THE AUTHORITY OF THE QUEEN OF ACEH AND THE SULTAN OF PERAK IN TIN TRADE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE DUTCH 1640-1670

Khairul Nizam Bin Zainal Badri
Madrasah Pra Tahfiz Al Mansoorah, Selangor, Malaysia
knizamzbmaptam@gmail.com

Abstract
Aceh reached its zenith during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda Mahkota Alam. However, he died at a young age, leaving an heir and legacy of the enormous ruling power. Its main enemy, both in the military and in trade, is the European power in the Straits of Malacca. The Ruler of Aceh, after his death, had to deal with the Dutch colonialists who are interested in tin mining in the state of Perak in the Malay Peninsula. Perak, at the time, was under the auspices of Aceh. The main goal of this paper is to review the role and authority of the ruler of Aceh and Perak when dealing with a Dutch ploy to monopolize the quarry. This study uses a qualitative method with a whole literature approach. Based on the data analyzed, it was found that the Queen of Aceh and the Sultan of Perak managed to maintain the tin in Perak from entirely monopolized by the Dutch. The attitude of Queen of Aceh and Sultan Perak's patience and diplomacy to treat the ills of the Dutch; finally resulted in the Dutch themselves have to bear the losses because of their greed by blockading the port of Aceh and Perak, who angered local merchants and foreigners.

Keywords: Diplomatic; Dutch; Queen of Aceh; the Sultan of Perak; tin.

To cite this article: Badri, K.H.Z. (2021). The authority of the queen of aceh and the sultan of perak in tin trade negotiations with the dutch 1640-1670. HISTORIA: Jurnal Pendidik dan Peneliti Sejarah, 4(2), 143-149. https://doi.org/10.17509/historia.v4i2.32842.
INTRODUCTION

Sultan Iskandar Muda Mahkota Alam died at a relatively young age, less than 45 years old. He died when Aceh was at the height of glory. Almost the whole of Malaya was under the rule of Aceh at the time. Aceh became the strongest competitor to the Portuguese, the European powers that have been successfully established in Melaka for the first time, whether in the military or trade. Aceh, however, shows relationships with other European powers, such as the Dutch and English (Gischa, 2020).

Sultan Iskandar Muda had better relations with the English than the Dutch. But after he died, the Dutch got better places in Aceh than the English. When Sultan Iskandar Thani ruled Aceh (after the death of Sultan Iskandar Muda), the Dutch had had their own trade office in the state of Aceh (Lombard, 1986). Unlike Sultan Iskandar Muda, Sultan Iskandar Thani is rumored to have no ambition to expand his kingdom (Zainuddin, 1957). On the other hand, the Dutch strengthened their power in the archipelago by trying to control trade routes in Asia. The first step was to establish a trade center in Jakarta after setting foot in Indonesia in 1596 (Andaya, 1992).

To protect its trade routes, inevitably, the Dutch had to add military assets and control the Straits of Malacca. The news of the discovery of tin by the Portuguese in Perak in the late 1590s caused the Dutch to dream of conquering Melaka. By controlling Melaka, the Dutch were able to control the Straits of Melaka route; even had the opportunity to strengthen trade with the states in Malaya (Winstedt & Wilkinson, 1974).

But Dutch businesses plunder the land in Perak, not an easy task because Perak was under the auspices of Aceh. Perak still has its government. The situation forced the Dutch to build a good relationship with Silver and Aceh to get the desired results.

Thus, to be studied in this paper is a diplomatic relationship between Perak, Aceh, and the Dutch on the issue of tin trade in Perak, after the death of Sultan Iskandar Muda Mahkota Alam. For the research to be more focused, attention is given to the figures involved based on a historical chronology covering the date and place. This study aims to determine the role and authority of the Malay Muslim governments in addressing the issue of diplomacy and trade with European powers like the Dutch.

METHOD

This qualitative study uses a complete literature approach. The data obtained from the documentation involves historiography that erupted in Perak, Aceh province, and Dutch colonialism in the Malay world. These data are then critically evaluated and formulated so that the goals of the study are achieved.

