

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Archival Sources and Unpublished Documents

- Ahtisaari, M. 7 February 2005. "Letter to Mr Malik Mahmoud". Crisis Management Initiative, Helsinki.
- Algemeene Rijksarchief [A.R.A.], 's-Gravenhage:  
Ministerie van Koloniën [Kol.]  
Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken [B.Z.]  
Vereenigde Oostindische Comagnie [VOC]
- MoU 2005. "Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement, 17 July 2005".
- Public Record Office, London. CO 273 — Correspondence from the Straits Settlements.
- Adat Aceh*, transcribed by Teungku Anzib Lamnyong, from Manuscript India Office Library, pp. 52–65 (1976).
- "Voyage Made by Jacob Janssen de Roy to Borneo and Atcheen, 1691. Completed in 1698 in Batavia at the order of William van Oudtshoorn, Governor-General of Netherlands East Indies. Translated from Dutch into English in 1816". India Office, MSS Eur/Mack (1822/5).
- TNI. "Daftar nominatif personel Batalyon Kavaleri 11/Serbu". Unpublished paper, Tentara Nasional Indonesia Angkatan Darat, Komando Daerah Militer Iskandar Muda, Banda Aceh, 2005a.
- TNI. "Nomor N A M A PANGKAT N R P JABATAN / KESATUAN T M T KET, URT BAG /CORPS LAMABARU, TENTARA NASIONAL INDONESIA ANGKATAN DARAT Lampiran Surat Pangdam IM KOMANDO DAERAH MILITER ISKANDAR MUDA Nomor R // VIII / 2005, August 2005. 2005b.

### General Internet Sources and The Media

*Astaga!com*

*Kompas*

*Mediaindo*

*Neue Zürcher Zeitung (NZZ)*

*Padang Ekspres*

*Pikiran Rakyat*

*Republika Online*

*RRI-Online*

*Serambi Indonesia*

*United Press International (UPI)*

<http://web.amnesty.org/library>

[www.lestariberitage.net/aceh/](http://www.lestariberitage.net/aceh/)

[www.serambinews.com](http://www.serambinews.com)

[http://www.slank.com.](http://www.slank.com)

[www.peterpanband.com](http://www.peterpanband.com)

[http://www.arts.monash.edu/mai/newsletters05/news181005.txt.](http://www.arts.monash.edu/mai/newsletters05/news181005.txt)

### Printed Literature

All personal names and work titles are listed according to the bibliographic rules of the respective language. For Indonesian/Malay names, for instance, the names are given according to the current bibliographic rules in Malaysia (i.e. “Abdul Karim Jakobi”, instead of the Western-style “Jakobi, Abdul Karim”).

ADB. See Asia Development Bank.

Abdul Karim Jakobi. *Aceh daerah modal. Long march ke Medan area*. Jakarta: Yayasan Seulawah RO-001”, 1992.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Aceh dalam perang mempertahankan proklamasi kemerdekaan 1945–1949 dan peranan Teuku Hamid Azwar sebagai pejuang*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama & Yayasan “Seulawah RO-001”, 1998.

Abdurrahman Wahid. “Elites’ xenophobia.” [www.gusdur.net/ english/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=680&Itemid=40](http://www.gusdur.net/english/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=680&Itemid=40). Accessed 11 February 2005.

Agnes Aristiarini. “Membangkitkan kembali semangat yang tersisa ...” [http://www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/0502/17/humaniora/ 1564873.htm](http://www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/0502/17/humaniora/1564873.htm). Accessed 17 February 2005.

Agnusi AH. “Lagu kelu 40 penyair Aceh: sebuah rekaman batin dan imbas luka tsunami”. *Waspada Online*, [http://www.waspada.co.id/serba\\_serbi/features/artikel.php?article\\_id=70688](http://www.waspada.co.id/serba_serbi/features/artikel.php?article_id=70688). Accessed 19 December 2005.

Agussabti. *Kajian Seuneubok sebagai sistem pengelolaan kawasan berbasis adat. Penelitian dasar atas biaya DIKTI*. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, 2004.

- Ali Fachry. "Aceh baru, politik baru". *Zaman baru Aceh*, 3 June 1989. p. 17.
- Ali Hasjmy. *Peranan Islam dalam Perang Aceh dan perjuangan kemerdekaan Indonesia*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *59 tahun Aceh merdeka di bawah pemerintahan ratu*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1977a.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Apa sebab rakyat Aceh sanggup berperang puluhan tahun melawan agresi Belanda*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1977b.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Bunga rampai revolusi dari tanah Aceh*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Jembatan Selat Melaka*. Banda Aceh: Pusat Informasi Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Islam, Perpustakaan dan Museum Yayasan Pendidikan Ali Hasjmi, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Sejarah masuk dan berkembangnya Islam di Indonesia. Kumpulan prasaran pada seminar di Aceh*. 1st ed. Jakarta: Beune, 1981. Bandung: PT. Alma'arif, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Ulama Aceh. Mujahid pejuang kemerdekaan dan pembangunamadun bangsa*. Banda Aceh: Perpustakaan dan Museum, Yayasan Pendidikan Ali Hasjmy, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_, et al., eds. *Aceh Membangun*. Banda Aceh: [s.n.], 1995.
- Ali Muhammad, Rusdi. *Revitalisasi Syari'at Islam di Aceh: Problem, solusi dan implementasi*, edited by Hasan Basri. Jakarta: Logos dan Ar-Raniry Press, 2003.
- Ali Said; Wenefrida D.; Widayanti. "The Impact of Economic Crisis on Poverty and Inequality in Indonesia". Paper presented at the Symposium on Poverty Analysis and Data Initiative, Manila, April 2001.
- Alisjahbana, Armida S. "Does Indonesia have the balance right in natural resource revenue-sharing?". In *The Politics and Economics of Indonesia's Natural Resources*, edited by Budy P. Resosudarmo, pp. 109–24. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005.
- American Red Cross. "One Year Report: Helping Reestablish Community Traditions". <<http://www.redcross.org/sponsors/irf/1yrtssustewrep>>, commhealth.asp, n.d.
- Amirul Hadi. *Islam and State in Sumatra: A Study of Seventeenth-Century Aceh*. Islamic history and civilization, no. 48. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Ananta, Aris and Lee Poh Onn, eds. *Aceh: A New Dawn*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2007.
- Andaya, Leonard Y. "'A Very Good-Natured but Awe-Inspiring Government.' The Reign of a Successful Queen in Seventeenth-Century Aceh". In *Hof en handel. Aziatische vorsten en de VOC 1620–1720: opgedragen aan Jurrien van Goor*, edited by Elsbeth Locher-Scholten and Peter Rietbergen, pp. 59–84. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Leiden: KITLV, 2004.
- Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. and extended ed. London and New York: Verso, 1991.
- Arberry, Arthur J. *The Koran Interpreted*. Reprint. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.

- Archer, LeRoy R. "Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra". *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 15, II (September 1937): i–ii, 1–126.
- Aretxaga, Begoña. "Before the Law: The Narrative of the Unconscious in Basque Political Violence". Unpublished manuscript presented at the workshop on "The Poetics of Violence", School of American Research, Santa Fe, May 2002.
- Arief Budiman and Wartajazz.com. "Jazz untuk Aceh Bali: Nonton gratis sambil beramal". <[http://www.wartjazz.com/news/news\\_270105.html](http://www.wartjazz.com/news/news_270105.html)>. Accessed 27 January 2005.
- Arif Kusbandono, Nana, and Wartajazz, "Laporan dari konser kemanusiaan". <<http://www.wartjazz.com/news/news240105.html>>. Accessed 24 January 2005.
- Ariffadillah. "The Recent Situation in Aceh after the Joint Understanding on a Humanitarian Pause for Aceh". In *Violence in Indonesia*, edited by Ingrid Wessel and Georgia Wimhöfer, pp. 317–34. Hamburg: Abera, 2001.
- Arnold, Thomas Walker. *The Caliphate*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924.
- Arskal Salim. "'Shari'a from Below' in Aceh (1930s–1960s): Islamic Identity and the Right to Self-Determination with Comparative Reference to the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)". *Indonesia and the Malay World* 32, no. 92 (2004): 80–99.
- Asia Development Bank (ADB). "News Release: Indonesian Economy Forecast to Pick Up Speed over Next Three Years, Despite Tsunami". 6 April 2005.
- ASNLF. "Declaration of Independence of Aceh — Sumatra. Aceh, Sumatra, December 4, 1976." <<http://acehnet.tripod.com/declare.htm>>. Accessed 4 July 2007.
- Aspinall, Edward. "Sovereignty, the Successor State, and Universal Human Rights: History and the International Structuring of Acehnese Nationalism". *Indonesia* 73 (2002): 1–24.
- . "Modernity, History, and Ethnicity. Indonesian and Acehnese Nationalism in Conflict". In *Autonomy and Disintegration in Indonesia*, edited by Damien Kingsbury and Harry Aveling, pp. 128–47. New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- . *The Helsinki Agreement. A More Promising Basis for Peace in Aceh?* Policy Studies, no. 20. Washington, D.C.: East-West Center, 2005.
- Aspinall, Edward and Harold Crouch. *The Aceh Peace Process: Why it Failed*. (Policy Studies, no. 1. Washington, D.C.: East-West Center Washington, 2003.
- Aspinall, Edward and Greg Fealy. "Introduction: Decentralisation, Democratisation and the Rise of the Local". In *Local Power and Politics in Indonesia*, edited by Edward Aspinall and Greg Fealy, pp. 1–14. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003.
- Astaga!com. "Album kita untuk mereka: Solidaritas musisi Tanah Air untuk Aceh dan Sumut.". <<http://astaga.com/musik/index.php?cat=126&id=94290>>. Accessed 26 January 2005.

