

INTERCONNECTION AND LOCAL WISDOM OF MALAY AND ARAB MANUSCRIPTS' PAPERS

INTERKONEKSITAS DAN KEARIFAN LOKAL NASKAH MANUSKRIP MELAYU DAN ARAB

Fakhriati

Puslitbang Lektur, Khazanah Keagamaan, dan Manajemen Organisasi
Jl. M. H. Thamrin No. 6. Lt. 20
Fakhriati1406@gmail.com

Naskah diterima tanggal 3 April 2018. Naskah direvisi tanggal 20 April 2018. Naskah disetujui tanggal 18 Mei 2018

Abstrak

Melayu dan Arab adalah dua bangsa yang terletak di benua yang berbeda, Asia Tenggara dan Timur Tengah. Pada masa lampau, penulis seperti ulama cenderung menggunakan kertas yang bercap air untuk menulis banyak hal baik berhubungan dengan tasawuf, pengetahuan sejarah, maupun pengalaman mereka. Memperhatikan kepada naskah kuno yang hadir pada saat ini, hampir semua naskah Arab dan Melayu memiliki keunikan dalam cap air dan cap tandingan di dalam kertasnya. Tidak bisa dielakkan lagi bahwa latar belakang sejarah dan konteksnya ditemukan di balik kertas naskah kuno tersebut. Datangnya Islam ke wilayah Melayu (Nusantara) -Aceh merupakan tempat persinggahan pertama - telah memberi efek kepada produksi dan pemanfaatan kertas yang bercap air sebagai alas tulis naskah kuno. Perdagangan dan hubungan diplomatik dapat diasumsikan sebagai faktor terbesar yang mengambil peran dalam aspek ini. Di samping itu, negara Barat juga mengambil peran penting dalam mengekspor kertas mereka ke berbagai negara termasuk Nusantara yang menjadi negara jajahannya, karena mereka terkenal sebagai negara yang memproduksi kertas cap air. Tulisan ini mengelaborasi kertas manuskrip yang ditulis oleh para ulama Melayu dan Arab dengan melihat persamaan dan perbedaannya untuk menggali kearifan lokal di dalamnya. Menganalisa hubungan antar kedua bangsa ini menjadi fokus lain dari tulisan ini. Tulisan ini mencoba menggunakan pendekatan kodikologi dan sejarah lokal untuk menelaah isi dan fisik naskah kuno, termasuk konteks sejarahnya.

Kata Kunci: Ulama, kertas, cap air, Melayu, dan Arab

Abstract

Malay and Arabs are two nations, located in different continents; Southeast Asia, and the Middle East. Historically, writers like ulamas (prominent religious figures) tended to use watermarked papers for writing many things both related to sufism, historical knowledge, and also their experience. Looking at the manuscripts existing nowadays, almost all Malay and Arab manuscripts' papers have unique watermark images and countermark inside. It cannot be denied that historical background and context appeared behind the papers. The coming Islam to Malay -- that was Aceh regarded as the first place--had given the effect of producing and using watermark papers. Trade and diplomatic relation can be assumed as the biggest factor taken places in this aspect. Here, as the most popular producers of watermark images, Western countries took an important role in exporting their paper to other countries including their colonized countries. This paper tries to elaborate ulamas' manuscripts paper in these two nations in its similarity and diversity to find local wisdom inside. After that, to analyse the relationship among these two nations is another focus of this paper. This paper tries to use codicological and local-historical approach in dealing with the content and physics of the manuscripts, and its historical context.

Keywords: Ulama, paper, watermarks, Malay, and Arab.

INTRODUCTION

Malay and Arab are two different areas, from geographic, ethnic, language, and cultural aspects. From the geographical

side, Malay and Arab are separated by Indian sub-continent and some other countries stretching along the Indian Ocean coastline of thousands of kilometres. Meanwhile, the culture and language

also have substantially different roots. The cultural characteristics of Arab people, who mostly live in the barren desert, make them look more robust than Malay people residing in fertile areas and tropical forests. However, the two regions have long been connected by trade interests and the same religion. Malay's geographic location in an archipelagic city and its long history as a trade course between nations have made its people more open to a foreign culture.