FINDINGS

Family relationship

In the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda Mahkota Alam, the relationship between Perak, Pahang, and Aceh became more close due to the occurrence of marriages among members of the royal family. The son of Sultan Abdul Ghafur Mohayuddin Shah ibn Almarhum Sultan Abdul Kadir Alaudin Shah (12th Sultan of Pahang, ruled 1592-1614), namely Raja Abdullah (Marhum Muda Pahang) was married to a grand daughter of Sultan Mansur Shah of Perak. After Raja Abdullah and his father were killed in 1614, his wife and other family members set out for Perak (Linehan, 1973).

One of the princesses of Raja Abdullah was married to Raja Sulong, who was the son of the couple Raja Mahmud and Tun Kecil, the daughter of Tun Isap Misai Bendahara Seri Maharaja Johor (Senarai Sultan Perak, 2021). The father of Raja Mahmud was Raja Kasab, who was married to the daughter of Sultan Mansur Shah II (8th Sultan of Pahang, ruled 1555-1560) named Puteri Puteh. Raja Kasab was the son of Sultan Khoja Ahmad, Sultan of Siak (Linehan, 1973). While in another record, Raja Mahmud is the son of Raja Ali Al-Ajali, originally from Johor (Senarai Sultan Perak, 2021).

As for Raja Mahmud’s sister named Puteri Bongsu Chendera Dewi was married to Raja Ahmad (later called Sultan Ahmad Shah II, who was the 11th Sultan, ruled 1590-1592). Raja Ahmad was the son of Sultan Abdul Kadir Alaudin Shah and the brother of Sultan Abdul Ghafur. This marriage has given birth to a son named the Raja Mughal (Hassan, 2016). In terms of family ties, Raja Mughal and Raja Sulong are cousins.

When Sultan Iskandar Muda Mahkota Alam made a series of attacks from 1613 to 1620 in Malaya, many of the royal family has become a prisoner of Aceh (Effendy, 2017). This includes the families of Raja Sulong and Raja Mughal. Sultan Iskandar later married the aunt of Raja Mughal named Puteri Kamaliah, while Raja Mughal was...
married to his daughter named Puteri Seri Alam (later called Sultanah Safiatuddin Tajul Alam) (Hassan, 2016). After Sultan Iskandar Muda died in 1636, son of Mughal instated as the 13th Sultan of Aceh with title Sultan Iskandar Thani. Following the death of Sultan Salehuddin ibn Sultan Mahmud Shah (the 9th Sultan of Perak) that year in Kampar; then Sultan Iskandar Thani as the patron of Perak sent Raja Sulong, replacing Sultan Salehuddin to be the new Sultan of Perak, with the title of Sultan Muzaffar Shah II (Senarai Sultan Perak, 2021).

The Queen is not a bigot because, like her husband, she is also very pious in knowledge and religion. She was the one who helped her husband a lot in government when faced with state problems, especially the opponents to her husband, who wanted the Sultan appointed from among the Acehnese, not outsiders (Daud, 2016).

The Queen was raised in a religious environment, especially in the family next to Puteri Sani. Her grandfather, a nobleman Bugis and Aceh, Daeng Mansur, from Wajo, once studied in Makkah (Juliani, 2017). Upon returning to Aceh, he was married to a family in Reuben scholar known as Tengku Chik di Reuben. Daeng Mansur later days was also known as Teungku di Bugeh (Zainuddin, 1962). He then opened a school in Reuben where it is narrated that Sultan Iskandar Muda also studied there (Firdaus, 2019). Her Majesty is also looking to his uncle, Zainal Abidin, who emigrated to Lhong, Aceh Besar (Bachtiar, 2014). He was known as Tengku Lhong because he had a school there (Zainuddin, 1962).

