

FLEXIBILITY OF *PRANG SABI* VERSES: EVER-CHANGING ACEHNESE PERCEPTIONS OF HOLY WAR¹

FLEXIBILITAS BAIT-BAIT PRANG SABI: PERSEPSI MASYARAKAT ACEH MENGENAI PERANG SUCI YANG SENANTIASA BERUBAH

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ABSTRACT

Verses of *prang sabi* (holy war) have been receiving various actualization throughout Aceh's history. This paper investigates the flexible features of the authorship of *prang sabi* texts and their relation with the conceptualization of the idea of holy war in the Aceh society. The "flexible concept" proposed by Muhammad Haji Salleh (2018) serves as the framework on which the structure of the *hikayat* is unraveled. Library sources, both online and offline, provide the data for the analysis of how the idea of holy war varies in the Aceh society. Being designed with mixed-method, the selected time frames of Aceh's history are the times of the Dutch colonization, DI (Darul Islam) revolt, and GAM (Free Aceh Movement) insurgency. The findings reveal that the flexible concept in *prang sabi* texts rests on the *sanjak* system employed in the composition of Acehese *hikayats*. This system allows improvisation for the texts to suit the contexts in which they are written. The idea of holy war to stand in the name of Islamic faith predominated during the Acehese defense against the Dutch and of the DI's and GAM's revolts against the Indonesian statehood. All these movements claimed justification because the targets of the holy war were regarded as dangerous infidels (*kaphé*). Certain events served as the starting points of the three struggles. The Dutch annexation in 1873 marked the beginning of *prang sabi* against the Dutch, the abolishment of Aceh province followed by its incorporation into North Sumatera in 1951 triggered the *prang sabi* of DI against Indonesia, and the aspiration to separate Aceh as an independent Islamic state declared in 1976 marked the *prang sabi* of GAM against Indonesia. This study confirms that the flexible properties of *prang sabi* texts are responsible for the conceptualization of the idea of holy war in Aceh society.

Keywords: *prang sabi*; flexible authorship; Aceh

ABSTRAK

Bait-bait prang sabi (perang suci) melahirkan berbagai jenis aktualisasinya sepanjang sejarah Aceh. Penelitian ini menyelidiki fitur-fitur kepengarangan berbagai teks prang sabi yang fleksibel dan hubungannya dengan konseptualisasi ide mengenai perang suci dalam masyarakat Aceh. "Flexible concept" yang diajukan oleh Muhammad Haji Salleh (2018) menjadi kerangka acuan untuk mengurai struktur teks-teks prang sabi tersebut. Data-data dari perpustakaan, baik online maupun offline, dirujuk untuk menganalisis bagaimana ide mengenai perang suci bisa bervariasi dalam masyarakat Aceh. Penelitian ini dirancang menggunakan mixed-method (metode kombinasi), dan rentang waktu sejarah Aceh yang dipilih untuk diteliti adalah masa pendudukan Belanda, perjuangan Darul Islam (DI), dan perjuangan Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM). Hasil temuan menunjukkan bahwa flexible concept dalam teks-teks prang sabi ditemukan pada sistem sanjak yang lumrah digunakan dalam penulisan hikayat di Aceh. Sistem ini memungkinkan adanya improvisasi pada teks agar dapat disesuaikan dengan konteks saat teks dikarang. Ide mengenai perang suci untuk mempertahankan diri atas nama Islam tampak sangat kentara pada masa perang melawan Belanda, serta masa pemberontakan DI dan GAM terhadap kedaulatan Indonesia. Seluruh perlawanan ini menjustifikasi gerakannya dengan alasan bahwa musuh yang dihadapi tergolong sebagai kafir (kaphé) yang berbahaya. Perlawanan-perlawanan ini muncul dipicu oleh beberapa peristiwa tertentu. Pendudukan Belanda pada 1873 mengawali perang suci melawan Belanda, peleburan Aceh ke dalam provinsi Sumatra Utara pada 1951 mengawali perang suci DI terhadap Indonesia dan cita-cita untuk membentuk negara Islam yang dideklarasikan pada 1976 mengawali perang suci GAM terhadap Indonesia. Penelitian ini mengonfirmasi bahwa fitur-fitur fleksibel pada teks-teks hikayat prang sabi berperan besar dalam konseptualisasi ide mengenai perang suci dalam masyarakat Aceh.

Kata kunci: prang sabi; kepengarangan fleksibel; Aceh

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INTRODUCTION

The idea of *prang sabi*—a holy war in the path of God or *Al-Jihād fi Sabil Allah*—got its shape in Aceh as a result of religious teaching engraved in the people’s mind after the coming of Islam. One of the most used media to communicate the idea is *hikayat*. In Aceh, a *hikayat* integrates locality with universal Islamic teachings, forming a set of shared communal religious beliefs (Duhri, 2016, 98). The seeds of holy war literature in Aceh were mostly sown and cherished by *‘ulamās* (Islamic clerics). To study the Acehnese perception of *jihād*, Noriah Taslim (2010) picked up *Hikayat Prang Sabi*, *Hikayat Prang Cut Ali*, and *Hikayat Prang Rundeng*. She found that there is no collective agreement of how Acehnese natives perceived a *jihād*. Varied response and complex emotions influenced the ways people regard the sacredness of *jihād*. A call to war, although echoed by the respected *‘ulamās*, brought about ambivalent views in society. Some were convinced to join the holy war while others were doubtful about the holiness of the holy war.

Other *prang sabi* text were studied by Imran T. Abdullah (2000). He analyzed the texts, both those with and without titles, collected by the Library of Leiden University. Among the texts that have titles are *Hikayat Prang Sabi of Teungku Chik Panté Kulu*, *Hikayat Prang Gompeuni*, *Hikayat Kisah Nafsiah*, *Hikayat Nasaihul Ghazat of Teungku Chik di Tiro*, *Tadzkiratu r-Rakidin of Teungku Chik Kutakarang*, and *Hikayat Meukuta Alam*. A uniformity he noted is that those texts firmly instilled religious fanaticism in Aceh society and endorsed *‘ulamās* as the leading figures who propelled people towards extraordinary acts during the holy war. The fanaticism which was intensified with the given strong bond between pupils and their *‘ulamās*, poverty, and desperate condition due to the prolonged war made death with honor through *prang sabi* a far more preferable option for the people.

