

BETWEEN FEMINISITY AND MASCULINITY: THE LEADERSHIP OF ADMIRAL MALAHAYATI IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Desi Fitri Ayu Lestari, Djono, Musa Pelu

History Education Postgraduate, Universitas Sebelas Maret
Ir. Sutami Road No. 36A, Surakarta, Central Java, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

This study examines the leadership of Admiral Malahayati as an Acehnese female figure who lived in the sixteenth century. The research question to be answered is how is the dimension of leadership that underlies the actions of Admiral Malahayati while serving as the Royal Aceh Navy commander. The research method is historical with the Collingwood approach. Thus, the analysis is not only focused on uncovering historical events that appear to the eye but also the dimensions of the motives and values contained in the actions of Admiral Malahayati. The results of the study indicate that Admiral Malahayati is one of the Acehnese female figures who has a strong, courageous and integrity representation of leadership values. Admiral Malahayati's leadership value is different from other Acehnese female figures because of Malahayati's position as an Admiral in the public sector. Admiral Malahayati has a feminist dimension in its masculine leadership values as commander of the Royal Aceh Navy. The paradox between feminism and masculinity became an important dimension in his leadership in the Inong Balee fleet, especially when facing polemics with the Netherlands and Britain.

KEYWORDS: Malahayati, Aceh, Leadership

A. INTRODUCTION

In 2017, the Government of Indonesia awarded the title of national hero to Admiral Malahayati. Admiral Malahayati became the third female figure, after Fatmawati Soekarno (appointed in 2000), Opu Daeng Risaju (appointed in 2006), and Agung Hj. Andi Depu (appointed in 2018), who was named Indonesia's national hero after the collapse of the New Order. Admiral Malahayati's figure enriches the historical narrative of women in the Kingdom of Aceh who had known other female hero figures namely Ratu Safiatuddin (ruled 1641-1675), Ratu Naqiatuddin (ruled 1675-1678), Ratu Zakiatuddin (ruled 1678-1688), and Ratu Kamalat Syah (ruling from 1688-1699) (Hasjmy, 1977). Admiral Malahayati became one of the Aceh Heroines along with Ratu Tajul Alam Safiatuddin Syah, Cut Nyak Dien, Tengku Fakinah, Cut Nyak Meutia, Pocut Baren, Pocut Meurah Intan Behue, and Cutpo Fatimah (Zainuddin, 1966).

Citra Admiral Malahayati in the imagination of the Acehnese is indeed interesting to study. The use of Admiral Malahayati's image is driven by the uniqueness of this figure in the historical landscape of the people of Aceh and Indonesia. On the one hand, Admiral Malahayati's historical narrative is part of the anti-central discourse when Aceh was in a period of conflict between the Free Aceh Movement and the New Order. Admiral Malahayati was made an ideal woman figure who firmly

struggled after being abandoned by her husband to fight or fall in the role field (Rahmawati, Susilastuti, Mas'oeed, Darwin, 2018). On the other hand, the New Order government also used the image of Admiral Malahayati as part of the unity discourse. Meanwhile, Citra Admiral Malayahati is maintained for constructive political goals after the reform era (Fogg, 2019).

After his appointment as a national hero, a study of Admiral Malahayati was increasingly carried out in academic and public spaces. Admiral Malahayati is represented in historical narratives and various popular images such as characters in novel stories (Linda and Sumiyadi, 2018) or fantasy genre games (Amin and Budiman, 2018). The historical narrative of Malahayati is also increasingly being touched on in the study of Indonesian history. The study of Admiral Malahayati generally revolves around the study of history or biography and its role in the dynamics of the Aceh community, for example the study of Solichin Salam titled Malahayati Srikandi from Aceh (1995) and AdiPewara study titled Malahayati: Female Lions from Aceh (1991) arranged in more ways popular.

