when Western colonisers, such as Portuguese and British, competed to increase their trade in Aceh. Worried by the competitors at their door, the Dutch grew anxious about whether or not Aceh was going to be ruled by the other colonisers. Therefore, the Dutch asked the British to reconsider the treaty of 1824. This resulted in the drawing up of another treaty in 1870. (Reid, 1969: 53-73). At this time, the Dutch were satisfied because they could enlarge their colonial state by the addition of Aceh.

As a first step to undertake this expansion, on March 22, 1873 the Dutch sent a letter to the sultan in an effort to persuade him and his people to accept Dutch government, but this was denied by the sultan. (Ahmad, 1983: 61-62). Consequently, they declared war on the Acehnese in March 1873. Niewehuizen, a commissioner of Netherlands Indies government, stated the declaration of war on Aceh, in his letter to the sultan Mansur Syah on March 26, 1873. (Clerck, 1912: 477-478).

The Acehnese were by no means inclined to accept Dutch colonisation. Angry and insulted, the Acehnese, who imbued and strengthened by their strong Islamic culture and knowledge, were determined to fight against the colonisers even though their country lacked real stability. Forgetting many of their differences in the face of a common foe, the Acehnese were able to unite to fight the colonial power in the war they saw as a prang sabi. This situation shows that conflict with outsiders may increase the internal cohesion of a group, if there is a basic consensus on core values already existing within this group. (Coser, 1979: 74).

The result of this war was that the Dutch expedition was defeated. The Dutch colonial administration did not accept this, and organised another action in Aceh. In November 1874 the
Dutch launch their power for the second time, attacking the Acehnese. This time the Dutch won the war.

The Dutch colonial power then declared their sovereignty by using the *uleebalang* as their mediators, making them responsible for their administration. As stated by Alfian, *uleebalang* were asked to sign a treaty presented by the Dutch, called the *Korte Verklaring* (short Declaration). (Alfian, 1970: 5). Some *uleebalangs* paid no heed to this statement. They kept on fighting against the Dutch until the beginning of the twentieth century. (Alfian, 1970: 5). Other made their peace with the Dutch government. As J. A. Kruijt has pointed out, there were *uleebalangs* who had already accepted the reign of the colonial power before the second expedition. This happened in East Aceh, where, on May 7, 1873, *uleebalangs* from Idi Rayek raised the Dutch flag in their area. (Kruijt, 1877: 19).

In fact, the Dutch ruled Aceh indirectly. They managed their colonial administration through the *uleebalangs* giving them the right of *zelfbestuur* (autonomous rule) to govern each district in Aceh, but the ever vigilant Dutch kept a close eye on matters. *Uleebalangs* had to be loyal to the Dutch government, upon pain of punishment. Such punishment could be the abrogation of the *uleebalangs' function as an autonomous ruler or their exile. (Sulaiman, 1997: 20-21).

Using *uleebalangs* as their mediators, the Dutch seized many advantages to expand their colonial state. In the political domain, there was no question that they were able to control their new colonial territory. The *‘ulamā’s*, whom they considered dangerous people to the maintenance of their colonial position, had no place in their administration. Economically, the Dutch collected Acehnese produce to their own advantage without
necessarily being directly involved in their activity. (Morris, 1983: 61-74).

The Acehnese spirit never faltered in its determination to fight against the Dutch, undeterred by the collaboration of some uleebalangs. This was shown when Teuku Umar surrendered to the Dutch and helped them to destroy the Acehnese troops. The Acehnese simply ignored him, and the ‘ulamā’s and the sultan continually urged him to join the other Acehnese Muslims and perform jihad against the Dutch. (Alfian, 1976: 154-155)