The similarity shared by the two studies is that both addresses various *hikayats* considered to bear the theme of *prang sabi* promoting the compelling influence of *‘ulamās*. Worth paying closer attention is how the same theme was presented in *hikayats* of various titles. This agrees

with one of *hikayat’s* attributes pointed out by Sulastin Sutrisno (in Alfian, 1992, 11), that is, *hikayat* experiences repeated act of copying by the scribes who might adjust its text to serve certain interests². This being so, the texts were surely made with unstated permission for flexible modification.

However, hardly have the properties of *hikayat* flexibility been scrutinized in the sense that they contributed in the success of conceptualizing the idea of holy war throughout the Aceh history. The current paper seeks to investigate the flexibility properties imbued in *prang sabi* texts and to find out the relation of their relation with the conceptualization of holy war it gives to Aceh society across history. The main subject of the study is the text of *Hikayat Prang Sabi* (HPS)—‘The Story of War in the Path of God’. Other developed versions of the *hikayat*—that take various literary genres—are used for comparison. Taking the “flexible concept” proposed by Salleh (2018) as the conceptual framework and employing a qualitative content analysis, I attempt to unravel several ethnopoetics concepts in *prang sabi* texts, viz., concept of text, concept of author and authorship, and concept of audience. This research confines the discussion in two scopes of historical political periods in Aceh: before and after the peace agreement—the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) Helsinki—signed by the Indonesian government and Aceh Free Movement (GAM) on August 15, 2005.

VERSIONS OF PRANG SABI VERSES

In terms of holy war theme, there are several *prang sabi* texts which served as exhortation for a holy war against “unexpected” intruders. Since the entitling of a text with certain titles did not seem to concern the text’s author, the text might

2 Sulastin Sutrisno generally talked about classical Malay *hikayat*. Although Malay *hikayat* today has been reductively perceived as only *hikayat* genre composed using *bahasa Melayu*, I believe the attributes of *hikayat* she proposed is appropriate when touching upon *hikayat* from Aceh too. That is why, I think, Alfian quoted her insight for his discussion on *Hikayat Prang Sabi*. The limited space of this paper does not allow me to further deal with the debate about Malayness and its construction through literature.

Tabel 1. Texts of *Hikayat Prang Sabi* compiled by Voorhoeve (1994)

No.	Title	Author	Year	Number of similar instances
1	<i>VIII. Hikayat prang gompuni and Hikayat Panglima Tibang</i>	Dokarim	Aceh war (1873–1903)	7
2	<i>VIIIa. Sequel to the Hikayat prang gompuni</i>	Dokarim / Hasan Moes-tapa	Aceh war (1873–1903)	3
3	<i>X. Hikayat Teungku di Meukek</i>	Teungku Malem	1980/ 1896	2
4	<i>Xa. Hikayat prang Geudong</i>	unknown (dutiful reader of HPS)	1986	1
5	<i>Xb. Hikayat prang di Sigli</i>	Teungku Nyak Ahmat	unknown	1
6	<i>XI. Teungku Tiro's lessons on the holy war</i>	Teungku Chik di Tiro	unknown	3
7	<i>XII. Tadeukirato rakidin</i>	Teungku Kuta Karang	unknown	5
8	<i>XIII. Nasihat ureueng muprang</i>	Teungku Nyak Ahmat	unknown	3
9	<i>XIIIa. Hikayat prang sabi</i>	Teungku Chik Pante Kulu	unknown	48

receive its title given by successive scribes or scholars who came long after it was composed³. The most known text for this purpose is *HPS*⁴. Having said that, other texts that raise holy war theme do not escape this paper's concern.

A smart way to know some versions of *prang sabi* texts is to look at some catalogs. I firstly checked three catalogs of Acehese manuscripts, namely, *Katalog Manuskrip Perpustakaan Pesantren Tanoh Abee Aceh Besar* (Abdullah & Al-Fairusy, 1980), *Katalog Naskah Dayah Tanoh Abee Aceh Besar* (Fathurahman, 2010), and *Catalogue of Acehese Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and other collections outside Aceh* (Voorhoeve, 1994). In the first and second catalogs, no *hikayat* with *prang sabi* theme can be found. Both list manuscripts stored in the library of Tanoh Abee Islamic traditional school in Aceh Besar District, Aceh. Yet not all manuscripts are

covered; the first one collects 400 and the second 280 manuscripts. On the whole, both catalogs suggest that the Tanoh Abee library prioritized more on subjects like Qur'anic science, ḥadīth, Qur'anic exegesis, monotheism, *fiqh*, sufism, grammar, logics, history, and compilations of *dhikr* and prayer. *Hikayat* texts seem to escape the library's concern.

The third catalog, Voorhoeve's, provides broader rooms for *hikayats* in general and for *hikayat* with *prang sabi* theme in particular. The texts that are very much akin and cover a similar subject of *prang sabi* are grouped under the title "XIIIa Hikayat prang sabi" (Voorhoeve, 1994, 14). Other texts which also pertain to *prang sabi* theme do not escape his classification. Table 1 depicts *hikayats* that raise *prang sabi* theme, either those bearing the title "*prang*" (war) or other titles.

In Table 1, some texts have more than one copy (instance). It is very likely that any intentional or unintentional changes during the manual copying could not be avoided. Furthermore, Acehese ethnopoetics concepts, if understood sufficiently, are the concepts that allow *prang sabi* texts to remain with their flexible properties regardless of ever-changing political and societal situations.

3 For example, a manuscript with the title "Hikayat Aceh" previously bore no title until a Western scholar added an opening line stating "*Ini hikayat raja Aceh daripada asal turun-temurun*" ("This is a story of the kings of Aceh from their origin to their descendants") (Fang, 2013, 371).

4 Generally, literary works in the former Aceh tradition bear no titles. So, hardly can we infer that *Hikayat Prang Sabi* (HPS) is a title of a *hikayat*—although Acehese people nowadays agree that there is a *hikayat* called *Hikayat Prang Sabi* written by Teungku Chik Panté Kulu (Hasjmy, 1977, 47).

ETHNOPOETICS CONCEPT IN PRANG SABI TEXTS

The aesthetics of Acehnese literature had been practiced long before it should be defined. The act of composing literary works did presuppose the concepts which grew and in due course shaped a certain concreteness. A conscientiousness to a plethora of Acehnese literary works is, therefore, highly demanded to build a solid basis for Acehnese literature practitioners among the generation to come.

The thrust of holy war in Aceh society is not merely found in a *hikayat*, but also in other Acehnese literature genres. While today's English term 'literature' demands literature students all over the world to base their studies on fixed classification of literature genres, literature in Aceh tradition in the past can better be called as *sastera*, which was not very much reductive like its today's understanding as a genre that is only associated with fictional stories. Salleh (2018) deserves best regards and acknowledgement for he has gathered concepts in Malay ethno-poetics that become the basis for me in unraveling Acehnese literary works communicating the *prang sabi* call. Among four concepts he suggested, namely, concepts of genre, author and authorship, audience, and beauty, I consider the first three concepts compatible in case of *prang sabi* texts.