Apart from these developments, another dimension of Admiral Malahayati still requires in-depth study, in addition to existing historical studies. One dimension that needs to be studied is the leadership dimension of Admiral Malahayati. Theoretically, the study of leadership values can have value in three respects: (1) strengthening discourse in campaigns for women's contributions to the dynamics of democracy and leadership in Indonesia, (2) strengthening nationalism for women, and (3) strengthening gender equality and feminism. Therefore, the study of Admiral Malahayati's leadership values is important in the context of taking values in the past for life in the present, especially for normative and educational purposes.

Based on this background, this research will focus on revealing the leadership dimensions of Admiral Malahayati. The question to be underlined in this research is how is the value of Admiral Malahayati's leadership and its contribution to discussions on leadership and specifically on women's leadership in Aceh and Indonesia. At the beginning, the author will present the history of Admiral Malahayati during the XVI century Kingdom of Aceh. Furthermore, the author focuses on revealing the values of Malahayati's leadership with Collingwood's approach to motivation in historical events with the main focus being the history of Admiral Malahayati. In the final section, the author tries to reflect and discuss the leadership of Admiral Malahayati in the space of women's leadership in Indonesia.

B. METHOD

This study uses historical methods that include heuristic stages, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. In contrast to Admiral Malahayati's previous historical study, this study used the Collingwood approach (1956) to uncover the motives of Admiral Malahayati's actions. In conducting investigations and explanations, Collingwood distinguishes between "the outside" and "the inside" of a historical event. The term "the outside" refers to something invisible from historical events such as the actions of historical actors. Meanwhile "the inside" refers to the dimensions of thought, ideas, or

motives underlying a historical event or action. Through the inside approach, the author will try to uncover the leadership dimensions of Admiral Malahayati (Collingwood, 1994). Amid the limitations of primary sources related to Admiral Malahayati, researchers used a contextual approach (Kuntowijoyo, 2003). Thus, researchers used secondary sources in the form of studies conducted by historians before understanding the dimensions of Admiral Malahayati's leadership and the context of the kingdom of Aceh in the sixteenth century. Thus, the focus of analysis is not emphasized on aspects of events or history of Admiral Malahayati, but on the leadership motives that underlie the actions taken by Admiral Malahayati.

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Historical Narrative of Admiral Malahayati

Admiral Malahayati's historical narrative needs to be explained before revealing the leadership dimensions of Admiral Malahayati. Admiral Malahayati's historical narrative is still debated. In fact, Schoter (2013) states that the truth of the historical narrative of Admiral Malahayati is still in doubt because of the limited number of primary sources available. Generally, descriptions of Admiral Malahayati appear in the history and oral traditions of the Acehnese people. A comprehensive historical study of Admiral Malahayati was carried out by Rusdi Sufi (1994) and Solichin Salam (1995). Meanwhile, other studies only mention a little about Admiral Malahayati's existence, for example the study of Amirul Hadi (2004).

In general, historians agree on a number of things regarding Admiral Malahayati. Admiral Malahayati comes from an Acehnese noble family. His father was named Admiral Mahmud Syah. Admiral Malahayati's grandfather was Admiral Muhammad Said Syah son of Sultan Salahuddin Syah (ruled around 1530-539). When drawn further, Sultan Salahuddin Syah was the son of Sultan Ibrahim Ali Mughayat Syah (r. 1513-1530) who was the founder of the Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam (Salam, 1995). Thus, Admiral Malahayati lived before the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636).

Admiral Malahayati was the military commander of the Royal Aceh navy under the rule of Sultan Al Mukammil (1589-1604) who succeeded in dispelling Portuguese attacks (Sufi, 1994; Salam, 1995; Hadi, 2004). Admiral Malahayati led the Inongbale or Armed-Female Fleet forces whose members contained women-widows who left their husbands at war or died in war and in subsequent developments included all Acehnese women who wished to become Aceh's royal combat forces (Hasjmy, 1977). Military skills Admiral Malahayati was studied while studying at Baitul Makdis, the military academy (Salam, 1995).