- Ati. "Iwan Fals: Lagu Rp85 juta untuk korban tsunami". *Kompas*, 6 January 2005. Accessed online at <<http://www.kompas.com/gayahidup/news/0501/06/212704.htm>>.
- Attir, Mustafa O., Burkart Holzner, and Zdenek Suda, eds. *Sosiologi modernisasi: talaah kritis tentang teori, riset dan realitas*. Yogakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1981. Indonesian translation of *Directions of Change. Modernization Theory, Research, and Realities*, edited by Attir, Mustafa, Burkart Holzner, and Zdenek Suda. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1981.
- Austin, Jane Langshaw. *How to Do Things with Words*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.
- Azyumardi Azra. *Jaringan ulama: Timur Tengah dan kepulauan Nusantara abad XVII dan XVIII: Melacak akar-akar pembaruan pemikiran Islam di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Crows Nest, NSW, Australia: Asian Studies Association of Australia in association with Allen & Unwin; Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Jaringan ulama: Timur Tengah dan kepulauan Nusantara abad XVII & XVIII: akar pembaruan Islam Indonesia*. Rev. ed. Jakarta: Kencana, 2004.
- Bachtiar Effendi. "Some Notes on the Congeniality of Islam and Civil Society in Indonesia". Paper presented to the 6th Asian-European Editors Forum, organized by Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Singapore, 29 August 2005. Online resource, <[http://www.kas.de/db\\_files/dokumente/7\\_dokument\\_dok\\_pdf\\_8035\\_2.pdf](http://www.kas.de/db_files/dokumente/7_dokument_dok_pdf_8035_2.pdf)>. Accessed 4 July 2007.
- Badan Pusat Statistik dan Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah. *Aceh dalam Angka*. Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam: Badan Pusat Statistik dan Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah, 2003.
- Badruzzaman Ismail. *Mesjid dan adat Meunasah sebagai sumber energi budaya Aceh*. Banda Aceh: Majelis Pendidikan Daerah, 2002.
- Bagir Haidar. "Membincang keadilan Tuhan (teodise) dalam bencana tsunami di Aceh". *Kompas*, 2 February 2005. Available online at <<http://www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/0502/02/Bentara/1530661.htm>>.
- Bakhat, Shirine. "Restoring the Acehnese Spirit". N.d. Accessed online at <[http://indonesia.mercycorps.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=43&Itemid=38&lang=en](http://indonesia.mercycorps.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=43&Itemid=38&lang=en)>. Republished in Indonesian as "Pameran Pusaka di Banda Aceh- 4 dan 5 Juni 2005". N.d. Accessed online at <[http://aceh.mercycorps.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=58&Itemid=77&lang=id](http://aceh.mercycorps.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=58&Itemid=77&lang=id)>.
- Bakker, Hans J. I. "The Acehnese War and the Creation of the Netherlands East Indies State". In *Great Powers and Little Wars: The Limits of Power*, edited by A. Hamish Ion and Elizabeth Jane Errington, pp. 54–82. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1993.
- Barakat, Sultan, ed. *After the Conflict. Reconstruction and Development in the Aftermath*

- of War*. International Library of War Studies, no. 1. London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005.
- Beatty, Andrew. *Society and exchange in Nias*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Beaulieu, Augustine de. "The Expedition of Commodore Beaulieu to the East Indies ...". In *Navigantium atque itinerantium bibliotheca. Or, a Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, edited by John Harris, pp. 717–49. Revised ed. 2 vols. London: Woodward etc., 1744.
- Beets, K. Th. *Memorie van overgave van de afdeeling Gajo- en Alaslanden*. Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, 1933.
- Benda, Harry J. *The Crescent and the Rising Sun. Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation, 1942–1945*. Dordrecht: Foris, 1983.
- . "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and the Foundations of Dutch Islamic Policy in Indonesia". In *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia*, edited by Ahmad Ibrahim, Sharon Siddique; Yasmin Hussain. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985.
- Benhabib, Seyla. *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Bernhard, Fernand. *A travers Sumatra. De Batavia à Atjeh*. Paris: Boulevard Saint Germain, 1904.
- Bertrand, Jacques. *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia*. Cambridge Asia-Pacific Studies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Birket-Smith, Kaj. *Kulturens veje*. Kopenhagen: Jespersen og Pios, 1941/2. [German transl. *Geschichte der Kultur. Eine allgemeine Ethnologie*. Zürich: Orell Füssli, 1946; English transl. *The Paths of Culture. A General Ethnology*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965.]
- Boland, Bernard Johan. *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*. 2nd rev. ed. (1st ed. 1971). Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde; no. 59. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1982.
- Booth, Anne. *The Indonesian Economy in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. A History of Missed Opportunities*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.
- . "Indonesia: Will Decentralisation Lead to Disintegration?". Paper presented at the EUROSEAS Conference, 6–8 September 2001, London.
- . "The Changing Importance of Off-Farm Income for Agricultural Households in Indonesia". In *The Indonesian Rural Economy. Mobility, Work, and Enterprise*, edited by Thomas R. Leinbach. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2004.
- Bowen, John R. "The Transformation of an Indonesian Property System. Adat, Islam, and Social Change in the Gayo Highlands". *American Ethnologist* 15, no. 2 (1988): 274–93.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Poetic Duels and Political Change in the Gayo Highlands of Sumatra". *American Anthropologist* 91, no. 1 (March 1989): 25–40.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sumatran Politics and Poetry. Gayo History, 1900–1989*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991a.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Return to Sender. A Muslim Discourse of Sorcery in a Relatively Egalitarian Society. The Gayo of Northern Sumatra". In *Understanding Witchcraft and Sorcery in Southeast Asia*, edited by C.W. Watson and Roy Ellen, pp. 179–90. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1991b.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "On Scriptural Essentialism and Ritual Variation. Muslim Sacrifice in Sumatra and Morocco". *American Ethnologist* 19, no. 4 (1992): 656–71.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Muslims Through Discourse: Religion and Ritual in Gayo Society*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Neo-Patrimonialism and National Integration in Indonesia. The Case of Aceh". In *The State and Ethnic Politics in Southeast Asia*, edited by David Brown, pp. 112–57. London: Routledge, 1996.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Modern Intentions. Reshaping Subjectivities in an Indonesian Muslim Society". In *Islam in an Era of Nation-States: Politics and Religious Renewal in an Indonesian Muslim Society*, edited by Robert W. Hefner and Patricia Horvatich, pp. 157–82. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Islam, Law and Equality in Indonesia: An Anthropology of Public Reasoning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Bowrey, Thomas. *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679*, edited by R. C. Temple. Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, no. 12. Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1905.
- Boxer, Charles. "A Note of Portuguese Reactions to the Revival of the Red Sea Spice Trade and the Rise of Aceh, 1540–1600". *Journal of Southeast Asian History* X, no. 3 (1969): 415–28.
- Braginsky, Vladimir. "The Science of Women and the Jewel: The Synthesis of Tantrism and Sufism in a Corpus of Mystical Texts from Aceh". *Indonesia and the Malay World* 32, no. 93 (2004): 141–75.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Structure, Date and Sources of Hikayat Aceh Revisited. The Problem of Mughal-Malay Literature". *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 162, no. 4 (2006): 441–67.
- Brakel, Lode F. "State and Statecraft in 17th century Aceh". In *Pre-colonial state systems in Southeast Asia: The Malay Peninsular, Sumatra, Bali-Lombok, South Celebes*, edited by Anthony Reid and Lance Castles, pp. 55–66. Monographs of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, no. 6. Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1975.
- Brass, Paul R. *Ethnicity and Nationalism. Theory and Comparison*. New Delhi; Newbury Park; California: Sage Publications, 1991.
- Brenner-Felsach, Joachim Freiherr v. *Eine Reise nach Nias: unveröffentlichte Manuskripte aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Wien*, edited by R. Mittersakschmöller. Wien: Böhlau, 1998.

- Broersma, R. *Atjeh als land voor handel en bedrijf*. Utrecht: Cohen, 1925.
- Brown, R.U. "Letters to the editor". *Editor and Publisher* 109 (25 September 1976): 68.
- Buchsteiner, Jochen. "Die Rache der schulterfreien Meeresgöttin: Wie sich die Javaner die rätselhafte Häufung indonesischer Naturkatastrophen erklären". *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 5 September 2006.
- Budy B. Resosudarmo. "Introduction". In *The Politics and Economics of Indonesia's Natural Resources*, edited by Budy P. Resosudarmo. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *The Politics and Economics of Indonesia's Natural Resources*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005.
- Buendía, Rizal G. *Ethnicity and Sub-Nationalist Independence Movements in the Philippines and Indonesia: Implications for Regional Security*. Manila: De La Salle University Press, 2002.
- Bukhari Daud. "Writing and reciting in Aceh. Perspectives on language and literature in Aceh". Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics, University of Melbourne, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Kamus Basa Aceh = Kamus Bahasa Aceh = Acehnese-Indonesian-English: Thesaurus*. Pacific Linguistics, Series C, no. 151. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 1999.
- Burke, Adam. "Current Society and Politics in Aceh. Key Trends, Local Figures, and other Issues". 2005. Online resource, <[www.humanitarianinfo.org/sumatra/reliefrecovery/cross/docs/](http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/sumatra/reliefrecovery/cross/docs/) DFID-CurrentSocialPoliticalContextAceh-210705.pdf>. Accessed 4 July 2007.
- Busthanul Arifin. *Pelembagaan hukum Islam di Indonesia: Akar, sejarah, hambatan dan prospeknya*. Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1996.
- Cheah Boon Kheng. "Power Behind the Throne: The Role of the Queens and Court Ladies in Malay History". *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* LXVI, Part 1, no. 1 (1993): 1–21.
- Chijs, J.A. van der et al., eds. *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India. Anno 1641–42*. 's-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, Batavia: G. Kolff & Co., 1887–1928.
- Christie, Clive J. *A Modern History of Southeast Asia. Decolonization, Nationalism, and Separatism*. London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 1996.
- Clauss, Wolfgang. *Nelken und der Clan der Händler: Agrarproduktion und Handel auf der Insel Simeulue (West Aceh, Indonesien)*. Working Paper, no. 108. Bielefeld: University of Bielefeld, Faculty of Sociology, Sociology of Development Research Centre, 1988.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Clove Traders and Peasants in Simeulue, Aceh". In *The Moral Economy of Trade. Ethnicity and Developing Markets*, edited by Hans-Dieter Evers and Heiko Schrader, pp. 88–84. London: Routledge, 1994.
- CMI (Crisis Management Initiative). "Agenda for the Second Meeting between the Government of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement 21–23 February 2005". Helsinki, 21–23 February 2005a.