CONCEPT OF GENRE

Hikayat is one of the other means through which the *prang sabi* idea is communicated. *Hikayat* has been going through at least three epochs: pre-Islamic, Islamic, and early modern ones, allowing a great exposure to many historical events and other literary genres. I believe Acehnese *hikayats* also enjoyed these phases. For *HPS*, although hardly can we say that it had existed in pre-Islamic time, influences of other genres are highly welcomed to diversify its nature, content, form, and structure.

In the form of a *hikayat*, according to Abdullah (2000, 242), *Hikayat Prang Sabi* is divided into two categories: *tambeh* and *epos*. *Tambeh* constitutes a genre that expounds command

to wage big-scale *jihād* and *jihād* against self. *Hikayat Prang Sabi* texts composed by Teungku Chik di Tiro, Teungku Chik Kutakarang, and Teungku Nyak Ahmad Cot Paleue are among those belonging to this category. Meanwhile, *epos*, or epics, collects narratives about wars fought in Aceh in which the fighters are characterized as valorous warriors who aspire to obtain martyrdom. In this regard, the differentiation of the two genres can be made clearer if we considered two simple attributes of *Hikayat Prang Sabi* pointed out by Günther and Lawson (2017, 1155). The one is the group of *HPS* texts which are attributed with blatantly propagandistic encouragement for going to war. This category collects *HPS* texts presenting holy war a religious duty that has been so far receiving scant Muslims' attention. Common people's fear of the events happening in the Last Days is touched upon to intensify the urgent call to war. Meanwhile, the other category encompasses *HPS* texts whose main theme is the wonderful rewards prepared for the martyrs—in other words in this category the 'pull factor' is more emphasized.

The two above mentioned categorizations of Abdullah and of Günther and Lawson are no way different. *Tambeh* is an Arabic term for 'warning' which corresponds to the 'push factor', and *epos* is an Indonesian word for epics which can be said to have the 'pull factor' attributes.

Salleh (2018, 110) pointed out that in Malay tradition, the so-called "mixed genres" phenomena are common to find in *hikayat*—although he meant actually the Malay ones. A *hikayat* is not the only medium used to communicate the call to *prang sabi*. Other literature genres may substitute its role. Although long texts of *Hikayat Prang Sabi* still so far receive attention through art performance like drama and recital, but for compactness reason, short versions of *prang sabi* texts are more preferable among Acehnese society today. Take as example *Syair Doda Idi*—a lullaby enchanted while rocking babies for sleep (Idris & Syahril, 2019, 370)—a concise upbringing on holy war that is still practiced in today's Aceh. The *syair* is still chanted regardless of the country's current safe condition where no war should be waged. The expectation that the

children would take a part in any other kinds of *prang sabi* in the future is quite obvious as seen in the following excerpt:

<i>Allah hai do doda idang, seulayang blang ka putoh talo</i>	Allah hai do doda idang, the kate raised on the paddy field got its string cut
<i>Beurijang rayek muda seudang, tajak bantu prang ta bela Nang-groe</i>	Grow up soon my young son, so that you can join the war defending the country
<i>Wahe aneuk bek ta duek le, beudoh sare ta bela bangsa</i>	Oh son stop sitting around, stand up to defend the nation
<i>Bek ta takot keu darah ile, adak pih mate po ma ka rela</i>	Fear not the shed blood, even if you should die I have been pleased

Moreover, the commonly used metrical structure of Acehese *hikayat* called *sanjak* system encourages creativity in manipulating flexible syllabic and rhymic adjustments that provides rooms for different interpretations of a *prang sabi*. In the *sanjak* system, a verse-line (*larik*) basically should comprise two hemistichs (*parohan*). Each hemistich consists of four poetic feet (*kaki*)—a unit of stressed and unstressed syllables in a line of a *hikayat*. Each poetic foot normally should contain at least two syllables. In the iambic Acehese meter the accent always falls on the last syllable of each foot. The last syllable of the fourth foot rhymes with the last syllable of the sixth foot, and the last syllable of the eighth foot rhymes with the last syllable of the following verse-line. Acehese called such a condition where the syllables should rhyme together as *meupakhok*. Below is an example of the feet distribution within two-hemistich verse-lines (divided by comma), in which each hemistich contains eight syllables⁵.

Wahe teungku hulée balang , bé' le bimbang ta iem sabé	8+8
Sayang adé mata u blang , ngieng cut abang lam prang kaphée	8+8
'Oh ha na trôih ji eu tawoe , po sam binoe cit ji trôn le	8+8
Ja' lam shaf prang ja' eu lakoe , that teu goe-goe dalam hate	8+8

(Alfian, 1992, 48)

5 The single pipe mark “|” indicates the feet, whereas the double pipe mark “||” indicates the feet which rhyme.

The most recent and quite innovative version of *prang sabi* text is the version of Orang Hutan Squad (OHS)—an Acehese music band famous with its smart innovation in integrating ethnic into modern music arrangement. OHS is a music band renowned with its modern hip-hop music arrangement for Acehese ethnic songs. Culture and Tourism Department of Aceh on its official website pointed out the band’s popularity due to its launching of a song entitled “Saleuem” that is modified with additional lyrics in various local languages in Aceh (Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Aceh, 2018). Furthermore, such linguistic integration is also found in their other songs, “Meuseuraya” (OHS, 2019)⁶, “Keudonya” (OHS, 2020)⁷, and of course “Prang Sabi” (OHS, 2018)⁸.

Orang Hutan Squad music band diversified the lyrics with Singkil, Jamee, Kluet, and Indonesian languages besides the already existing Acehese one. An interesting excerpt offering alternative view about holy war is depicted in the following excerpt of the song’s lyrics:

<i>Kinin bukan pakai sanjato tapi pikian</i>	Now not with weapon but with thought
<i>Kito bisa basamo maju walau dari pinggian</i>	We can develop together though we came from countryside
<i>Ainul Mardhiah alah lamo mananti di ateh sugo</i>	Ainul Mardhiah has been waiting for a long time in paradise
<i>Tatok dijalan Rabbi tatok kembangkan budayo kito</i>	Stay in the way of God, keep improving our culture/

6 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ChbVA2xpeuc>. Accessed on October 19, 2020.

7 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1fUinOAhbS0>. Accessed on October 19, 2020.