3. Having Contact with Other Muslims

Another factor supporting and accelerating the radical movement in Aceh was the contact of the Acehnese with Arabia. The Acehnese – most performing hajj but some also living in Mecca – met Muslims in the Holy land who came from different countries. There, they had access to information from other Muslims countries which, at that time, were also in the grip of Europeans colonialism. The Acehnese then realized that the Muslims all over the world were also performing jihad. Consequently, the spirit of jihad burned more intensively. After he came back from hajj, Teungku Chik di Tiro – a well known ‘ulamā’ who led his people in the war fearlessly – told the Acehnese people that the Sudanese Mahdi (Dekmejian, 1972, 193-210; Holt, 1980: 337-347), who had enthusiastically performed jihad against the colonizers, had gradually subjugates the coloniser. Flaunting this example, he fervently convinced the Acehnese by saying, “God helps those who perform jihad. Do not be afraid of making jihad. We are going to win the jihad. (Indishe Gids, 1885: 665-667).

The Acehnese jihad was also supported by the other Muslims in Mecca. The ‘ulamā’, sayyid, and the pious men
gave moral and political support spurring them on to success in their struggle against the Dutch colonisers. They showed their support through performing doa to the Acehnese. (Koningsveld, 1990: 91).

2. The role of ‘ulamâ’s in the Jihad

Before we look at the role of the ‘ulamâ’s in the jihad, we have to discuss what kind of ‘ulamâ’s took part in performing the jihad against the Dutch. During the period of the Dutch expansion in Aceh, there were two kinds of ‘ulamâ’s, namely traditionalist and modernist. Traditionalist had existed since the coming of Islam, whereas the modernist appeared in 1920s. Logically, therefore, the performing of jihad against the Dutch had long been pursued by traditionalist ‘ulamâ’s before their modernist colleagues appeared on the scene.

These two types of ‘ulamâ’s upheld different views about understanding and practicing Islamic doctrine in their lives. Traditionalist ‘ulama’s tended to orientate themselves towards a Sufi lifestyle. Their intellectual heritage -- which are mostly written by hand so called manuscript for this days -- consists of the religious books which contained not only fiqh but Sufi knowledge as well. Consequently, they also taught this Sufi knowledge. Thus, it became a tradition that the Sufi lifestyle was transmitted from the older to the younger generation. Examples of persons following with a Sufi lifestyle who lived at the time of the Dutch expansion are Teungku di Tanoh Abee (Yeooh, 1994: 146-152) with his supranatural abilities, Habib Seunangan (Mail rapport, No. 2285/18: 2) with his Syattariyah order, and Teungku Tanoh Mirah for his ascetic life (Gobee, 1990: 13).
The traditionalist ‘ulamâ’s influenced the people through their charisma. Almost all social groups in the Acehnese society respected them and valued the spiritual cohesion and integration between them and their teachers, the ‘ulamâ’s. The teachers had absolute command over their students; even if they were no longer students. This could be clearly seen when they performed the doa. Quite apart from this respect of a pupil for his teacher, the people also depended on the ‘ulamâ’ and, consequently, did not dare to attack and opposed them, which meant they had the people’s absolute obedience. (Baihaqi, 1976: 28-30).

Modernist ‘ulamâ’s were more puritan in outlook and tended to adhere to an orthodox way of thinking. For them shari’â was more important that mysticism in the running of the state and development of the society. They contested Sufi doctrines. Ismail Yakub criticized the mystical practices of Habib Seunangan ‘s followers. (Morris, 1985: 83-106). Desirous of training over new leaf, the modernist ‘ulamâ’s tended to modernize the traditional religious institution of the dayah into madrasa, where not only the religious subjects were taught but also general subjects, such as geography were given. (Latif, 1992).

In response to the Dutch declaration of war, the traditionalist ‘ulamâs held a meeting. This meeting took place in Lamsie, a region in Great Aceh, and was attended by Teungku Panglima Polem, Teungku Abdul Wahab Tanoh Abe and a number of other ‘ulamâs and uleebalangs. At the meeting they discussed the way of the jihad that should be performed. Accordingly, Teungku Tanoh Abe stated: “the most important thing to which we should pay attention before going to fight the Dutch is how to fight carnal desires and uphold justice among us”. Teuku Panglima Polem, then, endorsed this idea. He asked the
uleebalangs to return the people’s property that they had collect illegally. (Ya’kub, 1960: 39-40).

