

Social Status Shift and Collapse of *Uleebalang* in Aceh of 1900-1946

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Abstract : *This paper explores the Social Status Shift and Collapse of Uleebalang in Aceh of 1900-1946. The conflict between ulama and uleebalang increasingly entered a critical phase, especially after news of Japan's defeat. This research is conducted by using qualitative research design. The results shows that the surrender of the uleebalang did not dampen the ulama's determination to continue to expel the Dutch from the land of Aceh in various regions, both in Aceh City, Pidie, North Aceh, West Aceh, Central Aceh and Southeast Aceh fall on the battlefield. The Aceh War had a great impact on the people of Aceh, especially the scholars. The direct impact of the Aceh war can be seen from the division of ulama into three groups, there are 1) The ulama who was the Kadli in the government of the uleebalang who recognized Dutch sovereignty; 2) The ulama who only give religious lessons in dayah-dayah; and 3) The ulama who still continued the struggle against the Dutch. In addition, the fundamental impact is the strengthening of the position of ulama in Acehnese society. Another impact is the widening of the distance between the ulama and the uleebalang. The Dutch tried to break the Acehnese community through politics.*

Keyword : *Social Status Shift; Uleebalang; Aceh*

I. Introduction

Since the Dutch could take control of Aceh, the position of the *ulama* began to shift, because the Dutch surrendered government affairs to *ullebalang* (*hulubalang*), while the *ulama* were only given the *qadhi* position (the judge who ruled the case). Meanwhile the *ulama* continued to struggle with the people to expel the invaders and to stand up as the leaders of the people informally. Thus, the leaders of the state and politics in Aceh changed until the Japanese occupation. At the beginning of the independence of the Republic of Indonesia, a number of scholars had been able to fill important posts in government in Aceh, even most of them were charismatic formal leaders in the midst of society.

The role of *ulama* directly in politics also has an impact on the spread of Islamic political morals in the world of politics in our nation. Especially when the *ulama* became leaders and leaders in the world of politics in a society, Islamic political morals that he carried out would easily become a political moral in the politics of the community in general.

The mention of *uleebalang* (or *hulubalang* in Malay) actually has a number of interpretations in the system of customary governance in Aceh, especially in the system of governance of the Sultanate of Aceh Darussalam during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636), and also in the governance of other Malay kingdoms generally.

In a special context, the *uleebalang* is an administrative position given to people from aristocratic groups in Acehnese society to lead a state or *nanggroe*, namely district-level territory in the present structure of Indonesian government. *Uleebalang* is known as *Teuku* for men or *Cut* for women. However, in its later development, the *uleebalang* was interpreted more broadly, namely the position of high official in the government of the kingdoms in Aceh, both before and after the arrival of Islam.

The average *Uleebalang* consists of people who are open and cosmopolitan. Their high level of education and their extensive association make the *uleebalang* easy to socialize and include being open to receiving outside influences. During the Dutch colonial period, the *uleebalang* became a party on the front line in establishing relations with foreigners.

The role played by the *uleebalang* actually made their image in some circles, especially among the *ulamas*, to be bad and even often accused of being traitors or henchmen of invaders. Another factor that was not less decisive was the policy of *divide et impera* or the strategy of splitting which was applied by the Dutch during colonialism in Aceh. The agreement on a political contract between the Dutch and the kingdom indeed often involved the *uleebalang*.

The *Uleebalang* which is believed to be *zelfbestuurder* in the sultanate period is an absolute small 'kings'. They held power from generation to generation in the name of the sultan. But the longer the power held by the *Uleebalang*, the bond becomes weak and then decides and separates from the sultan's government secretly. This separation is of course facilitating the invaders who entered Aceh to influence the small kings. The *Uleebalang* which previously worked hand in hand with the *ulamas* fighting the Dutch colonizers, gradually changed and took sides and were loyal to the Netherlands. While the *ulama* never accepted Dutch rule. Therefore, it is not surprising that in March 1942 when a rebellion against the Netherlands and the *ulama* who joined the All Aceh *Ulama* Association (PUSA) allowed and cooperated with Japan to enter Aceh. These factors continue to exacerbate the relations between the two parties. *Ulama* finally made a decision to fight the *Uleebalang* with the intention of removing the system of feudal government together with Dutch rule when the Pacific war broke out.