8 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X6KqRBuWiEM>. Accessed on October 19, 2020.

Indeed, the purpose of the using of Acehese language in former *HPS* was to escape the targeted enemies' attention, e.g., Dutch or Indonesian authorities, who could not understand the language (Harisson, Mackinlay, & Pettan, 2010, 204). Yet, Orang Hutan Squad could broaden the range of audience, that is, the speakers of other indigenous languages in the province of Aceh. For today's holy war is not merely associated with weapon, but more importantly, with thought.

Shortly, the urgency of the call to carry out the holy war enabled various literary genres to accommodate the *prang sabi* idea. The successful delivery of idea seems to be more important than bothering the recognition of the author and authorship.

CONCEPT OF AUTHOR AND AUTHORSHIP

Acehnese people, the *hoi polloi* in particular, tend to refrain from making any inquiries to find out the figures behind the literary texts they read. *Syair Doda Idi* mentioned above is an example of a poem developed with various lyrics whose author remains unrecognized (Fuadi, Musriadi, & Farissi, 2019, 90). I am of the opinion that the growth of Islam together with its scholarship and literature which was then disrupted by the European annexation, should not be always regarded as lamentable phase of history. Both phases can be appreciated as the starting point where Acehese literary composers got encouraged to reveal their names on their works.

Generally, in Malay literature the phenomenon of authors' appending names firstly happened in 19th century (Salleh, 2018, 112). If we look again at Table 1, it is seen that Teungku Chik Panté Kulu and Teungku Nyak Ahmad Cot Paleue are identified as the authors of *HPS* texts composed in the 19th century. In this regard, we should differentiate between an author himself appending his name and others coming after him appending his name. Aly Hasjmy (1977, 47) mentioned at least four possible names behind the composition of *HPS*, namely Teungku Chik Tiro Muhammad Saman, Teungku Chik Kuta Karang, Teungku Chik Tanoh Abée, and Teungku Chik Panté Kulu. He did not, however, specify

those proposing the names nor did he explain further why he sided with those believing that the close-to-certainty author was Teungku Chik Panté Kulu. Such disputable status of authorship resulting in the nominating of several alleged authors of a certain work is something common to find in a tradition that does not see any significance for authors to be recognized by names. Those having skepticism in society, e.g., academics and researchers, may later trace their ancestors who deserve recognition and respect for their works.

Meanwhile, St. Bonaventure admitted that in the 13th century European tradition there were some contributors working in the making of a book (Burrow, 2008):

There are four ways of making a book. Sometimes a man writes others' words, adding nothing and changing nothing; and he is simply called a scribe [*scriptor*]. Sometimes a man writes others' words, putting together passages which are not his own; and he is called a compiler [*compilator*]. Sometimes a man writes both others' words and his own, but with the others' words in prime place and his own added only for purposes of clarification; and he is called not an author but a commentator [*commentator*]. Sometimes a man writes both his own words and others', but with his own in prime place and others' added only for purposes of confirmation; and he should be called an author [*auctor*].

We can find some similarities in Acehese literature. We can see who were and are really obsessed with being recognized through appending names. In *HPS* text attached in Aly Hasjmy's (1977) and *Hikayat Prang Sabi Teungku Putroe* in Ibrahim Alfian's (1992), the authors did not reveal their names, yet only their patrons. In *Hikayat Prang Cut Ali* in Ramli Harun's (1982), the author mentioned his name in the last stanza, whereas in *Hikayat Prang Sabi* in H.M. Zainuddin's (1960) and Abdullah Arif's (n.d.) only the scribe reveals his name.

Reading the opening (*khuteubah*) of *HPS* re-written by the scribes, we notice how they feel responsible to transmit the story they ever heard from their ancestors and imply their humble refrainment from taking responsibility for the substantial message intended by the *hikayat*. To clarify that they merely retell the story of *HPS*,

they append both their names and the names of the real author. Here we need to differentiate the scribes who partook in the traditional copying process from modern professional scribes who did the copying for scholarship purposes. Voorhoeve (1994) referred to works copied by the latter with COPY (in capitals). He mentioned Teungku Mohammad Noerdin as a prominent scribe who did the copying for C. Snouck Hurgronje, G. A. J. Hazeu, Hoesein Djajadiningrat, and Balai Pustaka Jakarta (p. 15).

Working on *HPS* texts—together with transliterating, translating, and adapting with necessary modification—is still practiced by modern scribes. For example, Abdullah Arif (n.d.) entitled his book with “*Hikajat Prang Sabil keunarang Tgk Chik di Panté Koeloe*”. *Keunarang* is an Acehese term for Indonesian *karangan* which, according to *Kamus Dewan* and *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, means *to compose* or *to write* a literary work. This term is used to refer to the first or original author. Arif therefore stated on the cover of the book that the work was *geusalen le Abdullah Arif*—literary *re-written by Abdullah Arif*. Another typical term to indicate the owner of the book is not the real author is *geususun le*—literary *arranged by*. Although not appending the name of the real author of *HPS* he adapted, H.M. Zainuddin (1960) wrote that his book was *geususun lee H.M. Zainuddin*—literary *arranged by H.M. Zainuddin*. Furthermore, in several opening pages he clarified that he just retold the story of a manuscript he kept with some necessary modification. This method of reproducing the text is naturally tolerated and quite normal to find since “traditionally the ownership of a text was not only secured through the very physical existence of the manuscript but also the personal memory” (Warnk, 2009, 7).

9 Abdullah Arif published the *HPS* text of the second category (see section) in hand-written Arabic script. It contains four accounts of holy war. The first account (story of Ainul Mardiyah) is the one he transliterated in Roman script: the one mentioned here.

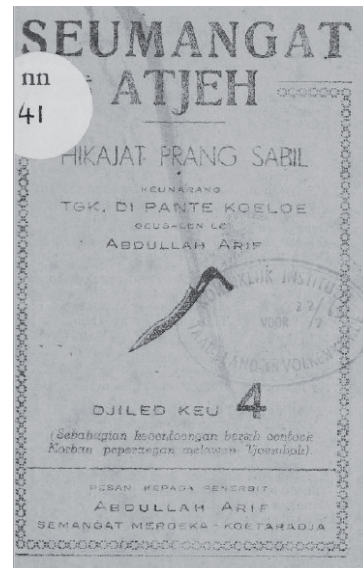


Figure 1. Cover page of *Seumangat Atjeh: Hikajat Prang Sabil Keunarang Tgk Di Panté Koeloe* by Abdullah Arif (n.d.)