Gradually, the traditionalist ‘ulamâ’ s mobilized the people in three ways, namely through the education in dayah, general preaching to the society, and spreading hikayats. The ‘ulamâ’ s used the dayah as a place in which to prepare for the jihad. (Alfian, 1987: 47). They taught their students importance of performing the jihad against the infidels. Then, they asked their students to spread the jihad idea to their village people. Teungku Chik di Tiro, for instance, asked his disciples to announce prang sabi in all the regions of Aceh.

To the common people, the ‘ulamâ’ s delivered sermons that always contained the importance of performing jihad. The Friday sermon was in the Acehnese. Hence, the Acehnese could easily understand the meaning of the sermon. (Alfian, 1987: 47). The ‘ulamâ’ s also approached the uleebalangs. In his letter to the uleebalangs in gampong jawa Adat, Teungku Chik di Tiro advised the uleebalangs to fight the infidels to the death. If the uleebalangs were not in a position to do so, Teungku Chik di Tiro asked them to move to other places. There, they could perform jihad together with other Muslims. (Manuscript, Cod. Or. 7286).

The ‘ulamâ’ s also aroused the spirit of the people through spreading hikayats, like hikayat prang sabi. The hikayat was much liked and read by the people everywhere. Well-known hikayats were Nasihat Ureung Meuprang, Hikayat Prang Goumpeuni, and hikayat Prang Sabi. (Snouck Hurgronje, 1906: 81-120). In spreading these hikayats, the ‘ulamâ’ s referred to the work of al-Palembani, a prominent Sufi from Palembang, South Sumatra. They claimed that al-Palembani was an ‘ulamâ’ who had made a great contribution towards teaching the people about the
jihad against the Dutch. The 'ulamā' felt that their people also had to be made aware of the inspiration of jihad launched by al-Palembani.

As well as creating a mental climate in which the idea of jihad could flourish, the 'ulamā's also created legal decision on the performing of jihad. First, there were two kinds of jihad, i.e. individual and collective jihad. The Aceh war became an individual duty, because the infidels had entered and conquered the country. (Manuscripts, Cod., Or. 8035) Second, it was stated that to become a martyr was better than living under oppression of the Dutch “unbelievers”. The martyr would enter paradise in the Hereafter. Third, it was mentioned that those who were not able to go to war were urged to give charity (sadaqa) to support it. 12

Traditionalist 'ulamā's were not only the instigators for the performance of jihad, but they were also directly involved in the war. They became commanders of groups, which took the field against the Dutch. Teungku Amin, a commander of the Acehnese War in South Aceh (Tapaktuan), who followed the Sufi tradition, was one such example. It was his wont to practice an ascetic life. Besides this, he was said to possess secret knowledge, like the power to make himself invisible when he attacked the Dutch. Consequently, the Acehnese respected him. He was one of commanders who never surrendered. He stubbornly waged war even though he was forced to stay in the jungle. (Kolonial Verslag, 1928: 9-10).

The foregoing section has shown that, traditionalist 'ulamā's entered into the political arena to defend their country

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12 Teungku tanoh Mirah wrote a letter that was addressed to all Acehnese. The letter contained the duty of giving the charity for prang sabi. See manuscript, Cod., Or., 18. 097. S.2.
against the infidels. They changed their activities to be able to combat the colonial expansion. They approached each social group in the society in their efforts to guarantee the success of the jihad. They did this as they were aware of their own lack of power. They felt that they did not have the position to develop their mission. They referred to the success of their Sufi predecessors in the sultanate of Aceh. They were eager to bring back the glory of the sultanate.

