

# The Concept of Ulama and Umara in the Qanun Meukuta Alam: a Cultural Perspective

Achmad Zaki<sup>1</sup>, Muhammad Fadli Muslimin<sup>2</sup>, Aris Munandar<sup>3</sup>, Yuni Saputri<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1,2,3</sup> Institut Seni Budaya Indonesia (ISBI) Aceh

<sup>4</sup> Universitas Jabal Ghafur

Email: [achmadzaki@isbiaceh.ac.id](mailto:achmadzaki@isbiaceh.ac.id)

---

## Article Info

### Article history:

Received 05 11, 2025

Revised 07 03, 2025

Accepted 08 20, 2025

---

### Keywords:

Ulama;

Umara;

Qanun Meukuta Alam;

Structural Functionalism;

Aceh Sultanate.

### Kata Kunci:

Ulama;

Umara;

Qanun Meukuta Alam;

Fungsionalisme Struktural;

Kesultanan Aceh.

---

## ABSTRACT

The pinnacle of Aceh's political and cultural prosperity occurred during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607–1636), who implemented structural reforms through the *Qanun Meukuta Alam*, a royal legal code regulating socio-cultural order, law, and governance. This Qanun reflects a synergy between *Ulama* and *Umara*, two key elements of Islamic leadership in Aceh. This study employs a descriptive qualitative method, with data collected through library research. To address the two main issues of this study namely, the nature of the relationship between *Ulama* and *Umara* within the *Qanun Meukuta Alam* and how the structure of the kingdom supported this relationship the study applies Talcott Parsons' Structural Functionalism theory, focusing on the AGIL framework. The findings based on the AGIL analysis indicate that the adaptation process undertaken by Sultan Iskandar Muda as *Umara* involved incorporating *Ulama* as partners in governance and appointing the *Panglima Polem* as the holder of formative authority based on the counsel of the *Ulama*. The goal attainment pursued by the *Umara* was the implementation of laws grounded in Islamic law (*sharia*) in order to establish a prosperous society.

## ABSTRAK

Puncak kejayaan Aceh terjadi pada masa pemerintahan Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607–1636), yang melakukan reformasi struktural melalui Qanun Meukuta Alam, sebuah undang-undang kerajaan yang mengatur tatanan sosial budaya, hukum, dan pemerintahan. Dalam Qanun ini tercermin sinergi antara Ulama dan Umara, dua elemen kunci dalam kepemimpinan Islam di Aceh. Metode yang digunakan dalam kajian ini adalah kualitatif deskriptif. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan telaah pustaka. Untuk menjawab dua permasalahan dalam kajian ini, yaitu bagaimana hubungan Ulama dan Umara dalam Qanun Meukuta Alam dan bagaimana struktur Kerajaan mendukung hubungan Ulama dan Umara digunakan teori teori Fungsionalisme Struktural Talcott Parsons dengan fokus kajian pada konsep AGIL. Hasil kajian dengan konsep AGIL terhadap Qanun Meukuta Alam menunjukkan bahwa proses adaptasi yang dilakukan oleh Iskandar Muda sebagai Umara adalah memasukkan Ulama sebagai mitra Umara dalam pemerintahan. Dan menetapkan Panglima Polem sebagai pemegang hak formatur yang berlandaskan nasehat ulama. Goal attainment yang dituju oleh Umara adalah menjalankan undang-undang yang berlandaskan syariat Islam untuk terciptanya masyarakat yang sejahtera.

---

This is an open access article under the [CC BY-SA](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/) license.



## 1. INTRODUCTION

Aceh Darussalam was a kingdom that occupied a strategic position at the northern tip of Sumatra. Its coastal location naturally positioned the kingdom as a maritime axis of the time. Maritime activities and trade became the primary factors driving the advancement of the Aceh Darussalam Kingdom. The abundance of spices and the hospitality of its people served as strong attractions for foreign merchants to stop and conduct trade at Acehnese ports. Trading vessels from India, Arabia, Turkey, Persia, Portugal, and various other parts of the world converged in Aceh. This condition greatly benefited Aceh, both in terms of cultural enrichment and economic prosperity.

Trade also served as the main channel for the introduction of Islam to Aceh. In its early development, Islam was introduced by merchants from Arabia and Gujarat, India. In subsequent periods, *Ulama* from various regions contributed significantly to the dissemination and deepening of Islamic teachings. Over time, the *Ulama* emerged as central figures in the political and social development of the Aceh Kingdom in the periods that followed.

The Aceh Darussalam Kingdom, originally known as the Darussalam Kingdom, was founded by Meurah Johan. Meurah Johan was a nobleman of the Linge Gayo Kingdom who studied Islamic sciences at *Dayah Cot Kala* under the leadership of Syaikh Abdullah Kan'an, a scholar of Arab descent from Kan'an (Hasjmiy, 1983). When Chinese forces attacked the Indra Purba Kingdom, Meurah Johan joined the military forces to repel the invasion and successfully defeated the Chinese troops. As a token of gratitude, King Maharaja Indra Sakti converted to Islam and married his daughter, Princess Blieng Indra Kesumawati, to Meurah Johan. After the death of King Maharaja Indra Sakti, Meurah Johan was appointed king and bestowed the title Sultan Alaidin Johan Syah.

In 1511, small kingdoms located along the eastern coast of Sumatra came under Portuguese control. To prevent these smaller kingdoms from falling under Portuguese domination, Ali Mughayat Syah, who was then the ruler of the Aceh Kingdom, conquered these territories and incorporated them into Aceh (Djajaningrat, 1983). From that moment onward, the kingdom expanded significantly and became known as Aceh Darussalam.

The Aceh Darussalam Sultanate reached its golden age during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda. Genealogically, Iskandar Muda was the nephew of Sultan Muda, also known as Sultan Ali Riayat Syah, who ruled from 1604 to 1607. Sultan Iskandar Muda ascended the throne of the Aceh Darussalam Sultanate in 1607 and ruled until 1636. During his reign, Iskandar Muda implemented numerous visionary reforms, including the reorganization of governmental structures and royal administration. Among the significant reforms introduced were the establishment of a Supreme Court to adjudicate legal disputes and the formation of the *Baitul Mal*, along with the *Balai Furdah*, which was responsible for collecting port taxes (Langen, 2002).