Even though the *uleebalang* was the ruler but the position of the *ulama* was no less important, this was understandable because the life of the Acehnese people was dominated by religious values so that the existence of *ulama* was very close to people's lives. Politically the three pillars, sultan, *ulama*, *uleebalang* are interrelated and influence each other. The Sultan needs the *uleebalang* as a liaison with ordinary people.

The award enjoyed by the *Ulama* in this case does not only come from the upper classes of society, but also from ordinary people. Even though those who became rulers were the *Uleebalang*, the position of the *Ulama* was no less important. According to Misri A. Muchsin, the position of *Ulama* in Acehnese society was so strategic, namely not only as religious leaders, but also as political leaders and war leaders. The Dutch War in Aceh had shown that the *Ulama* were at the forefront of mobilizing forces to fight Dutch colonialism in Aceh. Even the *Ulama* who have instilled the ideology of *sabil* war to the community, especially to the Aceh army. This fact is understandable, because in a society dominated by spiritual values, then by itself the position of the *Ulama* is very close to the community, it can even be said to be in the heart.

II. Literature Review

2.1 *Ulama*

Etymologically "*Ulama*" in Arabic is the plural form of "*alim*", which means people who are knowledgeable, scientists, scholars, experts, or experts in the field of Islamic religion. This predicate is of course given to someone who truly masters a particular field in Islamic studies. This great achievement is not easily obtained, but given to someone who has been proven to master certain aspects in the field of Islamic studies. Because of the weight of his expertise, a person can be trusted to have expertise and authority in the field of expertise.

In the Indonesian context, scholars also have different names in each region such as; Kyai (Javanese), Ajengan (Sunda), Tengku (Aceh), Sheikh (North Sumatra / Tapanuli) and Tuan Guru (Nusa Tenggara and Kalimantan). Science is *masdar taukid* from the verb '*alima*' which means knowledge. Science is different from *ma'rifah* which also means "knowledge". In the original sense, the first term. Refers to knowledge of the highest quality which can sometimes be obtained only intuitively, while the second term refers to knowledge in general. In classical usage, *ilm* does not have the plural in accordance with the unity of the concept of *ilm* itself in the earliest times of Islam. However, in post-classical Arabic, the plural form is introduced, that is '*ulum*', which refers to various '*ilms*' of several types of knowledge.

2.2 Position of *Ulama* as Members of the Community

Here it can be emphasized that the position and role of the *Ulama* is very important and focused on two things. First, they weigh the expertise and *ulama* of each of them, and at the same time act as "enlighteners" in the minds of the people. The scholars, in accordance with their respective disciplines play an active role in "educating" the lives of the people. The thought of the scholars became scientific reference material that was always held and continuously explored to always be developed creatively. Legal fatwas produced by the *Ulama* have always been a reference to knowledge, have become the basis of moral guidance and become a legal reference so that the people are not swayed in uncertainty, especially in the face of the complexity of social problems that always arise in this life in accordance with the pace of modernity.

Second, the central position and strategic role of *Ulama* is as a role model for the people. Moral quality that is well demonstrated and exemplified by the *Ulama* reflects the value and civilization of a Nation. Indonesian Muslims and Nations are currently experiencing a wave of transformation from traditional societies to modern societies or from agrarian societies to industrial societies. In such circumstances, there is a flow of struggles and struggles in values in various aspects of social life.

With a good, noble and noble moral example of these *Ulama*, it will get examples and moral guidance so that the people will not lose direction and control in navigating the ark of this life. Yusny Saby in his book *A profile of the Ulama in the Acehese Society*, states that there are three functions of *Ulama* in community life, namely as an ordinary person (community member), as heir to the prophets (*warasatul anbiyaa*), and as a mother (*pengayom*) of the community.

2.3 *Ulama* as Qadhi (Chair of the Religious Courts)

The separation between religion and state in the period after the leadership of *khulafa ar-Rashidin* became clearer with the position of the *ulama* as the king's advisor (*Qadhi*), he served as a judge in every dispute resolution, especially those related to religion. The judges' decisions became a fatwa that was used as a reference in a government process led by a caliph. This continued until the end of the Islamic Caliphate.

Furthermore, after the collapse of the Islamic Caliphate, the Islamic world was in the grip of European colonialism so that it was inevitable that Muslims would be kept away from the *ulamas*. Although efforts to position *ulama* as partners of the country's leaders continued to be carried out, the condition of the colonized Muslims forced Muslims to further narrow the role and position of the *ulama*. Then what happens is that the *ulama* is only limited to giving fatwas

in household matters, inheritance and civil matters. While broader issues relating to statehood can hardly access it anymore.