3. Actions of the Acehnese against the Dutch Expansion

Complying with the command of 'ulamā’s, the Acehnese joined with the former to dispute to the Dutch expansion every inch of the way. The jihad movement can be categorised as radical, because it attempted to change the way of life and the politics of the Dutch as colonisers. Owing to its nature, radicalism suggests a more extreme, absolute, and uncompromising commitment.¹³

The radical movement among the Acehnese fighting against the Dutch colonial power can be recognized into collective actions and individual attacks. The Acehnese called these movements jihad (holy war) and they confirm Snouck Hurgronje’s statement on the holy war. He divided the holy war into three parts. First, there was the individual holy war, using a sharp weapon. Secondly, there were small night raids (sariyya). Thirdly, there was an attack (ghazwa) led by an appointed Muslim commander or by the sultan himself. (Snouck Hurgronje, 1906: 147-150).

¹³ In detail, the term radicalism as a political phenomenon is mostly used to describe the advocacy of, and action towards sweeping, fundamental, and rapid changes of laws, and methods of governing. (Bialer, 1977:5).
Collective action was a movement, which was organised and led by a leader. It followed different military tactics, either direct intervention or guerilla warfare. The movement started in response to the Dutch declaration of war. After the Dutch troops landed in Aceh, on April 8, 1873, the Acehnese troops – led by Panglima Polem attacked the invading Dutch, which led to a bitter fight. (Said, 1981: 730-732; Sofyan (ed.), 1977: 71). Those who were the followers of a Sufi order also attacked the Dutch. From 1900 to 1910, the son and the grandson of the leader of the shattariyya order, Habib Seunangan, regularly fought against the Dutch. They led their followers to attack the Dutch as a jihad. The Dutch were at a loss how to deal with these attacks. (Mailrapport, No. 1928/Geh: 2-3) Another example occurred in Simpang Kiri, South Aceh. In May 1931, the followers of Teungku Rahman, a teacher of a Sufi order, attacked Dutch troops. Teungku Rahman prepared his followers to fight against the Dutch by teaching his followers to practice the traditions of the Sufi order, such as dhikr and raih, which gradually excited the spirit of the followers. Fired by their spiritual exercises they attacked the Dutch as their enemy. To overcome this problem, the Dutch government finally arrested Teungku Rahman. (Mailrapport, No. 1304 Geh/33: 21-22).

The Acehnese troops prepared themselves to perform the holy war. In a letter Teungku Muhammad Amin Azwar Cut di Tiro stated that those who were going to perform prang sabi should recite the Qur'ān and partake of a ritual meal. The society had to repent and fast three days before the day of the battle. (Manuscript, Cod., Or. 7321). After that, in launching the attack, the Acehnese troops echoed the word là ilà ha illà Allāh (there is no god but God) to the top of their bent, and attacked the Dutch
troops blindly. (Alfian, 1987: 66; Bruinsma, 1889: 33). This utterance inspired the troops. In a state of great religious favour, the troops no longer heeded the bullets of their enemy. These words also featured in their flag, embroidered on a presentation of a sword. (Juynboll, 1873: 338).

Individual attacks were characterised by their incidental, unorganised nature and were known as Aceh murder. This kind of attack was perpetrated by the common people. They tried to apply the Sufi doctrine in their own lives and resisted the Dutch by performing prang sabi (jihad), even though, other motives, such as personal or economic affairs might also have played a role.

Starting in 1910, many cases of the individual attack regularly occurred. General swart says that Aceh murders had occurred for a long time. They ran like a red thread through the monthly reports. They were reported in almost all years after 1912. (Croo, 1943: 119). Three cases of the Aceh murder will be elaborate as samples of the Acehnese radical movement. The first case occurred in 1917, in Langsa (East Aceh). An Acehnese man killed a Dutchman on the occasion of Idul Adha. Kern states that this man behaved calmly when he preparing to murder a Dutchman. Before committing the murder, he held a party and shook hands with his people. In investigation, Kern found some pieces of paper of Hikayat Prang Sabi in his house. (Kern, 1979: 25-27).

A second case of the Aceh murder happened in October 1919, in Matang Kuli (North Aceh). A woman attacked the controller of Lho' Seukon. She was a loyal santri and obedient Sufi. Before she committed this murder, she dreamt that one of the Prophet's companions came to her and asked her to kill infidels who took it upon themselves to judge Muslims. Then,
she killed the controller to fulfill the demand in her dream. (Kern, 1979: 26-27).

