ANNABEL TEH GALLOP

An Acehnese Style of Manuscript Illumination

Introduction

The Dutch war against Aceh, which broke out in 1873 and dragged on into the early 20th century, had enormous repercussions for the manuscript culture of Aceh. During this long conflict, large numbers of manuscripts in Malay, Arabic and Acehnese were captured by the Dutch and taken as war booty. Some of these manuscripts entered the collection of the Bataviaasch Genootschap and are now held in the National Library of Indonesia (PNRI) in Jakarta, while many others found their way to the Netherlands, ending up in Leiden University Library (LUB), the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (KIT) in Amsterdam and the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (RMV) in Leiden, as well as in a number of other institutions. A new feature that differentiated this military campaign from earlier ones was that through the interest of Christian Snouck Hurgronje and others, for the first time large numbers of Islamic manuscripts such as copies of the Qur’an, prayer books, and works on doctrine and practice were seized, with a view to augmenting Dutch collections. This was a significant departure from the much more narrow focus on literary and historical manuscripts which had characterised previous Dutch collecting expeditions(1), as well as the British collections of Indonesian manuscripts formed in the early 19th century and later(2).

1. For a discussion of the 1821 expedition in which Abdul Kadir was sent by Governor of Melaka to collect “treatises in the Malay language, and romances, stories and narratives of olden days”, see Proudfoot 2003.
2. No Qur’ans can be traced in the manuscript collections formed in the Malay world by Raffles, Mackenzie and Farquhar in the early 19th century, or by Wilkinson, Winstedt and Maxwell in the early 20th century (cf. Gallop 2002 : 237). Prior to the last decade of the 20th

A second wave of outpouring of manuscripts from Aceh has taken place in more recent times. Over the past two decades, as a result of both economic factors and political instability, large numbers of manuscripts from Aceh—nearly all on religious subjects—have left Indonesia and have been acquired by institutions and libraries in Malaysia and Brunei, most notably by the Malay Manuscripts Centre which was formed in 1984 at the National Library of Malaysia. One consequence of these upheavals is that there are probably more manuscripts from Aceh preserved in public collections today than from any other Malay kingdom. Furthermore, despite the outflow there still appear to be substantial numbers of manuscripts in Aceh itself, especially in the Museum Negeri Aceh, the Dayah Tanoh Abee and the Yayasan Ali Hasjmy in Banda Aceh (3), as well as in private hands.

From a survey of this sizeable corpus of manuscripts, a very distinctive style of illumination can be identified, manifest in number of different formats: a pair of illuminated frames covering two facing pages, a single ornamental headpiece at the start of a text, a tailpiece adorning the triangular tapered end of a text, and decorative corner pieces. So far, over 120 manuscripts have been found which exhibit at least one of these types of illumination. They may be written in Arabic, Malay or Acehnese, but the most significant feature is that nearly all concern Islamic matters; there are almost no historical or non-religious literary works which exhibit these examples of illumination. Forty-nine of the manuscripts are Qur’ans; the others include prayer books, theological treatises in Malay generically termed kitab jawi, or works in Arabic which may include subjects like grammar traditionally regarded as part of the curriculum of religious learning. Few are dated, and not all colophons have been identified and studied, but among the earliest examples of illumination in this characteristic style may be the surviving left-hand page of an illuminated double frame at the beginning of a manuscript of Mir’at al-tullāb by Abdul Rauf of Singkel dated 1764 (4) (Pl. 4). A few other manuscripts bear dates from the second half of the 18th century, while the majority were probably copied and illuminated in the 19th century. All are listed in the Appendix.

---

3. Based on observations by the present writer during a visit to Aceh in November 1993.
4. A manuscript of the Sīrāt al-mustaqīm (LUB Cod.Or.7591) with a badly-damaged illuminated double frame and decorated colophon bears the date 1103 (1691/92 AD) and is said to be written on watermarked paper consistent with a 17th-century dating (Iskandar 1999 : 450), but the illumination and hand of this manuscript are standard for 19th-century manuscripts from Aceh, and further investigation would be needed to confirm a 17th-century date for this manuscript.
Genres of Acehnese illumination

In the course of the present study on the art of the Islamic book in Southeast Asia, “illumination” is interpreted very broadly to mean any graphic device utilised to enhance the written word. Examples of illumination range from the large-scale, such as lavish decorated frames covering the outer margins of the page, to the minor, such as small decorative markers employed within a text or in the margin. A range of colours may be used, including metallic colours such as gold or silver, but some fine examples may be monochrome, executed only in the same black or red ink used for the text. Not included in the parameters of this study, however, are illustrations, i.e. narrative pictorial scenes enacting or elaborating on the contents of the text, or esoteric diagrams often found in amulets and mystical works.

There are certain examples of major forms of illumination common to books from throughout the Islamic world. In books written in Latin script – whether manuscript or printed – the text usually commences on the right-hand side of a double-page opening, with the second page of the text found overleaf from the first, on the left-hand side of the next double-page opening. In books written in Arabic script and all its variants, from any Islamic region, the convention is otherwise: the text usually begins on a right-hand page (often the verso of the first folio), and continues onto the facing left-hand page (the recto of the second folio). In some manuscripts, the start of the text is highlighted by an ornamental panel or “headpiece” placed above the opening lines at the top of the right-hand page, while in more lavish books, a decorated double frame encloses the text blocks on the two facing pages. Similarly, illumination may also be found at the end of the text. Quintessentially Islamic is the triangular tapered shape of a colophon or the end of a text, the lines gradually and gracefully decreasing in length down to a single word, a single letter and then even a single dot, and the resulting triangular spaces on either side of the tapered text are sometimes filled with decoration.

The concept of the “double-page spread” is crucial to Islamic book design, and many of the decorative devices used by scribes and illuminators were designed to enhance the concept of two facing pages as an aesthetic and artistic whole. Therefore, the decorated double frames which enclose the text on two facing pages are often symmetrical about the gutter of the book, with more substantive ornamentation on the three outer sides than on the inner vertical side. This encourages the visual contemplation of the double-page spread as a single unit rather than as two separate pages. Even when a single headpiece is found only on the right-hand page of a double-page spread, its placement is usually noticeably in harmony with the proportions of text and margins of both facing pages.

The main genres of Acehnese illumination – decorated double frames, single headpieces, and tailpieces – can thus all be seen as deriving firmly
from the broader Islamic tradition. Nonetheless, their Acehnese identity is immediately evident through their strong adherence to certain recognized norms of form, colour and ornamental motif, which are discussed below.

A. **Double frames**

The supreme showcase for the skill of the Acehnese manuscript illuminator was the decorated double frame surrounding the textblock on two facing pages of a manuscript, and it is in these that we find the finest examples of manuscript illumination from Aceh. Moreover, it can be shown that the other genres of Acehnese illumination such as single headpieces and tailpieces derive from or make constant reference to the constituent elements of double frames. Therefore, double frames will be described in considerable detail in terms of their structure, the range of ornamental motifs used, and their colour palette.

**Structure**

The most characteristic features of the architecture or structure of double frames in Acehnese manuscripts can be summarised as follows (see Fig. 1):

- The textblock on each page – which is smaller than that in the rest of the manuscript – is surrounded by a decorated rectangular border or series of borders.

- The outer vertical boundaries of these rectangular borders are extended up and down to form two columns flanking the textblock on left and right. The tops and bottoms of these columns always slope inwards, usually in an undulating line.

- On the three outer sides of the decorated border surrounding the textblock (i.e. above and below the textblock, and facing the outer vertical edge of the page) are arches, usually in the shape of lobed ogival domes, but sometimes semicircular or triangular.

- The arch above the textblock is often flanked by two half-arches, which rise up to meet the tips of the vertical columns on either side of the textblock; this arrangement is mirrored with the arch below the textblock.

- The arch on the outer vertical side is flanked by two “wings”, which range in size from delicate foliate tendrils to more substantial constructs.

- Finials may project from the cusps of any or all of the arches, and/or from their troughs.

Although the most remarkable feature of many Acehnese illuminated manuscripts is the degree of conformity with this prototype, small variations

*Archipel 68, Paris, 2004*
Fig. 1 – All the characteristic constituent elements of Acehnese illumination are present in this double frame from a Qur'an: A – decorated frame surrounding textblock; B – extended verticals, sloping in at top and bottom; C – arches on the three outer sides; D – half-arches flanking the top and bottom arches; E – "wings" flanking the side arches; F – finials on the cusps and/or troughs of the arches; G – plaited or twisted rope motif; H – looped vine motif around the text block; I – bud motif in the arches; J – the upper section of the double frame that serves as a model for the single headpiece; K – the lower section of the double frame that serves as a model for the lower section of the tailpiece. KIT 674/845.b.
are occasionally encountered. Some manuscripts may lack the “wings” and/or side arches (Fig. 6), while a few others lack the extended vertical columns. In a few manuscripts, each textblock is surrounded by a diamond-shaped frame (Pl. 6), which is sometimes set within a square or rectangular one. But perhaps most interesting are examples where the constituent elements of the characteristic Acehnese double frame are reduced to their barest essentials, for example, with arches which simply hover above and below the textblock, present yet unattached to the “superstructure” (Pl. 5).