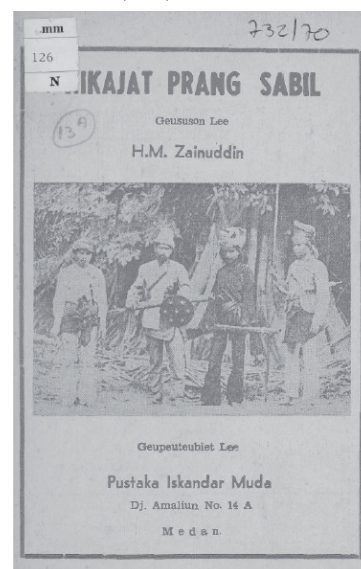


Figure 2. Cover page of *Hikajat Prang Sabil* by H. M. Zainuddin (1960)

As Salleh (2018) pointed out that Malay authors in general compose their works as a *bakti*, loyalty exhibited to their patrons, here I would say that a quite similar dedication picture is painted in Aceh tradition. The author of *Hikayat Prang Sabi Teungku Putroe* in Ibrahim Alfian’s (1992), besides stating that he executed the writing project on account of his companion’s request, his actual intention exceeds any mundane obsession. The following is an excerpt of the *hikayat’s* opening (p. 38):

<i>Lon meuda'wa pi han</i>	I am not good at
<i>reumbang,</i>	arguing,
<i>Bah lon karang beurang-</i>	Let me compose
<i>kari</i>	something
<i>Lom peureubuet ateueh</i>	I do it for goodness,
<i>keubajikan,</i>	May I receive reward
<i>Mudah-mudahan pahala</i>	from God
<i>neubi</i>	It serves as a remind-
<i>Jeued peu'ingat sigala</i>	er for all brothers
<i>teelan,</i>	As well as anyone
<i>Wahe rakan dum beurangri</i>	else

Suffice it to say, almost those involved in the authorship of *prang sabi* texts got rid of the need for being recognized through copyright whatsoever. Copyright for them to some degree seems like a “right-to-copy” with diversification to suit the conditions of their targeted audience.

CONCEPT OF AUDIENCE

As previously discussed, oral tradition in Aceh needs special appreciation before we may judge its drawbacks through a print-based mental set. This orality should always be first taken into account for any literary studies in the Acehnese tradition. No wonder we find the way the *HPS*' author delivers his words is quite communicative. From the *hikayat*'s text composition style, it can be said that the author still maintains his long-established oral delivery style as if the ones he should always face are still his aurally consuming audiences.

The role of audience is highly worth considering for the construction of the meaning of *HPS*. That the *hikayat* in former Aceh was usually performed on the stage suggests that audiences and the reciter were collectively bound in the act of meaning-making. Suppose a reciter who was not the author of *HPS* recites his text with his dramatized tone and certain gesture. His delivery essentially went through his personality before touching the audience's emotions. So, whether he successfully aroused his audiences' zest of *jihad* or not is somewhat dependant on his ability in carefully manipulating codes and signs of his voice and gesture.

A repeatedly mentioned strong propelling influence of *HPS* is the story about some Acehnese commoners who got spurred to pursue honor through murdering Dutch official after listening to

HPS—this phenomenon is commonly referred to as *Atjeh-Moord* (Barter & Zarkin-Osborn, 2014, 192; Schulze, 2010, 63; Kloos, 2014, 26; Siegel, 1969, 82). In modern context, the influence can be seen in an assembly of GAM (Aceh Free Movement) anniversary in Subarang, Samadua Sub-district, South Aceh Regency on December 4, 2016. The audiences busted into tears as though they remembered the gloomy times of Aceh conflict which costed a number of “martyr” souls (Prang sabi warnai, 2016). I believe the version recited in this assembly was the *HPS* modified version as a song popularized by GAM and its followers. This version is nowadays repeatedly recognized as a song by Acehnese youth; some even added more stanzas into the lyrics consisting of various local native languages in Aceh province (like Orang Hutan Squad mentioned above). Hardly can we say that the audience to this modified versions are expecting an apt moment to kill any *kafir* invaders. Rather, the song is enjoyed as a mean of entertainment or, for some, a short summary about old *jihad* history.

Prang Sabi Warnai Milad GAM

Senin, 5 Desember 2016 09:56



Source: Serambi Indonesia (Prang sabi warnai, 2016)

Figure 3. GAM Anniversary whereby *HPS* is recited.

PRANG SABI AND ACEHNESE JIHAD

Despite the current usage of *jihad*-related terms in media, *prang sabi* texts has created its own realities, not only owing to the successful delivery method employed by real author, but also thanks to its flexible authorship which allowed elasticity for its contents to receive alternative interpretations following certain political and

societal events occurring in Aceh. The promotion of HPS messages, just like other products, needs more innovations. The old discourse of *jihād* does not remain solely in the context intended by its former authors, yet permeates into the current discourses creating other realities, influencing its audience to answer to call of ‘other’ alternatives of *jihād*. One for sure, the hoi polloi do not bother to trace the actual content of the genuine call. Rather, once the call is echoed by the elites they trust, they move unconditionally.

Furthermore, although bearing no title as *HPS*, another exhortation for performing *jihād* is also embedded in other forms of repertoire. I would like to point out how the views of what constitutes the war in the way of God differ in Aceh society within the time frame from 1873 to 2005, encompassing three phases of war namely, the war against the Dutch, the rebellion of DI/TII (Darul Islam/ Tentara Islam Indonesia) against Indonesia, and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) against Indonesia. The *jihād* call for the three phases cannot be separated from the religious verses which can easily spur the society, which will instantly show fanatic reaction once religious or local wisdom is broken. The three wars are considered as the most important moments where the notoriety of discourses on *prang sabi* prevailed. Thus, based on the sources consulted, it is found how was and is the position of *prang sabi* verses in Aceh society concerning the shaping the idea of holy war during the above-mentioned three revolts.

ACEH VS. DUTCH

The Dutch invasion was not the first external threat towards the sovereignty of Aceh, Aceh Sultanate in particular. Ibrahim Alfian (1992, 10) pointed out that the idea of *prang sabi* that circulated as a theme of *hikayats* during the Dutch annexation was something restored from the 17th century. According to Hadi (1992, 55), it was even earlier, i.e., from the time of Aceh’s defense against the Portuguese in the 16th century¹⁰. The

call, indeed, was already there although Aceh was only still a port state in the 16th century, unlike when it had become a fairly structured state governing the port and inland areas when the Dutch interloped (Hadi 1992, 87).

