to the office. Teuku Umar asked for advice from the *Penghulu* on three requests to the Dutch officials: to write the rules and law of the country to civilize the Acehese people regarding the etiquette towards the Dutch authorities, to order the masses of Acehese people to stop doing the robbery, and to issue rules regarding local dignitaries and ordinary people. Hasan Mustapa wrote:

ومن فرصة تكو عمر التي قد اخبرنا بما محمد مبارك انه في هذا الدور دخل كنتور وطلب قبول نصيحته بالسرعة في ٣ امور الاول يلزم لكل كبراء اجميه الذي حصل المشاهدة من الدولة شغل مرتب له وهو ترتيب البلد وتأديب رعيته والحكم عليهم في المسائل الهينة فان ما يعرف الاشغال للجهل ومثله فعليه العزل والابدال بمن يصلح.

There is an activity of Teuku Umar that is informed by Muhammad Mubarak (Hasan Mustapa's friend) to me. He said that Teuku Umar came and went around the office (of *Penghulu*). Teuku Umar asked for advice immediately in three matters. First, every Acehese dignitary who got a monthly salary from the Dutch government must work and write the etiquette guidebook on the order and law of the country to civilize their people. If they do not know the work for their follies, they must step down and be replaced by the right person (Moestapa, June 24, 1894).

Hasan Mustapa said in his letter that Teuku Umar insisted that the Dutch officials had to write an etiquette guidebook to regulate the country and educate the Acehese people. According to Mustapa, Teuku Umar affirmed that if the Acehese dignitaries who received the monthly salary from the colonial government were unable to write the etiquette guidebook for their follies, they had to resign and be replaced by others. It was a pressure of Teuku Umar to Hasan Mustapa as a Chief-*Penghulu* of Kutaraja.

This demonstrates the assertiveness of Teuku Umar as a respective Acehese leader in educating and civilizing the Acehese people. He put a bold face on his concern to increase the knowledge of the Acehese people who were regarded as stupid and hick, especially in facing the Dutch officials. The Acehese people in the war situation were generally uneducated, poor, and got no chance for school. Teuku Umar's aspiration in civilizing the Acehese people was in line with Snouck Hurgronje who wished Aceh to be a civilized country and less threatening to the Dutch authorities. Aceh was known for bad images by the European colonizers. The Acehese people were regarded as devout Muslims, fanatic, superstitious, insincere, deceiver, dishonest, riotous, and war lovers (Hurgronje 1985:XX-XXII).

The request of Teuku Umar as a Great commander of Aceh (Johan Pahlawan) was also affirmed by Hasan Mustapa when Umar came to Mustapa's home six months later on December 1894. Mustapa told the reason why he wrote the etiquette guidebook in his letter dated December 4, 1894 (Cod. Or. 18.097 S9.2.006-007):

ويوم ٢ ديسمبر جوهن جائنا في البيت قصد اجاب مسيرة البلد بان الدولة لا تحصل لهم الراحة ما دام لا يشتغل امرين الاول حرب جميع اجميه مرة واحدة واحراق بيوتها لكن لا ليجلس فيها الدولة بل للتأديب فقط والثاني احاطة فر بسر على جميع الليبي وجاب سيرة اسماكم ((واسم توان فومفا)) ومدح تدبيركم على موجب

الخبر و اشتاق بالاتفاق معكم ومقصوده الاعظم مننا ان نكتب له رسالة صغيرة لمعرفة اداب لمصاحبة الدولة
كانه احس عرضه به لانه دائما ما يتعرفني ولا يتكلم لنا خصوصا في امور البلد ثم الفنا له هذه منقولته.

Johan (Teuku Umar) came to me at my home on December 2, (1894). He intended to describe the development of the country (Aceh). He said that the Dutch government cannot establish peacefulness for the Acehnese people as long as they do not do two things. First, the war against Aceh regions entirely and burn their houses. However, it is not to occupy by the Dutch government but to give them the lesson. Second, make the large fence bar over the surrounding area of the concentration line. Teuku Umar also mentioned and praised your name (and the name of Mr. Pomp). He commended your judgment based on the information. He wanted to compromise with you. His biggest purpose, in my opinion, was that I write for him a small essay on the knowledge of etiquette to be friendly with the Dutch government. He made it as if to show me because he does not know me forever. He also did not speak specifically about the country with me. I then wrote for him this copy (of the etiquette guidebook)” (December 4, 1894).