Ornamentation

The most frequently-found ornamental motifs found in Acehnese double frames are noted below:

- A thin horizontal or vertical border containing a plaited or twisted rope motif.
- The decorative rectangular border around the textblock may contain a looped vine, usually rising to a loose intersection at the midpoint of each side of the textblock.
- Set within the arches may be a pear-shaped trefoil motif resembling a bud in profile.

In nearly all manuscripts, the motif is double-outlined in black ink. Particularly characteristic of Acehnese illumination is that crossover points of the looped vine or other foliate elements are drawn straight through, “x-ray” style, with no attempt to suggest perspective by hiding one segment underneath another.

The plaited or twisted rope motif is one of the most distinctive design elements of Acehnese illuminated manuscripts, and is also often encountered doodled at the beginning or end of other manuscripts from Aceh, confirming its ubiquitous presence (Fig. 2). It was also a feature of other Acehnese arts including metalwork, where the designs are labelled bungong puta taloë dua for the two-strand twisted rope, and bungong puta taloë lheë for the three-strand plaited rope motif (Kreemer 1922 : Pl. XVII; Fig. 3). A plaited or

![Boengông poeta taloë doea](image1.png)  ![Boengông poeta taloë lheë](image2.png)

Fig. 2 – Twisted and plaited rope designs (after Kreemer 1922 : IPl.XVII)
Fig. 3 – Doodled twisted and plaited rope motifs on the first page of a manuscript seized during the Aceh war containing Arabic grammatical texts. LUB Cod.Oz.2336A, f.1r
twisted rope is of course an ancient ornamental motif which occurs all over
the world, but it is noteworthy that the rope motif is hardly ever found in
illuminated manuscripts from Southeast Asia apart from in Aceh.

Palette

The range of pigments used in Acehnese manuscripts is limited, and is
dominated by red, yellow and black. The yellow may vary widely in tone
from lemon yellow and ochre through to orange. It is noteworthy that gold is
almost never used in manuscript illumination from Aceh, although it is rela-
tively common in illuminated manuscripts from other parts of Southeast
Asia such as the east coast of the Malay peninsula, Java, southern
Kalimantan and Sulawesi. Black may be present only in the black ink of the
outline design, or black pigment may be used more substantially. Oc-
casionally, other colours such as green, brown or blue are found. How
these pigments were manufactured is not known, although the degradation in
some manuscripts in areas of black pigment suggests the corrosive presence of
iron gall.

Arguably the most important colour in the palette of the Acehnese artist
is actually a non-colour, or rather the absence of colour: reserved white, rep-
resented by the background colour of the paper. Thus in all Acehnese illumi-
nated manuscripts, the motif is drawn in double outline in black ink (cf. Fig.
4) and the background elements of the design are then coloured in, leaving
the main ornamental features — whether a plaited or twisted rope motif, or
the looped vine motif mentioned above — standing out in white against a
coloured backdrop.

It is sufficiently common to encounter manuscripts from Aceh with
monochrome double frames or headpieces, with the decoration outlined sole-
ly in black ink, to suggest that such uncoloured frames should not simply be
regarded as “unfinished” manuscripts but were seen as a valid form of deco-
rination in their own right (Figs. 5, 6, 7). Nonetheless, it is also relatively com-
mon to find manuscripts with partially coloured-in illuminated features,
implies that it was not unusual for uncoloured decorative elements in
manuscripts to be coloured in at a later stage.

B. Single headpiece

In essence, the Acehnese single headpiece is modelled on the top portion
of one side of a double frame as described above, and its salient features can
be summarised as follows:

- The textblock (usually on the right-hand page of a double-page spread)
is surrounded by a border, the verticals of which are extended upwards.
The tops of these columns always slope inwards, usually in a wavy line.
Fig. 4. – Unfinished double frame, drawn in black ink. Sirāt al-mustaqim, PNRI M1.397, pp. 14-15

Fig. 5. – Monochrome double frame, drawn in brown ink, without side arches or ‘wings’. Qur’an, S. al-Falaq & S. al-Nās. BL Or.15604, ff.313v-314r

Archipel 68, Paris, 2004
• Above the textblock is a decorated headpiece, with a central arch rising to a peak in the middle, which is flanked on each side by two half-arches which rise to meet the tops of the vertical columns.

• Finials may project from the cusps of the central arch and side columns, and from the troughs between the central arch and the two half-arches.

• There may be a horizontal border containing a twisted or plaited rope separating the textblock and headpiece, and the central arch is usually filled with a foliate meander vine or bud motif.

• The same limited colour palette is found, consisting mainly of red, yellow, black and reserved white, and occasionally with green and brown.

Nearly all the same variations noted in the case of double frames are also encountered in single headpieces. For example, monochrome examples are often found (Fig. 6), as are headpieces that incorporate all the key structural features listed above but in the barest outline form (Pl. 10). Very occasionally, Acehnese “double headpieces” are found in manuscripts, with single headpieces on both facing pages of a double-page spread (cf. Kumar & McGlynn 1996: 42)(5).

C. Tailpiece

Structurally, the Acehnese illuminated tailpiece consists of two separate sections. Firstly, there are right-angled triangular decorated panels flanking the tapered text; this element is common to Islamic illuminated manuscripts throughout the Muslim world, including other parts of Southeast Asia. It is the second, lower, structural element which makes a tailpiece distinctively Acehnese, and this section is best described as an upside-down version of a single headpiece, and derives from the lower portion of one side of a double frame. The constituent elements of such an Acehnese tailpiece can be defined as follows:

• The textblock is surrounded by a border, the verticals of which are extended downwards. The bottom tips of these columns always slope inwards, usually in a wavy line.

• The two triangular panels bounded by the extended vertical borders of the textblock and the edges of the tapered final lines of text are filled with decoration, usually in the form of a foliate meander vine.

---

5. Double headpieces in the Acehnese style are rare, but are very common in illuminated manuscripts from other parts of the Malay world, such as the Malay peninsula and 19th-century Batavia.
• Below this triangular composition is a horizontal border, either consisting of layers of colour bands or containing a twisted or plaited rope motif.

• Below this horizontal border is a central arch which descends to a cusp, flanked by two half-arches which descend to meet the bottoms of the extended vertical borders of the text frame.

• Finials may project downwards from the cusp of the central arch and side columns, and from the troughs between the central and side arches.

• Again, the same basic Aceh palette of red, yellow, black and reserved white predominates, although monochrome examples are also found.

It should be noted that manuscripts containing double frames or single headpieces in the typically Acehnese style may quite often also have only a simple triangular tailpiece which does not include the characteristic lower arches described above (cf. Pl. 15).

D. Other illuminated elements

Described above are the three major genres of Acehnese manuscript illumination, but there are also many other less substantial types of illumination found in manuscripts from Aceh. In Qur’an manuscripts, the ayah or verses are usually separated by coloured (mainly yellow) roundels; larger composite roundels may mark the end of a surah or juz‘ (thirtieth part of the Qur’anic text); and marginal ornaments indicating the start of each new juz‘ may take the form of illuminated roundels. In a popular Arabic grammatical work, the kaf of the initial word kalam is frequently elaborated decoratively (Pl. 9, see also Gallop 2004).

Although usually presented as part of an illuminated double frame or single headpiece, decorative inscription panels deserve some comment. These are panels set within a decorated frame, located above and/or below the textblock in a double frame, or above the text in a headpiece. The inscription may give the title of the work, or, in the case of the Qur’an, the surah heading, or it may comprise a religious formula such as the shahadah or the bismillah. Not infrequently, these are written upside-down, apparently to increase the protective qualities of such religious phrases (6) (eg. Pl. 4).