Upon Islam presence, the relationship between Malay and Arab people seems more special than that between Malay and Europeans coming to Malay. The interaction between Malays and Arabs or Haramayn is very close and binding, which has materialized in trade, intellectual, religious, and marital relationships, the last of which deliver descendants mixed between one country and another.

Regarding intellectuality, many Malay *ulama* travelled and stayed for a long time to learn and study under famous *ulama* in Arab. They then brought their knowledge to their country and spread it to their relatives. Also, the proximity and concern of *ulama* in the Middle East and Malay had coined the term *Malay* as called by Jawi people. Moreover, they devoted their attention to the intellectual development in Malay. For example, Ibrahim Kurani wrote a book entitled *Ithaf az-Zaki* explaining intellectual development in Malay. (Oman Fathurahman: 2012).

The interaction contributes to the development of works produced by *ulama* in Malay and Arab. In their jobs, *ulama* in Malay refer to books of *ulama* in Arab by citing, translating, and transliterating their texts. Interaction is also evident from the physical shape of Malay and Arabic manuscripts. This paper attempts to describe such interaction by elaborating the type of paper they used and the reasons for the correlation and even 'dependence'. The main question that should be elaborated and answer in this research is how is the local wisdom in manuscripts' papers written by Malay *ulama* and Arabs? Hopefully, this research will give, at least, a benefit for understanding the local wisdom for Malay nation. So that, the result of this research will be useful for new generation to understand their heritage.

Review Literature

Researches focus on watermark are very rare. There are few scholars concentrate their study

on watermarks in manuscript papers in general, but not for Malay or Indonesian papers. Russell Jones is the only one scholar who focus on Malay watermark paper. His paper related to watermark is "Watermark Icons – or Words? With Reference to Methods of Dating Malay manuscripts". In this paper, he elaborates the way of dating a Malay manuscript focussing on watermark icons. (Russell Jones, 2011).

Therefore, performing research related to watermark paper becomes significant to fill this emptiness. Not only that, within watermark papers, in fact, there are hide many local information that can be dug out. This research tries to discuss on the watermarks consisted in Malay and Arabic Manuscripts papers to dig out the local information or local wisdom inside.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is based its analysis on manuscripts' papers. It performs by using two approaches, codicology and local history. Codicology is useful for analysing physics of manuscripts. Watermark in a manuscript's paper is a part of physics of manuscripts. Meanwhile, local history helps this research in elaborating and analysing local culture as local wisdoms in the paper used for writing the manuscripts.

There are three steps to do this research. First is to find the data on the manuscripts. Taking a picture using a certain way to find a watermark image inside the paper is a primary data that should be done in this research. Second, to analyse the data and compare with two areas, Malay and Arab, to find the local wisdom in it. Third is to find the answer on the main question in this research.

Writing Tradition of Arab and Malay Ulama

Prose, poems, knowledge, information, records, and different letters started long before Islam coming because written works served as consistently developed and delivered means of communication. Arab leaders also put their ideas into their writing in the form of lyrics entered into a competition. Al-Qur'an in the Prophet's era had also been made eventhough it was written in sheets. Therefore, writing tradition had developed in the past.

Upon establishment of a relationship between Malay and Arab *ulama*, a relationship between a teacher and student works about Islamic issues became popular among Jawi *ulama*, an alias of Malay *ulama* given by Arab *ulama*. Moreover,

Kurani, as an Arab *ulama*, had also written about Malay, as explained in the introduction hereof.

In their writing, *ulama* tended to have similarity concerning writing style, presentation method, and even physical appearance. It might be concluded that Malay *ulama* or authors adopted writing style and model used in Arab tradition. Besides, they also absorbed local traditions around them developed in their time. For example, Malay manuscripts usually have a lengthy introduction, and the author tended to act humble in front of their readers. The frequent expressions found in Malay manuscripts are such “low figure” and “indigent figure.” Furthermore, in Malay documents, the author more often did not wish to write their name, so-called anonym.