- . “Working Paper on Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM)”. Helsinki, 13 May 2005b.
- Cody, Edward. “In Angry Waves, the Devout Sea an Angry God”. *Washington Post*, 5 January 2005. Available online at <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A48407-2005Jan4.html>>.
- Cook, Michael. *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Cribb, Robert. “Independence for Java? New National Projects for an Old Empire”. In *Indonesia Today: Challenges of History*, edited by Grayson Lloyd and Shannon Smith, pp. 298–310. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2001.
- Crouch, Harold. “Wiranto and Habibie: Military-Civilian Relations since May 1998”. In *Reformasi. Crisis and Change in Indonesia*, edited by Arief Budiman, Barbara Hatley, and Damien Kingsbury, pp. 127–48. Clayton: Monash Asia Institute, 1999.
- CS (Civil Society). “Position Statement of the Aceh Civil Society at the conclusion of the GAM-Aceh Civil Society meeting of 23 and 24 May 2005”. Saltsjöbaden, 24 May 2005.
- Dampier, William. *Voyages and Discoveries*. London: Argonaut Press, 1931.
- Damsté, H. T.: “Memoires van een Atjehsen balling”. In *Letterkunde van de Indische Archipel. Oorspronkelijke vertalingen*, edited by Jan Gonda. Amsterdam: Elsevier, Amsterdam, 1947.
- Daud Ali. “Peluang penerapan hukum Islam dalam perspektif normatif dan sosio-politis”. *Majalah Akses I*, no. 1 (2001): 58–59.
- Davies, Matthew N. *Indonesia’s War over Aceh. Last Stand on Mecca’s Porch*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Dawood, Dayan and Sjafrizal. “Aceh: The LNG Boom and Enclave Development”. In *Unity and Diversity: Regional Economic Development in Indonesia since 1970*, edited by Hal Hill, pp. 107–24. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- de Klerck, E.S. *De Atjeh-oorlog*. ‘s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1912.
- de Soto, Hernando. *The Mystery of Capital. Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else*. New York: Basic Books, 2000. New ed. Black Swan, 2001.
- Dedy Ardiansyah. “Sepenggal puisi untuk teman”. 31 January 2005. Posted on <<http://acehupdate.degromiest.nl/archives/001887.php>>.
- Der Koran*. Translated by Rudi Paret. Reprint. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1979.
- Drewes, G.W.J. *Two Acehnese Poems; Hikayat Ranto and Hikayat Teungku di Meuké*. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1980.
- Duka Atjeh Duka Bersama*. Jakarta: Dewan Kesenian Jawa Timur and Logung Pustaka, 2005.
- Durie, Mark. *A Grammar of Acehnese on the Basis of a Dialect of North Aceh*. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, no. 112. Dordrecht and Cinnaminson: Foris, 1985.
- Eaton, Richard Maxwell. *Sufis of Bijapur, 1300–1700: Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

- Eaton, Richard M. *The Sufis of Bijapur 1300–1700: Social Roles of Sufis in medieval India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- EL. “Musica luncurkan ‘Dari hati Untuk Aceh’”. 21 February 2005. Accessed online at <<http://www.gatrapro.com/artikel.php?id=53276>>.
- Emmerson, Donald K. “Understanding the New Order: Bureaucratic Pluralism in Indonesia”. *Asian Survey* 23, no. 11 (1983): 47–66.
- Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New edition. Vol. 5. Leiden: Brill, 1960–.
- Endres, Franz Carl and Annemarie Schimmel. *Das Mysterium der Zahl. Zahlsymbolik im Kulturvergleich*. Diederichs Gelbe Reihe, 52. Köln: Diederichs, 1984.
- Ensiklopedi pemikiran ulama Aceh*. Tim penulis IAIN ar-Raniry. Banda Aceh: Ar-Raniry Press, 2004.
- Eri Anugerah. “Upaya ikut membangun kembali Aceh”. *Media Indonesia Online*, 27 February 2005, <<http://www.mediaindo.co.id/resensi/details.asp?id=46>>.
- Eriksen, Thomas H. *Ethnicity and Nationalism. Anthropological Perspectives*. London and Boulder, Colorado: Pluto Press, 1993.
- Ernst, Carl W. “Persecution and Circumspection in Shattari Sufism”. In *Islamic Mysticism Contested*, edited by Frederik de Jong and Bernd Radtke. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- EU. “Aceh Monitoring Mission (AMM) — Selected Key Principles For Initial Agreement And For Inclusion In Concept Of Operations”. Working paper. European Union, 12 July 2005.
- Fadjri Alihar. “Singkil: ein Zuwanderungs- und Kolonisationsraum in Süd-Aceh, Nord-Sumatra, Indonesien”. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kassel, 1996.
- Fakultas Hukum Universitas Syiah Kuala. *Inventarisasi Hukum Adat dan Adat di Provinsi Aceh Darussalam*. In cooperation with the Government of the Province of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam. Banda Aceh: Fakultas Hukum Universitas Syiah Kuala, 2001.
- Farrington, Anthony. “Negotiations at Aceh in 1684: An Unpublished English Document”. *Indonesia and the Malay World* 27, no. 77 (1999): 19–33.
- Fehr, F.A. *Drei Christenfrauen: Lebensbilder aus Nias*. Rheinische Missionsschriften, 44. Barmen: Missionshaus der Rheinischen Mission, 1911.
- Feldman, J. A. et al., eds. *Nias. Tribal Treasures. Cosmic Reflections in Stone, Wood and Gold*. Delft: Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara, 1990.
- Firdaus Burhan and Idris Z. Z., eds. *Ensiklopedi musik dan tari daerah Propinsi Daerah Istimewa Aceh*. Banda Aceh: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Pusat Penelitian Sejarah dan Budaya, Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Kebudayaan Daerah, 1986/1987.
- Fischer, Hendrik Willem. *Atjeh-, Gajo- und Alasländer. Sumatra I*. Katalog des ethnographischen Reichsmuseums, 6. Leiden: Brill, 1912.
- Forum Asia*. “Neither Wolf, nor Lamb. Embracing Civil Society in the Aceh Conflict”. Bangkok, 2004.
- Freitag, Ulrike. “Der Orientalist und der Mufti: Kulturkontakt im Mekka des 19. Jahrhunderts”. *Die Welt des Islams* 43, no. 1 (2003): 37–60.
- Fries, E. *Nias: amoetata hoelo nono Niha*. Ombolata: Zendingsdrukkery, 1911.

- Geertz, Clifford. *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971.
- Gellner, Ernst. *Saints of the Atlas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.
- . *Muslim Society*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- George, Kenneth. "Designs on Indonesia's Muslim Communities". *Journal of Asian Studies* 57, no. 3 (1998): 693–713.
- . "Some Things that Have Happened to 'The Sun After September 1965': Politics and the Interpretation of an Indonesian Painting". *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39, no. 4 (October 1997): 599–634.
- Gibb, H.A.R. and C. Beckingham. *The Travels of Ibn Battuta A.D. 1325–1354*. Transl., with revisions and notes from the Arabic text edited by C. Defrémy and B.R. Sanguinetti. Vol. IV: The transl. compl. with annot. by C.F. Beckingham. Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, 110, 117, 141, 178, 190. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; London: Hakluyt Society, 1994.
- Gobée, Emile and Cornelis Adriaanse, eds. *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1889–1936*. 2 vols. Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën, 33, 34. Kleine serie. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1957–59.
- Goenawan Mohamad. "Forgetting: Poetry and the Nation, a Motif in Indonesian Literary Modernism after 1945". In *Clearing a space. Postcolonial readings of modern Indonesian literature*, edited by Keith Foulcher and Tony Day, pp. 183–211. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002.
- GoI. "Statement in Response to GAM Proposal". 23 May 2006.
- Gorjão, Paulo. "Abdurrahman Wahid's Presidency: What Went Wrong?". In *Governance in Indonesia: Challenges Facing the Megawati Presidency*, edited by Hadi Soesastro, Anthony Smith, and Han Mui Ling, pp. 13–43. Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 2003.
- Graf, Arndt. *Indonesische Medienrhetorik. Eine methodologische Fallstudie anhand der Kommentarkolumnen "Catatan Pinggir" von Goenawan Mohamad*. Veröffentlichungen des Seminars für Indonesische und Südseesprachen der Universität Hamburg, 22. Berlin: Reimer, 1998.
- Grossman, Lev. "Why the 9/11 conspiracies won't go away". *Time*, 11 September 2006.
- Hämmerle, Johannes Maria. *Nias. Land der Menschen. Ein Beitrag aus Zentral-Nias*. Münster: Missionsprokur der Kapuziner, 1982.
- Hämmerle, Johannes Maria. *Nias: eine eigene Welt. Sagen, Mythen, Überlieferungen*. Collectanea Instituti Anthropos, vol. 43. Sankt Augustin: Academia, 1999.
- Hall, D.G.E. *A History of South-East Asia*. London: Macmillan, 1981.
- Hamby, Gavin, ed. *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.
- Harker, Bruce. "Usindo Open Forum. Aceh: Rebuilding the Economy". *Washington*, 25 January 2005. Accessed on 6 July 2006 <<http://www.usindo.org/Briefs/2005/Aceh%20Tsunami%20-%20Bruce%20Harker%201-25-05.htm>>.