6. The bismillah is written upside down in a single headpiece adorning a manuscript of the Hikayat Meukuta Alam in the Museum Negeri Aceh (Naskah D in Abdullah 1991). This feature is discussed further: Menurut keterangan orang yang mengetahui, penulisan basmalah terbalik yang demikian merupakan ciri formula yang mengandung kekuatan magis. Dikatakan, apabila formula basmalah ini ditulis sedemikian rupa berbolak-balik sebanyak 211 kali akan mampu menyembuhkan orang sakit, dengan cara minumkan air rendaman formula tadi (Abdullah 1991: 799). “writing the basmalah upside down like this turns it into a formula of magical potency. It is said that if the basmalah is written upside down like this
Perhaps most interesting are the inscription panels which contain the name of the owner or scribe of the manuscript (eg. Pl. 11); it is possible that this is a uniquely Acehnese phenomenon within Southeast Asian manuscripts. The calligraphic composition of these inscription panels follows the procedure for ornamental motifs: the inscription is double-outlined in black ink, and then the background is coloured in, leaving the inscription reserved in white against a coloured ground. Apparently particularly characteristic of Acehnese inscription panels is the singular treatment of the group of letters ḥa, kha, jim and ca sharing an acute angle to the right. This angle is often exaggeratedly elongated, to the extent that it intersects with the preceding letters. This feature can be seen most clearly in certain words which recur frequently in such panels, for example, the ḥa of Muhammad in the shahadah; the ḥa of Fātiḥah in the heading of the first surah (Fig. 8); and the jim of juz’.

But perhaps the only minor decorative elements which qualify as a quintessential feature of Acehnese illumination on a par with the major genres discussed above are corner pieces: decorative triangular brackets placed at each of the four corners of a double-page spread. They mostly occur in non-Qur’anic texts, but have also been documented in a few Qur’ans. In terms of ornamentation and palette, they share the same characteristics as other types of Acehnese illumination, with foliate meander patterns picked out in reserved white against a coloured backdrop dominated by red, yellow and black, and are especially closely related to the triangular decorative elements of tailpieces (Pl. 15).

Factors influencing illumination in Acehnese manuscripts

There is a distinct and coherent relationship between the type of illumination used, its artistic quality, and the nature of the manuscript in which it is found. Relevant factors are the contents of the text, the location of the illuminated pages within the book, and even the size of the pages of the manuscript.

Genres of texts

The great majority of examples of illuminated double frames from Aceh are found in Qur’ans. The number of illuminated double frames found in a Qur’an manuscript, and their location, can vary. Most frequently found are double frames at the beginning of the text, with another set of double frames at the end, and many – though not all – such manuscripts also have a third set of double frames at the centre. When two or three double frames are

211 times, a person who drinks the water in which this formula has been soaked will be cured of their illness”.

Archipel 68, Paris, 2004
Fig. 6 – Monochrome single headpiece, drawn in black ink. *Dula'il al-khayrāt*, PNRI A.582, f.1a

Fig. 7 – Monochrome tailpiece, drawn in black ink. *Compendium of Arabic texts*, RMV 164/14
found in the same manuscript, these are almost never identical but vary in
terms of design and ornamentation.

The double frames at the beginning of the Qur’an always have the *Surat
al-Fatihah* occupying the whole of the right-hand page and the beginning of
the *Surat al-Baqarah* presented on the left-hand page, while in Qur’ans from
Aceh the frames in the middle invariably enclose the start of the 16th *juz’*
(Qur’an, S.18 : 75), marking the exact midpoint of the text. At the end of the
manuscript, however, there is less constancy in the portions of text enclosed
by double frames. The most common choice is the final two chapters of the
Qur’an, with the *Surat al-Falaq* on the right-hand page and the *Surat al-Nas*
on the left; in some manuscripts these chapters are in fact repeated within
the illuminated frames, as the complete Qur’anic text can be found on the
preceding pages. Sometimes, larger portions of text are enclosed within the
frames, while in other manuscripts the final frames may enclose a prayer to
be recited on the completion of the reading of the Qur’an. Most intriguing,
but frequently encountered enough not to be considered an aberration, is the
presence of decorated double frames enclosing blank spaces at the end of the
manuscript, located after the end of the Qur’anic text. These empty final
double frames have been found in at least five manuscripts (Pl. 7). The text
eventually intended to occupy these frames remains a subject of speculation,
but was most likely either a repetition of the final chapters of the Qur’anic
text or a prayer. In other Islamic cultures, such elaborate illumination –
either at the end of a manuscript, or at the beginning – often framed an
inscription naming the patron for whom the manuscript had been produced,
together with details of the artists and scribes involved and the place and
time of copying. However, such separate colophon panels are almost never
found in Southeast Asian Qur’ans (see however Pl. 2), although in Aceh
manuscripts the name of the owner is sometimes given within the decorated
frame or headpiece.

Apart from in Qur’ans, double frames are also found in other religious
works. Most known examples are in *kitab jawi* or theological works in
Malay by prominent Acehnese *ulama*, and are seemingly most often found
in the phenomenally popular *Sīrāt al-mustaqīm*, composed by Nuruddin al-
Raniri in 1634–1644. Such manuscripts usually only contain one set of dou-
ble frames on the first two facing pages of the text.

Far more common in *kitab jawi* from Aceh are single headpieces. Again,
each text will only usually contain one headpiece, marking the start of the
work, but manuscript anthologies or compilations of a number of different
texts may contain several headpieces. Decorated headpieces are found in all
types of manuscripts from Aceh containing works in Malay, Arabic and
Acehnese, but significantly never in Qur’ans, which are always accorded the
honour of full-page decorated double frames.

*Archipel 68*, Paris, 2004
Decorated tailpieces in the Acehnese style described above are less frequently encountered than either double frames or single headpieces; however, when found they occur in both Qur’ans and non-Qur’anic texts. In Qur’ans, they are most commonly found at the precise mid-point of the text, marking the end of the 15th juz’, on the page preceding a double frame enclosing the start of the 16th juz’. It should be noted that this use of a graphic device to suggest a formal “ending” to a section within the text of the Qur’an is very unusual, and is not found in Southeast Asian Qur’ans other than those from Aceh. In non-Qur’anic manuscripts, tailpieces are used to mark the end of a text and multiple examples may therefore be found in manuscript anthologies containing several texts.

Page size

The type of illumination found in manuscripts from Aceh can be correlated not only with the type of text but also with the physical size of the pages of the manuscripts. Most manuscripts from Aceh are written on European laid paper with chain lines and watermarks, usually Dutch or Italian (especially with the familiar “three crescents” watermark), but the use of English paper has also been noted (cf. RMV 148/15). Qur’an manuscripts are in general large volumes of folio format, with each leaf or folio of the manuscript composed of a single sheet of laid paper folded in half and sometimes trimmed to fit. The folio dimensions of Qur’ans from Aceh noted in the Appendix range from 28.5 x 20 cm to 34 x 23 cm, suggesting the use of sheets of paper at least 46 x 34 cm in size prior to any folding or trimming. On the other hand, kitab jawi and other non-Qur’anic texts from Aceh tend to be smaller, written on pages created by folding the large sheet of paper twice to give four folios (this size of manuscript is termed quarto); manuscripts in this format have folios ranging in size from 20 x 15 cm to 23.5 x 17 cm. Smaller books are made by folding the original sheet of paper again to yield eight folios (octavo format), with a documented range of folio size from 16 x 10 cm to 17 x 11.5 cm, while the smallest common size of manuscript from Aceh is obtained by folding the paper once more to give folios of approximately 10 x 8 cm. In general, the presence of illuminated double frames in manuscripts from Aceh can be linked to large manuscripts of folio size, while single headpieces predominate in quarto or octavo

7. This accords broadly with Russell Jones’s observations: during a visit to Tanah Abe in 1979, from the surviving materials of the scriptorium he was given a blank sheet of Italian paper with untrimmed (deckle) edges, watermarked with the three crescents and double-headed eagle; this sheet measured 49.5 x 34.5 cm (Jones 1988: 105). I am most grateful to Russell for his advice and comments on this section, and for the following useful tip for identifying the page format of a manuscript: “normally chain lines conform to this pattern: (1) folio, vertical in the leaf; (2) quarto, horizontal in the leaf; octavo, vertical, etc.” (pers. e-comm., 12.7.2004).
manuscripts. Exceptions to this rule-of-thumb tend to be unidirectional: while there are a number of double frames found in smaller manuscripts, single headpieces are almost never found in large folio-sized books. As tailpieces can be found in both Qur’ans and non-Qur’anic texts, this type of illumination can be found on both a large and small scale.

Artistic quality

The finest examples of Acehnese manuscript illumination – in terms of artistry, skill, care of execution and visual impact – are decorated double frames, and, as explained above, these are also the largest manifestations of Acehnese illumination. It is hardly surprising that the finest known examples are found in copies of the Qur’an. As there is relatively little variation in structure, choice of ornamental motif or palette in examples of Acehnese illumination, evaluation of artistic quality tends to focus on the quality of execution and on the harmonious assemblage of the constituent elements of the structure and their relation to the surrounding margins of the double-page spread. Probably because of their location in copies of the Qur’an, many examples of double frames are executed with considerable care, even though the artistry may vary considerably.

By comparison, great variation can be seen in the quality of the single headpieces documented. Almost without exception, these are simpler constructions, with less elaborate decoration than found in double frames. In terms of both quality of execution and artistic skill, enormous variation is found, from fine aesthetically pleasing headpieces to relatively crude and simple examples. Tailpieces can also vary tremendously, from fine examples in Qur’ans to less careful manifestations in smaller books.