This situation is the background for some scholars in India to try to fight for the existence of *ulama*, besides trying to protect Muslims from various pressures from internal and external enemies. So in 1947 Ali Jinnah a scholar from India founded the State of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. This effort is based on the initial principle that the role and position of the *ulama* should not be separated from government, in this case the Islamic government should properly make the *ulama* as a guideline in the implementation of its policies.

After that, following the Shi'a group which was pioneered by *Ayatullah Khumaini* with its main struggle to build an Islamic government which was the religion of making the role of the *ulama* as the central figure in every state policy. The Islamic Revolution which he moved in 1979 resulted in the formation of the State of the Islamic Republic of Iran. *Wilayatul faqih* as the *ulama* assembly became a central position in the Iranian government.

From the phenomenon of the two models of Islamic governance, several opinions emerged among Muslim modernist scholars regarding the position and role of the *ulama*, there were two opinions on matters; this, is he just an advisor to the head of state? Or also become an executor in state policy? The first opinion stated that the *ulama* were enough to become *ustadz*, *buya* or preachers who came to worshipers or worshipers who came to study or asked for a fatwa. The matter of his life, leave it to his other initiatives, or his side profession or his other main profession. For this one understanding, scholars are not a profession but a non-economic service function. In fact there is an assumption that the *ulama* are not worth paying if they come to give a recitation. Recitation is only a sacred task.

III. Discussion

The conflict between *ulama* and *ulebalang* increasingly entered a critical phase, especially after news of Japan's defeat. The news that Japan's defeat in the new Aceh was officially announced on August 23, 1945 and only on August 25, the Japanese government issued a declaration to all Acehnese who stated that the war was over and Japan had surrendered to the allies. On August 27, allied warplanes dropped leaflets stating that the war had finished Japan had claimed defeat.

Since then the Acehnese have argued that the Dutch will come on behalf of the allies. Therefore the group that blatantly fought the Dutch at the time of the Japanese arrived, in this case the PUSA became anxious. Whereas the group that was excluded from the Japanese occupation at that time, namely the *uleebalang* felt happy and prepared to welcome the arrival of the Dutch.

For the general population in this area at that time it was an inevitable fact that the recapitulation of Japan meant the return of the Dutch to the Aceh region. It does not occur to them that with Japanese recapitulation the possibilities in relation to changes in the state constitution will arise. The people in this waiting period are divided into three groups, first, the biggest group that awaits everything calmly does not take the attention that might occur. This group is a group that is not politically oriented and accepts everything with open arms. Second, groups consisting of those who were very happy over the recapitulation of Japan, this group aspires to return Dutch rule to the homeland. In this group are those who during the Dutch had a high position that gave them the opportunity to live in luxury. Japan's recapitulation of this group meant the return of Dutch power and the return of Dutch power to the return of their

lives filled with pleasure, splendor, and luxury, they were the *uleebalang*. Third, groups consisting of those who even at birth appear calm, but their hearts are in an agitated state.

They were worried about the consequences that would later arise if Japan disappeared and the Dutch again occupied this area. In the beginning there did not appear to be anything that would become the subject of a dispute between the two groups, but gradually things appeared to cause conflict between one another. The group that wanted the return of Dutch rule began to try to collect materials regarding the behavior and actions of the latter groups during the Japanese occupation. They began to carry out tactics to find out and record the names of everyone who had collaborated with Japan and everything that could put pressure on this collector. The reaction from the tricked party arises immediately so the situation becomes precarious.

The activity of the *uleebalang* group as mentioned above by the *ulama* group is seen as an indication that the *uleebalang's* efforts which for some time after the Aceh war had betrayed the homeland by siding with the Dutch, wanted to betray for the second time. The situation became tense when each party arranged a line, preparing to face the possibility that would occur. However, this situation did not last long because the youths who worked at the Domei Japanese news agency in secret managed to hear the news of the Indonesian proclamation of independence.

Furthermore this news quickly developed among government agencies. News of the proclamation of Indonesian independence was immediately welcomed by all Acehnese people. This news was also welcomed by the clerics. In a short time they became Republicans. Teungku Daud Beureueh as chairman of the PUSA called on all people to prepare to defend the republic and eradicate the Dutch lackeys from Aceh. Red and white flags were immediately raised at PUSA offices.

The use of the name PUSA slowly began to recede and changed the term republicans or revolutionaries. On the contrary the feudalists (*uleebalang*) were named NICA or counter-revolutionaries. The scholars as one of the influential groups in Acehnese society saw that the proclamation of Indonesian independence was something that neither Japan nor the Netherlands liked, they openly wanted to restore their colonial rule with the power of firearms.

