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Center for Research and Development of Religious Literature and Heritage
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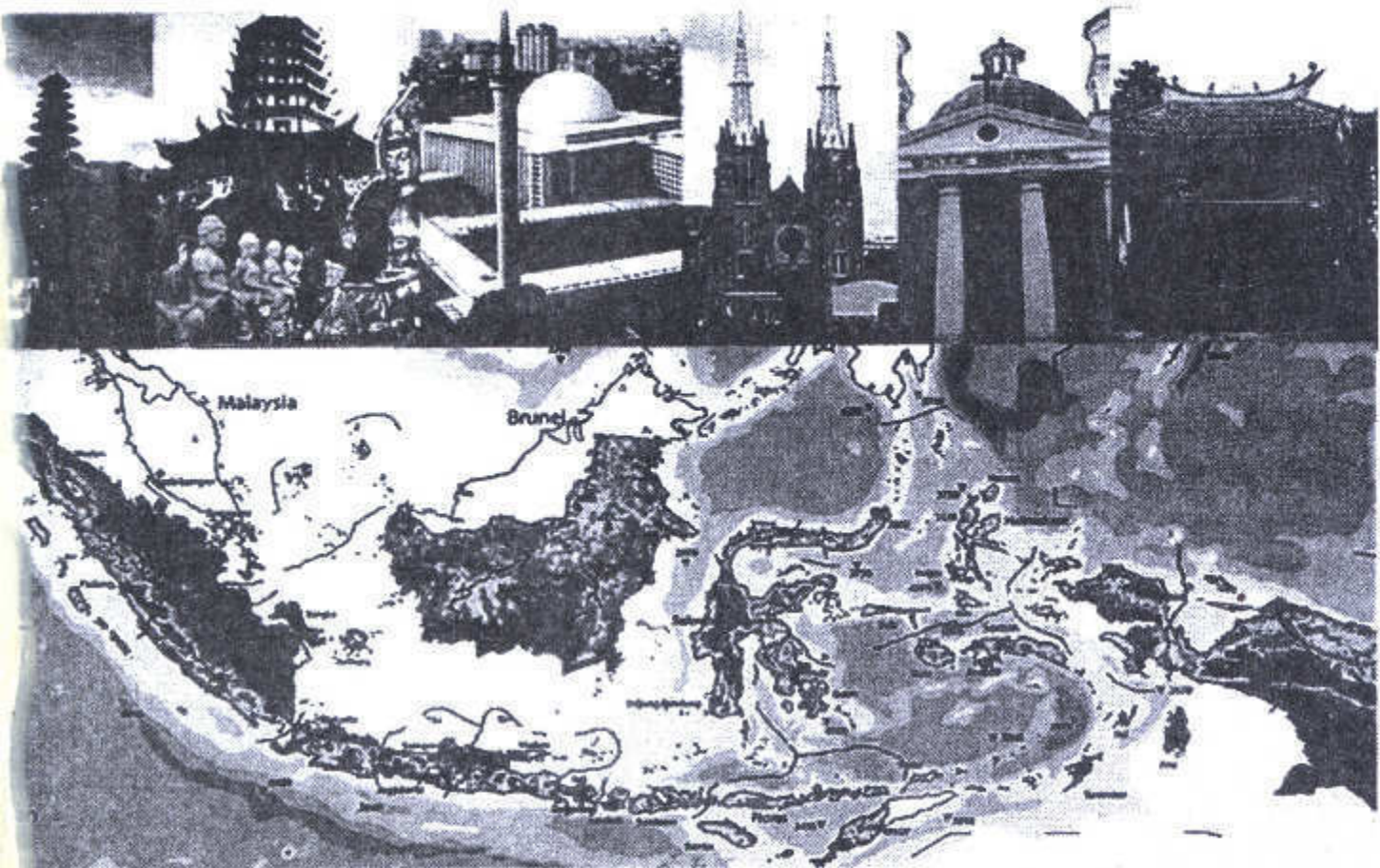


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EDITORIAL NOTES

This edition is concerned with the problems of Muslim movements and social history in Indonesia and Southeast Asia. The purpose of this edition is not totally different from the previous edition that is to promote the cultural heritage of Islam in Indonesia in particular and the world-wide in general. Apart from that, it is certainly to develop ideas relating to the development of Islamic thoughts and movements, social history as cultural heritage in order to be widely known, read and reviewed by the academic community at large.