Some fine illuminated manuscripts from Aceh

One of the finest known examples of Acehnese illumination only survives as two single separately-framed folios which originally constituted a double-page spread at the centre of a large Qur’an (KIT 674/845.a-b, see Fig. 1 & Pl. 3). All the characteristic elements of Acehnese illumination are present in these two frames, combined sympathetically in an elegant and harmonious composition. No other portions of this Qur’an survive; however, also in the KIT is a single framed folio with an exceptionally fine illuminated roundel containing an inscription (Pl. 2). From a comparison of the artistic quality and colours used, and the occurrence of the same plain coloured borders of red and ochre, each banded by a thin border of white, in all three folios, it is possible that this roundel derives from the same Qur’an manuscript. The inscription reads:

hādīhā al-Qur’ān Tuan Abdul Rahman Lam Badar wa-katibahu Tuan Lebai Jamaluddin Lam Badar

Archipel 68, Paris, 2004
“this is the Qur’an of Tuan Abdul Rahman of Lam Badar, it was written by Tuan Lebai Jamaluddin of Lam Badar”

Although not attaining the elegance of proportion of the Lam Badar folios, a complete Qur’an in Leiden University Library (LUB Cod.Or.2064) is important for perhaps exemplifying the Acehnese style of manuscript illumination. Its iconic status is bolstered by what is known of its provenance: according to a report in the Leidsche Courant of 9 July 1873, it was found lying by the body of a dead priest in the Great Mosque of Aceh during the Dutch attack on the mosque in April 1873(8), and was taken by an infantry captain, J.H.A. Ijssele de Schepper(9). There are three fine sets of double frames at the beginning, middle and end of the manuscript; unusually, those in the middle and at the end are almost identical (Pl. 1).

Probably the most spectacularly illuminated complete Acehnese Qur’an manuscript known is now held in the National Library of Indonesia (PNRI A.694). As is common, there are three double frames at the beginning, middle and end; although based on the standard palette of red, yellow, black and reserved white, in this manuscript the colours are used in roughly equal proportions, counteracting the predominantly red colour scheme of the two Qur’ans discussed immediately above. The greatest glory of this Qur’an manuscript, though, are the double-page spreads with decorated frames, corner pieces and inscription panels that mark every *juz*’. Although such elaborate frames for each *juz*’ are occasionally found in Qur’ans from all over Southeast Asia, this is the only known Acehnese Qur’an so adorned. Each *juz*’ is in turn divided into eightths, which are further indicated in the margin by roundels labelled in Arabic thunn (eighth), rurb (quarter) and nisf (half), and the decoration of each of these roundels is unique. In addition, there are two fine tailpieces in this manuscript (cf. Kumar & McGlynn 1996: 45, 87, 88).

**Questions of origin and identity**

The value of the schematic model outlined above is its use in identifying as Acehnese manuscripts of unknown provenance held in collections outside Aceh. For example, a Qur’an said to have been “written by a Malay”, reproduced in 1913 in the first edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam (Vol.1, Pl.X),

8. On this attack, see Perang 1990: 57.
9. The newspaper report, which has been tipped in at the beginning of the manuscript, reads: *De stoomboot Prins van Oranje heeft een zeer merkwaardig voorwerp meegenomen, nl. een schoon exemplaar van den Koran, dat door den heer J.H.A. Ijssele de Schepper, kapitein der infanterie, gevonden is in den Missig van Groot-Atje bij het lijk van een gesneuvelde priesters. Dit niet slechts om zijn oorsprong, maar ook om de aantekeningen op de eerste bladen belangrijke handschriften is door den heer Ijssele de Schepper uit het bivooac zeestrand te Atjeh den 27sten April aangeboden aan den hoogleraar de Goeje en door dezen aan de Leidsche verzameling van handschriften geschonken* (LUB Cod.Or.2064, flyleaf).
can now be identified as Acehnese (Fig. 9)(10). Furthermore, on the strength of their illumination an Acehnese origin is proposed for two manuscripts of works by Nuruddin al-Raniri now held in South Africa: a copy of the Sirāt al-Mustaqīm, owned by Dr. Cassiema D’Arcy, on the basis of its double frames (Munazzah 1998: 22), and a manuscript of the Akhbār al-akhirat in the collection of Hadjie Muhammad Lutfie Ibrahim, from its characteristic single headpiece and tailpiece (Munazzah 1998: 27-28).

Examples of Acehnese illumination have been identified in a large number of other institutions, and all known examples are listed in the Appendix. Some of these manuscripts are held in Aceh while others have clear Aceh provenances, but for many others no information is available on their origins, and they have been included in the list due to their perceived adherence to the “Acehnese” style of illumination detailed above. In many of these cases, other criteria can be used to confirm the appropriateness of this decision; for example, there are a number of non-illuminated features that can be invoked to distinguish Acehnese Qur’ans from those produced in other parts of the Malay world. Furthermore, the type of non-Qur’anic texts illuminated in the Acehnese style shows a strong bias to the works of “Acehnese” ulama such as Nuruddin al-Raniri, Abdul Rauf of Singkel and his pupil Baba Daud (Teungku di Leupeu), author of the Masā’il al-muhtadi li ikhwān al-mubtadi, a very popular question-and-answer work on religious practice(11). However, there are other illuminated manuscripts in collections in Aceh, or known to originate from Aceh, that exhibit different styles of illumination (Pl. 8).

This study therefore raises questions about what is meant by identifying as “Acehnese” examples of illumination in a manuscript, whether written in Arabic, Malay or Acehnese. Does it necessarily mean that the manuscript was produced in Aceh itself, or by an Acehnese? Further research shows that neither of these qualifications may always be true of a manuscript. For example, a manuscript of a Kitab hikam with a typically Acehnese single headpiece was copied on a Saturday in Jamadilakhir 1271 (February-March 1855) in the Acehnese hostelry or community centre in Mekkah (pada rumah Aceh pada negeri Mekah yang musyarafah lagi ‘ala) (PNM MSS 2250). A more intriguing case is an exceptionally fine Qur’an with distinctively Acehnese double frames and corner pieces marking the beginning of juz’ 16, from the collection of the Pesantran Al Khairiyah, West Java, which is said to have been “calligraphed by Mas Muhammad bin Husen at Mekkah” (Buchari 1992: 44). The title Mas suggests that the calligrapher

10. The source of this illustration has not yet been identified.
11. In comparison, examples of illumination in non-Qur’anic manuscripts from the east coast of the Malay peninsula tend to be found in texts in praise of the Prophet such as Kitab mawlid, and the popular prayerbook Dala’il al-khayrāt.
Fig. 8 – Panel containing a surah heading showing the exaggerated ha of Fāiḥah, set in the double frames at the beginning of a Qur’ān. PNRI A.648, f.1a

Fig. 9 – Part of a right-hand page of a typically Acehnese double frame, published in the Encyclopaedia of Islam (1913 : LPI.X), and described as “Sura I, from a Kor’ān written by a Malay”
was from Java, but even if he did not himself illuminate the manuscript but worked together with an Acehnese artist, the fact that he wrote a Qur’an with a reduced textblock at the beginning of juz’ 16, designed to receive an illuminated frame, shows that he was working within the Acehnese tradition of Qur’an production rather than the Javanese\textsuperscript{(12)}. Thus in this particular case we have a Qur’an illuminated in the Acehnese style, produced in Mekkah by an apparently non-Acehnese scribe, in the collection of a Sundanese pesantren. These examples suggest that the Acehnese style of illumination discussed in this article is defined not necessarily by its place of production or even by the ethnic identity or sense of identity of the artists involved, but by conformity to certain artistic conventions associated with manuscripts produced within a self-consciously Acehnese cultural milieu.

Concluding remarks

This article has been entitled “An Acehnese style of manuscript illumination”, and is based on a large corpus of manuscripts dating from the 18th and 19th centuries. It describes what is so far the only identifiable artistic school of manuscript illumination from Aceh; while there are certainly other illuminated manuscripts from Aceh which exhibit different decorative features, there are not significant numbers in any other single recognizable artistic style. Yet it is tantalizing to ponder on what kind of illuminated manuscripts might have been produced in the heyday of Aceh in the 16th and early 17th centuries, when after the fall of Melaka to the Portuguese in 1511 Aceh rose to become the most powerful Islamic kingdom in Southeast Asia. The illuminated letters from Sultan Iskandar Muda to King James I of England of 1615, and that from Sultan Iskandar Thani to Prince Hendrik Frederik of 1639, remain without peer\textsuperscript{(13)}, and even though it has been cautioned that illumination in royal Malay letters does not necessarily parallel developments in manuscript books\textsuperscript{(14)}, these examples nonetheless suggest a degree of refinement and artistic skill not matched in the later manuscripts discussed in this article. But no illuminated manuscripts from Aceh dating from before ca.1750 – and, most significantly, no Qur’ans – have yet been documented. Thus, for the present, all that can be said with some confidence is that a distinctive school of Acehnese manuscript illumination can be identified, and it flourished at least from the late 18th century until the end of the 19th century.