The *uleebalang* who had been accustomed to standing since the era of the kingdom of Aceh faced with these changes gave rise to greater suspicion towards the *ulama* group. The *Uleebalang* feels as if his position will be displaced and their power will collapse at any time. The *ulama* group was seen as the main source of their collapse. The Republican government formed in Kutaraja in early October 1945 showed collaboration between the *ulama* and *uleebalang* who were anti-Dutch. It seems that the *ulamas* allowed the *uleebalang* to occupy important positions in the local government due to the clerics' concern about the return of the Dutch.

Teuku Nya Arif *uleebalang* from a *nangroe* in large Aceh became a resident of Aceh, in his staff including PUSA chairman Daud Beureueh who became head of the Office of Religious Affairs and a member of the regional national committee. However, competition between *ulama* and *uleebalang* continued in the Republican ranks, especially among the youth. When his resident Arif founded the API (Indonesian Youth Force) which was a national army embryo in the Aceh region, his officer corps was dominated by *Gyugun* officers who were oriented to the *uleebalang* and not to PUSA.

The establishment of the API was immediately followed by the Indonesian Youth Association which later became the Indonesian Socialist Youth which was controlled by young

people oriented to PUSA. This republican government, which was greatly influenced by the nobility in Aceh, failed to get support from many other *uleebalang*. Therefore a series of physical conflicts broke out called the *cumbok* war.

President Soekarno named the event a social revolution because it involved two national forces in conflict with one another. In the event involved *ulama* and *uleebalang* elements, the *ulama* sided with the general youth and they opposed the behavior of the *uleebalang* which was unfair. The *uleebalang* and their families are in one camp with people who have been benefited from the hereditary system for generations. *Cumbok* is the name of the sub-district included in the Lam Meulo marriage district of North Aceh.

Before the independence of the Republic of Indonesia, Aceh Pidie included three municipalities, namely Sigli, Lam Meulo, and Meuredu, in the period of the North Aceh republic divided into three districts

- a. Aceh Pidie, consisting of Sigli, Lam Meulo and Meuredu marriages
- b. North Aceh, consisting of the marriage of Lhok Seumawe, Lhok Sukun and Bireuen
- c. Central Aceh, consisting of kawedanan Takengon, Kuta Cane and Blang Kejeren.

The last sub-district head of Cumbok in the Netherlands called Zelfberstuuder Van Cumbok was *uleebalang* Teuku Muhammad Daud who was known as Teuku Cumbok during the Japanese occupation who became Gunco Lam Meulo later when Indonesia became independent, because it desperately needed people who had expertise in government so he was appointed became Lam Meulo wedana and received the title Sri Muda Pahlawan Bintara Cumbok.

David Cumbok was one of several *uleebalang* who blatantly showed a lack of support for Indonesian independence. He hesitated and saw that the Indonesian nation was not yet able to be independent, because we were not yet mature and as soon as possible the Dutch would return to Indonesia to rule.

When receiving a wire letter from the Aceh Resident who explained that Indonesia had been independent and asked to raise a red and white flag at Lam Meulo, the letter was laughed at and torn apart. Likewise, the declaration and news of the independence of the Republic of Indonesia which were posted on the streets of Lam Meulo by young people of BRI (Barisaan Republik Indonesia) were torn apart. On October 12, 1945 in the office of Bunco Lam Meulo, a red and white flag was raised by the ranks of the people, but Teuku Cumbok ordered him to immediately lower it.

Teuku Daud Cumbok is also known as a person who likes to act rather than diplomacy, so it seems arrogant and like to take light of others. As seen when holding a night market in Lam Meulo in November complete with gambling arena. At the party he drunk intoxicated regardless of the advice of the invited scholars. Even tend to harass by saying "I want to repent so that I become God's beloved person like Teungku but let the night market run out, and let the world first enjoy pleasure".

The perfection of this BPK weaponry was as a result of the flow of financial assistance from other parties mostly from the *uleebalang* throughout Aceh, in addition to some weapons obtained from the Japanese. The power of the BPK has a hundred weapons including cannons and mortars. This line was formed from former KNIL members who were trained to use weapons by Japan. The BPK is led by Teuku Mahmud which is then grouped into three units.