Studies on this edition include a few posts on “The *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah* in Southeast Asia: The Literature of Malay-Indonesian ‘Ulama’ and Reforms”, “The Meccan Fatwas and the Globalized Discourse of Exclusion: The Case of Anti-Ahmadiyah Movements in Indonesia”, “Women, Leadership, and Mosque’s Cultures: Indonesian Heritage in New York City”, “Adat, Islam, and Dakwah Movement in Bayan, North Lombok”, “مباحث الإيمان”, “على نظرة أهل السنة والجماعة”, “Hajj Transportation of Netherlands East Indies, 1910-1940”, and “تطور المسلمين في بورما بعد استقلاله”.

The first article is written by Azyumardi Azra on *Ahlusunnah wal Jamaah* in Southeast Asia. This study focusses on the literature used by Malay-Indonesian Ulama and reforms performing their idea to their society. Azra highlights that the Malay-Indonesian ulama were mostly responsible for earliest reforms of Islamic teaching and Muslim life in the archipelago.

Further study is written by Dadi Darmadi focussing on the historical and global contextualization of intolerance towards religious minority group, such as Ahmadiyah, and it analyzes the recent increased animosity towards them in Indonesia. Dadi Darmadi argues that to understand the current persecution of Ahmadiyah one must begin with an examination of the early

transnational efforts to marginalize Ahmadiyah and their effects on Muslim communities. The Meccan fatwas in focus – and their reproduction – provide an example of the ways in which such globalized discourses of exclusion regarding a particular religious group were strategically framed and mobilized in i.e. Lahore, Mecca and few other places, and how these historical and theological factors at play could provide more insight into the rising political intolerance and the criminalization of religious views in Indonesia.

The third article is written by Fakhriati which talks of the use of certain papers in the writing of Islamic manuscripts in Aceh. The article argues that there are two types of Acehnese manuscripts' papers: traditional and imported papers with unique and spesific images of watermark. The dominant watermark appeared in the imported papers were crescents which symbolized the typical characteristics of the Islamic sign. Studying on such papers indicates the relationship between the country of producers and the country of of the the paper user.

The next article is written by Erni Budiwanti which discusses about local customs, religion and the reaction of Tuan Guru as teachers and leaders for traditional Islamic school (*Pesantren*). Tuan Guru had took significant role as a cultural broker. They acted not only for teaching religious matters, but transformed local customs to acceterate global need for maintaing ecological balance. The mission has put them into two dilemma. On the one side, they attempt to alter local customs which had many sacral values, and on the other sides, they solve community problem on education and treat enviromental balance.

Further article is written by Sofyan Hadi which studies on manuscript of *Khabar Nazam Usiyat* collected by family of Syekh Muhammad Said Bonjol, Minangkabau, West Sumatra. He concludes that this manuscript contained a model of Al-Gazali's *Tasawuf Akhlaqi*. This manuscript emerged as a response and critics to theological concept occurred at that time in Minangkabau.

Further article is written by Erlita Tantri which highlights on mechanism of Hajj Transportation and its significance in Netherlands East Indies, from 1910 to 1940. From her research, she concludes that during the above period, the role the Dutch colonial to hajj took an important part which they regarded as economical and political issue which effected to colonial sustainability.

The next article is written by Ali Fahrudin which is about the history of arising Rohingya Muslims in Burma and their *jihad* for seeking their authority. In his works, Ali argues that Rohingya Muslim had no status in their country which then posited them in low level of the Burma community. They in fact should have the right as other community.

THE USE OF PAPERS IN THE ACEHNESE ISLAMIC MANUSCRIPTS AND ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT

By Fakhriati

Abstract

Paper is the most popular material used for writing Islamic manuscript in the Archipelago, including Aceh. Both imported and traditional papers were used for writing Islamic manuscripts in Aceh. Using certain paper for writing an Islamic manuscript might be used for tracing a great information on the context of papers that can be able to learn and know the relationship between the country of paper producers and the country of the paper users. This article argues that Acehnese Islamic manuscripts were written mostly in imported papers containing of watermark images commonly used in Islamic countries. This indicates that Acehnese had either social, economic, political, or knowledge relationship with Islamic countries.

Keywords: Islamic manuscripts, Acehnese, traditional and imported paper.

Introduction

Manuscript is a symbol of achievement reached by archipelago community in the past. The spread of manuscripts in various areas in the archipelago proved that some tribes in this area were highly civilised and cultured. They even established economic, social, political, and knowledge relationship with some foreign countries in this world.

Archipelago Islamic manuscripts have their own distinctive characteristics. From the physical side, archipelago

Islamic manuscripts were written on various materials. Some Lombok manuscripts, for example, were mostly written on palm leaves, while most of Malay manuscripts, including Acehese manuscripts in other side, were written on paper imported from abroad.