These reformative ideas were codified by Iskandar Muda in the Acehnese legal code known as the *Qanun Meukuta Alam*. Within this qanun, Iskandar Muda delineated the duties of various institutions and explicitly regulated the role of the *Ulama* within governance, enabling their integration with the *Umara*.

The term *Umara* originates from the Arabic language and is commonly understood to mean leaders or rulers. Terminologically, *Umara* is the broken plural form of *amir*, which denotes a king or leader in the singular form. Etymologically, *umara* derives from the root word *amara*, a verb meaning to command or to govern (Yunus, tt). In Acehnese society, the king was revered as the leader of *adat* (customary law), assisted by ministers in formulating

and enacting Acehese customary laws, which were subsequently applied to the populace. The royal palace, known in the Acehese language as *dalem*, served as the king's residence and was regarded as a symbol of royal authority, reflecting a long-standing tradition in which the monarchy dedicated itself to the development of Acehese culture and civilization (Hugronje, 1985).

The success of a kingdom can be observed through the condition of social order among its people. This is highly dependent on the king's commitment to governance and his responsiveness to the conditions of society. The king occupies a very vital position, serving as the central authority in distributing his will from the level of the *ulee balang* down to the common people. Therefore, the king requires other elements to assist him in carrying out his duties. In this context, he needs individuals who are wise and judicious, one of whom is represented by the figure of the *Ulama* (Gazali, 2016).

Sultan Iskandar Muda, as an *Umara* in a state founded upon Islamic law (*Sharia*), positioned the *Ulama* as partners in leadership. The presence of the *Ulama* among the rulers of the state provided positive energy. Through the religious knowledge possessed by the *Ulama*, both leaders and the people were guided toward moral virtue. Meanwhile, the authority held by the *Umara* enabled progress in the social and political spheres. This relationship is articulated in the *Qanun Meukuta Alam*, particularly in Chapter Two, which discusses the moral conduct of the king. It states that every king or ruler of a state should stand firmly and in unity with his people, seek the affection and loyalty of the populace, and show special respect toward the learned *Ulama* (Daud & Sakti, 2010). Linguistically, the term *Ulama* is derived from the Arabic root '*alima, ya'lamu, 'ilman, 'ālimun*, which denotes knowledge and learned individuals.

The term *Ulama* is an *isim fā'il* (active participle), whose plural form is *ulama*. An *isim fā'il* denotes an actor or doer; in other words, a person who possesses knowledge, or a scholar. Broadly speaking, *ulama* refers to scholars who are not necessarily classified by religion; they are intellectuals who understand and possess knowledge of the Qur'an (Ismuha, 1967). However, in the context of Indonesia and Aceh in particular the term *ulama* is used exclusively to refer to Islamic religious scholars. During the period of the Aceh Darussalam Sultanate, the role of the *ulama* expanded significantly. Initially confined to religious affairs, their function gradually shifted into the socio-communal sphere.

As noted by van Langen, Acehese *ulama* at first played roles limited strictly to religious domains. Their activities were closely associated with mosques and religious institutions. A notable transformation occurred during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda, marked by the establishment of a geographical-administrative concept known as *mukim* (Langen 1888).

The *ulama* also constituted a group with extensive access across social strata. Some *ulama* resided within the royal palace, where they provided religious instruction to the Sultan's family, while simultaneously maintaining the ability to teach ordinary people living far from the palace environment. Consequently, during this period, the *ulama* not only functioned as partners of political authority but also served as educators for the wider community.

To date, research on the *Qanun Meukuta Alam* has been conducted by (Antariksa, 2017) who focuses on historical aspects, regulatory arrangements, functions, and the substantive content of the qanun. Subsequently, (Mukti et al., 2022) examined sources of law during the Aceh Sultanate period and the forms of educational institutions mentioned in the *Qanun Meukuta Alam*. However, these studies have not addressed the *Qanun Meukuta Alam* from the perspective of the relationship between *ulama* and *umara* within a cultural

framework. Therefore, the present study seeks to fill this gap by focusing on the concepts of *ulama* and *umara* during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda as reflected in the *Qanun Meukuta Alam*.

## 2. METHOD

The research method employed in this study is descriptive qualitative, based on literature research. The primary source of this study is *Qanun Meukuta Alam* as contained in *Syarah Tadhkirah Tabaqat Tgk. Di Mulek*, transliterated by Mohd. Kalam Daud and T. A. Sakti. The secondary sources consist of data derived from various scholarly writings and studies that are relevant to the topic of this research.

### 1. Data Collection Technique

In collecting the data, the researcher carefully examined the text of *Qanun Meukuta Alam* and subsequently classified sections that correspond to the research themes.

### 2. Data Analysis Technique

#### a. Sentence Classification

At this stage, sentences with the potential to serve as data were selected in order to identify the concepts of *ulama* and *umara* within *Qanun Meukuta Alam*.

#### b. Analytical Framework

The collected data were then analyzed using Structural Functionalism theory, with a particular focus on Talcott Parsons' AGIL framework.

## 3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Analysis Using the AGIL Concept

#### Adaptation

In Parsons' theory, the function of adaptation is described as a crucial function for the formation of balanced and harmonious social relations. This function represents a necessity and a capability that must be possessed particularly in this context by the *Umara* as the holder of the highest authority within a system of governance. Effective adaptive capacity can be observed through the ability of the *Umara* to adjust to the social conditions of the society they govern. The *Umara* are required to analyze and manage changes arising both from within their collective group and from external forces. Several adaptive processes undertaken by Sultan Iskandar Muda in his role as *Umara* can be identified as follows:

#### Governmental Institutions

The monarchical system requires that supreme authority rests in the hands of the king. Royal commands are absolute in nature and are not to be challenged by any party. However, this principle was modified by Sultan Iskandar Muda of the Aceh Darussalam Sultanate. He recognized that as the kingdom expanded territorially, the urgency of Islamic propagation (*da'wah*) also needed to be intensified. As a ruler who emerged from a highly developed Islamic civilization, he utilized Islamic values and institutions to establish an Islamic polity capable of strengthening cohesion between the royal court and the broader society (Gazali, 2016).

One of the most influential Islamic forces within society was the *Ulama*. Therefore, the king, in his capacity as *Umara*, positioned the *Ulama* as strategic partners in administering and sustaining the governance of the state.