He studied with many teachers and has focused on the development of educational centers. The most renowned center of higher learning, Baiturrahman University, is multiplying. The Queen has asked competent scholars to write a book to be used as a guide for the people. Among them is Sheikh Nurudin Al-Ranieri who wrote a book entitled Hidayah Al-Iman bi Fadhl Al-Mannan, Sheikh Abdul Rauf Al-Sinkili, who wrote a book entitled Mir’at Al-Tullab Fi Tasili Ma’rifat Al-Ahkam, and Sheikh Daud Al-Rumi, who authored a book entitled Risalah Masail Al-Muhtadi Li Ikhwan Al-Mubtadi (Bachtiar, 2014).

Tin Trade

Her Majesty’s expertise in negotiating strategies and international trade relations is evident through her agreement with the Dutch, which deals with the affairs of the tin trade in Perak. In fact, from the time of Sultan Iskandar Muda, Aceh has been regarded as the greatest obstacle to the Dutch in trading tin in the region. However, when Sultan Iskandar Thani rule, the Dutch tried to compromise by agreeing with Aceh to be allowed to trade in silver. The Dutch position became more vital on the Straits of Malacca route after defeating the Portuguese in Malacca in early 1641. Thus, the Dutch desire to obtain tin ore in the state of Perak increased. This is because tin was considered the most critical mineral at the time. It is widely used as a plating tool and armament. In armaments, the container is used to make ammunition (Hasbullah & Yatim, 2013).
After the death of Iskandar Thani, the Dutch became bolder because they thought that the queen who became the Aceh government, indeed can not monitor the entire territory of the colony. Through a trade chief named Jan Dircxen Pujit representing the Dutch Governor of Malacca, the Dutch ignore the role of Aceh when deciding to personally meet the 10th Sultan of Perak, Sultan Muzaffar Shah II. Among the important contents of the negotiations were the Dutch asking Sultan Muzaffar Shah II to stop trade with other traders; instead only dealing with the Dutch and selling tin at a reasonable price. As a wise ruler, Sultan Muzaffar Shah II, who represented the people of Perak, tended towards open trade, which was not bound by the monopoly of any party. However, in dealing with the Dutch issue, he was cautious and took a diplomatic approach because he was facing a great power in the Straits of Malacca. On that basis, he welcomed the Dutch representative by presenting a gold dagger (Winstedt & Wilkinson, 1974).

At the same time, Perak still trades with ships from Java and China. Pujit again asked for a decision from the Sultan of Perak, but he asked him to be patient because he needed to get the views of state officials and Jan Hermansen, who was a tin trader who used to trade in Perak, Kedah, Bangui, and Ujong Salang. Sujit was allowed to change in Perak, but the Sultan of Perak subtly ignored his asked monopoly power. For keeping in touch with the Dutch, the Sultan of Perak has conferred the rank of Syah Raja Johan Pahlawan to Pujit, complete with the dagger and the sword, a position higher than the post of Syahbandar who controlled the port at the mouth of the Perak River. Pujit was allowed to build new plants in Perak (Winstedt & Wilkinson, 1974).

On 13 May 1642, Pujit had made an advance payment to Perak, causing the state to be in arrears of the value of the tin trade. In the same year, more Javanese and Chinese ships were allowed to enter the state. The Dutch have exploited this issue; ostensible, they had to bear huge losses. Accordingly, Pujit propose to the Dutch Governor of Malacca an agreement with Aceh and Perak. According to the proposal, only Aceh and the Dutch are allowed to trade in Perak. At the same time, the Dutch Governor in Melaka had called for toll restrictions to be revived in the Straits of Malaca, as had been done by the Portuguese. The toll restriction is meant by obtaining a permit in Melaka. The purpose is for them to control the entry of foreign ships, especially into the state of Perak (Winstedt & Wilkinson, 1974).

The Sultan of Perak agreed to the Dutch proposal and ordered foreign ships were entering Perak to obtain permits in Melaka first. The Bendahara of Perak, on the other hand, was dissatisfied with the Dutch treatment of one of his merchant ships and threatened to withdraw the plant facilities granted to Pujit. In 1644, there was a clash between the Dutch and Perak when the Sultan of Perak did not want to hand over the Cambodian ships to the Dutch. The European authority in Melaka claimed that the boat had invaded the state of Perak without taking a permit in Melaka. The Sultan of Perak denied the allegation because the ship had obtained permission from a Dutch merchant named Brockman. In addition, the crew consists of Minangkabau people, who had taken refuge from the Queen of Aceh. Dutch Governor of Malacca then sends ships called de Vos and Lieffde to surround the estuary of Sungai Perak to block the passage of the boats owned by the Malays and Javanese.