There was also the Ottoman influence in the seal of Sultan Alaidin Riayat Syah in Acehese manuscripts. In the seal, different from another style, a tiny heart-shaped like the plaited knot was found as an ornament in the inscriptions. Adopting the tradition of Ottoman Empire in the 16th century is a concrete example of interaction between Malay and Arabs. (Annabel the Gallop, 2012: 176-190). To write the manuscripts, authors and re-writers used ink on Arab papers, combined with the materials they had in their locations. According to Adam Gacek, ink for Arab documents came from different plants, such as soot and mixed egg whites and milk. (Gacek, 2012:132-135). The ink used on Arab manuscripts in Indonesia is made of plants around the ink makers and the authors. Soot, resin from *Ketereh* tree, and purple color from *Senduduk* flower became the raw materials to make ink in Malay. (Proudfoot, 1996:70).

Similarly, similarity would also be found on the papers used in spite of the difference. A detailed description of manuscripts focused on this study will be provided in the following sub-chapters.

Materials Used for Writing

The standard equipment used by *ulama* as religious figures to express their ideas is paper. Nevertheless, before the paper was created, they tended to use other materials for writing, such as parchments, animal skin, and tree bark.

From time to time, more *ulama* write about knowledge and provide useful information through writing. Therefore, the more developed *ulama*'s handwriting, the more rapidly spread paper used. Papers used in this area varied. It starts with a domestically used article which is more popularly

known as traditional paper, as well as colorful paper more commonly known as imported paper.

About Arab Manuscripts

Before paper became popular, the materials commonly used in Arab was parchment made from animal skin, such as sheep, goats, and even camels. (Adam Gacek, 2012: 195). Such materials had been used from at least 1000 B. C. The oldest manuscript of Qur'an stored in Tubingen University, Germany, serves as evidence that animal skin was used in the early Islam period. The Al-Qur'an manuscript -- upon carbon test to know the age with 95.4% accuracy -- was allegedly used in the Khulafaurasyidin period, i.e., Ali bin Abi Thalib period, from 649 to 675 AD. In addition, to write texts, animal skin was also used for cover and binding. (Republika Newspaper, 24 July 2015:1, 6).

Paper, which was used as a writing material in the beginning in around 105 A.D, was produced by a Chinese person, Ts'ai Lun with bamboo as a primary material. It was then introduced to the world in 2H/8AD. Paper was spread rapidly with the establishment of the first paper factory in Samarqand, primarily Samarqand and Baghdad. Furthermore, in the period of Harun ar-Rasyid 170-193H/786-809AD, the paper was used in the government. (Adam Gacek, 2012: 186-193; Doroche, 2005:51). In 4H/10AD, the paper was made of papyrus, a plant of 3-6 meter tall. This plant grew around the Nile River. In the next century, Arab document was exported to Europe until 8h/14AD. However, after that European papers entered Arab, which was sponsored by Italy. (Adam Gacek, 2012: 186-193).

The first watermarked paper was famous in 1293 from Fibriano, Italy. In 10H/16M, more documents were supplied in Turkish Usmani kingdom, followed by France and became the competitor of Italy. In the middle of 11H/17AD, the watermark was replaced by three crescents, probably at the request of the kingdom. (Adam Gacek, 2012:291).

A significant difference between European and the Middle East papers is that European journal has a watermark, while other documents do not. European papers may be divided into those made by hand before 1800AD and by machine after that. European paper has chain lines with a regular interval and laid lines with a fixed distance from 25 to 30 mm. Meanwhile, Middle East paper has irregular thick lines which are not straight from 30 to 90 mm and frequently double and colorful thin

lines. Also, European writing also consists of woven paper found in 1755 and produced in more volume at the end of the 18th century and mostly used in the 19th century. The article has scratched appearance because it was made of weak-structured pulp. The paper does not have thin and rough lines. The document sometimes contained colorless stamp, creating a figure or writing protrude upwards and touchable, which Gacek called imitation watermark. (Adam Gacek, 2012:292).