**Tabel 1**  
**Hierarchy of Ranks and Offices**

Text of the Qanun Meukuta Alam	Transliteration
<p style="text-align: center;">تارف سوسونن فُكَّت دان جياتن</p> <p>شِهْدَن سِيرْمُول مَك كْتِهْوِي أُولِهْمُو هِي طَالِب بِهَوَاسَات فَصَل بَاب مِيْتَاكِن تَارْفَن سَسُونِن كِدْدُو كِن فُكَّتِن دَان جِيَاتِن مَاسُغْ- مَاسُغْ يَانْتُو قَانُون مَكُونَا عَالِمِ الْأَشْيِ دَارِ السَّلَامِ يَانْتُو يَغْ قَرْتَامِ السَّلْطَانِ الْإِمَامِ الْعَادِلِ مَكِ إِبْنِ تَنْدُوقِ إِي كِبَاوَه قَانُونِ يَانْتُو أَنْدُغْ- أَنْدُغْ حَكْمِ نَكْرِي أُجِيَه سِفْرَتِي يَغْ تَلَه تَرْمَكْتُوبِ دَالِمِ قَانُونِ مَكُونَا عَالِمِ يَعْنِي قَانُونِ الْأَشْيِ دَارِ السَّلَامِ يَغْ أَهْلِ السَّنَةِ وَالْجَمَاعَةِ رَضِي اللَّهِ عَنْهُمْ أَجْمَعِينَ دَانِ دَمَكِينِ جُوكِ جِيَكِ رَيْسِ جُمْهُورِيَه كَقْدَانِ جَوَا</p> <p>دَانِ أَدَاقُونِ كِرُوكُونِ كَاتِبِ الْمَلُوكِ إِيْتِ أَدَالَه إِي سَكْرِيْتَارِسِ جَنْدِرَالِ سُلْطَانِ أَتُو رَيْسِ جُمْهُورِيَه كِدْوَا قَاضِي مَالِكِ الْعَادِلِ يَعْنِي جَكْسَا أُكُوغْ</p>	<p>Thus, at the outset, be it known to you, O seeker of knowledge, that this section explains the hierarchical order of ranks, positions, and offices, as stipulated in the Qanun Meukuta Alam of Aceh Darussalam. First and foremost is al-Sulthan al-Imam al-‘Adil. He himself is subject to the Qanun, namely the legal statutes of the land of Aceh, as codified in the Qanun al-Asyi Darussalam based upon the doctrine of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama‘ah. Likewise, the same principle applies to the Rais Jumhuriyyah. As for the Keurukon Khatib al-Muluk, he serves as the Secretary-General to the Sultan or the Rais Jumhuriyyah. Second is the Qadi Malik al-‘Adil, who functions as the Attorney General</p>
<p>هَلْبَالِغْ أَمَقْتِ سَرْتِ عِلْمَاءِ تُوْجِهْ أُورُغْ مَكِ تَنْدُوكِ إِي كِبَاوَه يَكُوَاسَاءِنِ بَالِي رُوغْ سَارِي</p> <p>سُلْطَانِ كَتُوْجِهْ سَكَالِينِ مَنْتَرِي- مَنْتَرِي يَانْتُو هَلْبَالِغْ دَلَاقْنِ مَكِ يَانْتُو يَغْ دُودُوكِ دَالِمِ بَالِي كَادُغْ سَرْتِ عِلْمَاءِ تُوْجِهْ أُورُغْ مَكِ تَنْدُوكِ إِي كِبَاوَه كَكُوَاسَاءِنِ بَالِي رُوغْ سَارِي كَدَلَاقْنِ بَالِي مَجْلِسِ</p>	<p>The Four Hulubalang and the seven Ulama are subject to the authority of the Balairung Sari</p> <p>All seven ministers, namely the eight Hulubalang, convene in the Balai Gading together with seven Ulama, all of whom are subject to the authority of the Balairung Sari.</p>

In the excerpt above, Iskandar Muda relinquished his prerogative as a king within an absolutist monarchical system. He grounded his authority in the *Qanun*, or statutory law, which was formulated through deliberation involving various elements of society. Furthermore, the King positioned *Qadi Malik al-Adil* as the second-highest authority within

the governmental structure. The position of *Qadi* was held by a learned *ulama*, as his primary duty was to adjudicate legal cases arising within the kingdom.

The two councils convened in *Balairung Sari* and *Balai Gading* functioned as institutional elements that assisted the King in governing the state. In this arrangement, the King combined the positions of *ulee balang* (nobility) and *ulama* within a single council, allowing them to complement one another. Amirul Hadi, citing G. L. Tichelman, explains that *sarakata* refers to letters of agreement, guarantees, authoritative decrees, governmental decisions, or administrative legal codes. Although *sarakata* were formally issued by the Sultan, in practice they generally incorporated input from the *ulama* prior to promulgation. Each *sarakata* might contain differing provisions; nevertheless, all of them represented the outcome of cooperation among the Sultan, the nobility, and the *ulama* (Hadi, 2004).

### **The Position of Panglima Polem**

Panglima Polem was the son of Sultan Iskandar Muda from a royal concubine. Although he was born of a concubine, Panglima Polem possessed the legitimate right to ascend the throne. This status was further reinforced after the death of Iskandar Muda's son from the queen consort, who died following a legal punishment. Consequently, Panglima Polem became the sole remaining candidate for kingship.

However, in order to maintain political harmony and prevent potential conflict, Sultan Iskandar Muda enacted a regulation stipulating that Panglima Polem was prohibited from becoming king. Instead, he was granted a special prerogative as a *formateur*, namely the authority to establish and organize the royal cabinet. Furthermore, any individual aspiring to become king was required to pay a security deposit to Panglima Polem.