- a. The line of *Cap Bintang*, with the main task of facing the people's resistance against the authority of the *uleebalang*

- b. The *Cap Sauh* line, with assignments in finance to finance their movements, for that they burned houses and robbed people of their assets against the *uleebalang*
- c. The Tombak *Cap Barisan*, which was tasked with arresting the *ulema* and the PRI leaders who opposed it, would obstruct them.

Seeing the preparations that were very far from the *uleebalang* and worried that the *uleebalang's* actions would cause a similar reaction from the *uleebalang*, the Kutaraja government tried to resolve the dispute peacefully. But the effort was unsuccessful. Even the Barriers to Security Guard were trained until near November 1945, so they were ready to attack and confront their opponents. On October 25, 1945 the *uleebalang* began acting by ordering the arrest and detention of several young men assigned to guard the post office and telephone office in Lam Meulo.

Then on the night of November 8, 1945, the order of the *Uleebalang* Headquarters was carried out seizure and mastery of the places for meeting young people in Lam Meulo. Then cleaning the city of Lam Meulo was carried out by members and leaders of the independence fighters. The youths were no longer permitted to live in their own courtyard, so that it could be said that the *Uleebalang* Headquarters had succeeded in destroying the movements of their opponents in Lam Meulo and that they could be completely controlled.

This has aroused the anger of the people who disagree with the actions of the *uleebalang* headquarters. As a ruler, Daud Cumbok has the right to be responsible for maintaining security and order as a whole, therefore he has spread guard and banned outsiders from entering Lam Meulo and detained people who opposed him, including the PUSA youth.

Besides that he forced Japanese commanders to hand over weapons to the BPK. In the Lam Meulo area there are indeed many Japanese armory warehouses, food warehouses and clothing warehouses, so Daud Cumbok as the Gunco area can easily get these Japanese deposits.

The actions taken by Teuku Daud Cumbok and the BPK certainly caused disappointment and concern as well as the anger of the PUSA youth and scholars. Therefore the PUSA cleric and API leader urged the Japanese commander not to hand over weapons to the *uleebalang* party which was deemed to endanger public security. After the *uleebalang* succeeded in taking control of Lam Meulo as the base of defense, they mobilized troops to take control of Garot which was the center of the struggle of the PUSA and PRI. From Garot they planned an attack on a strategic Sigli, by mastering Sigli transportation in all majors can be mastered.

The atmosphere became increasingly tense when the BPK and a large number of residents around Sigli followed the *uleebalang* complete with weapons entering the city of Sigli on 12 November around 12pm and took preparations to take control of the city of Sigli by placing guards at strategic locations and holding traffic control and holding supervision of everyone who goes in and out of the city of Sigli. Seeing this situation, the PRI leader mobilized his followers from Garot and Gigieng to surround the city of Sigli.

Thousands of people were around the city of Sigli on alert, while the troops inside the city were completely besieged. In a critical situation like this Teuku Nyak Arif resident of Aceh sent Syamaun Gaharu with a small force of API / TKR to try to find a peaceful solution. Also came the Commander of the Polim representing the Aceh government and Teuku Jhohan Meuraxa as deputy governor of Sumatra. In the negotiations held by the disputing parties, an agreement was finally reached that the weapons were handed over on December 4 to the TKR.

When paying attention to the *ulama* leadership in mobilizing anti-*Cumbok* forces it has become a great force that has succeeded *in* destroying the *uleebalang's* power throughout Aceh.

After the *Cumbok* war ended, the position of the *uleebalang* in Aceh declined. His position as head of ethnic, the head of government that he held for decades, even for centuries has now turned to the clergy who won the war. The cleansing movement against the *uleebalang* elements did not stop until just in the Pidie region, but extended throughout the Aceh region. Opposing groups of the *uleebalang* conducted a coup against the civilian and military government of the Acehnese residence. Teungku Amir Husin Al Mujahid has mobilized his followers to arrest all *uleebalang*, including those who sit in government and the army.

Teuku Pidie who was assistant to the resident of East Aceh and Teuku Alibasyah Wedana Langsa was arrested who was later killed by the PUSA group on charges of supporting *Cumbok*.