Also, there is a marble paper used to cover and bind manuscripts. This paper was first used and appeared in Iran in 9H/15AD. This paper was also once exported to Europe and imitated by Europeans from the 16th century. (Firas Alkhateeb, 2014: 63-87, 161-163)¹

Watermarked papers in Arab manuscripts commonly used Islamic characters, such as crescent and Arab documents. Also, other European images were also found as the example provided below. (Humbert, 2012).



Photo 1: European image of the watermark
This image is quoted from Humbert's article, page 137

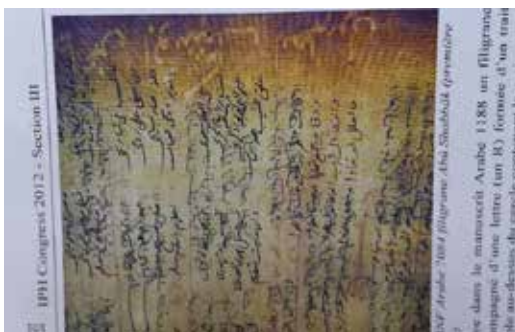


Photo 2: Arabic characters of the watermark

¹ It is understandable that Arabs were able to create many types of documents used for writing manuscripts and able to export their paper to Europe, because they had succeeded to reach the golden ages in its history to success the life, such as intellectual golden ages and also for their Empire, like Ottoman Empire.

This image is quoted from Humbert's article, page 138



Photo 3: Moon face in shield of the watermark
This image is quoted from Humbert's article, page 139

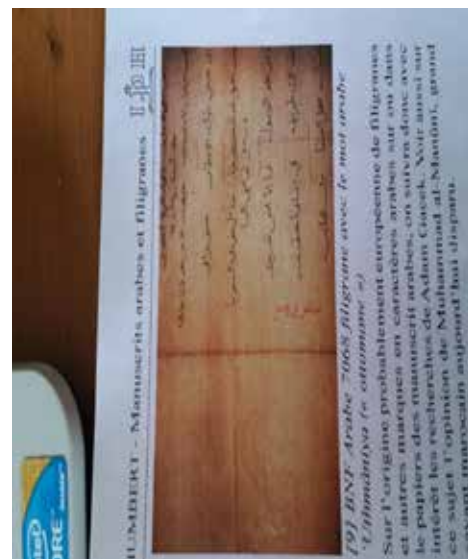


Photo 4: Crescent and star of the watermark
This image is quoted from Humbert's article, page 141

Malay Manuscripts

There are two categories of papers used for Malay manuscripts, traditional paper made from their area and imported paper mostly from Europe. Local newspaper used was made of tree bark, which was called *dluwang* paper usually used for manuscripts in Java, built of leaf, called *lontar* usually found in documents from Sulawesi and Sasak, and bamboo and animal skin for scrolls from Kerinci. (Uli Kozok, 2006:138-141). Meanwhile, in other places like in Aceh, the manuscripts mostly used European paper although there are also manuscripts made of tree bark marked with many fibers on the paper. The Acehnese documents using the tree bark are stored in Dayah Tanoh Abée, entitled *Al-Futuhāt al-Rabbaniyyah* and *Dala'ilul Khairat*.

European paper used for Malay manuscripts has its specific criteria with watermark and countermark, laid lines and chain lines, and plain paper. For watermark paper, images that frequently found are *propatria* which came from Holland.² The image is as follows.



Photo 5: *Propatria Image*
This image is collected by National Library, Jakarta.
Photo is taken by Staff in National Library.

However, three crescents and moon face in the shield are, respectively, images most frequently appeared in Islamic manuscripts written either in Malay, Arabic or other local languages, such as Acehnese and Buginese. The photos are as follows:



Photo 6: *Cressents Images*
Image of Acehnese manuscript from Ainal Mardhiah
Collection in Pidie, Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam.
Photo is taken by Fakhriati

² Based on research done in Aceh and National Library in Jakarta, it is indicated that Malay people commonly used watermarked papers from Holland since they were colonized by the Dutch.