Tabel 2  
The Position of Panglima Polem

Text of the Qanun Meukuta Alam	Transliteration
<p>كددوكن فَعْلِيم قَوْلِم مك تله ترمكتوب دالم قانون مكوئا عالم الأشي دار السلام بهوا فَعْلِيم قَوْلِم حق فرماتور مميله راج دان ممعزولكن راج بسرت سكالين رعية دان علماء دالم أچيه لهيو ساكوو دان أدا حق قانون نفسى دالم تاغن وزير الأعظم فَعْلِيم قَوْلِم سري مود فركاس يغ تله ترمكتوب دالم قانون مكوئا عالم يانتو فرمان أتو دكرت قدوك سلطان سليمان مكوئا عالم إسكندار مودا فركاس عالم شاه مك إنيله بهواساا سياق- سياق يغ منجادي سلطان أتو رئيس جمهورية دالم نكري أچيه دار السلام ستروسن مك هندكله ممباير أمس تيك قوله كاتي كفا أندا كامي تگكو با هيتم فَعْلِيم قَوْلِم {٤١} يانتو وزير الأعظم فَعْلِيم قَوْلِم سري مودا فركاس دان ديان إيت تباد سكالى-كالى بوله منجادي راج أتو رئيس</p>	<p>It is stipulated in the <i>Qanun Meukuta Alam al-Asyi Darussalam</i> that Panglima Polem holds the formative authority to appoint and depose the Sultan, together with the people and the Ulama within <i>Aceh Lhee Sagoe</i>. Furthermore, the right of <i>Qanun Nafsi</i> is vested in the hands of the <i>Wazir al-'Azam</i>, Panglima Polem Sri Muda Perkasa, as explicitly recorded in the <i>Qanun Meukuta Alam</i>. This provision constitutes a royal decree (<i>firman</i>) of His Majesty Sultan Sulaiman Meukuta Alam Iskandar Muda Perkasa Alam Syah. Accordingly, it is declared that any individual who becomes Sultan or Rais Jumhuriyyah of the land of Aceh henceforth is required to pay a security deposit of thirty kati of gold to our son, Teungku Ba Hitam Panglima Polem, namely the <i>Wazir al-'Azam</i> Panglima Polem Sri Muda Perkasa. Nevertheless, he himself is strictly prohibited from ever becoming Sultan or Rais.</p>

The decision of Iskandar Muda to grant Panglima Polem the right of formateur and to receive a security payment from future candidates for kingship endowed Panglima Polem with considerable authority. However, Sultan Iskandar Muda also issued a clear admonition that all decisions taken by Panglima Polem must be made through deliberation with the Ulama. Panglima Polem was vested with the authority to appoint a king that is, to elevate or depose a Sultan or *Rais Jumhuriyyah* should the ruler act unjustly. Such authority, however, was to be exercised only through consensus involving the people, the Ulama, and the Council of the People's Court (*Majelis Mahkamah Rakyat*).

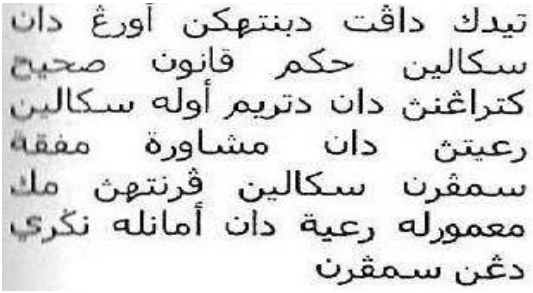
### Goal Attainment

Goal Attainment is the process by which a system articulates its objectives to social groups or society and collectively works toward achieving those objectives. In this context,

it refers to how the Aceh Sultanate formulated its concrete goals and implemented them within society. Sultan Iskandar Muda, as the *Umara* of the Aceh Darussalam Kingdom, formulated the *Qanun Meukuta Alam* as the embodiment of Aceh Darussalam's goal attainment.

**Tabel 3**  
**Goal Attainment**

Text of the Qanun Meukuta Alam	Transliteration
<p>قانون مڪوتا عالم مغيكت مذهب أمفت</p> <p>مك قكغله دغن سغكوه-سغكوه هاتي قانون مكوتا عالم الأشى داري كارن مغيكت ... إمام حنفي إمام ملكي إمام شافعي دان إمام حنبلي دان أمفت مذهب إيت</p>	<p>Qanun Meukuta Alam follows the Four Schools of Islamic Jurisprudence.</p> <p>Therefore, adhere firmly and wholeheartedly to the Qanun Meukuta Alam al-Asyi, for it follows the teachings of Imam Hanafi, Imam Maliki, Imam Shafi'i, and Imam Hanbali.</p>
<p>كسقولاه فغليم لهيو ساكوو مك إي برحق منيلك دان مليهت دان منجاك مجلس محكمة رعية سرت ممركس سكالين حال إحوال قريواتن مجلس محكمة رعية دان مجلس محكمه رعية إيت إيتوله حق يغ مطلق مغورس نكري دان رعية دان حال نكري دان حال رعية دغن سمفرن سقاي رعية سنغ دان معمور دان دافت كسناغن هيدق دان راجن رعية برؤساه دغن منداقت بايك حاصل { ٤٢ } دان أمان دغن منجاك رعية دان منجاك سقاي جاغن هارو هار نكري دان دتريم سكالين فكرجاءن أروسن</p>	<p>Tenth, Panglima Lhee Sago holds the authority to supervise, observe, and safeguard the People's Court Assembly (<i>Majelis Mahkamah Rakyat</i>), as well as to examine all matters concerning the actions of the People's Court Assembly. The People's Court Assembly possesses absolute authority in administering the state and its people, and in managing all affairs of the state and society comprehensively, so that the people may live in comfort and prosperity, enjoy a secure livelihood, diligently engage in productive endeavors with abundant outcomes, and remain safe through the maintenance of public order and the prevention of disorder within the state.</p>

 <p>تيدك داقت دبنتهكن أورغ دان سكالين حكم قانون صحيح كتراعثن دان دتريم أوله سكالين رعيثن دان مشاورة مفقه سمقرن سكالين قرنتهن مك معمورله رعية دان أمانله نكري دغن سمقرن</p>	<p>All provisions of the qanun are valid, clearly articulated, and accepted by all of the people. When all commands are implemented through complete deliberation and consensus, the people prosper and the state attains perfect peace and security.</p>
---	---

