

## Conclusion

In his book, *The Rope of God*, James T. Siegel stated that, “to become an *uleebalang* one had, in theory, to be born into the *uleebalang* family”, in opposition to the *ulama* who had to leave their village to attain their status. However, it remains interesting how did the *uleebalang* perform their hereditary position in the changing political situation in Aceh? Were they inherently opportunistic, as depicted in the historiography of Aceh, that then led to the social revolution in 1945-1946? Or were there certain other features and shifts of political configuration that will add nuance to their very position?

This thesis proposes to fill these gaps by looking at the nature of the relationship between the *uleebalang* and the colonial government after the period of military rule and the fall of the Aceh Sultanate. This thesis has sought to discuss the role of the *uleebalang* in the foundation of civil rule in Aceh and to examine how the Dutch colonial authorities imposed their definition on how the *uleebalang* should perform as loyal *zelfbestuurders*. The case of the involvement of several *uleebalang* in Sarekat Islam does not only shed light on civil rule and indirect rule in Aceh, but also opens up space to examine modern political culture in the Dutch East Indies during the late colonial period outside of Java.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the decision to collaborate with the *uleebalang* was made after the death of Sultan Mahmud and to end the prolonged war. In the early years of the colonial presence in Aceh, the process to tame the *uleebalang* under the colonial administration was not easy, for many of them still supported the rebellion and others required expensive costs for cooperation. As shown in Chapter 2, to understand why the *uleebalang* were considered as a compatible ally, it is necessary to study how the Dutch were aided by Snouck Hurgronje to define their nature. The case of Sarekat Islam in North Aceh seen from the writings of the *uleebalang* does not fit with the characteristics that the Dutch had anticipated of them. Chapter 2 both traced the possible way in which Sarekat Islam established in Aceh and how the *uleebalang* affiliated to it represented themselves in their published and non-published writings.

By examining how the colonial government reacted to the case of Teuku Rhi Budjang and Teuku Muhammad Said, chapter 3 examined the colonial anxiety of potential unrest in the newly established civil rule in Aceh. From the *proces-verbaal* between Governor Van Sluys and H.J.E. Moll with the two *uleebalang* from North Aceh, one can see that the involvement of the *uleebalang* in Sarekat Islam, rather than the organization itself, was considered to be a threat, for the *uleebalang* might abuse their authority as *zelfbestuurders* to dismantle the colonial government from within. The exile of Teuku Rhi Budjang and Teuku Muhammad Said to New Guinea and Timor illustrates that the colonial government would only cooperate with the *uleebalang* who were compatible with how they once had been defined by Snouck Hurgronje.

All in all, this thesis has provided a glimpse on the early period of civil rule in Aceh under colonialism by looking at the nature of relationship between the *uleebalang* and the Dutch colonial officials between 1918 and 1923. Although the main source of this thesis, the archives from the Ministry of Colony, the *Politieke Verslagen van Buitengewesten Aceh (1905-1940)*, is not unfamiliar to historians of colonial Aceh, several aspects of the period of civil rule are worth further study. This thesis has examine how the transition from military to civil rule was made and what actions were taken by the colonial government to maintain the “peace and order” in Aceh. Furthermore, many reports and much correspondence on land policy and tax issues, as well the introduction of colonial legal court, *landschap gerecht*, deserve further examination. The birth of modern educational institutions and anti-colonial organizations is another topic worth more research, for which in addition to the archival sources local sources such as periodicals could be used, like in this thesis. Finally, these extensive sources have the potential to enrich the historiography of civil rule in Aceh and the Dutch East Indies in general.

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