Another distinctive feature of Malay manuscripts was the date of scripting and even its writer and copyist were sometimes not mentioned. This might occur because of two factors, *first*; the manuscripts were not well preserved and maintained. Most of them were damaged and even some of their parts were lost. *Second*, the writer of most of Malay manuscript, in fact, often did not write not only the date of writing, but the place where the manuscript was written and produced as well. To answer a question on the date of writing text, place, producer, and any other matter related to physical condition of the manuscript is, of course, by studying the material or the script in the paper.

Acehnese manuscripts usually used materials imported from abroad which frequently had certain watermark and countermark, and chain and laid lines inside the papers. The imported papers were also different from colour and quality. These criteria could also be used for tracing a great information on the context of producing a manuscript. The date and the producer information of a manuscript are, then, able to be detected. Hence, when the date of a manuscript cannot be found, it could be predicted from the paper material. Not only that, through the papers we are able to learn and know the relationship between the country of paper producers and the country of the paper users.

An imported paper with watermark and countermark, for instance, was, indeed, created with a certain reason and background from their creator or producer. Thus, watermark and countermark stored very valuable historical knowledge that needs

to be dug out, which then can be linked to the era of manuscripts' production.

Watermark in Acehnese manuscripts' papers were produced by different countries and in different centuries. Turkey, for example, produced watermark of crescents in 15th and 16th centuries. The papers with similar watermark were also produced, then, by Italian in 17th century. (Jones, 1998: 114-115). Economic and political condition of a certain country might influence to the form of watermark. Therefore, to deal with the place of a watermark originated and the time of the manuscripts' paper produced, we should use codicological and socio-historical approaches.

Based on the above matters, this study tries to reveal such information in some imported and traditional papers in archipelago Islamic manuscripts focusing on Acehnese manuscripts' papers. The reason of this choice is based on the consideration that Aceh has considerable number of Islamic manuscripts which were mostly written in Arabic and Acehnese. They are not only kept abroad, but also kept in Indonesia; those are in formal institutions like National library and Acehnese museum. There are even a large number of Acehnese manuscripts kept privately by many local people.

From the above description, the issue needs to discuss in this study is the typology of imported and traditional papers used in the Acehnese Islamic manuscripts. This study will give benefits, at least, in three aspects; providing information on the papers used in Acehnese Islamic manuscripts; being a reference for those who concentrate on archipelago manuscripts, and to encourage them studying further related on the papers used in the manuscripts located in any regions in the archipelago; and being a reference for other researchers for further study on all the things related to the manuscripts' materials.

In order to avoid confusion in understanding the terms used in this study, the referred terms are described as follows. Manuscript is an old hand writing. So, the study of Achenese manuscript here means understanding the Islamic hand writing written by the Acehnese community as a part of Malay manuscripts. The manuscript papers that are going to discuss in this article is the papers used in Acehnese manuscripts. They are not only imported from Europe, but from Middle East and Southeast Asia as well. Watermark is an image that can be in any forms of images. It is usually associated with places and people who produced the paper, while countermark is a form of letters, usually the name of a manufacturer or its abbreviation. Both watermark and countermark are inside a paper that can be found by observing and viewing thoroughly and carefully.

This research focuses on 483 Acehnese manuscripts that already digitised from 2009 to 2010 supported by British Library, and now they can be reached online with the address <http://eap.bl.uk/database/results.a4d?projID=EAP329>. These manuscripts collected individually by the Acehnese in Aceh Besar and Pidie Regencies.

There are some researchers studied in this field. Heawood (1935) and Churchill (1986) wrote some books on watermark and countermark that might become a reference for studying the manuscripts in the archipelago. However, the books focused only for the watermark produced in 17th and 18th centuries in the Netherlands, Italia, and England, whereas Malay manuscripts had existed since 14th century. While, the watermark papers used for writing Malay manuscripts were not produced only in the above areas, but from Middle East and Southeast Asia as well. Moreover, Russell Jones stated that both of the books cannot be a comprehensive reference for studying Malay manuscripts.

They were lack of description, codiological information, and some dates were not accurate.¹

Russell Jones also wrote some articles to explain the study on watermark, such as *From Paper mill to Scribe: The Lapse of Time* (1981) and *Crescent and Eagle Watermarks in Malay Manuscripts* (1998). The first article explained on the importance of watermark in determining the age of the manuscripts, whereas the second article discussing on crescent and eagle watermarks that characterized the Malay manuscripts. He did not explain the form of watermark in Malay manuscripts' papers. Watermarks outside the Europe, therefore, were not yet studied in those above books.

In addition, there are two other books written by T. Iskandar (1997) and Edwin Wieringa (2007) about catalogue of Malay manuscripts stored in Leiden University. However, both discussed on Malay manuscripts as a whole, not focussed only on watermark. The description on the watermarks in those books was very brief even though several types of the watermark were mentioned. In Cod. Or. 3286, for instance, there was a writing *watermark: three crescents*. (Wieringa (2007: Vol II, 176) and *wm. Crescent* (T. Iskandar, 1997: Vol I, 142). From those books, we can find that the study on watermark was only a few and not sufficient as reference for the researchers.