The Sultan of Perak then sent a delegation to Melaka to negotiate. A Dutch representative named Walraavaen was sent to Perak to stop the siege, and trade returned to normal (Winstedt & Wilkinson, 1974).

News of the siege in Perak finally comes to the knowledge of Aceh, and the Queen demanded an explanation. Dutch commissioner named Vlamigh instructed to meet the Queen of Aceh to describe what had happened. However, the Dutch attempt to gain a monopoly of tin trade was rejected by the Queen of Aceh. In 1645, an agreement was signed between the Dutch and Aceh. Ironically, more and more Indian Muslim ships are entering Perak. On 3 July 1647, the Dutch acted by blocking Indian Muslim boats from entering the Straits of Malaca. As a result, the Dutch plant in Surat, India, had to close the following year, as it was attacked by locals dissatisfied with the Dutch decision to block their merchant ships (Winstedt & Wilkinson, 1974).

Dutch more aggressively blocking the entrance to the port of Aceh and Perak. Upset with the actions made by the Dutch, Queen of Aceh asked the Dutch Governor-General Cornelis van der Lijn to reopen restrictions because, according to her, Aceh has never violated the agreement. In 1648, the Dutch pressured the Mataram Ruler to prevent his people from coming to Perak for business. The following year, an Indian Muslim ship laden with cargo was seized by the Dutch. Not just that, an agreement was made between Surat and the Dutch to prevent the entry of Indian Muslim vessels to the Malay states such as Aceh, Perak, Kedah, and Ujong Salang.
Such efforts bore fruit when the Dutch managed to reap extraordinary profits from the tin revenue of the state of Perak (Winstedt & Wilkinson, 1974).

The Dutch sent their representative named Joan Truijtman to consult Aceh to monopolize the tin trade in Perak. The Queen agreed to the negotiations. An agreement was signed between the Sultan of Perak, Aceh, and Governor-General Cornelis van der Lijn, which recognizes that only the representative of Aceh and the Netherlands are allowed to trade in silver. The Sultan of Perak promised to expel all foreign traders and not allow them to come again to do business in Perak. The selling price of tin has also been fixed. The agreement was signed by the Sultan and the chiefs of Perak on 15 August 1650. The deal was taken by Truijtman to Aceh to be signed by representatives of Aceh. On 15 December 1650, the treaty was signed entirely (Winstedt & Wilkinson, 1974).

In silence, the Perak state dignitaries had made plans to attack the Dutch plant. Finally, in 1651, the Perak army led by Temenggong and Syahbandar killed all the Dutch in the plant, causing the plant to be abandoned for two years (Said, 1981).

On December 15, 1653, Truijtman returned to Sultan Muzaffar Shah II to conclude a new treaty. Probably because the Sultan of Perak died soon after, the agreement stopped. The treaty was finally signed on December 7, 1655. Perak was represented by Sultanah Aminah Tojin (probably Queen Sultan Muzaffar Shah II), the Raja Muda of Perak, and senior dignitaries. Among the agreement’s contents is that all disputes and piracy activities are stopped, Perak must pay compensation for damage to the plant, and the attackers on the plant, including the state officials involved, must be punished. Silver also needs to give a piece of river land, which can accommodate cannons, residences, and storage warehouses. The agreement was sent to Aceh to be confirmed by the Queen and the chiefs, who were 14 people total (Winstedt & Wilkinson, 1974).

The Dutch accused Perak of not respecting the agreement. This is because their plant has been attacked for the second time, and foreign traders are still free to enter the state. Truijtman was ordered to bring the ships Domburg and Concordia to conduct a siege over Perak. The siege had lasted for four years and dramatically affects the trade owned by the Aceh and Perak (Winstedt & Wilkinson, 1974).