- Harper, R.W.E. and Harry Miller. *Singapore Mutiny*. Singapore and New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Hartono Mardjono. *Menegakkan syariat Islam dalam konteks keindonesiaan: proses penerapan nilai-nilai Islam dalam aspek hukum, politik, dan lembaga negara*. Bandung: Mizan, 1997.
- Hasan Basry, M. *Kamus Indonesia — Aceh*. Jakarta: Yayasan Cakra Daru, 1994.
- Hasan di Tiro. *The Price of Freedom: The Unfinished Day of Tengku Hasan di Tiro*. Part 1. National Liberation Front of Aceh Sumatra. Markham: The Open Press, 1984.
- Hasbi Amiruddin, M. "The Response of the Ulama Dayah to the Modernization of Islamic Law in Aceh". M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1994. Published by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1996. Republished as *The Response of the Ulama Dayah to the Modernization of Islamic Law in Aceh*. Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2005. Indonesian translation published as *Ulama Dayah: pengawal agama Masyarakat Aceh*. Lkohseumawe: Yayasan Nadiya, 2003.
- Hazmirullah and "PR". "Raja Balada itu terfokus pada lagu kemanusiaan". *Pikiran Rakyat*, 11 February 2005. Accessed online at <<http://www.pikiran-rakyat.com/cetak/2005/0205/11/0305.htm>>.
- Hedman, Eva-Lotta. "Back to the Barracks: Relokasi Pengungsi in Post-Tsunami Aceh". *Indonesia* 80 (2005): 1–19.
- Heeres, J.E., ed. "Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum. Vol. 1. 1596–1650". *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 57, 87, 91, 93, 96 (1907–1938).
- Heiduk, Felix. *Der Aceh-Konflikt und seine Auswirkungen auf die Stabilität Indonesiens und Südostasiens. Alter Konflikt im neuen Indonesien*. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, 2004 (SWP-Studie, S 2004,5). Online resource <[http://www.swp-berlin.org/common/get\\_document.php?asset\\_id=1104](http://www.swp-berlin.org/common/get_document.php?asset_id=1104)>. Accessed 4 July 2007.
- Heine-Geldern, Robert. "Survivance de motifs de l'ancien art bouddhique de l'Inde dans l'île de Nias". In *Artibus Asiae: Felicitation Volume Presented to Professor George Cœdès on the Occasion of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday* 24, nos. 3–4 (1961): 299–306.
- Henny, C. "Stille Kracht". *Indische Gids* 43, no. 2 (1921): 808–919.
- Herbst, Anja. *Das Konfliktfeld Aceh im Rahmen der Dezentralisierungspolitik in Indonesien*. Südostasien Working Papers, 26. Berlin: Institut für Asien- und Afrikawissenschaften, Seminar für Südostasien-Studien, 2004.
- Heri Ruslan. "Sajak-sajak peduli korban tsunami". *Republika*, 13 February 2005. Available online at <[http://www.republika.co.id/koran\\_detail.asp?id=187277&kat\\_id=306&kat\\_id1=&kat\\_id2=>](http://www.republika.co.id/koran_detail.asp?id=187277&kat_id=306&kat_id1=&kat_id2=>)
- Hoesein Djajadiningrat. "Critisch overzicht van de in Maleische werken vervatte gegevens over de geschiedenis van het Sultanaat van Atjeh". *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, 65 (1911): 135–265.
- Hogan, J. "Letters to the Editor in the 'War on Terror': A Cross-National Study". *Mass Communication & Society* 9, no. 1 (2006): 63–83.

- Honna, Jun. *Military Politics and Democratization in Indonesia*. RoutledgeCurzon Research on Southeast Asia; no. 4. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- Horowitz, Donald L. "The Cracked Foundations of the Right to Secede". *Journal of Democracy* 2 (2003): 5–17.
- Hoskins, Janet. "The Headhunter as Hero: Local Traditions and Their Reinterpretation in National History". *American Ethnologist* 14, no. 4 (1987): 605–22.
- Huntington, Samuel. *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.
- Ibrahim Alfian. *Mata Uang Emas Kerajaan-Kerajaan di Aceh*. Banda Aceh: Proyek Rehabilitasi dan Perluasan Museum Daerah Istimewa Aceh, 1979.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Ulama in Acehnese Society". In *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia*, edited by Ahmad Ibrahim, Sharon Siddique, and Yasmin Hussain. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sastr perang. Sebuah pembicaraan mengenai hikayat perang sabil*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Ratu Nur-Ilah". In *Wanita Utama Nusantara Dalam Lintasan Sejarah*, edited by Ismail Sofyan, M. Hasan Basri, and Ibrahim Alfian. Jakarta: Jakarta Agung Offset, 1994a.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Ratu Nahrasiyah". In *Wanita utama Nusantara dalam lintasan sejarah*, edited by Ismail Sofyan, M. Hasan Basri, and Ibrahim Alfian. Jakarta: Jakarta Agung Offset, 1994b.
- Ibrahim, M. Nur El. *Peranan Tgk. Muhammad Daud Beureu-eh dalam pergolakan Aceh: manager Aceh daerah modal tergolong penyelamat Republik Indonesia, mengapa akhirnya naik ke gunung?* Rev. ed. Jakarta: Media Da'wah, 2001.
- Idris, Z.H. et al. *Peralatan hiburan dan kesenian tradisional Propinsi Daerah Istimewa Aceh*. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Direktorat Jendral Kebudayaan, Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional, Proyek Penelitian Pengkajian dan Pembinaan Nilai-Nilai Budaya, 1993.
- Idrisi (Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. Muhammad al- Idrīṣī). *India and the Neighbouring Territories in the Kitāb nuzhat al-muṣhtaq fī khtirāq al-Āfāq al-Sharif al-Idrīṣī; a Transl. with Commentary of the Passages Relating to India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Parts of Afghanistan, and the Andaman, Nicobar, and Maldives Islands [etc.]*, edited by S. Maqbul Ahmad. Uitgaven van de Stichting De Goeje; 20. Leiden: Brill, 1960.
- Iljas Sutan Pamenan. *Rentjong Atjeh ditangan Wanita: Zaman pemerintahan radja-radja puteri di Atjeh, 1641–1699*. Jakarta: DJ Waringin, 1959.
- Indra Tjahyadi. "Puisi, ekspresi dan kesadaran kolektif personal". *Suara Karya*, 31 July 2005. Available online at <<http://suarakarya-online.com/news.html?id=117155>>.
- "IRN". "Perpustakaan NAD Selesai Diperbaiki dari Hasil Konser Iwan Fals-Slank". *Kompas*, 29 September 2005. Accessed at <<http://www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/0509/29/utama/2087254.htm>>. Republished on the Indonesian National Library's web-based archive, at <[http://www.pnri.go.id/uploaded\\_files/homepage\\_folders/highlight/\\_tsunami\\_aceh/berita\\_perkembangan/index.htm](http://www.pnri.go.id/uploaded_files/homepage_folders/highlight/_tsunami_aceh/berita_perkembangan/index.htm)>.

- Isa Sulaiman, M. *Aceh merdeka: Ideologi, kepemimpinan, dan gerakan*. Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Kautsar, 2000.
- Isa Suleiman. *Les Uléebalang, les Ulémas et les enseignants de madrasah: la lutte pour le pouvoir local en Aceh de 1942 à 1951*. Ph.D. dissertation. Paris: EHEES, 1985.
- T. Iskandar, ed. *Bustan Us-Salatin*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1966.
- Ismail Suny. *Bunga Rampai tentang Aceh*. Jakarta: Bhratara Karya Aksara, 1980.
- Isma'il Ya'kob. "Thariqat Naqshbandiyah di Daerah Istimewa Aceh". Unpublished M.A. thesis, IAIN Ar Raniry, Banda Aceh, 1975.
- Ito, Takeshi. "The World of the Adat Aceh: A Historical Study of the Sultanate of Aceh". Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University, 1984.
- Iwabuchi, Akifumi. *The People of the Alas Valley. A Study of an Ethnic Group of Northern Sumatra*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Jacobs, Julius K. *Het familie- en kampongleven op Groot-Atjeh: eene bijdrage tot de ethnographie van Noord-Sumatra*. Leiden: Brill, 1894.
- Jamluzzaini. "Pengamalan Thariqat Naqsyabandiyah di abad moderen". Unpublished M.A. thesis, IAIN Ar Raniry, Banda Aceh, 1995.
- Jayawardena, Chandra. "Women and Kinship in Aceh Besar, Northern Sumatra". *Ethnology* 16, no. 1 (January 1977a): 21–38.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Achehnese Marriage Customs". *Indonesia* 23 (April 1977b): 157–74.
- Jelani Harun. "Bustan al-Salatin, 'The Garden of Kings': A Universal History and Adab Work from Seventeenth-Century Aceh". *Indonesia and the Malay World* 32, no. 92 (2004): 21–52.
- Johns, A.H. "Daka'k al Huruf by 'Abd al-Ra'uf of Singkel". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 55–73 (1955): 139–58.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Role of Sufism in the Spread of Islam to Malaya and Indonesia". *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 9 (1961): 143–61.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Friends in Grace: Ibrahim al-Kurani and 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkeli". In *Spectrum: Essays Presented to Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana on his 70th Birthday*, edited by S. Udin, pp. 469–85. Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet*. Canberra: Australian National University, 1965.
- Jones, Leon. *The Security Disturbances in Aceh during 1990*. Working Papers, Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, no. 104. Clayton: Monash University, 1997.
- Jongejans, J. *Land en volk van Atjeh*. Baarn: Hollandia Drukkerij, 1939.
- Jumat Sehat. "Tarekat dalam masyarakat Kecamatan Lawe Aöas di Aceh Tenggara". Unpublished M.A. thesis, IAIN Ar-Raniry, Banda Aceh, 1985.
- Junus Melalatoa, M. *Didong: Pentas Kreativitas Gayo*. Seri Tradisi Lisan Nusantara. Jakarta: Yayasan Asosiasi Tradisi Lisan dan Yayasan Obor Indonesia, Yayasan Sains Estetika dan Teknologi, 2001.
- Juwana, Hikmahanto. "Assessing Indonesia's Human Rights Practice Post-Soeharto: 1998–2003". *Indonesian Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (2004): 50–85.