For Aceh, as pointed out by Snouck Hurgronje, (1906, vii), the spirit of *prang sabi* was sustained by the dogmas brought by Islam, which was manifested as abhorrence against the infidels so that it felt justified when doing piracy of business and man-hunting towards non-muslim countries in surroundings as well as felt justified when doing treachery towards European who searched for pepper. Regarding the cause of the inflamed abhorrence, Snouck Hurgronje further noted that the Acehese youth received teaching through which they were exposed to the promise of getting boundless reward and of not being interrogated for other accounts of their actions in this mundane world should they be killed as martyrs in the holy war (Snouck Hurgronje, 1906, 143).

Here is critical to consider the existence of other concomitants that help provoke participation in the war. Motivation to gain tantalizing heavenly rewards promised in *prang sabi* verses was hugely intensified through other societal factors co-existing besides the stern Dutch annexation. The intention to revenge the death of fellow fighters who fell in the struggle escalated the enthusiasm to *prang sabi*. For example, Cut Nyak Meutia, who was posthumously canonized as an Indonesian national heroine, was spurred by the death of her husband, Pang Nanggroe, to lead a fight against the Dutch in North Aceh (Talsya, 1982, 134). Another female fighter, Cut Nyak Dien, led the holy war in West Aceh upon the martyrdom of her husband too, Teuku Umar Djohan Pahlwan (Talsya, 1982, 107). Zentgraaf (1938, 64) even conveyed his amazement on how she was inflamed with anger, although she was powerless due to her blindness when the Dutch with the help of one of her troops discovered her in a shelter in the middle of a jungle in Aceh.

17). Ibn Battuta noted in his visit in Pasai—situated on northern coast of today’s Aceh—that the sultan in charge Sultan Malik Al-Zahir led people who were eager to fight the infidels (Gibb, 1994, 876–877). The infidels meant were most probably the Portuguese that intruded into the Melacca Strait.

10 For example, in Aceh existed *Hikayat Prang Peuringi*. *Peuringi* for Acehese refers to Portuguese in particular and to European nation in general (Iskandariata, 2007,

Anthony Reid believed that *HPS* is the most famous epic-poetry among other poetic writings which are read aloud as evening entertainment in *meunasah* (communal hall) where people usually assemble (Hasjmy, 1977, 55). Its popularity even sparked the Dutch attention to banning any acts of reciting, recopying, and distributing the script of the *hikayat*. The Dutch took forcefully the script of the *hikayat* from anyone saving it. Knowing its compelling influence, we can understand why keeping the script may cost a severe punishment. That is why most people at that time tended to memorize the *hikayat*, and due to their different strengths of remembering the memory, resulting in the various versions of its copies we see now.

Dr. A. J. Piekaar (1977), an ex-aspirant controleur of the Dutch in Aceh, in his speech before the audience in an open senate meeting at Syiah Kuala University Banda Aceh on November 2, 1977, stated that there should be no more *prang sabi*. Any research on *HPS* is not supposed to spur the people again to wage a war. The *hikayat* should only constitute a historical document that records old memories of the war which should end entirely. It can be inferred that how strong the influence of *Hikayat Prang Sabi* he had witnessed during his work in Aceh.

ACEH (DI/TII) VS. INDONESIA

Aceh was barely affected by the second Dutch aggression in 1948, making Soekarno consider the special position for Aceh in the later established Indonesia. That Jakarta was situated more than 2,000 km away from Aceh was a good excuse not to dictate Aceh very strictly with a centrality of authority. In a meeting with Teungku Daud Beureuéh—the military governor of Aceh from 1945 to 1953—in Kutaraja in 1948, he saw no reason to restrain his Acehnese subjects to wage a war against the Dutch again in the cause of upholding Allah’s religion and even confirmed the status of martyrdom for the fighters who fell (Dewanto, 2011, 58). His promise in the meeting to grant Aceh liberty to implement Islamic sharia based on The Jakarta Charter and his plan to base Indonesia on Islamic principles did convince Acehnese *‘ulamās* to state their loyalty towards his nationalism and hereby wanting to wage a

holy war against the Dutch colonizers by his side (Sjamsuddin, 1990, 32). Alas, Soekarno’s ignorance of the promise, later on, resulted in the other sort of holy war against himself.

The Darul Islam revolt in Aceh was not the first revolt that aimed at forming an Islamic Indonesian country. Darul Islam was firstly proclaimed on August 7, 1949, by Sekarmadji Mardjani Kartosoewirjo (Muhammad, 2013, 126), two years before Teungku Daud Beureuéh decided to merge his “holy” movement into this movement. The fact that Aceh ever was dissolved into the province of North Sumatera marked the beginning of the Darul Islam revolt. Sjamsuddin (1990, 39–42) argued that there was one essential aspect that could not possibly be compromised for the Acehnese people should they have to turn to Medan as the capital. Psychologically, what mattered to Aceh people was “who leads whom”. They could not be detached from the nostalgic imagination about the epoch before 1500 when most of Sumatera’s nooks were under the lead of their ancestors. The dissolving into the new province would worry them about the inappropriate treatment they would receive under the lead of the “others”.

In January 1951, Jakarta officially dispersed Aceh as a province. Before this happened Teungku Daud Beureuéh—the then leader of the DI Aceh—had already resigned from his position as Aceh military governor. This moment was really craved by his opponents: the *ulèëbalangs* and traditionalist *‘ulamās*. Yet, since these two groups did not possess supporters as many as PUSA (Aceh Islamic Scholars’ Association)—whose founder was Teungku Daud Beureuéh—had, the central government’s partial decision prevailed as the anxiety of the majority. This being so, the Aceh leaders would have a sufficient amount of disappointment to start a revolt.

Eight months after Aceh was abolished, the proclaiming of *Keterangan Politik* in Indrapuri on September 21, 1951, marked the start of the DI insurgency. The call to fight against the Indonesian central government prevailed all over Aceh. Those involved in the movement regarded the Indonesian military as an infidel force (*teuntra kaphé*) and their movement as holy war (Sjam-

suddin, 1990, 83–84). Such a religious sentiment sold very well amid the society that was mostly led by *‘ulamās* under the association of PUSA. This sort of *prang sabi* severely affected the towns where the headquarters of the Indonesian military and police situated like Lhokseumawe and Peureulak were targeted by the insurgents. Even the families of the Indonesian force should evacuate.