\textsuperscript{12} This is because in Qur’ans from Java, a double frame located in the middle of the text invariably marks the start of the Surat al-Kahf (Qur’an, S.18 : 1), and not the start of juz’ 16 (Qur’an S.18 : 75) as in Acehnese manuscripts. For more discussion on regional variations in Qur’an manuscripts from Southeast Asia, see Gallop 2003.

\textsuperscript{13} On the illumination of these letters see Gallop 1998.

\textsuperscript{14} Cf. Gallop 2002a : 5.

\textit{Archipel 68}, Paris, 2004
Acknowledgements

This article is based on a paper of the same title presented at the Workshop on “The Islamic heritage of Sumatra in the pre-modern period” at the Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, SOAS, London, 1-2 November 2002, and forms part of a larger study of the art of the Islamic book in Southeast Asia. It is a pleasure to have the opportunity to record my gratitude to the staff of the various manuscript collections on which this study is based, without whose help the research would not have been possible. Particular thanks are due to Nindya Noegraha and colleagues at the National Library of Indonesia; H. Thabrany Aziez of the Yayasan Masagung, Jakarta; Syed Muhamad al-Bukhary and the curatorial staff of the Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia; Datin Siti Mariani Hj. Omar and colleagues at the Malay Manuscripts Centre of the National Library of Malaysia; Jan Just Witkam and Hans van de Velde at Leiden University Library; Friedlie Hellemans and David van Duuren at the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam; Pieter ter Keurs and his colleagues Karen and Con at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden; Gerrit Knaap at the KITLV, Leiden; Jos Biemans at the Universiteitbibliotheek Amsterdam; Klaas van der Hoek at Utrecht University Library, Fer Hoekstra at Nijmegen Volkenkundig Museum; and Carien Dounouin-Horst at the Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam. For assistance during my trip to Aceh in 1993 I would also like to express my appreciation to my companions and guides Bukhari Daud and Sofyan A. Gani of Universitas Syiah Kuala; Teungku Muhammad Dahlan al-Fairusi al-Baghdadi of Dayah Tanoh Abe; Nasruddin Sulaiman of the Museum Negeri Aceh; the late Prof. Ali Hasjmy; and to the British Council in Jakarta, and especially Anthony Crocker, for supporting my visit.

The illustrations accompanying this article have been reproduced with the kind permission of the following institutions: The British Library Board: Fig. 5; Leiden University Library: Fig. 3, Pl. 1, 14; Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen: Fig. 1, Pl. 2, 3, 5, 7, 24, 15; Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia: Figs. 4, 6, 8; Pl. 6, 9, 10; Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia: Pl. 11, 12; Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde: Fig. 7, Pl. 13.
APPENDIX

A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Illuminated in the Acehnese Style

This appendix lists all manuscripts illuminated in the “Acehnese style” described in this article known to the present writer. All the manuscripts have been inspected personally and documented photographically, unless indicated otherwise. Collections in the Netherlands and the UK have been searched reasonably thoroughly, based on the catalogues by Voorhoeve (1970, 1994), Witkam (1986), Wieringa (1998) and Iskandar (1999). The manuscripts in collections in Aceh listed here were noted en passant during a visit to Aceh in November 1993, but full details of illumination were not made at that time; there are undoubtedly many more illuminated manuscripts in Aceh which have not been documented. The other major lacuna is probably the Bayt al-Qur’an and Museum Istiqlal in Jakarta, which holds an important collection of Qur’ans from all over Indonesia.

The descriptions of the manuscripts are limited to the following elements (when available): title; nature of illumination and its location in the work; colours used; size of folio; provenance/date; bibliographical references to reproductions of the illuminated elements. All examples of illumination in the manuscript are listed, even if these include elements – especially tailpieces – not wholly in the “Acehnese style”, but illuminated manuscripts from Aceh which do not include any examples of illumination in the “Acehnese style” are not listed.

Abbreviations used in the descriptions

CP corner pieces
DF decorated double frames
DHP double headpiece
MS(S) manuscript(s)
S. Sūrah
SHP single headpiece
TP tailpiece
f.c. front cover
w.o. without

Abbreviations of institutions

BL British Library, London
DTA Dayah Tanoh Abee, Aceh
IAMM Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur
KIT Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam
KITLV Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden
LUB Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek
MNA Museum Negeri Aceh, Banda Aceh

Archipel 68, Paris, 2004
Indonesia

**DTA**
Qur'ān. DF: middle (beg. of juz’ 16). Red, yellow, black, reserved white.

**DTA**

**DTA**

**MNA**
Qur’ān. DF: beginning. Red, green, grey, yellow. [Only pencil sketch available.]

**MNA**
[Fiqh & ta’wīl], DF: beginning. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. [Only pencil sketch available.]

**MNA**
Bid’āyat al-hidāyah. DF: beginning, w.o. wings. Red, yellow, green, black. [Only pencil sketch available.]

**MNA**

**PNRI A.221**

**PNRI A.354**
PNRI A.504
Syarah fi bayān al-majzūz wa-al-tashhīh. DF : pp.1a-b; w.o. extended verticals or wings; not typical. Red, yellow, black. SHP : p.2a. Yellow, black ink, reserved white. TP : p.22b. Red, yellow, black ink, reserved white. Kumar & McGlynn 1996 : 44 (pp.1a-b).

PNRI A.516.B
Qawā'id al-'Arabiyyah. 4 SHP : ff.4v, 10v, 21v, 27v. 2 TP : ff. 20v, 26r, w.o. extended verticals. CP : many pages. Red, black, reserved white. 20 x 16 cm. Found in Keumala by Captain K. van der Maaten (Voorhoeve 1994 : 293). Kumar & McGlynn 1996 : 48 (f.21v).

PNRI A.558.D
Qur’ān; selections (S. al-Kahf, etc.). DF : ff.1a-b. Black ink. 16 x 10 cm.

PNRI A.578
Al-Nahw wa-al-sarf. SHP : f.42a. TP : f.84b. Red, black, reserved white.

PNRI A.582
Dala’il al-khayrāt. SHP : f.1a. Black ink.

PNRI A.646
Qur’ān. DF : ff.1a-b (S. al-Fātiha & beg. of S. al-Baqarah). 30.5 x 22.5 cm. Inscriptions : p.(i) : hadha al-Qur’ān wakaf Cut di Bulan diwakafkan akan Pu Ba Putih anak Panglima Mu’in Lung Bata dan akan adindanya yang bernama Pu Nyak Mas dan Pu Cuq Ayam (a.y.m) dan akan segala kerabatnya. p.(iii) : hadha Qur’ān al-‘azim wakaf Pu Huwa pada tangan Muhammad Marahaban Lam Bahuq. f.2a : hadha al-Qur’ān al-‘azim wakaf Cut di Bulan Lung Bata akan anakku semuanya iaitulah yang bernama Pu Ba Putih anak Panglima Mu’in Lung Bata jua dan akan syaudaranya yang nama Pu Cuq Mas dan Pu Nyak Alim (a.l.y.m) dan akan segala kerabat semuanya.

PNRI A.648

PNRI A.694

PNRI A.700
Qur’ān. DF : ff.1v-2r (S. al-Fātiha & beg. of S. al-Baqarah), badly damaged. Red, yellow, dark green, reserved white. 32 x 22 cm.
PNRI ML.284

PNRI ML.290

PNRI ML.318

PNRI ML.322
Tafsir al-Qurʾān. TP. Red, yellow, black ink, reserved white.

PNRI ML.327

PNRI ML.328

PNRI ML.341

PNRI ML.344
Sirāt al-mustaqīm. DF : p. 1 (left-hand page of what was probably a DF; severely cropped). TP : p. 375, w.o. lower arches.

PNRI ML.349

PNRI ML.370
Various texts. 2 TP : pp. 21, 22. Red, yellow, reserved white.

PNRI ML.375
Umm al-barāḥin, etc. SHP : p. 20. Red, black, reserved white; partially monochrome.

PNRI ML.377

PNRI ML.397

PNRI ML.417
PNRI ML.480
Bidāyat al-mubtadī bi-fadl Allāh al-muhdi. SHP : f.1a, with the word Allāh upside down at the top of the central arch. Red, black, reserved white.

PNRI ML.484

PNRI ML.504
Bidāyat al-hidāyah. SHP : f.4a. Red, black, reserved white.

YAH

YAH
Qur’an. DF : middle (beg. of juz’ 16), water stained. Red, yellow, green, reserved white.