Photo 7: *Moon in the Shield image*
Images of Acehnese paper collected individually in
Pidie, Aceh. Photo is taken by Fakhriati in Pidie.

In addition to the watermark images above, Malay manuscripts also have another picture of watermarks, that is Arabic letters, such as “Aba Syabkin.” This watermark even exists in papers from Arab. The figures are as follows:



Photo 7: *Arabic writing image*
Image of Acehnese manuscript collected individually
in Aceh Besar. Photo is taken by Fakhriati in Aceh
Besar.

Moreover, other images are also found on papers used for Malay manuscripts, i.e., plant of rice and two crossing flags. The scripts used the watermark paper with a plant of rice image was found in Aceh. The image is as follows:



Photo 8: *plant image*
Image of Acehnese manuscript collected individually
in Aceh Besar. Photo is taken by Fakhriati in Aceh
Besar.

For two crossing flags' image is existed in South and West Sulawesi manuscripts. The figures are as follows:



Photo 9: Two flags image
Images from Makassar manuscript, South Sulawesi.
Photo is taken by Husnul Fahimah, a researcher
from Makassar.

In other manuscripts, Husnul also found the same image of the watermark as above, and even a script written *Salim Nabhan* as countermark. (Husnul Fahimah, 2011:50-51). Undeniably, these words referred to a name of the founder of the oldest bookstore in East Java located in Surabaya from 1908, whose name is Salim Nabhan, and his full name is Salim bin Sa'ad Nabhan,³ He also ordered papers to Germany to facilitate local *ulama* to write, print, and publish.⁴ In this order, he was assumed

3 Salim Nabhan was an Arab traveling to Surabaya at the beginning of the 20th century. Salim Nabhan was the most significant seller and publisher in Surabaya, as also found in other big publishers in Cirebon, Abdulah bin Afif, and in Singapore, Sulayman Mar'i. They were Arabs ordering books from Egypt for sale in Indonesia at a lower price than books in Indonesia since there were very few Arab books found in the country. Among the published papers by Salim Nabhan was *FathulQadir*. This book was published in the 1920s in Surabaya and assumed as the first book in Malay describing the size and scale of Arab in Indonesian. See <http://jombang.nu.or.id/kita-shorof-kiyai-mashum-seblak-yang-mendunia/> See also Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning; Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu; Comments on a New Collection in the KITLV Library." *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde/Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 146.2 (1990): 232.

4 Papers watermarked with two crossing flags, and Salim Nabhan name was found abundantly in South and West Sulawesi. The relationship of K. H. Muh As'ad al-Bugisy and Salim Nabhan in Islamic development through publication and selling of books brought in the spread of paper in this area. (Interview with Dr. Ahmad Rahman, a senior researcher from Bugis, Makasar. He works in

to order a unique logo containing his name. It then made sense when watermarks were also found in other areas according to the location. In *Doa-doa* from South Africa, Cape Town, for example, countermark containing *Colony of Cape Good Hope* was discovered. (Ahmad Rahman, 2008:93). It shows that watermarks and countermark were mostly made as ordered by the paper consumers, such as the papers commissioned by Salim Nabhan.

It was also found that papers for Malay and Arab manuscripts coming from Europe did not contain watermarks and countermarks, but an only chain and laid lines. The paper model has two criteria: line with shadow and line without shadow. The images are as follows:



Photo 9: Line with shadow.
Image of Acehese Manuscripts collected in private
hand. Photo is taken by Fakhriati in Pidie, Aceh



Photo 10: A line without shadow.
Image of Buginese manuscripts. Photo is taken by
Husnul Fahimah in South Sulawesi.