Outside Kutaraja, the capital of Aceh, the defense power of the Indonesian military personals was fairly slim since it could only take over few spaces around their stations where the rest of the areas were under the insurgents’ control. For instance, Takengon in today’s Aceh Tengah regency was taken by the movement very early on September 25, 1951, and remained so until November that year. The rebellion was so intense that the government forces could only maintain its controls in urban areas and were forced to let the areas outside the towns to be controlled by the rebels (Sjamsuddin, 1990, 85). Hardly could governmental activities function since most of the staff that identified themselves as *asli Aceh* (Acehese natives) prefer joining the insurgency¹¹. In Kutaraja, for example, only one regent kept working in his office despite the intense situation, whereas the others overtly joined the insurgency or disappeared without notification.

Nevertheless, this sort of holy war was not uncontested. Owing to the lack of support they could gain in west coastal areas of Aceh, the insurgents had to focus on East Aceh, North Aceh, Central Aceh, Great Aceh, and Pidie Districts (Sjamsuddin, 1990, 85). Besides, the central government and the North Sumatra governor announced the rebels wrongly manipulated the religion. The illegality of the movement was announced on a leaflet bearing the title “*Saudara Seluruh Rakjat Atjeh*” (Fellow Countrymen, all people of Aceh) which was distributed in Kutaraja by the Indonesian military on September 21, 1953. Another attempt made by the Indonesian

military to contain the insurgency was to distribute a circular under the name of the Department of Religious Affairs with the expectation that the people would stop supporting the insurgents (Sjamsuddin, 1990, 86–87). This attempt did not result in any positive effect since the insurgents’ control over most non-urban areas did hinder the sub-districts’ heads to return to their offices.

Through the eyes of DI fighters, their struggle was the biggest divine struggle against tyranny at the beginning of the 20th century (Umar & Chaidar, 2006, 4). They had what they considered as a strong basis for their claim, hence their confidence as a representative voice of the majority. Regarding the use of *prang sabi* text in this phase, Edward Aspinall (2009, 96–97) noted that it harbored a “bad influence” in that it spurred most of the fanatical Acehese people to pursue their honored death through martyrdom whose reward can be attained in the afterlife.

However, this revolt was not unquestioned. Harissah (1956) in *Atjeh dan Peristiwa* vigorously pointed out the ‘misguidance’ of the call for *prang sabi* provoked by the DI. He contended that Teungku Daud Beureuéh, the leader of DI Aceh, was responsible for the death of Acehese people during DI insurgency. The rebellion, he said, did challenge the authorized the Indonesian statehood to which Aceh officially belongs. He repeatedly mentioned that the movement constitutes a betrayal which provoked, sometimes with force, most the *hoi polloi* who had no idea about what they were against for actually. For there is no war against legitimized leaders and relatives (pp. 5–6).

Harissah further centered his criticism against the personality of Teungku Daud Beureuéh. He believed that Teungku Daud Beureuéh, as other *‘ulamās*, should have stayed in *dayah* (traditional Islamic education institution) and not to be obsessed with politics. He even noted that the DI regarded those abstaining from the holy war as *kaphé* whose belongings and life are worth taking away (p. 32). Previously, infidelity-related terms were solely attributed to the invaders. Yet, colonialism practiced by non-European colonizers, or even muslim brothers, is also associated with infidelity. In Aceh society the charismatic

11 In this regard, Nazaruddin Sjamsuddin (1990) did not further explain what he meant by *asli Aceh* and its correlation with the tendency to join the insurgency. In modern context *orang Aceh* could refer to those residing in the province of Aceh, those having blood lineage from Aceh, or those identifying to belong to the Aceh ethnic group.

clerics who can impress the *hoi polloi* with their religious discourse can also be relied on when it comes to choosing the correct political stance. To justify the insurgency, he said, Teungku Daud Beureu'eh would give his own context to adjust the interpretation of certain Qur'ānic verses; consequently, the act of his followers who forced the *hoi polloi* to contribute to their struggle has its strong basis amid the fanatic society.

ACEH (GAM) VS. INDONESIA

To exhaustively conceive the idea of *prang sabi* during GAM insurgency period, one ought to consider the paradigm rooted in Aceh muslim society about the call to stand against the infidel enemy. Having survived for a long while from the Dutch period, *prang sabi* texts offered a framework of a holy war which is quite alluring for many Acehnese young men who have their own historical experience (Aspinall, 2009, 96). An Acehnese saying “*pat ujeun nyang hana pirang, pat prang nyang hana reuda*” (which rain that doesn't cease, and which war that doesn't end) always gives hope for such nation that experienced a quite long while of unrest. However, although the war may have ended, and it indeed does as they believed, the legacy of defense spirit does not end. Yet, it is infallibly forwarded from one generation to the next one. The next generation is expecting such a golden chance told by their ancestors to pursue honor on a battlefield.

HPS was repeatedly chanted by GAM when spurring their followers to stand against the Indonesian military, making a new construction of the meaning of *prang sabi*. Fanned by the success of East Timor in gaining independence from Indonesia through a referendum in August 1999, *HPS* was re-echoed by pro-Aceh Independence supporters to arouse the spirit of militancy (Al-Malaky, 2003, 72–73). The rebels picked up the most relevant interpretation of the *ayahs* that support their motives. At the early time of its movement, GAM did not only aspire that only Aceh which should be an independent state, but also a confederation they called Aceh-Sumatera, just like the Switzerland Model (Aspinall, 2009 in Akmal, 2015, 52).

The bifurcation of those involved in a war into muslims as the rightful ones and the *kafir* as the sinful ones as narrated in *HPS* still remained until the GAM period. The rightful ones were the GAM and the sinful ones were their opponents. Hasan Muhammad Tiro (1999, 37), the founder of GAM, overtly asserted his disagreement against Indonesia's Pancasila as an ideology for the country whose most inhabitants are muslims. This, he said, made Indonesia a fragile country because it is not founded on the values of the society that made it come into existence. Islam, he said, is the only way without which the diverse nations possessing diverse histories, economics, politics, and cultures would not know how to get unified (Tiro, 1999, 37–41).

For GAM the call to holy war is in harmony with the spirit of nationalism. The accumulation of instabilities caused by the Indonesian central government is considered as a modern sort of colonialism, hence the justification of the waging of a holy war. The call to it wrapped in the narrative of a war to defend God's religion constitutes a call of faith through which a mere death transforms into a martyrdom (Linge, 1993, 73). Such a martyrdom, to which an eternity and immortality are associated, received a new meaning from GAM's nationalist logic. While the state of being perpetual through the holy war is attained in the afterlife, GAM's martyrdom is also dedicated to the Aceh nation's being eternal in its independence (Aspinall, 2009, 98).