YAH

YMA

Malaysia

IAMM 1998.1.3454
Qur’an; lacking beginning and end. DF : middle (beg. Of juz’ 16). Red, yellow, black, reserved white. 33 x 22 cm.

PNM MSS 2144

PNM MSS 2164
[Kitab sembahyang, etc.]. SHP : [f.1v]. Red, ochre, green, black, reserved white. 20.5 x 16 cm. Scribe : Lebai Daya. Manuskrip [199?] : f.c. ([ff.1v-2r]); Gallop 2002 : 250 ([ff.1v-2r]).

PNM MSS 2248

PNM MSS 2249
[B.] Sullam al-mustafidīn. SHP : [f.9v], unfinished. Black ink. 21.5 x 16 cm. Gallop 2002 : 257 ([f.9v]).

Archipel 68, Paris, 2004
PNM MSS 2250
*Kitab hikam.* SHP : [f.1v]. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. 23 x 16 cm. Copied on 12 Jumadilawal 1271 (31 January 1855) *pada rumah Aceh pada negeri Mekah yang musyarafah lagi ‘ala.* Gallop 2002 : 251 ([ff.1v-2r]).

PNM MSS 2255
*Hidāyat al-habib fi al-targhib wa-al-tarhib.* SHP : [f.1v]. Red, ochre, black ink, reserved white. 23 x 17 cm.

PNM MSS 2266
*Sabil al-muhtadin li taqafah fi amar al-din.* SHP : [f.1r], MS incomplete, lacking first page. Black & brown ink. 23 x 16 cm.

PNM MSS 2328

PNM MSS 2399

PNM MSS 2464
Jawāhir al-‘ulum fi kashf al-ma’lum. SHP, f.1v. Red, black, reserved white. 22.5 x 16 cm.

PNM MSS 2466
[A.] *Risalah pada menyatakakan zat Allah dan segala sifatNya.* SHP : f.1v, monochrome. [C.] *‘Umdat al-muhtājin.* DF : ff.22v & 24r (the MS has been mis-bound with f.23 inserted between ff.22 and 24), monochrome with f.22v partially coloured. Red, black, reserved white. 22.5 x 16 cm.

PNM MSS 2467
*Hidāyat al-sālikīn.* SHP : [f.1v], damaged. Red, black, reserved white. MS dated 24 Jumadilakhir 1287 (21 September 1870). 22.5 x 15.5 cm.

PNM MSS 2471
Akhbār al-akhirah fi ahwāl al-qiyāmah. SHP : [f.1v], damaged, repaired. Red, black, reserved white. With twisted rope motif doodled on f.1r. 23 x 17 cm.

PNM MSS 2472
Sayr al-sālikīn ila ‘ibādah rabb al-‘ālamīn. [Bahagian 3]. SHP : [f.1v], TP : [f.277r], w.o. extended verticals. Red, black, reserved white. 24 x 16 cm. Gallop 2002 : 249 ([ff.1v-2r], wrongly cited as MSS 2474); Katalog 2001 : f.c. ([ff.277r]); Katalog 2003 : 22 ([ff.1v-2r]).

PNM MSS 2505
monochrome. 22.5 x 15.5 cm. Scribe: Teungku Muhammad copied in Bandarsah Lengku’.

PNM MSS 2509
[A.] Bidâyat al-hidâyah. SHP: f.1v. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. 22 x 16 cm.

PNM MSS 2512
[A.] Hikam nikah. DF: [ff.1v-2r]. Red, black, reserved white; right-hand page monochrome. 21 x 15 cm.

PNM MSS 2620
[A.] Tadhkîr al-ghabî. SHP: [f.2v]. Black ink. 21 x 16.5 cm.

PNM MSS 2653

PNM MSS 2654
Hidâyat al-habîb fi al-targhîb wal-tarhîb. SHP: [f.1v]. TP: [f.117r]. Red, yellow, green, black; these garish and crude modern colours were probably applied recently to an originally monochrome headpiece, without leaving any reserved white as is usual in the Acehnese tradition. Inscribed at end: inilah kitab pemberi daripada Lebai Muda kepada Muhammad Yapi ibn Teungku Muda Jatung yang menuntut daripada Syaikhna Lapang.

PNM MSS 2859
[Hadis empat puluh]. SHP: [f.1v], unusual design. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. 22.5 x 16 cm.

PNM MSS 2988
Dîyār al-warâ ila sulûk tariqāt al-ma‘bud al-‘âla. SHP: f.1v. 2 TP: monochrome, one (half); one w.o. extended verticals. Red, black, yellow, reserved white. 22.5 x 16 cm.

PNM MSS 3153

PNM MSS 3264
Qur’ân. 3 DF: beginning (S. al-Fâîthah & beg. of S. al-Baqarah), damaged; middle (beg. of juz’ 16); end (S. al-Nâs on the right-hand page & S. al-Falaq on the left-hand page), damaged. Red, ochre, black, reserved white. 33 x 20 cm. Inscription at the end of juz’ 15: hadha al-wakaf Pu Khadijah pada tangan Teungku Ahmad Lam Tengah ibn Syaikhna Teungku Mahmud al-Ma’ruf.

PNM MSS 3265
Qur’ân. 3 DF: beginning (S. al-Fâîthah & beg. of S. al-Baqarah), v. smudged; middle (beg. of juz’ 16); end (S. al-Falaq & S. al-Nâs). Red, ochre, black, reserved white.
PNM (new acquisition, 2/04)  
*Mawḍūʿ iz al-bādi.* SHP. Red, yellow, blue, black; recently coloured in with colour pencils, probably an originally monochrome headpiece.

PNM (new acquisition, 2/04)  

PNM (new acquisition, 2/04)  
*Mīrʿat at-tullāb.* DF: beginning. Red, ochre, blue, reserved white. 32 x 20 cm.

PNM (new acquisition, 2/04)  

PNM (new acquisition, 2/04)  
Qur'an. 3 DF: beginning (*S. al-Fātiha & beg. of S. al-Baqarah*); middle (beg. of juz' 16); end (blank), this is bound in between *S. al-Humazah* and *S. al-Kautsar*; may have been intended to enclose *S. al-Nās*, as the Qur'an ends with *S. al-Falaq* repeated twice. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. 33 x 23 cm.

MSM  
*Sīrat al-mustaqīm.* DF: beginning, very fine. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. [Information from photograph of right-hand page of DF; MS not seen.]

**The Netherlands**

KIT 481/94  
Qur'an. DF: end (*S. al-Falaq & S. al-Nās*), w.o. wings. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. 32 x 22 cm. [Information from KIT database; MS on exhibition in 2003; not seen.]

KIT 674/811  
[A.] *Masa’il al-muhtadi li ikhwān al-mubtadī.* SHP (f.1v); CP. [B.] *Bidāyat al-mubtaḍā bi-fadl Allāh al-muhdi.* DF (ff.13v-14r); CP. [C.] *Sīrat al-mustaqīm.* DF (ff.71v-72r); CP; TP (f.105v; w.o. lower arches). [D.] *Qawāḍīl al-islām.* SHP (f.107v). Red, yellow, green, dark blue, black ink, reserved white. 21.5 x 15.5 cm.

KIT 674/826  
*Hikayat Nabi mencuko.* 4 SHP (ff.16r, 48r, 118r, 123v). Black ink (monochrome). 10.5 x 8 cm.

KIT 674/832  
Qur'an. 3 DF: beginning (*S. al-Fātiha & beg. of S. al-Baqarah*); middle (beg. of juz' 16); end (*S. al-Falaq & S. al-Nās*). Black ink (monochrome). 32 x 21 cm.

KIT 674/833  
Qur'an. 3 DF: beginning (*S. al-Fātiha & beg. of S. al-Baqarah*); middle (beg. of juz' 16); end (*S. al-Nās*). Red, lemon yellow, black, reserved white. 32.5 x 22.5 cm.

KIT 674/835. a & b  
Qur'an; beg. of juz' 16 only (Q.18:75-77). 2 ff., framed separately. DF (beg. of juz' 16). Red, ochre, black, reserved white. See also 674/755, a single framed folio which
probably comes from the same MS, with an illuminated roundel naming the owner of the Qur’an as Tuan Abdul Rahman of Lam Badar and the scribe as Tuan Lebai Jamaluddin of Lam Badar.

KIT 1482/1
Qur’an. 2 DF: beginning (S. al-Fātihah & beg. of S. al-Baqarah), no side wings; end (S. al-Kāfīrūn to S. al-Nās), w.o. arches or side wings. Red, orange, dark blue, reserved white. 30 x 20.5 cm.

KIT 3555/1
Qur’an. 2 DF: beginning (S. al-Fātihah & beg. of S. al-Baqarah); end (S. al-Falaq & S. al-Nās), w.o. side wings on right-hand page. Red, ochre, black, reserved white. 30.5 x 20.5 cm. Aquired on the Passoemah expedition, 1866.