Hasan Mustapa informed Snouck Hurgronje in his letter dated December 2, 1894, that Teuku Umar came to his home. His purpose was to tell about the Aceh situation. According to Teuku Umar, the Dutch government could not establish peacefulness to the Acehnese people as long as they did not do two things. First, serious action had to be taken to the Acehnese residents as a lesson for them. Second, the government had to create a large fence to protect the concentration line area. Teuku Umar also praised Snouck Hurgronje and wanted to meet him. However, his main purpose was to ask Hasan Mustapa to write a small book on the etiquette for anyone friendly to the Dutch government. This work would a guidebook for Teuku Umar and his troops who were on the Dutch colonial side. Hasan Mustapa then wrote the etiquette guidebook for this reason which was then copied and sent to Snouck Hurgronje.

Hasan Mustapa also informed the Dutch Civil and Military Governer in Aceh, Deijkerhoff, about his work in his letter (Cod. Or. 18.097 S.16.3.026-029 dated December 18, 1894). Deijkerhoof praised Hasan Mustapa for his work. He said, “Hopefully, Teuku Umar will realize that he is a bit stupid in terms of etiquette (*qāl, ṭayyib, ḥatta yaḥass anna naḥsah qalīl al-jinān*).”

This shows that Teuku Umar had an aspiration to civilize both himself and his Acehnese people who were friendly to the Dutch authorities concerning the etiquette. His main goal was not only that Aceh would be

orderly and peaceful for the Acehese people, but also he aimed to get trust for himself from the Dutch government. He even rather threatened Hasan Mustapa to write the etiquette guidebook. "If you could not write, it should be better to step down", he said. Deijkerhoff, the Civil and Military Governor in Aceh, supported Hasan Mustapa to write the book so that Teuku Umar and the Acehese people realize that they were stupid in terms of etiquette in facing the Dutch officials.

Sociologically, Hasan Mustapa's etiquette guidebook was a moral education through discipline and attachment to a social group as suggested by Durkheim. It is a morality that is not only related to the external obligations and authorities that work primarily through prohibition and oppression, but also through some elements of control that attach social groups through warmth, volunteerism, and commitment (Bellah 1973:xxxix; Durkheim 1961). Without morality, society will lose solidarity leading to the disconnection of individuals and society. It is understood that George Washington, the first president of America, wrote the rules of civility and decent behavior, the rules of etiquette and ethics in the 18th century to civilize Americans to bridge class differences in American society (Hemphill 2006:345-72).

However, in the perspective of the history of colonialism, the etiquette guidebook marks what Edward Said calls a relationship between culture and imperialism, between Western modern metropolitan and national boundaries in the colonies (Said 1994:xi-xiii). The Dutch colonial government justified social hierarchy and exclusion that were legitimized by race theory in anthropology. They portrayed it colonies as inferior in the framework of white versus non-white. Therefore, white culture was regarded as the basis of the legitimacy of colonial government, law, economics, science, language, art, literature (Gordon 2017).

One of the forms of white culture is the aesthetic that is believed to improve, refine and elevate the knowledge and mind of people. The West is generally known to write the mysterious Eastern world with primitive and barbarous nations. Hasan Mustapa's etiquette guidebook illustrates the colonial West's effort to civilize its Eastern colony by using the hands of the colonized people.

Conclusion

This article has demonstrated that the colonial informants and collaborators played an important role in strengthening the honor of colonizers. The Dutch colonial government not only strengthened its power through

military action but also disciplined its colony in the Netherland East Indies through some guidelines on behavior and speaking etiquette as seen in the case of Aceh. The people in Aceh were expected to obey the etiquette to be civilized persons. Hasan Mustapa who served as Chief-penghulu of Kutaraja had an important role in this civilizing mission of the Acehnese people. His Malay guidebook on etiquette, *Kehormatan kepada Orang Belanda* (Cod. Or. 18.097) which was sent to his colonial friend, Snouck Hurgronje, shows that the native officials had an important role in maintaining the honor of the Dutch colonial authorities in their colony. The native officials bridged the interests of colonizers and their colonies in the Netherland East Indies.

Notes

Mengadab, that means “*menghadap*” (to face)

² *Pertoendjoekannya*, that means “*petunjuknya*” (his instruction)

³ *Atawa*, originally from Sundanese language that means “*atau*” (or).

⁴ *Lat, a* terlambat; kasip; (to late), see Tim Penyusun (2008:886).

⁵ *Tengkoeloek, n 1* kain kepala; kerudungl destar; 2 kain penutup kepala atau muka; cadar; (veil), see Tim Penyusun (2008:1680).

⁶ *Sak, n 1* saku; kantong (baju dsb), (pocket), see Tim Penyusun (2008:1342).

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