Among the same images of watermark have different models which indeed have different meaning. Here are the examples:

¹ Discussion with Russell Jones through email, 22 March 2010.



These such watermark images are not included in the mentioned books. Russell Jones elaborated that the above crescent is produced in 19th century. Nevertheless, he did not explain why this difference occurred.²

Historical Background of Manuscript's Papers in the Archipelago

The text in a manuscript was produced and written by our predecessors used the various models of papers. It can be categorized into two forms; traditional and imported papers.

1. Traditional Papers

The traditional manuscript papers can be created from any materials existed in Indonesia, such as *lontar* made from palm leaves, *dluwang* from bark, and bamboo. All the materials, then, are traditionally processed to produce paper. To produce high quality paper, for instance, palm leaves in Bali and Sulawesi was processed simply with traditional method.³

The *lontar* leaves can grow wildly in the garden and forest in Indonesia and can be plucked from the young trees and then sliced. The slice is dried in the sun. Then a stick attached to the leaf is removed and cut according the desired size. The *lontar* leaves are then boiled with some of herbs, like coconut bud and old corn in quite long time until they are destroyed. The *lontar*

²Discussion with Russell Jones through email, 15 November 2009.

³ In other countries, especially Asian countries have almost similar process of hand papermaking. (See Koretsky, 2012:145-156).

leaves, then, is lifted and washed with clean water then dried and put in a row and again doused with cold water to avoiding shrinking. The *lontar* leave is ready to use and is perforated three holes, two in paper side and one in the middle to be tied to each other (Pudjiastuti, 2006:36-40).

Dluwang tree -- in Garut (West Java) it is called *saeh* tree and in North Sumatra called *Alim* tree -- was made by peeling their matured bark. The process of manufacturing carried out first by cutting down the trees, its bark is exfoliated and removed and soaked one day and one night, and then cut into 30 cm. The bark then, immersed in water and squeezed and stored in bamboo basket filled with banana leaves for three days and dried on the banana trunk and smoothed. After it was finished, the papers are ready to be used. (Pudjiastuti, 2006:30-40).

Sometimes the bamboo is not treated as above, but only shaved and smoothed. Writers usually write only a short text on the bamboo. The manuscripts of Kerinci, for example, is written 15 % on the bamboo material. (Uli Kozok, 2006: 48-49).

2. Imported Papers

Imported papers mostly came from Europe, eventhough China was the first country produced papers. The paper production knowledge was also gained by the Turkey after making war with China. Turkey established the first paper factory in Samarkand on 751 AD, but without watermark.

In 1264 AD, Italia began to produce watermarked paper. Since there were less watermarked papers in the market, such paper turned out in great demands. The papers were exported to several countries including Turkey. During Ottoman Empire, the usage of watermarked paper in Turkey was significant. Turkey, then, ordered to Italia with their own watermark model of three rowed crescents (Doroche, 2005:57-58).

The watermarked paper was produced by other European countries. Netherlands, for example, created watermark for their own paper in form of *propatria* and Countermark *van Dalyn*. From the watermark, we can identify:

1. The paper quality. It can be said that in 17th century Netherlands has already produced a high quality paper.
2. The place of manufacturing the paper.
3. The identity of the paper producer.

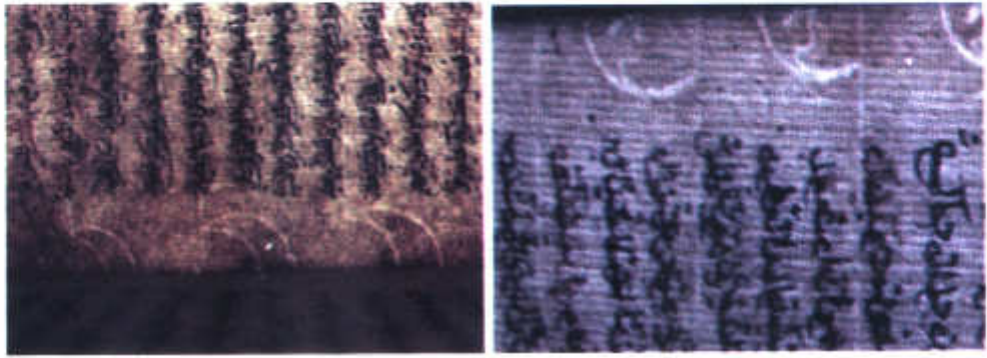
European papers was made form fabric scraps cut into small pieces, soaked, beaten, and cooked to porridge, then filtered and placed in the mould. Watermark model was made during this mould by embroidering the water mark in paper. The material then sifted again and dried and mixed with the glue to smoothen the paper. Such process lasted until the 1800 AD. After that period, paper was made by machine. (Voorn, 1960:48-58).