KIT A 4179
Qur’an. 2 DF: beginning (S. al-Fātihah & beg. of S. al-Baqarah), damaged; end (blank). Red, yellow, dark green, black, reserved white. 31 x 19.5 cm. Note in pencil: Qoran uit de masiget van Lhong ... Atjeh, expeditie met ... Tromp. Juni 1896, J. ... van deen [?]

KIT O 271
Tibyān fi ma‘rifat al-adyan. DF: beginning. Red, yellow, dark green, black ink, reserved white. 21 x 15 cm.

KITLV Or. 200
Sirāt al-mustaqqīm. DF: ff.2v-3r; TP: f.202r, w.o. extended verticals. Red, yellow, black ink, reserved white (partially monochrome). 20 x 15 cm. Colophon on f.202r: copied at Ara Jungkat on Sunday 12 Muharam during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Muhammad Syah (r.1781-1795) ibn Sultan Alauddin Mahmud Syah ibn Sultan Alauddin Johan Syah; scribe and owner Lebai Abdul Jamal of Padang Tiji.

LUB Cod.Or.2064
Qur’an. 3 DF: ff.7v-8r (S. al-Fātihah & beg. of S. al-Baqarah); ff.187v-188r (beg. of juz’ 16); ff.376v-377r (S. al-Falaq & S. al-Nās). (Half) TP: f.187r (end of juz’ 15), monochrome. Red, ochre, black, reserved white. 31.5 x 20 cm. Captured in the Mesjid Raya in Aceh, April 1873.

LUB Cod.Or.2335
Collection of texts. DF. Red, black, reserved white. 10 x 7.5 cm.

LUB Cod.Or.3054.A
Collection of fragments in Malay. SHP. Red, black.

LUB Cod.Or.3063
Prayer book. SHP. Red, black. 10 x 7.5 cm.

LUB Cod.Or.4979
Qur’an. 3 DF: ff.4v-5r (S. al-Fātihah & beg. of S. al-Baqarah), f.4v monochrome, f.5r coloured; ff. 263v-264r (beg. of juz’ 16), coloured; ff.518v-519r (S. al-Falaq & S. al-Nās), monochrome. TP: f.263v (end of juz’ 15), w.o. arches. Many CP, coloured & monochrome. Red, ochre, black, reserved white. 22.5 x 16 cm.

Archipel 68, Paris, 2004
LUB Cod.Or.5759

LUB Cod.Or.6318
Qur’an. 3 DF : ff.1v-2r (S. al-Fāṭihah & beg. of S. al-Baqarah); ff.171v-172r (beg. of juz’ 16); ff.356v-357r (S. al-Falaq & S. al-Nās). TP : f.107v (end of juz’ 15). Red, brown, black, reserved white; light green on ff.356v-357r may have been added later. 32 x 22.5 cm.

LUB Cod.Or.6704

LUB Cod.Or.6975

LUB Cod.Or.7057.a (10)
Ini perintah sembahyang. SHP; CP. Monochrome : brown-black ink.

LUB Cod.Or.7323
Sirāt al-mustaṣiq. m. DF : ff.1v-2r. TP : f.200v. Red, ochre, dark blue, reserved white. 21 x 15.5 cm. Inscription panel on f.1v: bermula yang empunya kitab ini si hajat.

LUB Cod.Or.7591
Sirāt al-mustaṣiq. m. DF : pp. 1-2. TP : p. 449 (damaged; stored in envelope). Red, ochre, blue, reserved white. 21 x 15.5 cm.

LUB Cod.Or.14275
Qur’an. 3 DF & CP : ff.2v-3r (S. al-Fāṭihah & beg. of S. al-Baqarah); ff.159v-160r (beg. of juz’ 16); ff.324v-325r (prayer). 31.5 x 20.5 cm. Witkam 1986 : 421 (f.159v).

LUB Cod.Or.14317
Qur’an. 2 DF : ff.3v-4r (S. al-Fāṭihah & beg. of S. al-Baqarah); ff.404v-405r (S. al-Falaq & S. al-Nās), w.o. side arches or wings. Red, ochre, black, reserved white. 21 x 15 cm. Note : this MS is small for an Acehnese Qur’an. Witkam 1986 : 442 (f.405v).

LUB Cod.Or.17168
Risalah yang simpan pada menyatakan agama Islam dan sembahyang lima waktu dan segala barang yang bergantung dengan dia doripada segala syarat dan segala yang wajib, composed by Haji Jalaluddin anak Syaikh Kamaluddin on 25 Muharam 1140 (12 September 1727) at the request of Sultan Alauddin Ahmad Syah 2 SHP : f.1r, f.2v; doodled. Black ink. 17 x 10 cm.

LUB Cod.Or.17903
Bidāyat al-hidāyah. DF : beginning. Red, ochre, black, reserved white; crudely coloured. 21 x 15.5 cm.

Archipel 68, Paris, 2004
NVM 3371 (previously from Rotterdam collection; old no. 42838)
Qur’an; incomplete, lacking end. DF: beginning (S. al-Fātiḥah & beg. of S. al-
Baqarah), w.o. extended vertical columns. Red, orange, black, reserved white.
30.5 x 21 cm.

RMV 148/15
Qur’an. 2 DF: beginning (S. al-Fātiḥah & beg. of S. al-Baqarah); end (S. al-Falaq
Whatman 1849’, ‘S & C Wise 1846’; 31 x 21 cm.

RMV 164/14
Compendium of 6 Arabic texts. 3 SHP; TP (monochrome); many CP. Red, yellow,
blue, black ink, reserved white. 21 x 15 cm. With a note by J.J. Korndöffer, 4 May
1871, Atjeh.

RMV 164/16
Qur’an; selections. SHP (beg. of S. al-Baqarah), w.o. extended verticals. Red,
reserved white. 23 x 16.5 cm.

RMV 313/2
Qur’an; beg. of juz’ 16 only (Q.18 : 75-78). 1 f. (verso blank). DF (beg. of juz’ 16),
right-hand page only; w.o. side wings. Red, yellow, blue, black, reserved white.
34 x 23 cm.

RMV 313/3
Qur’an; beg. of S. al-Baqarah (Q.2 : 1-3). 1 f. (verso blank). DF (beg. of S. al-
Baqarah), right-hand page only. Orange, red, blue, brown, reserved white (unusual
palette). 32 x 22.5 cm.

RMV 521/1
Compendium of Arabic texts. 2 SHP; TP (w.o. extended verticals); many CP. Red,
black ink, reserved white. 22.5 x 16 cm.

RMV 3600/10105
Qur’an. 2 DF: beginning (S. al-Fātiḥah & beg. of S. al-Baqarah); end (S. al-Falaq
& S. al-Nās). Red, yellow, black, reserved white. 31 x 22 cm.

RMV 3760/48
Qur’an. 3 DF: beginning (S. al-Fātiḥah & beg. of S. al-Baqarah); middle (begin-
ing of juz’ 16), stuck together; end (S. al-Ikhlās & S. al-Falaq on right-hand page;
S. al-Nās & S. al-Fātiḥah on left-hand page). Red, orange, ochre, black, reserved
white. 32 x 22.5 cm.

UBA II H 58
[A.] Masāʾil al-muḥtadī li ikhwān (al-muḥtadī). SHP (p. 1); TP (p. 25, w.o. lower
arches). Dark brown ink (monochrome). [B.] Bidāyat al-muḥtadī bi-faḍl Allāh al-
muhdī. SHP (p. 1). Red, black, reserved white (partially monochrome). 21.5 x
16 cm.

UBA II H 59
Bidāyat al-muḥtadī bi-faḍl Allāh al-muhdī. DF (pp. 1-[i]). Ochre, orange, black,

Archipel 68, Paris, 2004
reserved white. TP (p. 112, w.o. lower arches). Black ink, ochre (partially monochrome). 20.5 x 15.5 cm.

**UBA XXV C 3**

Qur'an; *juz’ 6* only. DF (beg. of *juz’ 6*), w.o. side wings. Red, blue, ochre, reserved white. Inscription: *inilah Qur'an wakaf Abdul Salam dalam mesjid b.f.b.i.a jangan dipindahkan akan dia.*

**UBU MS 1433 (HS 1.E.24; Or.52)**

Qur'an. 3 DF: beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); middle (beg. of *juz’ 16*); end (*S. al-Nās* on RH; *S. al-Fātihah* on LH). Red, yellow, black, reserved white. 23 x 17 cm. (NB small for an Acehnese Qur'an).