Thirdly, in 1933, Octoh Oebit who lived in Bakongan, South Aceh, had strong desire to attack the Dutch brigade. However, the Dutch army arrested him before he could attack. According to the reporter, Octoh Oebit studied the Sufi order with Teungku Rahman, his brother in-law. (mail rapport, No. 1304 geh/33: 40-41).

Such jihad also occurred in a part of the Philippines, called Tausug. The Tausug Muslim performed jihad (Tausug term: Parrang Sabbil) against the Spanish. Their actions were individual and unorganized, but they made certain preparations before going to jihad such as having a ritual bath. This ritual bath was performed in the same manner as the ritual bath for the corpse in the burial service. All these preparations indicate that those who performed jihad were going to the hereafter. (Keifer, 1973: 109-123).

The Dutch officers, such as General Swart and Van Sluys, had quite a bit to say in response to the Acehnese actions. According to General Swart, the rebellion and murders in Aceh sprang from fanaticism. This fanaticism had been part of the Acehnese life for a long time. It was strengthened by the influence of their firm belief in Islamic doctrine. (Croo, 1943: 119). Van Slyus considered these cases of murder as attacks of mental illness. To cope with this "illness", the Dutch needed to build mental asylums. The Dutch believed that the Acehnese no longer wanted to live. They wanted to commit suicide, but this was not allowed in their religion. Therefore, they killed the Europeans, especially Dutch civil servants and officers, in the full knowledge that the killers themselves would be executed. The Acehnese
believed those who murdered Europeans were martyrs. (Mail rapport, No. 3452/20, 1920)

The opinion of General Swart seems more pertinent that that of Van Slyus. In performing the jihad, the Acehnese upheld their religion, which had been influenced by the Sufi tradition of war. This is borne out by the fact that those who killed the Dutch colonisers were mostly deeply religious and under Sufi influence.

**Conclusion**

The practice of Sufism by the Acehnese in the colonial period was not concerned only with the vertical relationship between men and God, but also paid attention to horizontal relationships between people and their circumstances on the earth. Those who observed the Sufi tradition in Aceh were also concerned with their worldly life.

Jihad and Sufi doctrine were really correlated and interdependent. In 19th century, the sufi followers committed to act and to obstruct the infiltration of the Dutch power. They were putting the Sufi tradition into practice in performing jihad. The Sufi traditions which were more conspicuous were the *rateb* and *dhikr*. The effects of these practices aroused the spirit of the people to fight against the Dutch. The words which are inseparable from these practices were always uttered during performing jihad.

*Ulama*’s, teacher, and guides of Sufi doctrine among the Acehnese played an important role in mobilizing the people to fight against the Dutch. They activated the idea of jihad through their educational institutions called *dayah*, practicing sermons, and the spreading of revolutionary *hikayat*. When the time came
for action, they took their place as commanders in the struggle against the Dutch.

Considering on the result of this research, we are questioning on the Sufi action in the next situation in Aceh, that was after Indonesian independent. Unconclusive situation had appeared fluctuatively in several times. The next research on this matter should be performed in order to find the thread on the action of Sufis historically.

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About Authors

Ali Akbar was born on 27 November 1975 in Jakarta. In 2008 he earned his doctorate title in archaeology as the youngest doctorate earner in Indonesia. He has written some books, two of which are *Zaman Prasejarah di Jakarta dan Sekitarnya* (2007) and *Museum di Indonesia: Kendala dan Harapan* (2010). In 2006 he was awarded as The Best Junior Researcher on Social and Cultural Disciplines by Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia. In 2007 he was selected as the Best Student of the Archaeological Doctorate Program with the Highest GPA at Universitas Indonesia. In 2008 he was awarded the Best Textbook at Universitas Indonesia. In 2009, Universitas Indonesia awarded him the Best Junior Researcher in Social and Humanities Sciences. Ali Akbar is a teaching staff member at the Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia.