One of the important stages in the life of Admiral Malahayati who continues to be remembered is his courage in facing Portuguese and Dutch forces and his strategy in facing the arrival of the British. Zainuddin (1966: 8-9) narrated the actions of Admiral Malahayati in surrounding the Dutch Loji until he succeeded in driving the Dutch ship to Sri Lanka on September 11, 1599. For this service,

Malahayati was later awarded the title "Admiral" by Sultan AlaudinRiyatsyah. In the face of the arrival of Britain, Admiral Malahayati gave some advice and strategies to the Sultan. Admiral Malahayati later acted as an Aceh diplomat in relation to Britain.

Admiral Malahayati was killed during a meeting with Portuguese troops in TelukKrueng Raya. The body of Admiral Malahayati was later interred on the Inner City Hill Slope, Krueng Raya Fisherman Village about 34 kilometers from Banda Aceh City. Admiral Malahayati was buried along with his time namely Rear Admiral PocutMeurahInseun. During the New Order, the name AdmiralMalahayati was later made the name of the Port in Krueng Raya named LauutMalahayati Port and the name of one Indonesian Navy ship, Korvet KRI Malahayati (Salam, 1995).

The historical explanation above certainly does not cover the entire life of AdmiralMalahayati. AdmiralMalahayati's way of life has not been revealed thoroughly because of the limitations of primary sources. But, from the short narrative, the leadership dimensions can be taken from the actions of Admiral Malahayati.

2. Leadership Value of Admiral Malahayati

From the various actions of AdmiralMalahayati described above, the author then reflects on leadership values contained in historical narratives with the Collingwood approach. From the analysis, the leadership values from Admiral Malahayati are as follows:

a. Firm

Admiral Malahayati not only served as Commander of the Royal Aceh Darussalam and InongBalee naval fleets. Admiral Malahayati was also appointed by the Sultan of Aceh as Commander of the Palace Guards Forces. In carrying out his duties, Admiral Malahayati is known as a reliable diplomat and negotiator figure. This is evidenced by various practical experiences facing counter-parts from the Netherlands and the UK. As a military man, Malahayati is firm and has high discipline. But in the face of negotiations, he can be flexible and wise without sacrificing principles. As a military and Commander in Chief of the Fleet, he can be assertive without compromising against an opponent. But as a reliable diplomat, Malahayati can be friendly and flexible dealing with his negotiating opponents (Salam, 1995: 31). From the description, it can be concluded that Admiral Malahayati has a firmness value.

b. Courageous

During the leadership of Admiral Malahayati, there had been resistance between the ship's leaders from the Netherlands namely Cornelis de Houtman and Frederijk de Houtman. the war that took place on June 21, 1599 Cornelis de Houtman and Frederijk de Houtman entered the port of Banda Aceh and were accepted as appropriate as the merchant ships of friendly countries. However, two Cornelis brothers and Frederijk betrayed the sultan. They make trade manipulation, screw up, discuss and so on (Salam, 1995:29) For the Sultan there is no other way but to assign the Commander of the

InongBalee Fleet, Admiral Malahayati to complete the claim. theInongBalee fleet invaded Dutch ships disguised as merchant ships. battle or friend one takes place on the deck of the Dutch ships. Cornelis de Houtman died stabbed by Admiral Malahayati himself with his rencong, while Frderijk de Houtman in Tawan (Hasjmy, 1935:9). According to a Dutch female writer, Marie van Zuchtelen, in her book *VrouwelijkeAdmiraalMalahayati* was very praising Admiral Malahayati. according to the author, the Dutch Armada InongBalee consists of 2000 female soldiers. he said, there was not even a woman in the world who became Commander of the Fleet like Admiral Malahayati (Salam, 1995:30). The actions taken by Admiral Malahayati in facing various challenges in the Kingdom of Aceh showed the value of courage in herself.

c. Integrity

The leadership achievement of Admiral Malahayati was seen As a young officer graduating from the BaitulMakdis Military Academy in Aceh, Malahayati gained the honor and trust of Sultan AlaidinRiyat Shah Al Mukammil (1589-1604) was appointed as Commander of the World Darud Palace Protocol from the kingdom of Aceh Darussalam. His position as commander of the Palace Protocol for Malahayati was a high and respectable position, besides his great responsibilities. Because in addition to being a trust of the Sultan, he also mastered the question of ethics and protocol as is usually the case in every royal palace anywhere in the world (Sufi, 1994:31).