- Kähler, Hans. *Beiträge zur Ethnologie der Insel Simalur (Simeuloeë)*. Batavia: Lux, 1938.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sichule-Texte*. Batavia: Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1940.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Die Insel der schönen Si Melu; Indonesische Dämonengeschichten, Märchen und Sagen aus Simalur, auf einer Forschungsreise aufgenommen und in Auswahl herausgegeben*. Eisenach: Röth, 1952.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Die Sichule-Sprache auf der Insel Simalur an der Westküste von Sumatra*. Berlin: Reimer, 1955.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Vergleichendes Wörterverzeichnis der Sichule-Sprache auf der Insel Simalur an der Westküste von Sumatra*. Berlin: Reimer, 1959.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Simalur-deutsches Wörterbuch mit deutsch-simaluresischem Wörterverzeichnis*. Berlin: Reimer, 1961.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Texte von der Insel Simalur*. Berlin: Reimer, 1963.
- Kapur, Geeta. "Dismantling the Norm". In *Traditions/Tensions: Contemporary Art in Asia*, edited by Apinan Poshyananda, pp. 60–69. New York: Asia Society, 1996.
- Kartomi, Margaret J. "Music and Dance in Aceh: A Preliminary Survey". *Indonesia Circle* 24 (March 1981): 15–28.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Sumatra". In *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music. Vol. 4: Southeast Asia*, edited by Terry E. Miller and Sean Williams, pp. 598–629. New York: Garland Publishing, 1998.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "On Metaphor and Analogy in the Concepts and Classification of Musical Instruments in Aceh". *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 37 (2005): 25–57.
- Kartomi, Margaret J., Lyn Moore and Nguyen Thuyet Phong (with Jack Percival Baker Dobbs). "Sarunai". In *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, p. 302. 1984.
- Kathirithamby-Wells, Jeyamalar. "Acehnese Control Over West Sumatra up to the Treaty of Painan, 1663". *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 10, no. 3 (1969): 453–79.
- Kato, Tsuyoshi. *Matriliney and migration. Evolving Minangkabau traditions in Indonesia*. London: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Kell, Tim. *The Roots of Acehnese Rebellion, 1989–1992*. Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, no. 74. Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1995.
- Kemper, Barbara. *Mediation in Intrastate Conflicts: the Contribution of Track-Two Mediation Activities to Prevent Violence in the Aceh Conflict*. (INEF-Report, 88). Duisburg: Institut für Entwicklung und Frieden, 2007.
- Kennedy, Raymond. *The Ethnology of the Greater Sunda Islands*. New Haven: Yale University, 1935.
- Khalid M. Hussain, ed. *Taj Us-Salatin*. 2nd ed. (1st ed. 1966). Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1992.
- Kingsbury, Damien. *Power Politics and the Indonesian Military*. London: RoutledgeCourzon, 2003.

- Kingsbury. "Assessment of the State of the CMI Aceh Peace Talks at the Conclusion of Round IV, Helsinki". Unpublished manuscript, 1 June 2005.
- Kleweg de Zwaan, Johannes Pieter. *Die Insel Nias*. 3 vols. Der Haag: Nijhoff, 1913–15.
- Koloniaal Verslag*. 's-Gravenhage: Algemeene Landsdrukkerij, 1868–1924.
- Kratz, Ernst Ulrich. *Peringatan sejarah negeri Johor: eine malaiische Quelle zur Geschichte Johors im 18. Jahrhundert*. Veröffentlichungen des Ostasiatischen Seminars der Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität Frankfurt, A, 3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973.
- Kraus, Werner. *Islamische mystische Bruderschaften im heutigen Indonesien*. Hamburg: Institut für Asienkunde, 1990.
- . "Die Zeichen lesend. Islamische Interpretationen und Reaktionen auf den Tsunami in Aceh". *Internationales Asienforum* 37, nos. 3–4 (2006): 239–64.
- Kreemer, J. *Atjeh. Algemeen samenvattend overzicht van land en volk van Atjeh en onderhoorigheden*. Leiden: Brill, 1922–23.
- Kunst, Jacob. *Music in Nias*. Archives internationales d'ethnographie; 38, 1–3. Leiden: Brill, 1939–40.
- Kuwajima, Sho. *First World War and Asia: Indian Mutiny in Singapore (1915)*. Osaka: Osaka University of Foreign Studies, 1988.
- Kyodo. "Top Indonesian Leaders Met Secretly with GAM adviser". 28 March 2005.
- Laffan, Michael F. *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma below the Winds*. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- Lawrence, Bruce B. "Islam in India. The Function of Institutional Sufism in the Islamization of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Kashmir". *Contributions to Asian Studies* 17 (1982): 27–43.
- LeBar, Frank M. *Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia*. 2 vols. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press Press, 1972–75.
- Lee Kam Hing. *The Sultanate of Aceh — Relations with the British, 1760–1824*. South-East Asian historical monographs. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Lekkerkerker, Cornelis. *Land en Volk van Sumatra*. Leiden: Brill, 1916.
- Lev, Daniel S. "Yap Thiam Hien and Aceh". *Indonesia* 82 (2006): 97–133.
- Lily Zakiyah Munir, ed. *Memposisikan kodrat. Perempuan dan perubahan dalam perspektif Islam*. Bandung: Mizan, 1999.
- Linus Suryadi AG. "Isma Sawitri: Penyair wanita Indonesia yang selalu luput". In *Di balik sejumlah nama; sebuah tinjauan puisi-puisi Indonesia modern*, edited by Linus Suryadi AG. Gadjah Mada University Press, Yogyakarta, 1989.
- Locher-Scholten, Elsbeth. *Sumatraans sultanaat en koloniale staat: De relatie Djambi — Batavia (1830–1907) en het Nederlandse imperialisme*. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde; 161. Leiden: KITLV uitgeverij, 1994.

- Loeb, Edwin M. *Sumatra. Its History and People*. Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik; 3. Wien: Verlag des Instituts für Völkerkunde der Universität, 1935. New ed. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Lombard, Denys. *Le sultanat d'Atjeh au temps d'Iskandar Muda, 1607–1636*. Paris: Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 1967. Indonesian version: *Kerajaan Aceh. Zaman Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607–1636)*. Jakarta: Forum Jakarta Paris, Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient; Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2006.
- Lukman Thaib. *Acheh's Case: A Historical Study of the National Movement for the Independence of Aceh-Sumatra*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 2002.
- Mahmud Buchari. *Al-Qur'an Mushaf Istiqlal Indonesia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Festival Istiqlal, 1994.
- Mahmud Bangkaru. *A Hand Book to Aceh 1998*. Banda Aceh: CV. Kharisma Putra Utama, 1997.
- Maier, Hendrik M. J. *We are Playing Relatives. A Survey of Malay Writing*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004.
- Majalah Aceh Kita*. “Mencambuk yang tak bayar (dan sipil)”. Edisi 018, II, July 2005.
- Maria Hartaningsih. “Rafli, daya hidup yang tidak pudar”. 28 January 2005. Accessed online at <<http://www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/0501/28/naper/1525748.htm>>.
- Markham, Albert Hastings, ed. *The Voyages and Works of John Davis: the Navigator*. 2 vols. London: Hakluyt Society, 1880.
- Marschall, Wolfgang. *Der Berg des Herrn der Erde. Alte Ordnung und Kulturkonflikt in einem indonesischen Dorf*. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “On Some Basic Traditions in Nusantara Cultures”. In *Time Past, Time Present, Time Future. Essays in Honour of P.E. de Josselin de Jong*, edited by D. Moyer and H. Claessen, pp. 69–77. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 131. Dordrecht: Foris, 1988.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Social Stratification and Slavery on Nias and its Reflection in Oral History”. *Indonesia and the Malay World* 30, no. 88 (2002): 309–18.
- Marsden, William. *History of Sumatra: Containing an Account of the Government, Laws, Customs, and Manners of the Native Inhabitants, with a Description of the Natural Productions, and Relation of the Ancient Political State of that Island*. 3rd ed. (1st ed. 1783). London: Longman, 1811.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The History of Sumatra*. 3rd ed. Reprint. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Marshall, Andrew. “Healing Hands”. *Time Asia*, Monday, 28 March 2005. Accessed online at <<http://www.time.com/time/asia/magazine/printout/0,13675,501050404-1042515,00.html>>.
- Martinkus, John. *Indonesia's Secret War in Aceh*. Milsons Point, New South Wales; New York: Random House Australia, 2004.

- Maxwell, John, ed. *The Malay-Islamic World of Sumatra. Studies in Polities and Culture*. Melbourne: Monash University, 1982.
- McCarthy, John Fitzgerald. *The Fourth Circle. A Political Ecology of Sumatra's Rainforest Frontier*. East-West Center Series of Political Issues in Asia and the Pacific. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- McCulloch, Lesley. "Business as Usual: Until Gus Dur Can Bring Military Business Activities under Control, They Won't Go, Back to the Barracks'." *Inside Indonesia* 63 (Jul–Sep 2000): 13–14.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Greed: the Silent Force of Conflict in Aceh". In *Violence in Between: Conflict and Security in Archipelagic Southeast Asia*, edited by Damien Kingsbury, pp. 203–30. Clayton, Australia: Monash Asia Institute; Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005.
- McGibbon R. *Secessionist Challenges in Aceh and Papua: Is Special Autonomy the Solution?* (Policy Studies, no. 10). Washington, D.C.: East-West Center Washington, 2004.
- Mediaindo. "Dari hati untuk Aceh: Upaya ikut membangun kembali Aceh". 27 February 2005. Accessed online at <<http://www.mediaindo.co.id/resensi/details.asp?id=46>>.
- Memmi, Albert. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Expanded ed. Boston: Beacon Press, 1991 [1957].
- Meo, Nick. "Tsunami was God's revenge for your Wicked Ways, Women Told". *The Times*, 22 December 2005a. Available online at <<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,25689-1952823,00.html>>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "After Tsunami, Islamic Religious Police Gain Power in Aceh". *San Francisco Chronicle*, 25 December 2005b. Available online at <<http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2005/12/25/MNGCEGD8KC1.DTL>>.
- Mernissi, Fatima. *The Forgotten Queens of Islam* [Sultanes oubliées]. Transl. Mary Jo Lakeland. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.
- Meyers Lexikon. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1928.
- Missbach, Antje. *Freiheitskämpfer oder Geschäftemacher? Der bewaffnete Kampf der Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) unter Berücksichtigung klassischer und neuer Guerillatheorien*. Berlin: Logos, 2005.
- Mitchell, W. J. T. *Iconology. Image, Text, Ideology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Picture Theory. Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Modigliani, Elio. *Un viaggio a Nias*. Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1890.
- Mohammad Said. *Atjeh sepanjang abad*. Medan: Pengarang Sendiri, 1961.
- Morris, Eric Eugene. *Islam and Politics in Aceh. A Study of Center-Periphery Relations in Indonesia*. Ann Arbor: Cornell University, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Aceh. Social Revolution and the Islamic Vision". In *Regional Dynamics of the Indonesian Revolution. Unity from Diversity*, edited by Audrey R. Kahin, pp. 82–110. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985.