Manuscript's Papers in Aceh

1. Watermark Papers

Imported papers commonly used for writing Islamic manuscripts in Aceh were watermark and countermark. Among the watermark mostly used were three crescents with two models, three plain crescents and three crescents with the image of human face.⁴

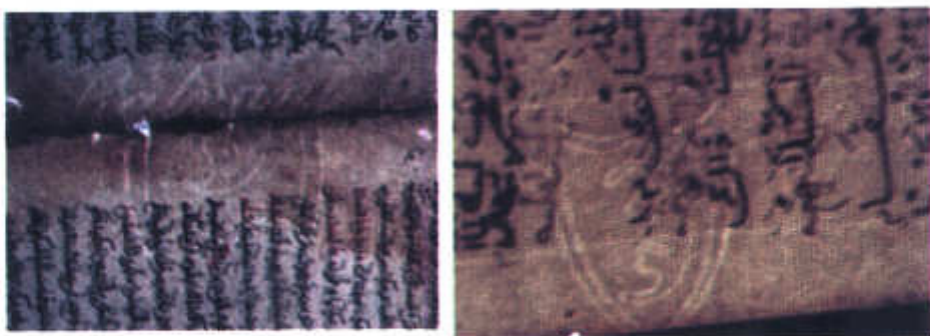
⁴ This such type of watermark can be mostly found also in National Library, Jakarta, for Acehese manuscripts, Meuseum Aceh, Ali Hasjmy Museum, and PDIA, but rarely found in Banten manuscripts, especially in the papers used for writing letters. The manuscripts' papers in this area are more dominant with watermark of *propatria*. (See Pudjiastuti, 2007:308-314; Fathurrahman, 2007).



Most of the manuscripts used such papers contain religious text, such as Sufism, Islamic jurisprudence, and Arabic grammar and literature.

The first model of watermark that is plain crescents cannot be found in Heawood and Churchill's book. The image was not fit with their description. (See Heawood, 1986:85). According to Russell Jones, these plain crescents were made by Italian under the guidance of Turks. Meanwhile, for the second model of crescents, the Italian had made a lot of modification. (Jones, 1998:114-116). Because the second model was not directly from Turkey, it is likely that a number of such watermarked papers imported to Aceh were less than the first model. The first model also was easily accepted by the Acehnese as it fits with the Islamic teachings embraced by most of Acehnese.

Watermark of *Moon face in shield* is in the shape of crescent with human face facing out placed in the shield with two lines. In addition to this watermark, the countermark was also found in the same page with the concatenated and italic words *Andrea Galvani Lorden one*. The difference in two images could be viewed as follows:



When more closely observed, the crescent image with the shield has distinctive feature that shows specific thing about the creator. At each the crescent end is carved with pointed elongated shape, while in other crescents, the end is not pointed and the face of human face is not too flashy. There is no reference to detect the reason behind such model creation.

The Watermark called *propatria* is an image of low fence with small board pointed downward. Inside the fence, there is a girl sitting with Dutch costume and holding the stick with its end attaching a cup. Beneath the image, a lion with a crown on his head looks to the stick. The lion hold the sword on the left and a sheaf of arrows in his right.

Watermark image of *Britannia* consisted of medallion crowned the cross in the crown. Inside was a woman sitting on the wheel and holding a lance and small flower on the left hand. Churchill and Heawood did not mention the date of the production of this watermark (*ND from blank sheet (loose)*). (Churchill, 1935:75; Heawood, 1986:68). This watermark image, although inside the image only written *Birtannia*, can be identified as British production.

The flower of Lily, in Dutch called *Fleur-de-lis* and in British *Strasbourg lilly*. The flower is shaped with three leaves, in the middle, left and right and bound by a string. There are two models of Lily flower in Acehnese manuscripts; a plain lily flower without any single addition and lily flower that put inside the shield with single line scratch on the crown.

There is two models of watermark images of horse found in Acehnese manuscript; *first*, a horse jumps and heads down to the bottom without a rider on it, and *second*, a horse runs with a rider.

In Islamic manuscripts we are able to obtain watermark image in Arabic letters *bayad abu syabkin istanbuli hali asili* which might be produced in 19th and early 20th century.⁵ (Gacek, 2012:130-131).