Admiral Malahayati was appointed Commander in Chief of his Armed Forces by submitting a request to Sultan Al Mukammil to form an Aceh Fleet whose soldiers were all widowed women whose husbands died in the battle of TelukHaru, Malahayati's request was granted by the Sultan. The fleet was named the Armada InongBalee (Fleet of women killed by husbands who died in the war). The occurrence of the murder of Cornelis de Houtmant in the hands of Malahayati using Rencong and the capture of Fedrijk de Houtman. Admiral Malahayati is a reliable diplomat and negotiator. This is evidenced by various practical experiences facing counter-parts from the Netherlands and the UK. As a military man, Malahayati is firm and has high discipline. But in the face of negotiations, he is flexible and wise without sacrificing principles. As a military and Commander in Chief of the Fleet, he can be assertive without compromising against an opponent. But as a reliable diplomat, Malahayati can be friendly and flexible dealing with his negotiating opponents (Salam, 1995: 31). Thus, in carrying out every royal assignment, AdmiralMalahayati has high integrity.

Based on the analysis above, it can be concluded that AdmiralMalahayati's leadership value consists of firmness, courage, and integrity. Assertiveness, courage and integrity AdmiralMalahayati reflects on the ideal values of Acehnese women and their role in the context of contemporary leadership in Indonesia.

3. Women's Leadership in Aceh and Indonesia Context

AdmiralMalahayati's leadership values are complementary to Indonesian female leader figures from Aceh, who have demonstrated the attitude of their leadership in the Navy. The Acehnese people in

their cultural systems have leadership principles that are in harmony with the principle of harmony in life in the universe. Natural law, empirical facts, and logical awareness to live in order are the main principles that are believed to be the axis of failure. A country, region, village must have a leader who is governed by regulations and law.

The view of life of the Acehnese, the leader is the person who has the most responsibility. A leader must have a high level of patience because a leader must be "resilient" and not easily give up or despair. In addition, a leader must be able to accept various criticisms, both constructive and destructive in nature, while at the same time understanding the character of the community he leads well. The Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam made the Basic Islamic State with its legal sources namely Al-Quran and Hadith. This is stated in the Qanun (Law of the Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam) which has been established by Sultan Iskandar Muda. Because Islam has been taken as the basis of the State, and the Koran and Hadith have been declared as sources of law, the position of women is adjusted to the provisions contained therein (Hasjmy, 1977: 21-22).

In accordance with Islamic teachings, the Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam gives equal position between men and women. So that in the Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam there were many female leaders who led the government and led in wars, such as Admiral Malahayati. Leaders have an obligation to the kingdom, such as the obligation to defend and advance the kingdom, because women are seen as equal to men in royal law (Suhaemi, 1993: 3-4).

During the kingdom of Aceh Darussalam, women were given a considerable role in the royal army, one of which was formed by an inongbalee army organization, during the sultan Alaudin Riayat Syah Al Mukamil (1589-1604). Admiral Malahayati is the first Admiral in the World Fleet Commander in the modern century and leads 100 warships with 1000 to 2000 personnel, with modern weaponry in the era, besides Admiral Malahayati leads the Armed Forong bale (association of women who have left by her husband dead in the war). Our life history and the struggle of Admiral Malahayati need to be explored to later we inherit the values of leadership and the spirit of their struggle for our young generation.