- Müller, Th. *Die große Reue auf Nias. Geschichte und Gestalt einer Erweckungsbewegung auf dem Missionsfeld*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1931.
- Müller-Krüger, Theodor. *Der Protestantismus in Indonesien. Geschichte und Gestalt*. Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1968.
- Muhammad Amin Suma. "Revitalisasi Syari'at Islam di Indonesia antara peluang dan tantangan (suatu pengantar)". In *Aiyub Ahmad, Fiqh Lelang dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam dan Hukum Positif*, edited by Hasan Basri. Jakarta: Kiswah, 2004.
- Muhammad Haji Salleh, ed. *Sulalat al-Salatin ya'ni perteturun segala raja-raja*. Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Karyawan dan Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1997.
- Muhammad Hakim Nyak Pha. *Parenté (Keurabat) et relations sociales à Aceh Besar (Nord de Sumatra)*. Ph.D. dissertation. Paris: EHEES, 1985.
- Muhibbuddin Waly, Teungku. *Ayah Kami: Maulana Syeikh Haji Muhammad Waly al-Khalidy*. Kuala Lumpur: International Islamic University, 1993.
- Mukti Ali. *Alam pikiran Islam modern di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Tintamas, 1964.
- Musthafa Helmy. "Aceh. Jalan pintas menuju Tuhan". *Editor*, 12 September 1987, pp. 43–49.
- Mutammimul Ula. *Prospek penerapan Syariat Islam di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiyatuna, 1994.
- Mystical Illustrations from the Teachings of Shaikh Ahmad al-Qusyasyi. A Facsimile Edition on Paper and CD-ROM of a Manuscript from Aceh (Cod. Or. 2222) in the Library of Leiden*, edited by Adrianus Petrus Gerardus Janson, Roger Gérard Tol, and Januarius Justus Witkam. *Manuscripta Indonesica*, Vol. 5. Leiden: Indonesian-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies (INIS), 1995.
- Naimur Rahman Farooqi. "Mughal-Ottoman Relations: A Study of Political and Diplomatic Relations between Mughal India and the Ottoman Empire, 1556–1748". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1986.
- Nandy, Ashis. *Exiled at Home*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Narayan, Kirin. "How Native is a 'Native Anthropologist'?". *American Anthropologist* 95 (1993): 671–86.
- Nazamuddin. *Studi pemetaan ekonomi NAD pascabencana gempa dan tsunami*. Lembaga Pengkajian Ekonomi dan Sosial (LPES) Fakultas Ekonomi Universitas Syiah Kuala Darussalam Banda Aceh. Medan, 2005.
- Nazamuddin, Putri Bintusy Syathi, Miksalmina, Miftachhuddin. "Industri perikanan di Provinsi Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam: Kondisi sebelum dan sesudah tsunami". Unpublished manuscript, 2005.
- Nazaruddin Sjamsuddin. *The Republican Revolt: A Study of the Acehnese Rebellion*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985.
- Niven, W.D. "Good and Evil". In *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by James Hastings. Vol. VI, pp. 318a–26a. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913.
- Nizami, K.A. "The Shattari Saints and their Attitude towards the State". *Medieval India Quarterly* I (1950): 56–70.

- “Nota van toelichting betreffende het Landschap Seunagan”. (Signature of the *controleur* illegible), *Memorie van Overgave*, Collection of the Algemeen Rijksarchief Den Haag, 1935.
- Novriantoni. “Tuhan pasca-tsunami”. *Kompas*, 14 January 2005. Available online at <<http://www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/0501/14/opini/1499211.htm>>.
- Nur El Ibrahim, M. *Peranan Tgk. M. Daud Beureu-eh dalam pergolakan Aceh: manager Aceh daerah modal tergolong penyelamat Republik Indonesia, mengapa akhirnya naik ke gunung?* Jakarta: Media Da'wah, 2001.
- OCHA and HIC Situation Reports, May 2005.
- O'Rourke, Kevin. *Reformasi: the Struggle for Power in Post-Soeharto Indonesia*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2002.
- Otterspeer, Willem. “The Ethical Imperative”. In *Leiden Oriental Connections, 1850–1940*, edited by Willem Otterspeer. Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1989.
- Pandy, Chhandasi. “Private Authority and Disaster Relief: the Cases of Post-Tsunami Aceh and Nias”. *Critical Asian Studies* 38, no. 2 (2005): 298–308.
- Panggabean, Martin. “War in Aceh, its Economic Impact”. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies website, Singapore, 20 May 2003a. Accessible online at <<http://www.iseas.edu.sg/viewpoint/mpmay03.pdf>>.
- . *Straits Times*, 20 May 2003b.
- Pedersen, Johannes. *The Scientific Work of Snouck Hurgronje*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1957.
- Peletz, Michael. “Neither Reasonable nor Responsible. Contrasting Representations of Masculinity in a Malay Society”. In *Bewitching Women, Pious Men. Gender and Body Politics in Southeast Asia*, edited by Aihwa Ong and Michael Peletz, pp. 76–123. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Penth, Hans. *Hikajat Atjeh. Die Erzählung von der Abkunft und den Jugendjahren des Sultan Iskandar Muda von Atjeh (Sumatra)*. Veröffentlichungen des Ostasiatischen Seminars der Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität Frankfurt, Main, 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969.
- Perlman, Marc. “Indonesia VII: Sumatra”. In *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, pp. 344–51. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Pfeiffer, Wolfgang M. “Konflikte, psychoreaktive und psychosomatische Störungen auf Nias”. *Sociologus* 27, no. 1 (1977): 1–35.
- Pittioni, Richard. *Die Steingeräte von Lho' Seumawe, Kreis Atjeh, Nord-Sumatra: zur Formenkunde der 'Hoabinhian' in Südost-Asien*. Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 132. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978.
- Putat Penelitian Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial dan Budaya (PPISB) Universitas Syiah Kuala. *Inventarisasi kelembagaan adat di Kabupaten Aceh Besar*. In cooperation with the Regional Planning Board (Bappeda), Kabupaten Aceh Besar. Banda Aceh: 2001a.
- . *Penelitian hukum adat dan pengkajian adat istiadat yang masih eksis di*

- Kabupaten Aceh Besar.* In cooperation with the Regional Planning Board (Bappeda), Kabupaten Aceh Besar. Banda Aceh: 2001b.
- Putireno Baiak. "Catatan perjalanan: Festival budaya & alam Aceh". [N.d.] Accessed online at <<http://www.ebloggy.com/blog.php?username=Putirenobaik&id=1&start=12>>.
- r/a. "Krakatau dan Rafty hentak blang Padang". *Serambi Indonesia*, 6 April 2006 <<http://www.serambinews.com/index.php?aksi=bacaberita&cberitaid=16353&rubrik=2&topik=32>>.
- Rabasa, Angel and John Haseman. *The Military and Democracy in Indonesia. Challenges, Politics, and Power*. Santa Monica: Rand, 2003.
- Reenen, Joke van. *Central Pillars of the House. Sisters, Wives, and Mothers in a Rural Community in Minangkabau, West Sumatra*. Leiden: CNWS, 1996.
- Reid, Anthony. *The Contest for North Sumatra. Atjeh, the Netherlands and Britain, 1858–1898*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Affair of the Tjumbok traitors". *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 4/5 (1971): 29–65.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Trade and the Problem of Royal Power in Aceh: Three Stages: c.1550–1700". In *Pre-Colonial State Systems in Southeast Asia: The Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Bali-Lombok, South Celebes*, edited by Anthony Reid and Lance Castles, pp. 45–55. Monographs of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, no. 6. Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1975.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Blood of the People. Revolution and the End of Traditional Rule in Northern Sumatra*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Female Roles in Pre-Colonial Southeast Asia". *Modern Asian Studies* 22, Part 3 (July 1988): 629–45.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450–1680. Vol. II: Expansion and Crisis*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *War, Peace and the Burden of History in Aceh*. Working Papers Series No. 1. Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, 2003. Accessible online at <[www.ari.nus.edu.sg/docs/wps/wps03\\_001.pdf](http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/docs/wps/wps03_001.pdf)>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *An Indonesian Frontier: Acehnese and other Histories of Sumatra*. Singapore: University of Singapore Press, 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Aceh's View of its Place in the World, 1500–1873". In *Verandah of Violence: the Historical Background of the Aceh Problem*, edited by Anthony Reid. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2006.
- Reid, Anthony and Takeshi Ito. "From Harbour Autocracies to 'Feudal' Diffusion in Seventeenth Century Indonesia: The Case of Aceh". In *Feudalism: Comparative Studies*, edited by Edmund Leach, S. N. Mukherjee and John Ward, pp. 197–213. Sydney: Pathfinder Press, 1985.
- Reid, Anthony, ed. *Witnesses to Sumatra: A Travellers' Anthology*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Reuters. "Jakarta to Reject Key Aceh Rebel Demand: Minister". Jakarta, 18 May 2005.