**WMR 2597**

Qur'an. 3 DF: beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); middle (beg. of *juz’ 6* of the Qur'anic text; all w.o. side wings. Red, ochre, black, reserved white. 30 x 20 cm. Inscription on f.2r: *Inilah Qur'an yang diwakafkan pada bandar Lam Badar. Taken at the capture of Lam Nga; acquired b the Museum in 1885.*

**U.K**

**BL Or.14194**

Various texts and prayers in Malay and Arabic. SHP: f.44v. Red, black, reserved white. 17 x 11.5 cm. Owner's name inside loose calf cover: *Abdullah anak Abdul Rasyid Tanoh Abee.*

**BL Or.15406**

Qur'an. 3 DF: ff.1v-2r (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*), w.o. wings or side arches; ff.147v-148r (beg. of *juz’ 16*); ff. 313v-314r (*S. al-Falaq* & *S. al-Nās*), w.o. wings or side arches. Black & brown ink. 28.5 x 20 cm. Colophon on f.315r: *Inilah Qur'an milik Teungku Ti orang barah duduk pada nenggeri Lam Kubu tetapi Qur'an ini diwakaf pada tangan Teungku Abdul Kadir Lam Siwi.*

**BL Or.15979**

Sirā al-mustaqīm. SHP: f.2v. Red, black, reserved white. 23 x 16.5 cm.

**BL Or.16034**

Qur'an; lacking beginning; text starts at *S. al-Baqarah*, Q.2 : 93. 2 DF: ff.119v-120r (beg. of *juz’ 16*); ff.260v-261r (blank), after end of Qur'anic text. Orange, red, black, reserved white. 32 x 21.5 cm.

**BL Or.16035**

*Mir’at al-tullāb*; lacking first page. DF: f.1r, left-hand page only. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. 30 x 21 cm. Colophon at end gives date of 14 Muharam 1178 (14 July 1764).
MSS in private collections, or only documented from published sources

Qur’an. DF : beginning. El 1913 : I.Pl.X.


Collection Farish A. Noor, Berlin. Qur’an; S. al-Baqrarah; in MS of the Zikir Saman. DF : [ff.1v-2r]. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. Inscription on [f.1r] : Hadha al-surah al-dhikr al-Saman Teungku Muda Jalung... wa-katibuhu wa-riramahu [i.e. yang merekakannya] Lebai Abdul Karim al-Lamiwi, dated 1236 (1820/1).


Archipel 68, Paris, 2004
REFERENCES


_Archipel 68, Paris, 2004_


Pl. 1 – Double frame from the middle of a Qur’an captured in the Great Mosque of Acch in 1873. (*LUB Cod.Or.2064, ff.187v-188r*).
An Acehnese Style of Manuscript Illumination

Pl. 1 – Double frame from the middle of a Qur’an captured in the Great Mosque of Aceh in 1873. (LUB Cod.Or.2064, ff.187v-188r).

Archipel 68, Paris, 2004
Pl. 3 – Right-hand page of a double frame from the middle of a Qur’an, marking the start of Juz’ 16 (Surat al-Kahf, v.75). (KIT 674/845.a).
Pl. 4 – Left-hand page of a double frame from a manuscript of the *Mir'at al-tullâb* by Abdul Rauf of Singkel, dated 1764. The first part of the *shahadah* is set upside-down above and below the textblock. *(BL Or.16035, f.1r).*

*Archipel 68*, Paris, 2004
Pl. 5 – Double frame at the end of a Qur’an enclosing the Sūrat al-Nās, with arches floating freely above and below the superstructure of the frames. (KIT 674/833).

Pl. 6 – Double frame at the end of a Qur’an enclosing the Sūrat al-Falaq and Sūrat al-Nās, with diamond-shaped borders around the textblock. (PNRI A.648, ff.395a-b).
Pl. 7 – Empty double frame at the end of a Qur’an. (KIT A 4179).

Pl. 8 – Illuminated manuscripts in the Yayasan Ali Hasjmy, Banda Aceh. The two Qur’ans in the bottom row and that in the middle of the top row have double frames in the Acehnese style, but the Qur’an at top left and the Kitab Mawlid on the far right are illuminated in different styles.

Archipel 68, Paris, 2004
Pl. 9 – Single headpiece and monochrome corner pieces in an Arabic grammatical work. (PNRI A.516.B, ff.27v-28r).

Pl. 10 – Single headpiece in another manuscript of the same work on Arabic grammar, where the constituent elements of the structure have been pared down to the bare essentials. (PNRI A.578, ff.42a-b).
Pl. 11 – Single headpiece with an inscription panel naming the owner of the manuscript as Teungku Imam Chik. Hujjat al-balighah ‘alá jamā‘at al-mukhāsahah. PNM (new acquisition).

Archipel 68, Paris, 2004
Pl. 12 – Tailpiece from the same manuscript, containing the colophon confirming the name of the owner as Teungku Imam Chik of Batu Lantang. PNM (new acquisition).
Pl. 13 – Tailpiece from a compendium of Arabic texts. (RMV 164/14).
Pl. 14 – Tailpiece from the end of juz' 15 of the Qur'an. (LUB Cod.Or.6318, f.170v).
Pl. 15 – Four examples of Acehnese corner pieces: *KIT 674/811* (top left); *PNRI A.516B, f.20v* (top right and bottom right); *LUB Cod. Or.4979, f.191r* (bottom left). The simple tailpiece below lacks the characteristic Acehnese extended verticals and lower arches but shows an affinity of design and composition with the corner pieces: *KIT 674/811, f.105v.*
Études interdisciplinaires sur le monde insulindien
Sous le patronage de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales

TIRÉ À PART

ARCHIPEL 68

2004

Publiées avec le concours du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
et de l'Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris
Archipel 68

Études interdisciplinaires sur le monde insulindien

Publiées avec le concours du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique et de l’Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris
Sous le patronage de l’École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales

Fondateurs: Pierre LABROUSSE, Denys LOMBARD, Christian PELRAS

ARCHIPEL 68

Comité de rédaction
Andrée FEILLARD, Rémy MADINIER, Daniel PERRET, François RAILLON,
Jérôme SAMUEL, Monique ZAINI-LAJOUBERT

Comité scientifique
Claude GUILLOT, Pierre LABROUSSE, Christian PELRAS,
Claudine SALMON, James SIEGEL, Mary SOMERS HEIDHUES,
Luis Filipe THOMAZ

Directeur de la rédaction
Henri CHAMBERT-LOIR
Secréttaire de la rédaction
Anna PEZZOPANE

Éditeur
Association Archipel
EHRESS, Bureau 732, 54 Bd. Raspail, 75006 PARIS

2004

ISSN 0044-8613
Commande des volumes disponibles
(Prix de port en sus)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Archipel</th>
<th>Prix par volume en Euros</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6, 7, 8, 9, 14</td>
<td>4,55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, 12</td>
<td>6,10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15, 16, 17</td>
<td>7,60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19, 20, 21, 22</td>
<td>9,15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23, 24</td>
<td>10,65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25, 26, 32</td>
<td>12,20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27, 28, 29, 30</td>
<td>13,70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>14,20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33, 34, 35</td>
<td>14,65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>18,30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>22,10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>15,25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39, 40</td>
<td>16,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41, 42</td>
<td>16,75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43, 44, 45, 46</td>
<td>18,30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55</td>
<td>19,05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54, 56</td>
<td>22,85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64</td>
<td>19,80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65, 66, 67, 68</td>
<td>20,00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

L’HORIZON NOUSANTARIEN, pour les 4 volumes
(N° 56, 57, 58, 60), **PRIX SPÉCIAL**

Index des volumes 15 à 30

Cotisation 2005 (Archipel 69 & 70)

68,60

4,10

35,00

Règlement

Je joins mon règlement de ................................ Euros par :

☐ chèque bancaire ☐ chèque postal à l’ordre de «Association Archipel»

☐ carte de crédit

Je vous autorise à débiter mon compte* ☐ CB ☐ Visa ☐ Mastercard/Eurocard

N° ........................................... expire à fin ...............

☐ Je désire recevoir une facture

Date Signature

* Cocher la mention voulu

Enclosed please find payment for a year’s subscription to Archipel (€...........)

Enclosed please find payment for ...............back issues of Archipel as marked above

Name ..................................................

Address .................................................................................................................................

Payment enclosed by : ☐ Euro check ☐ Postal check

Please make checks payable to “Association Archipel”

Charge my: ☐ Visa Card ☐ Master Card – Account number: ...............

Expiration Date: ............... Signature

Librairie dépositaire : C.I.D. 131, bd Saint-Michel - 75005 Paris
Tél. : (33) 01 43 54 47 15 – Fax : 01 43 54 80 73

Association Archipel : E.H.E.S.S. (bureau 732) 54, bd Raspail - 75006 Paris
Tél. 01 49 54 25 64 – Fax 01 49 54 23 44 – e-mail ARCHIPEL@ehess.fr