During the heyday of the kingdoms in Aceh, for the sultan, Acehnese women were highly honored. They have several advantages that are sometimes not owned by men. In certain situations, women are given several special tasks and proportional positions or other languages in strategic positions. The position included being the leader of the war fleet, especially the navy with the rank of admiral, he was named Admiral Malahayati. Malahayati forces, in many classical literature referred to as troops respected by opponents, leading a fleet of war is not an easy matter. They must have a high leadership attitude and certainly must have charismatic. Another position is the sukekawai palace forces (regiment of palace guards), the people's court assembly.

Women are considered better at maintaining diplomatic consistency. The issue of women's leadership, they are more likely to be proactive towards issues that are developing. They were able to minimize the turmoil inside the palace. From the religious aspect, Acehnese women's leadership has its own advantages. One of the figures to strengthen this argument is Queen Safiatuddin. When the sultanate's leadership was in his hands, the Sultanate of Aceh at that time which was on the verge of collapse was able to be controlled by it by strengthening diplomatic relations with the neighboring kingdom (Husein and Amiruddin, 2008: 52).

On the other hand, Acehnese women are famous for their resolute tendencies. Their firmness can be found in decision making. They are also able to trigger some laws not only pro-women but men get the same attention. Clearly, behind the firmness of Acehnese women there is wisdom in it. Kamayanti (2013: 368) in an article examining an Acehnese woman, Cut NyakDhien, mentioned that Acehnese women had fighting spirit, a spirit of liberation, firmness in thinking and acting. Kamayanti's affirmative argument implies the Acehnese women's leadership in her position as a housewife and guerrilla leader on the battlefield. Nevertheless, the rivalry between Acehnese women and men in fighting for power was very common in Aceh at that time.

Citra AdmiralMalahayati with firm, courageous and integrity leadership values is an important support for the position of women in Aceh. When compared with RatuSafiatudin (ruled 1641-1675), RatuNaqiatuddin (ruled 1675-1678), RatuZakiatuddin (ruled 1678-1688), and RatuKamalatSyah (ruled from 1688-1699) or other Acehnese female figures such as Cut NyakDien, TengkuFakinah, Cut NyakMeutia, PcutBaren, PcutMeurahIntanBehue, and Cutpo Fatimah, AdmiralMalahayati's image became interesting because of her position as Admiral or Navy commander. The value of Sultana TajulAlamSafiatuddinSyah's leadership as a queen is decisive in giving punishment and developing knowledge (Mursyi, 2017). Admiral Malahayati as a warlord has a side of female tenderness and firmness as a leader of the Acehnese army.

The presence of the narrative of Admiral Malahayati as a national hero can be an important point of recognition of female figures in the public sector (Ismawati, 2018), gender equality in Indonesia (Iqhrammullah, 2018), and the development of post-conflict Aceh women (Lestari, 2017). Malahayati can be called an important figure in the feminism and gender movement in the context of Acehnese society.

The above study shows that the existence of AdmiralMalahayati is proof that Acehnese women have been empowered since the sixteenth century in the midst of the life of the Islamic Kingdom of Aceh and its Islamist and kosmopolis communities. The dimensions of masculinity and feminism represented by firmness, courage, and integrity accompanied by gentleness in AdmiralMalahayati became an important foundation in influencing her actions when dealing with the Netherlands, England and Portugal. In the present context, the paradoxical dimension between masculinity and

feminism is the capital of superiority possessed by female leaders in dealing with various situations and constraints.

D. CONCLUSION

This research shows the leadership dimensions of Malayahati admiral consisting of gentleness, firmness, courage, and integrity. The leadership dimension has two paradoxical or ambiguous traits, namely masculinity which is represented by firmness, courage, and integrity, and feminism which is represented by the gentleness of Admiral Malahayati. The paradoxical nature is one of the factors that led to the glory of diplomacy and strategy of Admiral Malahayati in dealing with the Netherlands, Britain and Portugal. The paradox between feminism and masculinity became an important dimension in his leadership in the InongBalee fleet, especially when facing polemics with the Netherlands and Britain.

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