- Richardson, John E., and Bob Franklin. "Letters of Intent: Election Campaigning and Orchestrated Public debate in Local Newspapers' Letters to the Editor". *Political Communication* 21 (2004): 459–78.
- Ricklefs, Merle Calvin. *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1300*. 2nd ed. (1st ed. 1981). Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1993.
- Riddell, Peter G. "Breaking the Hamzah Fansuri Barrier: Other Windows into Sumatran Islam in the Late Sixteenth Century". *Indonesia and the Malay World* 32, no. 93 (2004): 125–40.
- Rizal Sukma. "Aceh in Post-Suharto Indonesia. Protracted Conflict amid Democratization". In *Autonomy and Disintegration in Indonesia*, edited by Damien Kingsbury and Harry Aveling, pp. 148–56. New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- Robertson, Roland. *Globalization. Social Theory and Global Culture*. London and Newbury Park, California: Sage, 1992.
- Robinson Geoffrey. "'Rawan' is as 'Rawan' Does: The Origins of Disorder in New Order Aceh". *Indonesia* 66 (October 1998): 127–56 (Reprint as "Rawan is as Rawan Does: the Origins of Disorder in New Order Aceh". In *Violence and the State in Suharto's Indonesia*, edited by Benedict R. O'G Anderson, pp. 213–42. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2001).
- Robison, Richard. *Indonesia. The Rise of Capital*. Asian Studies Association of Australia, 1986.
- Röll, Werner. "Gescheiterte Ansiedlungsversuche von Toba-Batak-Kleinbauern in Singkil, Süd-Aceh, Indonesien". *Giessener Beiträge zur Entwicklungsforschung* I, no. 21 (1994): 1–21.
- Ross, M.L. "The Political Economy of the Resource Curse". *World Politics* 51 (1999): 297–322.
- Ross, Michael L. "Resources and Rebellion in Aceh, Indonesia. World Bank Report on the 'Economies of political Violence'." University of California, Department of Political Science, Los Angeles, 2003. Unpublished paper at <[www.polisci.ucla.edu/faculty/ross/ResourcesRebellion.pdf](http://www.polisci.ucla.edu/faculty/ross/ResourcesRebellion.pdf)>.
- Rusdi Sufi. "Sultanah Safiatuddin Syah". In *Wanita utama Nusantara dalam lintasan sejarah*, edited by Ismail Sofyan, M. Hasan Basri, and Ibrahim Alfian, p. 57. Jakarta: Jakarta Agung Offset, 1994.
- Rusjdi Ali Muhammad. *Revitalisasi Syari'at Islam di Aceh: Problem, Solusi dan Implementasi*, edited by Hasan Basri. Jakarta: Logos and Ar-Raniry Press, 2003.
- Said Aiyub Abdullah. "Tariqat Naqsyabandiyah. Studi khusus penghahayatan dan pengaruhnya terhadap masyarakat Lueng Ie Kecamatan Ingin Jaya". Unpublished Master thesis, IAIN Ar-Raniry, Banda Aceh: 1979.
- Salmon, Claudine. "La sériciculture à Sumatra Nord: de l'histoire à la légende de Job". *Archipel* 70 (2005): 239–69.
- Sanday, Peggy R. *Women at the Center. Life in a Modern Matriarchy*. London: Cornell University Press, 2002.

- Sareen, T.R., ed. *Secret Documents on the Singapore Mutiny 1915*. New Delhi: Mounto Publishing House, 1995.
- Scarduelli, Pietro. "Le système des échanges matrimoniaux à Nias". *L'homme. Revue française d'anthropologie* 25, no. 94 (avril-juin 1985): 97–116.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Accumulating of heads, distribution of food: the image of power in Nias". *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 146, no. 4 (1990): 448–62.
- Schimmel. Annemarie. *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*. Leiden, Köln: Brill, 1980.
- Scholz, Ulrich. *The Natural Regions of Sumatra and Their Agricultural Production Pattern: a Regional Analysis*. Bogor, West Java: Ministry of Agriculture, Republic of Indonesia, Agency for Agricultural Research and Development, Central Research Institute for Food Crops, 1983.
- Schröder, Engelbertus Eliza Willem Gerads. *Nias. Ethnographische, geographische en historische aanteekeningen en studien*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1917.
- Schröter, Susanne. "Balancing Modernity and Tradition: Ngada Rituals as a Space of Action". In *The Nature and Function of Rituals*, edited by Ruth-Inge Heinze, pp. 131–50. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Creating Space, Time and Society: The Annual Cycle of the People of Langa in Eastern Indonesia". *Anthropos* 96 (2000): 463–83.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Parenté, herméneutique et notions des genres. Les facettes du pouvoir sexué chez les Ngada d'Indonésie orientale". In *Une maison sans fille est une maison morte. La personne et le genre en sociétés matrilineaires et/ou uxorilocales*, edited by Claude-Nicole Mathieu. Paris: Éditions de l'Herne, 2006.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Red Cocks and Black Hen. Gendered Symbolism and Social Practice in the Ngada Highlands". *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 161, nos. 2/3 (2005): 318–49.
- Schuck, Christoph. *Der indonesische Demokratisierungsprozess: Politischer Neubeginn und historische Kontinuität*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2003.
- Schulten, C. M. "Tactics of the Dutch Colonial Army in the Netherlands East Indies". *Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire* 70 (1988): 59–698.
- Schulze, Kirsten E. "The Free Aceh Movement (GAM). Anatomy of a Separatist Organization". Washington, D.C.: East-West Center Washington. Online Resource <[www.eastwestcenter.org/stored/pdfs/PS002.pdf](http://www.eastwestcenter.org/stored/pdfs/PS002.pdf)>. Accessed 22 February 2004.
- Schulze, Kirsten E. "Gerakan Aceh Merdeka: Freedom Fighters or Terrorists?". In *Aceh under Martial Law. Conflict, Violence and Displacement*, edited by Eva-Lotta Hedman, pp. 29–45. RSC Working Paper No. 24. Oxford: Department of International Development, University of Oxford, 2005.
- Seda, Frans. "Petroleum Paradox: The Politics of Oil and Gas". In *The Politics and Economics of Indonesia's Natural Resources*, edited by Budy P. Resosudarmo, pp. 179–90. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005.
- Shafie bin Abu Bakar. "Institusi Sheikh Abdul Malik bin Abdullah dan kitab-kitab padanya". Master thesis, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi, 2007.

- Shari M. "Giving Peace a Chance in Aceh". *Business Week Online*, 30 December 2002.
- Sher Banu A L Khan. "A Glimpse of the Invisible: Queens and Ladies of the Court as Seen through the Eyes of the Malay Chronicles". Unpublished manuscript. 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ties that Unbind: The Botched Aceh-VOC Alliance in the Conquest of Melaka*. Forthcoming.
- Siboro, T. "Deadlock Looms in Aceh Peace Talks: Widodo". *Jakarta Post*, 14 July 2005.
- Siapno, Jacqueline Aquino. *Gender, Islam, Nationalism and the State in Aceh. The Paradox of Power, Co-operation and Resistance*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002.
- Siegel, James T. *The Rope of God*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969. New ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Shadow and Sound: The Historical Thought of a Sumatran People*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *A New Criminal Type in Jakarta. Counter-Revolution Today*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Peduli Aceh". *Indonesia* 79 (2005): 165–67.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Curse of the Photograph: Atjeh, 1901". *Indonesia* 80 (October 2005): 21–37.
- SIIA. "Rebuilding Aceh: Reflections, Prospects and Challenges". SIIA Network Seminar, Singapore, 10 May 2005.
- Singarimbun, Ngasup. "Surat pembaca sebagai informasi arus balik". In *Bunga rampai sistem pers Indonesia*, edited by T. Atmadi, pp. 214–20. Jakarta: Pantja Simpati, 1985.
- Siti Hawa Salleh. *Bustan al-Salatin*. 2nd ed. (1st ed. 1966). Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1992.
- Siti Musdah Mulia. *Muslimah reformis. Perempuan pembaru keagamaan*. Bandung: Mizan, 2005.
- Smit, C., ed. *Bescheiden betreffende de buiten landse politiek van Nederland*, Period 3, Vol. II. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1957.
- Smith, Holly S. *Aceh: Art and Culture*. Images of Asia Series. Kuala Lumpur and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Smith, Vincent Arthur. *The Oxford History of India*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958.
- Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan. "Een Mekkaansch Gezantschap naar Atjeh in 1683". *Bijdragen Taal- land en Volken kunde* 1, no. 37 (1888): 545–54.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Het Gaj land en zijne bewoners*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1903.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Achehnese*. 2 vols. Transl. A. W. S. O'Sullivan. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1906.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Holy War "Made in Germany"*. Trans. J. E. Gillet. New York: Putnam's Sons, 1915.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Verspreide geschriften*. Vol. III. Bonn/Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder Verlag, 1923.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Verspreide geschriften*. Vol IV.1 & IV.2. Bonn/Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder Verlag, 1924a&b.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ambtelijke Adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1889–1936*. Published by Emile Gobée and Cornelis Adriaanse. Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën. Kleine serie; 33–35. ‘s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1957–65.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Scholarship and Friendship in Early Islamwissenschaft. The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to I. Goldziher ...* Published by P. SJ. van Koningsveld: Leiden, 1985.
- Soewarno. “Tanggungjawab pidana atas surat pembaca kepada redaksi”. In *Bunga rampai sistem pers Indonesia*, edited by T. Atmadi, pp. 226–31. Jakarta: Pantja Simpati, 1985.
- Soeyatno. “Sejarah sosial masyarakat pedesaan Sibreh, Aceh Besar”. In *Segi-segi sosial budaya masyarakat Aceh*, edited by Ibrahim Alfian, pp. 51–77. Jakarta: LP3ES, 1977.
- Soravia, Giulio. “The Current State of Gayo Language”. In *Cultures and Societies of North Sumatra*, edited by Rainer Carle, pp. 449–56. Veröffentlichungen des Seminars für Indonesische und Südseesprachen der Universität Hamburg, 19. Berlin: Reimer, 1987.
- Steinhart, Willem Leonhard. “Niassche teksten, met Nederlandsche vert. en aant”. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 74 (1934), afl. 2 (dl. I), afl. 3–4 (dl. II).
- Stivens, Maila. *Matriliney and Modernity. Sexual Politics and Social Change in Rural Malaysia*. St. Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1996.
- Stutterheim, W. F. “A Malay *Sha’ir* in Old Sumatran Characters of 1380 A.D.”. *Acta Orientalia* 14 (1936): 268–79.
- Sugihen, Bahrein Tuhumale. *Socio-Cultural and Attitudinal Change in the Modernization Process. A Study of Acehnese Society in Transition*. Ann Arbor: The Louisiana State University, 1982.
- Sulistiyanto, P. “Whither Aceh?”. *Third World Quarterly* 3 (2001): 437–53.
- Sukma, Rizal. “Secessionist Challenge in Aceh: Problems and Prospects”. In *Governance in Indonesia: Challenges Facing the Megawati Presidency*, edited by Hadi Soesastro, Anthony L. Smith, and Han Mui Ling, pp. 165–81. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Security Operations in Aceh. Goals, Consequences and Lessons”. Washington, D.C.: East-West-Center. <<http://www.eastwestcenter.org/fileadmin/stored/pdfs/PS003.pdf>>. Accessed 19 July 2007.
- Sundermann, H. *Niassisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*. [Batavia]: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen; Moers: J.W. Spaarmann, 1905.
- Suraiya Kamaruzzaman. “Women and Syariah in Aceh”. *Inside Indonesia* 79 (2004): 9–11.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Women’s Position, Role and Rights in Aceh. Women under Armed Conflict, under Syariah Law and after Tsunami”. Online available at <[www.susanne-schroeter.de/pdf/suraiya.ppt](http://www.susanne-schroeter.de/pdf/suraiya.ppt)>, 2005.
- Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. “Opening Remarks by the President of the Republic of