In 1659, Aceh asked the Dutch to end the siege. Then on June 20, 1659, the Dutch provide a new draft agreement with Aceh. Among its contents is the execution of punishment on state officials involved in plant attacks; compensation payments; redistribution of revenue ratios; and permission to build a new plant in Perak, as well as resident offices in Aceh (Winstedt & Wilkinson, 1974).

Aceh signed the agreement on September 23, 1659. Offenses involving Bendahara in an attack on the plant have been pardoned by Queen Aceh and allowed to remain on duty in Perak. However, the Dutch request Aceh, handed Shabbandar to be judged. Queen Aceh agreed to indemnify the Dutch for the incident that happened in Perak. Foreign traders were once again stressed not to be allowed to trade in Perak. The revenue collected from ships that enter the state will be split between Aceh and the Dutch (Winstedt & Wilkinson, 1974).

At the Queen’s discretion, the wrongdoing of the Syahbandar Perak only needs to be redeemed with compensation. Not only that but Perak’s outstanding debts have also been written off. As noted in Valentijn’s record on August 26, 1660, any Dutch attempt to monopolize the tin trade met with failure. However, the Dutch did not give up and sent the ship Kleen Amsterdam to guard the waters around the state of Perak to ensure the agreement was complied with. The ship later sank in 1662 and was replaced by a boat named Charlois. In March 1663, Aceh asked Perak to send annual duty in 1662 and was replaced by a boat named Charlois. In March 1663, Aceh asked Perak to send annual duty consistent with its position as the country under the auspices of Aceh. However, Perak was unable to do so due to the siege carried out by the Dutch. In return, two boats belonging to Aceh sailed Perak on June 17, 1663, regardless of the permits that need to be obtained from the Dutch resident’s office. Two ships belonging to Aceh has taken all the tin in Perak at the time, leaving the impression of a loss to the Dutch. Finally, towards the end of 1663, the Dutch decided to close their plant in Perak (Winstedt & Wilkinson, 1974).

Firearms began to replace traditional weapons in Europe in the 16th century. In Europe, weapon technology was developed based on the speed and accuracy of firing. Further, the focus is on the life cycle of consumption and the waste of consumption (Burt, 1995). The production of military equipment in the 17th century increased compared to the previous century. The UK alone has produced 20,000 tonnes of production (Burt 1995). This situation has caused European countries to seek new sources that are effective and can be used as
equipment or weapons components. Among the main factors considered are durability (life expectancy) and production costs.

In the history of the Islamic caliphate, firearms were widely used in the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Sultan Murad II (ruled 1421-1451). The Ottoman Empire also had high technology in the production of cannons. The technologies used are copper and tin as the primary source and bronze as the secondary source (Ayduz, 2006).

In the manufacture of weapons, tin is considered the most important source, especially in ammunition production. The container is included in the non-ferrous metals group, which shows that it has high durability because it does not rust. In addition, it is lightweight, soft, low tensile strength, and easy to forget.

One of the locations identified as having much tin is in Malaya, especially the state of Perak. For that reason, Perak has never stopped being visited by tin traders, including the efforts of European countries to colonize the state.

In the 17th century, the Dutch dominated the Straits of Malacca route, replacing the Portuguese as the new European power. The main enemy of the Dutch was not the Portuguese but the English. The two countries have been involved in a series of wars starting from 1652. The main factor in the outbreak of war is competition for trade routes and colonial areas. To dominate the trade routes, the British built large and powerful military ships, while the Dutch focused on the development of cargo ships (Israel, 1995).

In the Straits of Melaka, route competition is becoming more intense. Although the Dutch became the new rulers in 1641, they could not stop the English ships from hovering in and out. When the Dutch blocked Muslim Indian ships from entering the Straits of Malacca, then these Muslim Indian traders had made the British their ally. They hired British ships to carry their merchandise, and the Dutch could do nothing (Arasatnam, 1969).

Perhaps being pressured by the English, the Dutch use force to suppress Aceh and Perak to receive their monopoly plans. When their intent to monopolize failed, they accused the Aceh and Perak had violated the agreement and lay siege on the Malay states (Ahmad, 1972).