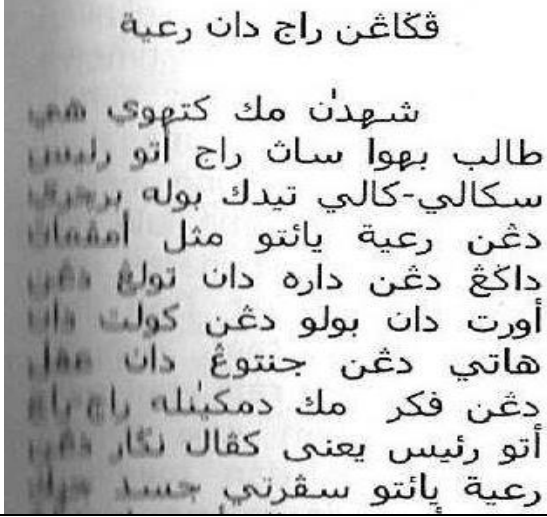
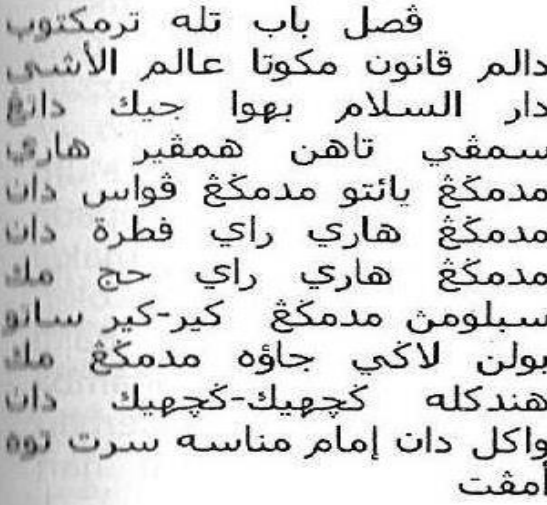
It is stated that the sources of law in the *Qanun Meukuta Alam* are derived from fatwas issued by Ulama of the four Islamic schools of jurisprudence. This reaffirms Aceh's position as an Islamic kingdom. Sultan Iskandar Muda required all territories under the authority of the Aceh Sultanate to implement the laws stipulated in the *Qanun Meukuta Alam*. After establishing this legal foundation, Iskandar Muda also granted authority to the Panglima Lhee Sagoe to supervise the *Majelis Mahkamah Rakyat* (People's Court Council).

Sultan Iskandar Muda entrusted the Panglima Lhee Sagoe with the responsibility of continuously overseeing the welfare of the people through supervision of the *Majelis Mahkamah Rakyat*. The objective was to ensure that the people lived in prosperity and enjoyed a decent quality of life, so that the state would remain secure and free from social unrest. The ultimate goal of the system that had been established was the creation of a prosperous society and the maintenance of security throughout the entire territory under the Aceh Darussalam Sultanate. Sultan Iskandar Muda advised his people to always preserve harmony and avoid hostility among fellow Acehnese. Unity and sincerity, he emphasized, constitute a weapon that cannot be defeated by any enemy.

### Integration

Adaptation and goal attainment must be prioritized within a social structure, in this case, a system of governance. The processes of adaptation and goal achievement must be systematically regulated so that all elements within the structure can function optimally. Therefore, integration plays a crucial role in maintaining social control and preserving the integrity of governance. Integration refers to the requirement of a minimum level of solidarity, ensuring that members are willing to cooperate and avoid destructive conflict (Dahrendorf, 1986). The concept of integration is explicitly articulated in *Qanun Meukuta Alam*, particularly in Chapter Two, which explains the relationship between the King and the people.

**Tabel 4**  
**The Guiding Principles of the King and the People**

Text of the Qanun Meukuta Alam	Transliteration
 <p style="text-align: center;">قُكَاغْن رَاچ دَان رَعِيَة</p> <p>شَهْدُنْ مَك كَتَهْوِي شَهِي طَالِب بَهْوَا سَاث رَاچ أَتُو رَايْس سَكَالِي-كَالِي تِيْدِك بُولَه بَرَجَرِي دَغْن رَعِيَة يَأْتُو مِثْل أَمَقْمَات دَاكْغ دَغْن دَارَه دَان تُولُغ دَغْن أُورْت دَان بُولُو دَغْن كُولْت دَان هَاتِي دَغْن جَنْتُوغ دَان مَقَل دَغْن فِكْر مَك دَمَكِيلَه رَاچ رَاغ أَتُو رَيْس يَعْني كَقَال نِگَار دَغْن رَعِيَة يَأْتُو سَقْرَنِي جَسَد جَرَاك</p>	<p>The Guiding Principles of the King and the People</p> <p>That a king or head of state must never be separated from his people. They are likened to flesh and blood, bones and sinews, hair and skin, heart and soul, intellect and thought. In this manner, kings or heads of state and their people are united as a single body.</p>
 <p style="text-align: center;">قُصْل بَاب تَلَه تَرْمَكْتُوب دَالِم قَانُون مَكُوتَا عَالِم الْأَشْي دَار السَّلَام بَهْوَا جِيك دَانِغ سَمَقِي تَاهَنْ هَمَقِير هَارِي مَدْمَكْغ يَأْتُو مَدْمَكْغ قُوَاْس دَان مَدْمَكْغ هَارِي رَاي فِطْرَة دَان مَدْمَكْغ هَارِي رَاي حَج مَك سَبْلُومَنْ مَدْمَكْغ كِير-كِير سَانُو بُولَنْ لَاكِي جَاؤَه مَدْمَكْغ مَك هَنْدَكْلَه كَجْهِيك-كَجْهِيك دَان وَاَكْل دَان إِمَام مَنَاسَه سَرْت تُوَه أَمَقْت</p>	<p>It is stipulated in the <i>Qanun Meukuta Alam al-Asyi Darussalam</i> that when the year approaches the days of <i>meugang</i> namely <i>meugang</i> before the fasting month, <i>meugang</i> before the celebration of Eid al-Fitr, and <i>meugang</i> before Eid al-Adha approximately one month prior to the <i>meugang</i> period, the <i>geuchik</i> (village heads), their representatives, the <i>Imam Meunasah</i>, and the <i>Tuha Peut</i> are required to carry out their respective duties.</p> <p>They shall inspect and examine each village within every <i>mukim</i> to determine the number of the poor, widows (<i>inong balee</i>), orphans, the sick, the infirm, the blind, and others in similar conditions. This information must be reported to the <i>Imam Mukim</i>, who shall then convey it to the <i>Qadis</i> and the <i>Hulubalang</i>. The <i>Qadis</i> and <i>Hulubalang</i> shall subsequently report it to the twenty-two <i>Qadis</i>, each of whom serves as a <i>Panglima Sagoe</i> and <i>Qadi Lhee Sagoe</i>, who then report it to the <i>Qadi Mu'azzam</i>.</p> <p>The <i>Qadi Mu'azzam</i> shall inform the <i>Shaykh al-Islam</i> and the Four Muftis, who in turn report to the Sultan. The Sultan shall then implement the <i>Tandil Siasat</i>. Thereupon, the <i>Qadi Mu'azzam</i> opens the treasury of <i>Balai Silatur-Rahmi</i> to distribute dirhams and cloth and to purchase buffaloes or cattle to be slaughtered on the day of <i>madmeugang</i>.</p>