Choirul Fuad Yusuf, a researcher on Religious Tradition and Society at the Office of Religious Research and Development, and Training, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Rep. of Indonesia. Born in Purwokerto, Central Java. In the primary school age, he recited al Qur’an at Pesantren Tahfidzul Qur’an, Ajibarang of Banyumas District. He ever learned Arabic Language only for two semesters, but finally, he received Bachelor Degree (S-1) in English Teaching from Faculty of Letters and Language Education, Institute of Teacher’s Training and Education Science (now : Indonesia University of Education) Bandung. He received master’s of Philosophy, and of Sociology Degree from University of Indonesia, and continue studying for a Doctor degree in Sociology at same university. In 2004, he attended a short course on *Educational Planning and Management* in Melbourne University. In 2005-2006, he taught Sociology of Religion at the Post-Graduate Program of University of Indonesia. Since the time of being university student, he actively writes articles on education, culture,

Erwiza Erman is from a village located round 7 km Bukittinggi, West Sumatra, completing elementary, junior and senior high school in Bukittinggi. She studied history in IKIP-Padang for three years and then finished her Doctoranda from History Department, Gajahmada University in 1982. Back to Padang in July 1982, she
joined with newly established department of History, Faculty of Arts, Andalas University. Not more than seven months joining with Andalas University, she moved to Jakarta at the beginning of 1983 till 1987, she had worked at Research Institute of National Culture (Lembaga Riset Kebudayaan Nasional (LRKN-LIPI). After LIPI reorganized research institutes, she joined to Research Center for Society and Culture (PMB-LIPI). Since 2001 till now, she has been working at Research Center of Area Studies, a newly established research center within LIPI.

Fakhriati is a researcher from Aceh who concentrates on Islamic manuscripts in Archipelago. She works as a researcher at Center for Research and Development of Religious Literature and Heritage, Office for Research, Development and Training Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Republic of Indonesia since 2009. She has spent much time on performing research in Islamic manuscripts since she studied at Master Degree in Leiden University, from 1996 to 1998. To deal with the manuscripts thoroughly, she had studied at Indonesian University at the doctoral level, from 2002 to 2007. Among of her works and researches that has been done since she finished her doctoral level are: cataloguing manuscripts in Dayah Tanoh Abee, Aceh in cooperation with UIN Jakarta and Tokyo University; identifying and digitizing Acehnese manuscripts sponsored by EAP British Library; editing texts; and performing research on watermark and countermark of Achenese manuscripts' papers. In addition, to increase networking in manuscripts, she has joined MANASSA (Masyarakat Pernaskahan Nusantara), PUSNIRA (Pusat Manukrip Nusantara), and TIMA (The Islamic Manuscripts Association). Her email address is fakhri_ati@yahoo.co.uk.

H. M. Hamdar Arraiyah was born at Soppeng Regency, South Sulawesi, in 1957. He gained his doctorate degree in Islamic Studies Program of Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University in
Jakarta. He works as a researcher at National Institution, Office for Research and Development and Training, Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Republic of Indonesia. He also teaches Quranic interpretation Subject at Attahiriyah Islamic University in Jakarta.

Mohammad Hasan Ansori received his PhD in sociology, focusing on peace and conflict studies, class and consumerism, social movement and Moslem society in Southeast Asia, from the University of Hawaii at Manoa, USA. He is currently a lecturer at the faculty of social and political sciences, Islamic State University of Jakarta and a senior consultant of National Violence Monitoring System (The Habibic Center-World Bank). His publications at international journals include "From Insurgency to Bureaucracy: Free Aceh Movement (GAM), Aceh Party and the Rising New Face of Conflict", "Linking identity to collective action: Islam, history, dan ethnicity in the Aceh conflict", "Consumerism and the Emergence of New Middle Class in Globalizing Indonesia", "Culture, Peace and Conflict Resolution: A critical Review and the Empirical Evidence from Indonesia", "The Economic Origin of Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia: a Rational Choice Perspective," and many others.
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