Sultan and Queen of Aceh have treated requests submitted by the Dutch, with the utmost diplomacy, even to bestow medals of greatness on them. The Sultan of Perak bestowed on Puijt the title of Seri Raja Johan Pahlawan, which was higher than Syahbandar, while the Queen bestowed the title of Orang Kaya Panglima Raja, and the state chief’s dagger to the Dutch Governor of Melaka, Balthasar Bort (Winstedt & Wilkinson, 1974). On the other hand, the tin supply from Perak to Aceh may have to do with the production of weapons such as cannon and flintlock mechanism. Aceh military has elite troops who skillfully handle flintlock mechanisms. In comparison, the guns produced by Aceh have been modified from the technology developed by the Ottoman Empire until the Portuguese colonial astounding to see a considerable size (Lombard, 1986).

CONCLUSION

Both Sultan Iskandar Thani and Ratu Safiatuddin, and Sultan Muzaffar Shah II each received ubiquitous exposure during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda. This is because, since childhood, they have been able to see how the Ruler of Aceh’s renowned, controlling trade with foreign nations. His talent is most noticeable when planning systematic management of the port to berths and business as much as possible in Aceh (Lombard, 1986). Various nations, including Europe, came to trade in Aceh Sultan Iskandar Muda showed a trend toward implementing an open trading system.

Such an approach was adopted by subsequent rulers, Sultan Iskandar Thani and his Majesty the Queen, and Sultan Muzaffar Shah II when dealing with the Dutch who intended to monopolize trade in the state of Perak, especially those related to tin ore. The Dutch’s passion for dominating the tin trade eventually ate away when locals destroyed its plant offices. This was due to their actions of blocking and besieging other merchant ships from entering to trade.

REFERENSI

Ahmad, Z. (1972). Sekitar keradjaan atjeh dalam tahun 1520-1675. Medan: Penerbit Monora.

Andaya, L. Y. (1992). Interactions with the outside world and adaptation in southeast asian society, 1500-1800. In N. Tarling (Ed.), The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia, 1(1), 345-401.

Arasatnam, S. (1969). Some Notes on the dutch in malacca and the indo-malayan trade 1641-1670. Journal of Southeast Asian History, 10(3), 480-490.
Ayduz, S. (2006). *Artillery trade of the ottoman empire.* Manchester: Foundation for Science Technology and Civilisation.

Bachtiar, T. A. (2014, June 19). *Ijtihad ulama untuk penemipin perempuan pertama aceh.* Retrieved March 12, 2021, from Republika.co.id: https://www.republika.co.id/berita/n7egk510/ijtihad-ulama-untuk-penemipin-perempuan-pertama-aceh

Burt, R. (1995). *The transformation of the non-ferrous metals industries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.* *The Economic History Review New Series,* 48(1), 23-45.

Danirandi. (2018, May 7). *4 Ulama aceh yang sangat berpengaruh.* Retrieved March 12, 2021, from Sinarpidie.co: https://sinarpidie.co/news/putroe-tsani-di-sudut-gampong-reuntoh

Daud, M. R. (2016, February 29). *Kisah permaisuri dan tokoh wanita silam.* *Berita Harian,* p. 8.

Effendy, H. (2017, June 19). Sultan iskandar muda: penakluk alam melayu dari aceh. Retrieved March 12, 2021, from The Patriots: https://www.thepatriots.asia/sultan-iskandar-muda-penakluk-alam-melayu-dari-aceh/

Firdaus. (2019, March 30). *Putroe tsani di sudut gampong reuntoh.* Retrieved March 12, 2021, from Sinarpidie.co: https://sinarpidie.co/news/putroe-tsani-di-sudut-gampong-reuntoh/index.html

Gischa, S. (2020, January 08). Biografi sultan iskandar muda dan perjuangannya. Retrieved March 15, 2021, from Kompas.com: https://www.kompas.com/skola/read/2020/01/08/100000069/biografi-sultan-iskandar-muda-dan-perjuangannya?page=all

Hasbullah, W. M., & Yatim, O. M. (2013). Teknologi istinggar: beberapa ciri fizikal dalam aplikasi teknikalnya. *International Journal of the Malay World and Civilization (IMAN),* 1(3), 51-59.