منيلك دان ممرکس فدا تيق-تيق  
 كمقوغ سنديري ماسغ-ماسغ  
 كچهيك دان ماسغ-ماسغ مقيم  
 ياتو براي بايك اورغ فقير  
 مسكين دان اينوغ باليو دان يتيم  
 فياتو دان يغ ساكت لاس دان  
 بوت دان بارغ سباكين هندكله  
 دبري تاهو كفا امام مقيم دان  
 امام مقيم ممبري تاهو كفا  
 قاضي دان كفا هلبالغ دان  
 قاضي دغن هلبالغ هندكله  
 ممبري تهوكنن كفا قاضي دوا  
 قوله دوا دان ماسغ-ماسغ مريك  
 ايت فغليم لهيو ساكوو دان  
 قاضي لهيو ساكوو مك ممبري  
 تهوكنن كفا قاضي معظم دان  
 قاضي معظم ممبري تاهو كفا  
 شيخ الإسلام مفتي أمفت مك  
 مفتي أمفت ممبري تهوكنن كفا  
 سلطان دان سلطان ايت ادا  
 مماكى تنديل سياسة مك ديوك  
 اوله قاضي معظم خزنة بالي  
 صلة الرحم ياتو مغمبيل درهم  
 دان كائن دان دبلي كربو اتو  
 ساقي هندك دفوتغ هاري  
 مدمكغ مك دبهكي

<p>مك معمورله نكري دان هندكله عالم علماء أهل السنة والجماعة إيت جاغن مماكى علم چاتر سبب علم چاتر إيت فاكين كرجاءن نكري مك تباد بوله برچمقور كدواث مك جيك برچمقور علماء-علماء كقدا علم چاتر مك سووده ترغ علماء قبيح دان جاهل أخيرن طمع دان مغهاست رعية هندك ممبيكن هارو هار نكري دان مروسككن كامانن رعية دان كمعمورن رعية</p>	<p>And the learned scholars of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah must not engage in <i>ilmu catur</i> (courtly political intrigue), for <i>ilmu catur</i> belongs to the domain of royal governance, and therefore the two must not be mixed. Should the scholars involve themselves in <i>ilmu catur</i>, it becomes evident that such scholars are reprehensible and ignorant. In the end, they will become greedy and incite the people, provoking disorder within the state and undermining public security as well as the prosperity of the populace.</p>
--	--

Tabel 5  
The State is at War.

Text of the Qanun Meukuta Alam	Transliteration
<p>جيك نكري دالم فقراغن دان لاگى ترمكتوب دالم قانون مكونا عالم بهوا جيك نكري اچيه دسرغ اوله موسه دان (أتو) جيك نكري اچيه مبرغ موسه مك سكالين أنك نكري أتس نام رعية اچيه دان بنفس اچيه مك دواچيكن منولغ به كيجيكن كقدا نكري دان كقدا كرچاءن دغن تولس إخلاص پروڤ أف قون جوا يانتو هرت دان قربواتن .</p>	<p><b>The State is at War</b></p> <p>Furthermore, it is stipulated in the Qanun Meukuta Alam that if the land of Aceh is attacked by an enemy and/or if Aceh launches an attack against an enemy, then all inhabitants of the land, in the name of the people of Aceh and the Acehnese nation, are obliged to provide assistance and support for the welfare of the land and the kingdom with sincere devotion, in whatever form it may take, including material resources and personal action.</p>

<p>دان روح دان سرت عقل دان فكران دان سكالين رعية هندكله ممغرهوتغكن درهم كفا راج بيل ماس فرض دان جيك منغ مك كرجاءن برحق مطلق ممباير كمبالي كفا رعية دان أنك نكري سلورهن ياتو سقرتي حق رعية يغ مطلق ممبيري هوتغ كفا كرجاءن مك دبائر اوله كرجاءن سسوده منغ قرغ ياتو يغ ستاهل ستاهل جوا يغ سقوله مس سقوله مس جوا منوره بايكن ماسغ-ماسغ مك سلطان إسكندار مودا سسوده سلسي فقراغن دان منغ كرجاءن أچيه سكالين هرت بندا رعية دان واغ يغ دامبيل هوتغ اوله سلطان مكوتا عالم سموان دبائر كفا رعية دغن فنوه سمقرن</p> <p>مك دغن هاتي سنغ دغن مغيكت دان منورت قرنته سلطان سليمان المرحوم مكوتا عالم إسكندار مودا قرکاسي عالم شاه جوهن بردولة ظل الله في العالم آدم الله علينا به</p>	<p>Furthermore, it is stipulated in the <i>Qanun Meukuta Alam</i> that when the land of Aceh is engaged in warfare—whether Aceh is attacked by an enemy or Aceh itself wages war against an adversary all inhabitants of the land, in the name of the Acehnese people and the Acehnese nation, are obligated to provide sincere assistance for the welfare of the land and the kingdom in any form whatsoever, including material wealth and concrete actions. This obligation also encompasses one’s spirit, intellect, and reasoning. All citizens are required to lend dirhams to the Sultan whenever such necessity arises. In the event of victory, the kingdom holds the absolute responsibility to repay all loans to the people and the inhabitants in their entirety. This constitutes the people’s rightful claim and their unconditional right to extend loans to the kingdom, which must be fully repaid after the war is won—whether ten <i>mas</i> are repaid as ten <i>mas</i>, or any other amount according to the original sum provided by each individual. Accordingly, after the conclusion of warfare and the victory of the Aceh Sultanate, Sultan Iskandar Muda ensured that all property and funds borrowed from the people by Sultan Meukuta Alam were repaid to the citizens completely and in full.</p> <p>Therefore, with joyful hearts, the people followed and obeyed the commands of Sultan Sulaiman, the late Meukuta Alam Iskandar Muda Perkasa Alam Syah Johan Berdaulat, the Shadow of God upon the world <i>Zillullāh fī al-‘ālam</i>, may God perpetuate his presence among us</p>
--	---

The relationship between the ruler and the people is extremely close, akin to a unified body: when one part suffers pain, the other parts also feel it. Therefore, the ruler as *Umara* must exercise wisdom in governing the people. When such wisdom is properly applied, the people will feel content and willingly obey the ruler’s commands.