This letters show that the paper was belong to Abu Syabk from Istanbul Turkey. Therefore, it is assumed that this kind of paper was produced in Turkey and exported to Aceh. However, this watermark was not commonly found in Aceh or even in other places. Up to now, there are only two papers of this watermark is found; one is in Aceh and another is in South East Sulawesi. The Turkey likely did not produce watermarked paper as much as other European countries. However as they had good relationship with Italia, some papers which was contained image of crescents were produced by Italian.

An image of rice can also be found in manuscript paper of Aceh.



The country and the place of the producer are not yet be able to identify. Russell Jones considered this paper image is unique and

⁵ This Arabic calligraphy is also found in Arabic manuscripts in the Middle East. According to Humbert, this watermark had created in 20th century. (Humbert, 2012:135-139).

has never been found in the current study. Because insufficient reference, this study cannot make further identification.

2. The use of Paper without Watermark

a. Paper with Chain and Laid Lines

In addition to the paper with watermark, the European paper also marked by the chain and laid lines. The chain lines were half centimetre laid line with 2.5 cm. Russell Jones stated that there are two kinds of chain and laid lines; *first*, Chain and laid lines with shadow and *second* is without shadow. For the paper with chain and laid lines followed by shadow produced before 19th century, while for the lines without shadow produced in 19th century above. Compared to Doroche statement that the paper with chain and laid lines produced before watermarked papers which can be appeared around 16th century, is categorised to the chain and laid lines with shadows.

b. Smooth Plain Paper

Besides the manuscripts' papers contained of chain and laid lines, there are also plain and smooth paper without any image and lines. Its color sometimes blue and greenish. We cannot identify yet the origin of such mark.

c. Lined Paper

After 19th century, the paper in Indonesia in general and especially in Aceh was produced domestically. To easily write on that paper, it has the green horizontal lines like a notebook paper. Such paper can be categorized as modern paper.

d. Paper made from *Dluwang*

Several Islamic manuscripts in Aceh used papers made from bark. It has fibrous shape like *dluwang* paper. It can be assumed that this kind of paper was produced in Java and Sumatra. Such traditional paper was never produced in Aceh.

Watermarked Paper in the History of Aceh

1. Writing Tradition and Limited Paper Production in Aceh

It was unidentified when and who started writing as a habit in Aceh community. However, it is believed that people in Aceh have skills to write long before the Islam coming to this region. Oral sources mention that the pre-Islamic Acehnese people had known Mon-Khmer palaeography, regarded as proto-Malay writing. However, that kind of writing was not found in Acehnese historical heritage, both on site and in manuscript. (Said, 1961:15).

Aceh Kingdom has been famous even before Islam coming. It was not only known by Javanese kingdoms but also by the Chinese. This means that the Acehnese had the ability in reading, even though it cannot be proved by the manuscripts. For this reasons, the manuscripts is might be already destruction.

In the next phase, the Muslim figures also gave a large contribution to the literacy development of Acehnese community. Although the development of Islam in this area was coincidence with the decline of Islam in general, but the spirit of knowledge that has become characteristic of the development of Muslim in former time remain foreshadowed the development of Muslim in Aceh.

In the early stage of Muslim development, the people of Aceh found difficulty to obtain the writing equipment. There were no imported papers made by manufacture. For such needs were few local papers used in this area. Nevertheless, it should be studied further, then, whether the Achenese obtained paper through their own production or from their neighbourhood in North Sumatera and Java. Therefore, it is understandable, that at this time the knowledge was mostly kept by memorizing affecting to the use of papers that was hardly found in Aceh.

After the Acehnese managed to establish relationship with several foreign countries, such as Arabs, Turkey, and several European countries, the culture of writing in paper grew and became manuscript as the cultural heritage. It can be said that Aceh was one of the regions which has produced a large quantity of Islamic manuscripts. The spirit and the movement to disseminate knowledge grew stronger because of the presence of *ulamas* and other community figures lived at that time.

The community and the kingdom had great respect to *ulamas*. In the era of Sultan Iskandar Muda and Iskandar Stani, for instance, there were four great *ulamas*, namely Hamzah Fansuri, Syamsuddin Assumatrani, ar-Raniri, and Abdurrauf al-Fansuri, known not only in Aceh regions but also in the Archipelago and even in Middle East.

It is no doubt that they were prolific in writing in sake of the interest of their community and kingdom. Their books were written not only in local language, but also in Malay and in Arabic language.

When the kingdom declined because of internal and external factors, the *ulamas* still existed and even developed. At the time of some *uleebalang* revolted to sultan and the Dutch came to destroy the Aceh statehood, the *ulamas* continuously produced some books that were very useful for their audiences. They wrote on a lot of subjects; social life, medicine, prophecy, letters, and Al Qur'an. (See, Fakhriati, 2010).