HPS played a salient role for the GAM fighters as their anthem that was sung in their meetings. Old phrases about colonialism in the past received changes where necessary to fit the modern context they want. For instance, *Dutch infidels* that were regarded as the invaders were replaced by Javanese spies. Another instance can be seen in the following excerpt (*Prang Sabi* song lyrics posted on ASNLF Facebook page (Moel Khaan, 2013)¹²):

12 ASNLF (Aceh Sumatera National Liberation Front) is the international English name for GAM. A Facebook user with the name “Moel Khaan” posted the short version of *HPS* on September 27, 2013. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/AcehSumatraNationalLiberationFront/posts/hikayat-prang-sabi-versi-asnlf-subhanallah-wahdahu-wabihamdihkhalikul-badriwal/593789790663306/>. Accessed on July 23, 2020.

Lindong Gata Sigala	you are protected, and all
Nyang Mujahidin	others
Mursalin	who fight and who are sent
Jeut-jeut Mukim	in every nook and corner
Ikeulim	(of)
Atjeh Merdeka	the independent Atjeh

Especially for the phrase “*Atjeh Merdeka*”, Cut Niken, the singer of the song, said she was requested by ex-GAM combatants to sing for their political campaign of Aceh Party—a local party established due to the guarantee of the central government after the MoU Helsinki whose majority of the members are ex-GAM combatants. She did accept the request under one condition, that is, not to use the phrase “*Atjeh Merdeka*”, but “*Atjeh Mulia*” for it sounds more inclusive (Cut Niken. Personal interview. March 11, 2020). By the time the most commonly used phrase, either by those covering the song or by those singing for ex-GAM reunions, is “*Atjeh Mulia*”. Occasionally, we can also find who sings with “*Atjeh Sumatera*” like the version of Orang Hutan Squad; in a way this phrase may not sound questionable since Aceh, in fact, lies on Sumatra island (interview with one of OHS personnel). It is even still possible to change with other phrases as long as it maintains the rhyme *ab ab*. Yet, for some who knew the initial aspiration of GAM and its international fame, the phrase may ring a bell. GAM called its name in the international level as “Acheh Sumatera National Liberation Front”¹³, mirroring its aspiration to lead the entire “nation” of Sumatra to get freed from Indonesian, or Javanese, colonization.

During GAM’s insurgency, the call to *prang sabi* did not merely collect its justification from its leaders who preach nationalism and religiosity. Other charismatic *‘ulamās*, although having no structural ties to GAM, were also responsible for shaping public opinion about how they should perceive the fight against the “infidel” Indonesia. This was so since in a society which can be easily triggered if its religiosity was challenged, they were, and are still, the source of *fatwa*, because

13 The spelling of Aceh as “Acheh” corresponds to the new spelling system agreed by Indonesia and Malaysia (Malindo) in 1973. Its spelling as “Acheh” is intended for the commonly international spelling of “ch” sound; this spelling also to some degree suggests GAM’s indirect rejection of Indonesian spelling (Kingsbury, 2006, iv).

they are the learned ones, the *warasatul anbiya* (the heirs of the Prophet).

To put the people under a moral obligation to wage the *prang sabi* entails at the same time approvals to do other supporting things. A *cuak* (traitor) that was considered a serious danger during the Dutch and DI periods found its new form in the personality of Acehese people who side with the opponents of GAM; hence their deserving execution¹⁴. Voluntary taxation (*pajak nanggroe*) imposed by GAM on those they consider can provide a handsome amount of funding might mirror how the movement believed in their rightfulness in that it oftentimes collects the tax not only from who will give it ‘voluntarily’. This might be based on the logic that something obligatory obligates any other required conditions for the thing to be successfully performed. Almost every one of every profession, from small stallholders to big firms, hardly had choice but to donate in case the safety in their livelihood was really what concerned them. Although some did donate voluntarily as an exchange for their absence in joining the movement, most of the pieces of evidence confirmed the consequents faced by those who denied the taxation obligation¹⁵.

The faith from which GAM received the call to their revolt seemingly did not sustain their consistency on it. Rather, besides promoting its Islamic state aspiration to some middle east countries, it worked very hard to gain western support. Being not too Islamic was its strategy to amplify its theme of nationalism. From then on, instead of suggesting as a religious Islamist movement, the GAM sounds more as a secular one (Akmal, 2015, 53; Drexler, 2009, 16). In due course, the secular motif of the movement only received limited support from the *‘ulamās* (Kell, 1995, 61–66). Aspinall (2009, 205) pointed out an ambivalent view circulating during the conflict among Aceh society whether or not the movement is religiously allowed. A renowned

14 For example, the execution was the destiny of about 50 identified traitors in Peureulak and 17 in Lhok Tapaktuan during the GAM insurgency between 1999 and 2005 (Aspinall, 2009, 175).

15 Among those losing their life because of the denial to pay the contribution was the ex-president of Syiah Kuala University who was shot dead on September 2001 (Aspinall, 2009).

Islamic cleric, Abu Tanoh Mirah, for example, noted his father's view justifying martyrdom from the struggle, yet he still emphasized that as long as one perceived Aceh's basis in joining the Indonesian statehood was legal, so the movement was considered as *bughat* (rebels) Aspinall (2009, 206). Consequently, GAM's response was even more aggressive in that it accused the *'ulamās*, who were ignorant about their struggle, for collaborating with government, betraying the Aceh nation for their personal benefits and that they were not brave enough to uphold the call of enjoining the good and preventing the evil (Aspinall, 2009, 206).

CONCLUSION

To participate in a holy war constitutes an honorable deed which is not only divinely rewardable but also obligatory, thus obligating other succeeding factors. The fondness of Acehnese people in attending the recitation ceremony of *prang sabi* text recital prepared the ground for the *'ulamās* to compose epics of war through which they could get them aware of the significance of a holy war.

Based on the findings, it is evident that the thrust of *jihād* can take its shape in numerous versions. In the three "holy wars" of the three timeframes selected in this study i.e., Aceh against Dutch, DI (Darul Islam) against Indonesia and GAM (Free Aceh Movement) against Indonesia, the call of *prang sabi* was perceived differently. Based on consulted sources, to stand in the name of faith is the predominant motif in the idea of the Acehnese defense against the Dutch and of the DI's and GAM's revolts against the Indonesian statehood. All these movements were justified because the targets of the holy were considered dangerous infidels (*kaphé*).

Besides, during each of the waging of three holy wars, it was inevitable for several concomitants to happen. The motivation to revenge the death of fellow fighters did spur others to participate in each of the wars. The strong wish to win the right to implement divine constitution accompanied by disappointment towards the central government treatment of Aceh exacerbated the already bloody conflicts during DI and GAM periods.

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