The *Qanun Meukuta Alam* also explains the integration between the *Ulama* and the *Umara* in serving society. In the excerpt above, a strong integration between the *Ulama* and the *Umara* is clearly illustrated in the context of public service during the *madmeugang* ceremony. This integration operates hierarchically, from the lowest to the highest levels of authority. The lowest level at that time was the *Geuchik*, who functioned as the *Umara* responsible for leading a *gampong* (village).

On the other hand, the *Imam Meunasah* carried out the role of the *Ulama* by leading religious affairs. After the *Geuchik* and the *Imam Meunasah* completed their respective

duties, the responsibility was subsequently passed on to the *Imum Mukim*, then to the *Qadi*, and further relayed to the *Hulubalang*, until finally the *Shaykh al-Islam* conveyed the matter to the Sultan. As an *Umara* vested with authority, the Sultan drew upon the state treasury to purchase meat, which was then distributed to those members of society who were entitled to receive it. This manifestation of the respective roles of the *Ulama* and *Umara* is explicitly articulated in the *Qanun Meukuta Alam*.

The division of domains between the *Ulama* and the *Umara* was not intended to separate the two, but rather to create synergy between their respective roles. Each was able to perform their functions without competing for authority or public influence. If both parties were to vie for dominance over the populace, social disorder would inevitably arise within the state. Therefore, their integration was essential to maintaining social stability. Such integration was not only necessary during times of peace but was equally imperative during periods of warfare.

In the excerpt above, the obligations mandated by the Sultan during times when the state was under threat or preparing for war are clearly illustrated. Sultan Iskandar Muda required all of his people to participate in warfare and to sacrifice their property in support of the kingdom's military efforts. As a ruler, Sultan Iskandar Muda did not merely demand sacrifice from his subjects; he also guaranteed compensation for the loss of their property should the kingdom emerge victorious in battle. In this way, the people were able to fight willingly and wholeheartedly, without coercion, as they felt assured that their sacrifices would be justly repaid.

### **Latency**

The final stage in a social system is the process of latency, or the maintenance of existing patterns. Every society must preserve and continually reinforce the motivations and cultural patterns that prevail at a given time. This latency process does not operate automatically; rather, it requires specific actors or institutions that function as agents. These agents are responsible for carrying out processes of socialization, institutionalization, and internalization.

In the *Qanun Meukuta Alam*, the actors capable of performing this function are the *Ulama* and *Umara*. Each of these actors has a distinct role, which in the *Qanun Meukuta Alam* is metaphorically described as a lamp flame and its oil each indispensable to the other. The processes of socialization and institutionalization can be carried out by the *Umara* through the authority inherent in their political power.

Tabel 6  
Latency

Text of the Qanun Meukuta Alam	Transliteration
<p>مك كتاهوي اولهمو هي طالب بهواسان تله ترمكتوب دالم قانون مكوتا عالم الأشي دار السلام يانتو جيك فرض دان قنتيغ بوات نكري دان رعية يانتو جيك تيا د بوله حكمن دالم مذهب إمام شافعي مك دچاري حكمن دالم</p> <p>مذهب احمد إمام حنبلي دان جيك تيا د حكمن دالم مذهب إمام حنبلي مك دچاري حكمن دالم مذهب إمام مالكي دان جيك تيا دالم مذهب إمام مالك مك دچاري حكمن دالم مذهب إمام أبو حنيفة كارن أداله إمام</p>	<p>It is stated in the <i>Qanun Meukuta Alam al-Asyi Darussalam</i> that whenever a matter is necessary and crucial for the state and its people namely, when a legal ruling cannot be found within the Shafi'i school then the legal basis shall be sought from other schools of Islamic jurisprudence.</p> <p>It is stated in the <i>Qanun Meukuta Alam al-Asyi Darussalam</i> that whenever a matter becomes necessary and urgent for the welfare of the state and the people namely, when a legal ruling cannot be found within the Shafi'i school of law then the ruling shall be sought in the school of Ahmad ibn Hanbal. If no ruling is found within the Hanbali school, then it shall be sought in the Maliki school. If no ruling is found in the Maliki school, then it shall be sought in the school of Imam Abu Hanifah.</p>
<p>و الجماعة مك دغن سبب إبتوله دأداكنن حاكم معروف دان حكم عرف دان عادة معروف دان عروف دان رسام معروف دان عرف دان قانون معروف دان عرف يعني أندغ-أندغ بع قنتيغن بوات نكري دان رعية دان تنترا دان قمناءن بع فرض بوات كفرضوان عمومية أتس كبنارنن بع ترلننو</p>	<p>For this reason, the institution of the Makruf Judge was established, along with Makruf customary law (Hukum Uruf dan Adat Makruf), Makruf traditions and practices (Uruf dan Resam Makruf), and Makruf qanun and customary regulations (Uruf dan Qanun Makruf), namely laws that are essential for the state, the people, the military, and institutional development, and that are necessary for public interests, grounded in clearly defined legitimacy.</p>