According to Russell Jones, these two models consist of useful information inside. The shadow lines indicate that the paper was produced before

Center for Research and Development of Religious Literature and Heritage). See also "Penerbitan al-Hidayah dan Salim Nabhan Surabaya Jawa Timur," in Dr. Salahudin (ed.) *Lektur Agama dalam Berbagai Dimensi*, 2009; See also Husnul Fahimah, *Lontarak Suqkuna Wajo*, 2011, 50.

the 19th century; on the contrary, the document with unshadow lines was presented after the 19th century. It makes sense because, before the 19th century, the paper was produced manually, resulting in high possibility of shadow lines to emerge. Meanwhile, after the 19th century, paper was provided by the machine, resulting in better prints. (Russell Jones, 2011:10).⁵

How to Get the Paper

There were two ways to reach paper used as a material for writing Malay and Arab manuscripts, producing local paper and finding an imported paper. For local papers, Malay people easily obtained the elements in their areas or from their neighbors. For example, it may be predicted that they received documents made of tree bark for Acehese manuscripts from Batak, who used *alim* trees to cover their papers or imported from Java, which had established their relationship from the period of Abdurrauf Al-Fansuri⁶ in the 17th century. Meanwhile, some Kerinci manuscripts were written on bamboos and horns.

Imported papers with watermarks were imported particularly from Europe. The reasons for such import are explained below.

Between Malay and Arab

Analysing the types of watermarks on Malay and Arab manuscripts is found similarity images of crescents, Arabic letters such as *Aba Syabkin*, and moon face in a shield. These such papers might be produced in the same factory in Europe based on its consumers requested, in this case, is Arab people. From Arab, the documents then brought and distributed to Malay.

Papers from Arab tended to be accepted and bought by Malay people based at least on two

reasons. *First*, the arrival of Islam from Arab to Malay. Malay countries, especially Indonesia, had long established their relationships. In addition to having the same religion, Malay and Arab Muslims found a strong, friendly relationship. Islam entered Aceh at first and created Islamic generations with common spirit and faith. Malay people warmly welcomed Arabs and the other way around.

Second, Hajj pilgrimage tradition in the past,⁷ Also strengthened their relationship. Mecca became the center of hajj pilgrimage, religious learning, power, and politics. In Mecca, Muslims obtained information of the existence and development in other Muslim countries. They also built their visions to fight colonizers occupying Muslim nations in the past. Some of the manuscripts mentioned about issues related to the glorious Mecca making it a religious center worthy of praise. In Aceh, in the script of *Hikayat Makkah Madinah* written in Acehese language and stored in SOAS in England, for instance, it is mentioned that Mecca was the primary place to stay and reside because it was a safe and blessed city. The chronicle's author showed himself when in Mecca by describing the mosque's doors when he missed his hometown and remembered his parents. He convinced himself that the real heaven's door would open. (Reza Indria, 2013:222-226).

Third, a bilateral relationship between the two countries, such as Aceh and Turkey, makes them believe in suggestions and inputs from Arab. Similarly, regarding papers, it is inevitable that Acehese as Malay people accepted offers embracing the same religion, Islam. Moreover, with the reliable direct interconnection, Turkey was the role model for Aceh sultanate in fighting for their country and religion against the colonizer. Since the 16th century, the Ottoman sultans favorably protected and aided local resistance to the Dutch colonizer by sending cannons and swords of honor to the Acehese Sultanate. (Anthony Reid, 2010:26-37; Firas Alkhateeb, 2014:149; Fakhriati, 2013:67). It then became straightforward for Turkey to include their religious mission, including through papers. It is not surprising that similar watermarked

5 Doroche also discussed on the chain and laid lines produced before watermark appeared. (Déroche, François, 2005, *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script*, London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation. P. 57). It can be concluded that what Doroche stated is the lines with shadow produced before the 19th century. (See Fakhriati, 2013 "Paper and Its History in Acehese Manuscript," in *Heritage of Nusantara; International Journal for Religious Literature and Heritage*, Vol. 2. No. 1 June 2013).