Knowingly or not, the need of paper was increasing from year to year. So they tried to use the paper efficiently. The subject of medicine, for example, was often found written in marginal note of jurisprudence books. It is also found, some marginal note on debt has no correlation at all with the core of the text.

This shows that to find the paper at this time was difficult. Only certain people were able to buy imported papers, while domestic products came to Aceh in small quantity. Only four

manuscripts used *dluwang* found in this research, presumably from north Sumatra, the only neighbourhood region produced the paper -- in Java called *dluwang* -- from *Alim* tree.

From 19th to 20th centuries, the imported paper became less used by local community. The Acehnese were able to produce paper with blue and green lines. The Acehnese community, therefore, were able to get the paper easily and the margin note no more appear in the manuscripts.

2. Relations with Foreigners and Imported Papers

The Acehnese has maintained contact with the other nations since the emergence of Peureulak kingdom, the first Kingdom in Aceh. The traders from Arab (some assumed that they came from Persia) came to this region with the purpose to spread Islam. They settled, grew, and developed there. The relation with the foreign nations, particularly with the Middle East countries also developed well. Some of *ulamas* from Aceh came to Arab, settled, and studied there, and came back to Aceh to disseminate their teachings. (See Nazaruddin, 1961:95; and Muhammad Said, 1961:66).

With strategic geographical location, Aceh as the trading routes supported the belief that long before the Islam coming, Aceh had established relationship from India to the western part of Europe, from Malacca to eastern parts of China. Yousoef Sou'yb in his book *Para Pelaut Indonesia Menemukan Benua Amerika* tried to analyze it by comparing *Keuchik* governance in Aceh with *Cacique* governance in Haiti which was discovered by Colombus and his group. Using the theory of *catamaran* developed by the Finland sailors, which tried to theorize the humans spread based on the ocean currents, he concluded that *Cacique* system in Tahiti was originated from Aceh, and the governance model of *Quacanagari* in Tahiti which was at one level above *Cacique* came from *Kuasa Nagari* in Minang (Sou'yb, 1987:18-40).

The diplomacy relationship with foreign countries was also extensively appeared in Aceh. When Sriwijaya kingdom achieved an apogee, Acehnese kingdom had several buffer ports to support trading with Sriwijaya, among others were Lamuri (Lamuridesam). It, in the record of Liang dynasty (506 – 556) from China called *Lan-wu-li*, was the name of the kingdom of Samudera Pasai, located in Eastern part of Aceh. It was mentioned that Samudera Pasai was a busy town port visited by many traders from Middle East, India, and China, particularly in 13th to 16th centuries. The towns of Pasai and Peureulak were also mentioned in travel records of Marcopolo and Ibn Bathuta. In 14th century, the Admiral Cheng-ho also arrived in Pasai. The record on the Chinese village as mentioned in the manuscript of *Hikayat Rajaraja Pasai* showed that the contact with China had established long before it. (Said, 1961:8-14).

The Aceh geographical location in international route makes this region inhabited by various ethnics. *Lhee reutoh* (three hundreds) was the indigenous tribes of Aceh. However, Aceh also had many other tribes like *ieum peuet* (four leader) from India Hindu, and *tok bate* came from some Eurasian, East Asian and Arabs. The latter was the Muslim immigrant from India that well known called as *ja sandang* (the ethnics who held the tribe name). All the ethnic groups, however, accounted for one title as *Ureung Aceh* (the Acehnese). (Said, 1961:20; Hurgronje, 1996 Vol I:60-62; and Siegel, 1969:5).

The multi ethnic society, the geographical location, and abundant cash crops production supported Aceh to establish relation with foreign countries. Since the establishment of the kingdom system, the town ports in Eastern and Western part of Aceh were busily visited by many foreign trades from India, Persia, and Middle East. The trade relation among them were more intense as more traders cooperated with the Dutch and Portuguese colonialist to come to Aceh and as some countries like England,

France, and Turkey assessed the possibility to establish trading relation with Aceh.

For thirty years of Iskandar muda reign, (1606 – 1636), the Aceh Kingdom managed a good relationship with the foreign countries, and produced some *ulamas* admired by South East Asia's people. Aceh, then, became one of the greatest kingdoms in the world. During that time, Turkey was one of the close partners of Aceh Kingdom.

Turkey showed his greatness and willingness to help Aceh, particularly, in decisive period. The Turkish government gladly and voluntarily helped Aceh in the struggle to defend religion and country from the occupation of Portuguese. Turkey provided large donation of a large cannon called by the Acehnese (*lada sicupak*) means that exchanging a fistful peppers by a large cannon. (Reid, 2007:3). Not only that, the Turks also managed the family relationship with the people from Aceh through marriage. It is common in Aceh to hear the specific call 'habib' for the Turkey descendent.