<p>شهدن سيرمول مك كتهوي اولهمو هي طالب بهوا منتري ميزان يغ ترسبوت ايت أداله إي عالم قدا سكالين فن علم دنيا دان أخرة دان قفكت علماء بسر دان أهل سياسة دان بچكسان أهل عقل دان سكالين كفتوسنن يغ دامبيل</p> <p>سموا مفعة دغن مذهب أمفت بغ أهل السنة والجماعة رضي</p>	<p>Thus, it is stated in the <i>Qanun Meukuta Alam al-Asyi Darussalam</i> that the Minister of Balance (<i>Menteri Mizan</i>) referred to therein is a person who is knowledgeable in all branches of worldly and spiritual sciences, holds the rank of a great <i>ulama</i>, and is an expert in governance, political affairs, wisdom, and rational judgment. All decisions taken by him are therefore grounded in comprehensive knowledge, prudence, and sound reasoning.</p> <p>All decisions taken by him are conducted through consensus and are in accordance with the Four Sunni Schools of Law (<i>al-Madhab al-Arba'ah</i>) of <i>Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah</i>.</p>
<p>شهدن سيرمول بهوا تله ترمكتوب دالم قانون مكو تا عالم الأشي دار السلام بهواسا تيق-تيق كرجاءن بهوا هندكله منجاك دغن بتول-بتول أكام إسلام دان حكم شرع شريعة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم دان يغ منجادي خدم شريعة رسول الله ايت دسرهنكن كدالم تاغن عالم علماء أهل السنة والجماعة رضي الله عنهم أجمعين مك حكمهن يغ دمكين ايت قوة كرجاءن دان أمان نكري</p>	<p>It is stated in the <i>Qanun Meukuta Alam al-Asyi Darussalam</i> that every kingdom must properly safeguard the Islamic faith and the application of the Sharia of the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him). The responsibility for serving and upholding the Sharia of the Prophet is entrusted to the <i>alim ulama</i> of the <i>Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah</i>. The wisdom behind this arrangement is the strengthening of the kingdom, the security of the state, the prosperity of the people, and the establishment of justice in law.</p>

The socialization process carried out by Sultan Iskandar Muda concerning the legal provisions applicable within the Aceh Darussalam Kingdom positioned Islamic law as the fundamental basis for all regulations in the kingdom. Accordingly, the community was permitted to follow any legal school, provided that it did not contravene the basic principles of Islamic sharia in force. Following the process of socialization, Iskandar Muda implemented a process of institutionalization by incorporating these legal principles into formal laws and the administrative structures of the kingdom.

The process of internalization was carried out by the Ulama through institutions that had been established by Sultan Iskandar Muda. The Ulama occupied the role of actors responsible for internalization by operating within the institutional framework created by the Umara. This condition facilitated the internalization process aimed at preserving existing

cultural and social patterns within society. This was largely due to the characteristics of Acehese society, in which custom (*adat*) and religion are inseparable. Customary affairs were governed by the Umara, namely the Sultan and the Hulubalang, while religious matters were disseminated and infused into social life by the Ulama, becoming the spiritual foundation of the community. In this internalization process, the Ulama required support from the Umara so that the enforcement of religious values, norms, and commandments could be implemented effectively without interference from other parties.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Based on the findings of this study, it can be concluded that the relationship between the *Ulama* and the *Umara* within the governmental structure of the Aceh Darussalam Kingdom, particularly during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda, represented a form of harmonization between spiritual authority and political power that functioned in a complementary manner. Prior to Iskandar Muda's rule, the role of the *Ulama* was primarily concentrated on religious affairs and community education conducted in mosques or *meunasah* as religious leaders. However, through the enactment of the *Qanun Meukuta Alam*, Sultan Iskandar Muda clearly delineated the boundaries and roles of each party, thereby preventing competition for influence or authority between the *Ulama* and the *Umara*.

This integration was further strengthened by the placement of the *Ulama* within the governmental structure, accompanying the *Umara* from the local level such as the *Geuchik* and *Imum Mukim* to the highest level alongside the *Shaykh al-Islam* and the Sultan himself. In addition, the *Ulama* served as advisors in both religious and governmental affairs, including considerations related to the appointment of *Ulee Balang* in various regions. Thus, the positions of the *Ulama* and the *Umara* during the era of Iskandar Muda can be understood as a strategic and functional partnership, in which both acted as key agents in maintaining adaptation, integration, and socio-political stability, ultimately ensuring a secure state, a peaceful populace, and a strong system of governance.

#### REFERENCES

- Antariksa, Bambang. 2017. "Kedudukan Qanun Aceh ditinjau dari Aspek Sejarah, Pengaturan, Fungsi, dan Materi Muatan Qanun. *Jurnal Ilmiah Advokasi* Vol. 05. No. 1.
- Daud, M. K., & Sakti, T.A. (2010). *Alih aksara Qanun Meukuta Alam dalam syarah Tadhkirah Tabaqat Tgk. di Mulek dan komentarnya*. Banda Aceh: Syiah Kuala University Press.
- Djajadiningrat, R H. (1982/1983). *Kesultanan Aceh.* (T.Hamid, Terj). Aceh: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Proyek Pengembangan Pemuseuman.
- Gazali. (2016). *Interelasi Umara dan Ulama dalam menata kehidupan sosio-keagamaan di Aceh Darussalam era Sultan Iskandar Muda 1607-1636* Tesis UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.
- Hadi, A. (2004) *Islam and state in sumatra; a study of seventeenth-century Aceh*. Leiden: Brill.
- Hasjimy, A. (1983). *Kebudayaan Aceh dalam sejarah*. Jakarta: Penerbit Beuna.
- Hugronje, S. (1985). *Aceh di mata kolonialis vol.1.* (Ng Singarimbun dkk, Terj). Jakarta: Yayasan Sokoguru.
- Ismuha. (1967). *Ulama Aceh dalam perspektif sejarah*. Jakarta: LIPI.
- Kinloch, G.C. (2009). *Perkembangan dan paradigma utama teori sosiologi*. Bandung: Pustaka Setia.
- Mukti, Abdul, dkk. 2022. *Memahami Pendidikan Islam Masa Kesultanan Aceh*. *Jurnal Ilmiah Hospitality* Vol. 11. No. 2.
- Ralf D. (1986) *Konflik dan konflik dalam masyarakat industri sebuah analisis kritik*. Jakarta: Cv Rajawali.

- Ritzer, G. (2013). *Sosiologi ilmu pengetahuan berparadigma Ganda*. Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Shihab, M.Q. (2006). *Secercah cahaya ilahi, hidup bersama Al-Qur'an*. Bandung: Mizan.
- Turama, A.,R. (2018) Formulasi teori fungsionalisme struktural Talcott Parsons. *Jurnal Eufoni*, Vol.2 no.2, 58-69
- Van Langen, K.F.H. (1888). *De Inrichting van het Atjehsche staatbestuur onder het Sultanaat*. s'Gravenhage:Martinus Nijhooff.
- Van Langen, K.F.H. (2002).*Susunan pemerintahan Aceh semasa kesultanan*. (A. Bakar, Terj). Banda Aceh: Pusat Dokumentasi dan Informasi Aceh.
- Yunus, M. (tanpa tahun). *Kamus Arab-Indonesia*. Jakarta: PT. Hidakarya Agung.