6 Abdurrauf al-Fansuri is an *ulama* who firstly introduce *Syattariyah* order into the Archipelago. See detail elaboration on the name of Abdurrauf al-Fansuri rather than Abdurrauf Singkil in Fakhriati, *Menelusuri Tarekat Syattariyah di Aceh lewat Naskah*, 2008, 45.

7 Hajj pilgrimage tradition has been implemented and maintained by those with financial capability. However, Hajj pilgrimage is not the only goal because some people stay there for years too, among others, study religion. For detail information, see Chambers Loir, *Naik Haji di masa Silam*, 2013, Vol. 1, 5 -82.

documents were found, such as Arabic characters "Aba Syabkin."

Relationship with European Countries

Europeans occupied Malay and most Arab countries. Also, to hold, colonizers used their momentum to introduce their culture, including their production. European papers were accessible and used by authors to write issues they considered necessary, such as science and al-Qur'an.

In most Acehese manuscripts, European papers were found with *propatria* watermarks produced by Holland. It makes sense because Aceh was once colonized by Holland in the same period from 1873 to 1942 of war against the Dutch. Similarly, other Malay manuscripts, especially Indonesia, were mostly found using papers imported from Europe, e.g., Holland. It is possible to predict the difference between Malay documents from Brunei and Pattani: the colonized countries mostly used reports from England.⁸ Arab countries once occupied by European countries experienced similar things. Papers brought by Europeans dominating the country.

CLOSING REMARKS

Manuscripts are unique because they are ancient and vintage. The uniqueness starts from their physical appearance, including stationery, cover, binding, figures inside, and ink. The texts also have their criteria, such title, introduction, contents, and colophon. Malay on Arab manuscripts indicates their uniqueness according to the writing place, period, and those who wrote so-called *ulama*.

Regarding paper, Malay and Arab manuscripts have Islamic watermarked pictures. Both have similarity. A tradition developed in Arab documents became dominant from the entrance of Islam to Malay. The strong interaction between both of them made them dependent on one another in many aspects. The relationship between teachers and students, as one of the forms of interaction established between Arab and Malay *ulama*, made them bound physically and mentally. Therefore, the papers used were similar.

Frequently found watermarks on Malay manuscripts are crescents and Arab characters were also found in Arab papers. Also, watermarks with distinct figures of specific European regions were

also found in Malay and Arab manuscripts, such as *propatria* image from Holland. Moreover, an indication of an area of all watermarks may also be seen, meaning there was an existence of watermarks in specific regions, such as Salim Nabhan of Surabaya, East Java, Indonesia.

Based on the unique interaction of watermarks on Malay and Arab manuscripts, further and broader studies on Arab scripts need to be performed since the Arab documents spread not only in the Middle East but also other parts of Muslim countries. (Chambert-Loir, 1999:39-50).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Writing and finishing this article undeniably needs to the help from the others. Therefore, great thanks should be delivered to some of those who had already be in an important part of performing research and finishing it. First of all, I would like to thank to my teachers who teach me knowledge on digging out the information in manuscripts and watermarks inside. Then, to my colleague, Anne Regourd who wish to read this article and correct the substance. Second, my senior colleague, Ahmad Rahman, for sharing me the data to complete this work. Then, my colleague Husnul Fahima who wish to share her watermark photos. Last, but not least, my gratitude to all of my friends who help me many times that I am not able to mention here one by one. Without any other helps this work will be nothing.

REFERENCES

- Alkhateeb, Firas. 2014. *Lost Islamic History: Reclaiming Muslim Civilisation from the Past*, London, C. Hurst & Co.
- Azra, Azyumardi. 1995. *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara abad XVII dan XVIII*, Mizan.
- Bruinessen, Martin. 1990. "Kitab Kuning; Books in Arabic script used in the Pesantren milieu; Comments on a new collection in the KITLV Library." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en volkenkunde/Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 146.2 (1990): 226-269.
- Chambert-Loir, Henri and Oman Fathurahman. 1999. *Khazanah Naskah: Panduan Koleksi Naskah-naskah Indonesia Sedunia*, Jakarta: EFEQ and Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Chambert-Loir, Henri, 2013, *Naik Haji di Masa Silam: Kisah-kisah Orang Indonesia Naik haji 1482-1964*, Jakarta, Pepustakaan Populer

⁸ Research on papers from Malay except Indonesia needs a detailed implementation to obtained more detailed information on this.