Regarding to watermarked papers, Turkey, particularly, in the time of Ottoman empire, was one of the countries used watermarked paper a lot, particularly crescent watermarked paper. The watermarked paper used when the paper without watermark was no longer produced. Turkey, then, collaborated with Italia in producing watermarked papers (Doroche, 2002:54-57). It is very likely that the papers used in Aceh with the watermarked image of crescents were imported from Turkey, whose manufacturer was, in fact, Italian.

Furthermore, the Western nations started to explore the East continent after Turkey closed Constantinople and the Western countries became lack of spices provision. Some countries like Portuguese, England, and the Netherlands ever came to Aceh. Their further purpose was, then, to colonize the Acehnese. However, the people of Aceh rejected their presence

since they came to invade and control the Acehese region. The resistance ensued and the people of Aceh drove out the Portuguese with the help of Turkey by sending big cannon of *lada sicupak* to Aceh.

The British also had ever invaded a while this region, but because of the treaty of London in 1824, the Aceh was handed to Dutch. The people of Aceh resisted against the Netherlands vigorously and gained success in the first phase of their resistance in 1873. However in the second phase, when the Acehese lost, the Dutch did not give the opportunity to Aceh to get help from Turkey. They were afraid to have the same fate as the Portuguese, that was to have to lift their feet from Aceh and could not colonize and plunder the Acehese natural resource for the sake of their own country.

Within approximately three and half centuries, the Netherlands managed to occupy Aceh regions. The resistance of Acehese did not make the Netherland not to provide paper for their colonized regions. In 1695, VOC established the paper mills in Java to provide the need of paper for the archipelago regions. However the mill was closed after experiencing a bankruptcy. The Dutch then solved the problem by importing watermarked paper with their own characteristic watermark such as *propatria* and lily flower from their own country.

Besides interacting with the foreign countries namely Arab, Europe, and Turkey, the Acehese also established a contact with archipelago community. The use of paper *dluwang* was a proof of their relation with other areas. *Dluwang* was likely from Batak, a region close to Aceh, or perhaps from Java.

Closing Remarks

Islamic manuscripts located in Aceh are written mostly in imported papers rather than traditional papers. This is understandable since the Acehese already had relation and got in

touch with foreigners, especially with Middle Eastern countries. Since the coming of Islam, Aceh was already visited by Muslim traders who undeniably also brought the paper with them.⁶ For the next centuries, the Acehnese also visited and studied on Islamic knowledge in Middle Eastern countries in a long time.

The imported papers produced from 16th to 19th mostly had watermark or countermark inside. The watermarks referred to the manufacture and the country as a producer that might also indicate the trading channels among related countries. From the point of watermarked and countermarked papers in Aceh, it can be said that the biggest volume of paper were coming from Italia through Turkey and Netherlands.

There are various watermarks in Islamic manuscripts. From the watermark of three crescents showing a region dominated by the adherents of Islam to *propatria*, an European watermark. The most used papers in Aceh were watermarked by this crescent. It shows the good relationship between Acehnese and Turkey Empire, particularly during the reign of Iskandar Muda. After that, the papers used mostly by the Acehnese were from the Netherland with its distinctive watermark. During the occupation of Aceh for three and half centuries, the Dutch imported and sold the papers for various purposes.

The significant invention of this research is that there is no book reference focussing on watermark papers used in Islamic manuscripts spread in the archipelago, since there are many kinds of them that should be identified to find the unmentioned information inside. Besides, providing database is also very significant and necessary to have guidance for researchers who wish to concentrate on the Islamic manuscripts in the archipelago. The database file (parameters) for the documentation and description of paper and its watermarks should be in line with

⁶ According to Reiza, paper has already introduced by Muslim traders from Arabs since 13th century. (Reiza, 2005: 22).

International Paper Historians (IPH) standard, since they work professionally on this matter. (See Wenger, 2013:16-21).

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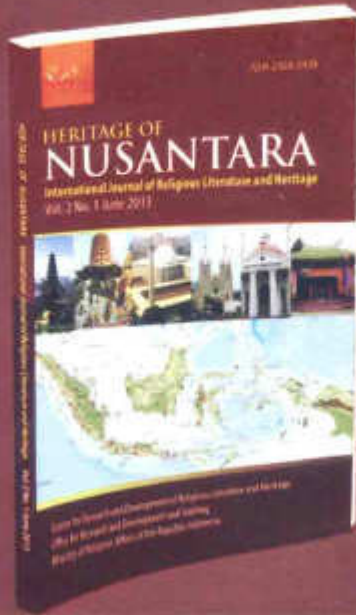
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