- Indonesia". Sixth Asian-European Editors Forum organized by Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 29 August 2005.
- Sutton, Richard Anderson. *Calling Back the Spirit. Music, Dance, and Cultural Politics in Lowland South Sulawesi*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Suzuki, Peter T. "Niasans of the Batu Islands, Indonesia: A Known but Neglected People and Culture". *Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research* 12 (1970): 61–69.
- Sweeney, Amin. *A Full Hearing. Orality and Literacy in the Malay World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Syarifudin Tippe. *Aceh di persimpangan jalan*. Jakarta: Pustaka Cidesindo, 2000.
- Székely-Lulolfs, Madelon H. *Tjoet Nja Din: de geschiedenis van een Athehse vorstin*. Amsterdam: Moussault's Uitgeverij, 1948.
- Szymkowiak, André. "Lernen aus der Katastrophe. Anfälligkeit und Wiederaufbau in Aceh". *Praxis Geographie* 35, no. 4 (2005): 44–47.
- Tan Ngak Yong, C. "Talking about a Devolution: a Study of Center-Periphery Relations in Indonesia: The Case of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam". Ph.D. dissertation, National University of Singapore, 2002.
- Tanner, Nancy. "Matrifocality in Indonesia, Africa and among Black-Americans". In *Woman, Culture, and Society*, edited by Michelle Z. Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, pp. 129–66. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974.
- Tarling, Nicholas. *Piracy and Politics in the Malay World. A Study of British Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century South-East Asia*. Melbourne, Canberra: F. W. Cheshire, 1963.
- Taufik Abdullah, ed. *Agama dan perubahan sosial*. Jakarta: Rajawali, 1983.
- Thantawy R, Zulkifli S. Kilang, and AR Darulaman. *Lagu-lagu daerah Gayo-Aceh ciptaan Ceh Lakkiki*. Jakarta: Pamator, 1998.
- Thomas, J.W. *Die Südnässer. Drei Jahre in Südnias [Allerlei Notizen von Nord- und Südnias]*. [s.l.], 1886.
- Tideman, Jan. *Djambi*. Mededeling / Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, 42; Serie samenvattende overzichten van gewestelijke gegevens, 1. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Vereeniging "Kolonialinstituut", 1938.
- Tim Penulis. *Akar konflik manusia*. Banda Aceh: Ar-Raniry Press, 2003.
- tn-63. "Album 'Dari hati untuk Aceh': kumpulkan dana untuk budaya Aceh". 22 February 2005. Accessed online at <<http://www.suaramerdeka.com/harian/0502/22/bud4.htm>>.
- Todaro, Michael P. *Economic Development*. 5th ed. New York: Longman, 1994.
- Turner, Terence. "Anthropology and Multiculturalism: What is Anthropology that Multiculturalists Should be Mindful of It". *Cultural Anthropology* 8, no. 4 (1993): 411–29.
- Ujong Rimba, Haji Abdullah. *Ilmu Tharikat dan Hakikat*. Banda Aceh: [s.n.], 1975.
- Ukon Ahmad Furqon. "Menguntai kemungkinan perkembangan musik tahun 2005:

- Era meredupnya popularitas ‘Reality Show?’’. *Pikiran Rakyat*, 9 January 2005 <<http://www.pikiran-rakyat.com/cetak/2005/0105/09/09.htm>>.
- Umaruddin. *The Ethical Philosophy of al-Ghazali*. New Delhi: Adam Publishers and Distributors, 1996.
- UNESCO Indonesia. “Press Release: Rising Above the Tsunami: A Transmission of Acehnese Cultural Heritage”. 12 May 2006. Accessed online at <<http://www.unesco.or.id/activities/culture/286.php>>.
- . “Acehnese Cultural Event, 9 May 2006, Jakarta, Indonesia”. 26 April 2006. Accessed online at <<http://www.unesco.or.id/events/285.php>>.
- . “Rapid Appraisal on Socio-Cultural Condition in Nangroe Aceh Darussalam”. 18 May 2005. Accessed online at <<http://www.unesco.or.id/activities/culture/completed/248.php>>.
- U.S. Department of State. “Country Report on Human Rights Practices 2004 — Indonesia”. Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, at <<http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2004/41643.htm>> (28 February 2005).
- Usman Nuris. “Tharekat dalam masyarakat kecamatan Sawang Aceh Selatan”. Unpublished Master thesis, IAIN Ar-Raniry, Banda Aceh, 1979.
- van Bruinessen, Martin. *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia: survei historis, geografis dan sosiologis*. Bandung: Mizan, 1992.
- . *Kitab kuning, pesantren dan tarekat*. Bandung: Mizan, 1995.
- van den Broek, Palmer. W. F. *Aanvullende memorie betreffende de onderafdeeling Gajo Loeös*. Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, 1936.
- van Dijk, Cornelis. *Rebellion under the banner of Islam: The Darul Islam in Indonesia*. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1981 (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde; 94).
- van Eijbergen, G.J. “Atjeh ‘up-to-date’”. *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur* 46 (1914): 1–53.
- van Koningsveld, Pieter Sjoerd. *Orientalism and Islam. The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke from the Tübingen University*. (Abdoel Ghaffaar; 1). Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1985.
- van Langen, Karel Frederik Hendrik. “Atjeh’s Westkust met daarbij behorende kaart”. *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, Deel V (1888): 45–61.
- Van Leur, J.C. *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays in Asian Social and Economic History*. Selected Studies on Indonesia, no. 1. The Hague: van Hoeve, 1955.
- van Niel, Robert. “Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje — In Memory of the Centennial of his Birth”. *Journal of Asian Studies* 16 (1956/7): 591–94.
- Van’t Veer, Paul. *De Atjeh-oorlog*. Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1969.
- Veth, P.J. “Vrouwenregeeringen in den Indischen archipel”. *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, Derde Serie, 4<sup>de</sup> Jaargang I (1870): 354–69.
- Viaro, Alain M. *Urbanisme et architecture traditionnels du sud de l'île de Nias. Human settlements and socia-cultural environment*; 21. UNESCO (s.l.), 1980.

- Vogt, Rüdiger. *Gegenkulturelle Schreibweisen über Sexualität. Textstrukturen und soziale Praxis in Leserbriefen*. Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitäts-Verlag.
- Voll, John. "Muhammad Hayya al-Sindi and Muhammad ibn 'Abd al Wahhab: An Analyses of an Intellectual Group in Eighteenth Century Madina". *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38, no. 1 (1975): 32–39.
- Volz, Wilhelm. *Nord-Sumatra: Bericht über eine im Auftrage der Humboldt-Stiftung der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin in den Jahren 1904–1906 ausgeführte Forschungsreise*. 2 vols. Berlin: Reimer, 1909–12.
- Voorhoeve, Petrus. *Critical Survey of Studies on the Languages of Sumatra*. Bibliographical series/Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, no. 1. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1955.
- Voorhoeve, Petrus, ed. *Catalogue of Acehnese Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and other Collections outside Aceh*. Codices manuscripti/Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis, no. 24. Leiden: Leiden University Library, 1994.
- Wensick, Arent Jan. *The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis and Historical Development*. Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1979 (originally published by University Press, Cambridge, 1932).
- Wertheim, W. F. "Counter-Insurgency Research at the Turn of the Century. Snouck Hurgronje and the Aceh War". *Sociologische Gids* 19 (1972): 320–28.
- Wilkinson, R.J. *An Abridged Malay-English dictionary* (Romanised). 8th ed. London: Macmillan; New York: St Martin's Press, 1961.
- Wiryono, S. "The Aceh Conflict: The Long Road to Peace". *Indonesian Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (2003): 268–80.
- Woltring, J., ed. *Bescheiden betreffende de Buitenlandse Politiek van Nederland, 1848–1919. Tweede periode, 1871–1898*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1962, 1, p. 612.
- Woodward, Kenneth L. "Countless Souls Cry out to God". *Newsweek*, 3 January 2005, available online at <<http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/6777635/site/newsweek/print/1/displaymode/1098>>.
- World Bank. *Social Capital, Household Welfare and Poverty in Indonesia*. Written by Christiaan Grootaert. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, Social Development Department.
- Yusny, Saby. "Islam and Social Change. The Role of the Ulama in Acehnese Society". Ph.D. thesis, Temple University, Philadelphia, 1995. Published as *Islam and Social Change. The Role of the Ulama in Acehnese Society*. Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Ulama in Aceh: A Brief Historical Survey". *Studia Islamika* 9, no. 1 (2001): 1–54.
- Zentgraaff, Henri Carel. *Atjeh*. Batavia: Koninklijke Drukkerij "De Unie", 1938.
- Ziegler, Arlette. "Pratiques festives et mégalithisme dans le centre de Nias". *Bulletin annuel, Musée et Institut d'Ethnographie de la ville de Genève* 18 (1985): 53–75.