Hassan, W. A. (2016). Kesultanan melayu pahang. Retrieved March 12, 2021, from PortalDirajaPahang: http://www.dirajapahang.my/portaldiraja/?page_id=115

Ibrahim, M. Y. B., Muhammad, Z. B., & Saputra, J. (2021). MAPESAS’ role in protecting aceh historical site: (study at historical sites in bandua aceh and aceh besar). *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology,* 10, 974-983.

Israel, J. (1995). *The dutch republic: its rise, greatness and fall,* 1477–1806. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Juliani, R. (2017). Menarik benang merah: hubungan aceh dengan sulawesi selatan. *Source,* 3(1).

Linehan, W. (1973). *A history of pahang.* Kuala Lumpur: The Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Lombard, D. (1986). *Kerajaan aceh jaman sultan iskandar muda (1607-1636).* (W. Arifin, Trans.) Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.

Madjid, M. D. (2012). Knitting togetherness among the allied malay: aceh–minangkabau–the malay peninsula. *TAWARIKH,* 4(1).

Peacock, A. C. S. (2020). *Sovereign women in a muslim kingdom: the sultanahs of aceh, 1641-1699,* written and published by Sher Banu AL Khan. *Journal of early modern history,* 24(3), 281-283.

Rahma, K. (2018). Karakteristik jamur makroskopis di perkebunan kelapa sawit kecamatan meureubo aceh barat sebagai materi pendukung pembelajaran kingdom fungi di sma negeri 1 meureubo. *Doctoral dissertation,* UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh.

Rohmaniyah, I. (2013). *Women's marginalization and the androcentric religious interpretation in the history of aceh kingdom.* *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama,* 5(2).

Saidad, S. (2007). *Ratu-Ratu aceh abad ke-17 m: analisis faktor pendukung dan penghambat kekuasaan.* *Al-Turas,* 13(7), 219-231.

Said, M. (1981). Aceh sepanjang abad (Vol. 1). Medan: PT Percetakan dan Penerbitan Waspada.

Saidin, M., Husni, A., & Ibrahim, H. (2019). *An investigation of archaeological remains at lamreh site, aceh, indonesia and their context within the lamuri kingdom.* *International Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies,* 15(2).

Sari, R. (2019). *Sovereign women in a muslim kingdom: the sultanahs of aceh, 1641–1699* by Sher Banu AL Khan. *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia,* 34(2), 460-462.

Senarai Sultan Perak. (2021, March 05). Retrieved March 12, 2021, from Laman Web Rasmi Pejabat D.Y.M.M. Paduka Seri Sultan Perak: http://sultan.perak.gov.my/index.php/informasi-kesultanan/senanai-sultan-perak

Wessing, R. (1991). *An enclosure in the garden of love.* *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology,* 5(1).

Winstedt, R. O., & Wilkinson, R. J. (1974). *A history of the dutch republic: its rise, greatness and fall, 1477–1806.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Khairul Nizam Bin Zainal Badri

The authority of the Queen of Aceh and the Sultan of Perak in tin trade negotiations with the Dutch 1640-1670

Wulandari, E., Soetomo, S., Syahbana, J. A., & Manaf, A. (2017). The ecology character of banda aceh city in the 17th century. Journal of Islamic Architecture, 4(3), 93-101.

Zainuddin, H. M. (1957). Singa atjeh biographi seri sulthan iskandar muda. Medan: Penerbit Iskandar Muda.

Zainuddin, H. (1962). Tarich atjeh dan nusantara. Medan: Pustaka Iskandar Muda.

Alrianingrum, S. (2010). Cagar budaya surabaya kota pahlawan sebagai sumber belajar (studi kasus mahasiswa pendidikan sejarah fakultas ilmu sosial di universitas negeri surabaya). Tesis pada Pascasarjana Program Studi Pendidikan Sejarah Universitas Sebelas Maret.