On February 14, 1946, Teuku Panglima Polim held a meeting with *uleebalang* XXII Mukim in Lam Sie. In the meeting a resolution was issued

- a. That the hereditary thing has become a habit for centuries for the *uleebalang* to rule the country today is no longer compatible with the times.
- b. That we are *uleebalang* citizens of the Republic of Indonesia and respect the sovereignty of the people.
- c. That to create a perfect government atmosphere we decided:
 - 1) Appealing to the government so that the people in XXII Mukim are given the right to determine their heads and heads down.
 - 2) All *uleebalang* (including the *sagi* commander) should now be allowed by the government to put their respective positions in place to give the opportunity for the people to choose their heads
 - 3) Delivering this resolution to His Excellency His Excellency Mr. President of the Republic of Indonesia, Your Excellency the Great Lord of the Governor of Sumatra, His Excellency the Great Lord of the Resident of Aceh, and broadcasting to all Indonesian people with newspaper bro.

Many of the *uleebalang-uleebalang* descended themselves from their positions, some of which were revealed in the cleansing movement carried out by the People's Struggle Army (TPR) in March 1946 under the leadership of Husin Al Mujahid. With the end of the social revolution in Aceh, the system of feudal government which was entrenched in Acehnese society became the backbone of the Dutch East Indies government in Aceh. On the ruins of the feudal system, a democratic system has been established by the people, from the people to the people, which is now enjoyed by all the people of society from various groups and layers.

In every *afdeeling* (regency), now the scholars are leaning towards the PUSA who occupies the most important positions, with non-Acehnese employees and nationalist youth who can work with them. The new regional government set up a commission to investigate the wealth of the *uleebalang* who died killed as traitors, especially in Pidie. About 100 million rupiahs are estimated to have fallen into the hands of the conquerors, and some are still in their hands in return for their services or in compensation for the losses they experienced in the *uleebalang's* former power. But most of it has been submitted to the government which is one source of wealth to pay salaries for employees and the army. The vast lands that were once owned by *uleebalang* returned to the farmers who used to hold them seized by their rulers. Some remain administered by the government, and some are returned to the surviving *uleebalang* families.

The arrests also opened up opportunities to make changes at the village level. Landscape which was formerly ruled by the *uleebalang* on the basis of an absolute system of small type

monarchies under the Dutch environment, was overhauled into sub-districts governed by the *camat* on the basis of a democratic system that originated from the 1945 Constitution.

Each *uleebalang* has been replaced by one committee consisting of five people, who work during the transitional period for several months, before village heads can be elected in each village. Many disliked *keuchik* were replaced, especially in Pidie and the north coast. *Ulama* and religious teachers were the place to ask villagers to get guidance and guidance during this extraordinary new period. The direct result of this event was a refresher and democratization of the Acehnese people, everything that had become a thorn in the eyes of the Acehnese during the rule of the *uleebalang* in the villages was abolished. Agriculture, plantations, farms are cultivated by the people themselves.

The birth of this new form of bureaucracy has changed the size of the power and status of a leader. The leadership of the Acehnese community was previously centered on the *uleebalang*. The leaders under him such as Teuku imeum, the head of the *mukim* and the *keuchik* used the power of the *uleebalang* in order to carry out their influence in society. The leadership process took place based on kinship and descent systems specifically for the *uleebalang* and the appointed teuku imeum of the descendants of the nobility.

While the *keuchik* itself was chosen by the *uleebalang*. However, it was unavoidable that the influence of the conflict between the *ulama*, especially the PUSA clerics and the *uleebalang*, had led to a change of formal leadership from the aristocratic class to the *ulama* group. The occurrence of massacres in the conflict has changed the status of the *Uleebalang* family no more and no less as one of the various social groups in the community, different from their previous status as the main people and nobles.

IV. Conclusion

In addition to mobilizing power, *ulama* were also directly involved in wars in various regions, although many *uleebalang* had recognized Dutch sovereignty in Aceh. The surrender of the *uleebalang* did not dampen the *ulama's* determination to continue to expel the Dutch from Aceh land in various regions, both in Aceh Besar, Pidie, North Aceh, West Aceh, Central Aceh and Southeast Aceh *ulama* together with the people who did not recognize Dutch sovereignty tried to continue to fight even willingly fall on the battlefield.

The Aceh War had a great impact on the people of Aceh, especially the scholars. The direct impact of the Aceh war can be seen from the division of *ulama* into three groups, there are 1) *Ulama* who was the *Kadli* in the government of the *uleebalang* who recognized Dutch sovereignty; 2) *Ulama* who only give religious lessons in *dayah-dayah*; and 3) *Ulama* who continued their struggle against the Dutch. In addition, the fundamental impact is the strengthening of the position of *ulama* in Acehnese society. Another impact is the widening of the distance between the *ulama* and the *uleebalang*. The Dutch tried to break the Acehnese community through politics.

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