- Gramedia.
- Churchill, W.A. 1935. *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and their Interconnection*, Amsterdam: Enno Hertzberger & Co.
- Déroche, François. 2005. *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script*, London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation.
- Dienaputra, Reiza, D. 2005. "Sejarah Kertas di Indonesia", in Setiawan Sabana (ed.), *Legenda Kertas: Menuju Jalan Sebuah Peradaban*, Bandung: Kiblat.
- Fakhriati. 2013. "Paper and Its History in Acehnese Manuscript," in *Heritage of Nusantara; International Journal for Religious Literature and Heritage*, Vol. 2. No. 1 June 2013.
- Fakhriati. 2008. *Menelusuri Tarekat Syattariyah di Aceh lewat Naskah*, Jakarta, Puslitbang Lektur Keagamaan, Balitbang Kementerian Agama RI.
- Fathurahman, Oman. 2012. *Ithaf Al-Dhaki: Tafsir Wahdatul Wujud bagi Muslim Nusantara*, Jakarta, Mizan.
- Gacek, Adam. 2012. *Arab manuscripts; A Vademecum for Readers*, Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Gallop, Annabel Teh. 2004. "Ottoman influences in the Seal of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah of Aceh (r.1589–1604)", in *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 32:93, 176-190.
- <http://jombang.nu.or.id/kitab-shorof-kiyai-mashum-seblak-yang-mendunia/>
- Humbert, Geneviève. 2012. "Manuscripts Arabes et Filigranes" in *IPH Congress Book*, Vol. 19, 2012, Denmark: Copenhagen.
- Jones, Russell. 2011. "Watermark Icons – or Words? With Reference to Methods of Dating Malay manuscripts, in *Paper History Journal of the International Association of Paper Historians*, vol. 15, 2011, Issue 1, pp 6-15.
- Ilyas, Husnul Fahimah. 2011. *Lontaraq Suqkuna Wajo: Telaah Ulang Awal Islamisasi di Wajo*, Lembaga Studi Islam Progresif.
- Indria, Reza. 2013. 'Hikayat Makkah Madinah dalam Bahasa Aceh' in Henri Chambert-Loir, *Naik Haji di masa Silam: Kisah-kisah Orang Indonesia Naik Haji 1482-1964*, Jakarta, Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.
- Kozok, Uli. 2006. *Kitab Undang-undang Tanjung Tanah: Naskah Melayu Tertua*, Jakarta, Yanassa and Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Rahman, Ahmad and Syahrial. 2008. *Katalog Naskah Koleksi Masyarakat Keturunan Indonesia di Afrika Selatan*, Departemen Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata.
- Rahman, Ahmad. 2009. "Penerbitan al-Hidayah dan Salim Nabhan Surabaya Jawa Timur", in Dr Salahudin (ed), *Lektur Agama dalam Berbagai Dimensi*, Jakarta: Mishbah.
- Regourd, Anne, "Les papiers Abū Šubbāk au Yémen et en Éthiopie", dans : A. Regourd (éd.), *Documents et Histoire/Documents and History. Papier à marques en caractères non-latins/Papers bearing watermarks in non-Latin characters*, Submitted to Leiden, E. J. Brill.
- Reid, Anthony. 2010. "Aceh and the Turkish Connection" in Arndt Graft, Susanne Schröter, and Edwin Wieringa (ed.), *Aceh: History, Politics, and Culture*. Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS).
- Republika Newspaper, 24 July 2015.
- Proudfoot, Ian dan Virginia Hooker. 1996. 'Mediating Time and Space: The Malay Writing Tradition,' in *Illuminations: The Writing Tradition of Indonesia*, Jakarta, Lontar Foundation.