

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT IN THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO: A SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SHIA

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Abstract

Shi'ah refers to the followers of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (k.w) and the thoughts of (al-madhhab) a name that has existed a long time in the development of Islamic history. However, in the context of the Malay world, the Nusantara or South-east Asia, the studies on this are rather new and lack depth, although data and evidence can be found in most study locations. The developments in the Islamic world from the early days till now continue to attract the interest of researchers from within and without, especially since it is the focus of the study of both believers and non-believers. At the same time it continues to leave the influence and effects that can be seen till today. This study aims to identify the developments of the thoughts of (al-madhhab) in the Islamic world from the early days till now, its effect on Islamic thinking and the effects it leaves behind.

Keywords: *Shi'ah, Islamic thought, Malay archipelago*

Introduction

This study aims to examine the development of the Shia thinking in South-east Asia in particular and the Islamic world in general. The actual objective is to examine, and to study the history of the development of this subject from the early days of its commencement till the stage where they establish a foothold on some areas and situations, and leaves a strong influence and effect to this day.

In addition, studies on the subject are really never done or the subject is not preferred to be studied because of factors like politics, religion, religious sects, ardent allegiance to leaders or existing sects, unreadiness or lack of open mindedness or vision. Furthermore, this subject is generally seen as a deviant teaching especially to Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah, although it might not be to Islam generally. This is because any thinking, either Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah or Shia, are both the product of Islam's long history. Both are separated within Islam itself due to resources and thinking and understanding methodology although both refer to the same al-Qur'an and al-Sunnah.

In the literal sense, *al-shi'ah* means 'helper' (*al-ansar*) and follower (*al-atba'*) from the terminology sense, it refers to anyone who follows 'Ali and Ahl al-Bayt ('a.s), and it is a term used to describe this group. Al-Manqiri said that al-Imam 'Ali once said: "Talhah and al-Zubayr killed *shi'ah* and all our helpers (*'ummah*) in Basrah..." (Muzahim 1365, 7) Al-Mas'udi reported that al-Imam 'Ali have stood with his shi'ah group in his house till the denial of Abi Bakr (al-Mas'udi, 1955: 161). Abu al-Hasan al-Asy'ari explains that they are *al-shi'ah* because they support 'Ali (r.'a) and revered him over other followers of Rasulullah (s.a.w) (al-Ash'ari 1969, 65).

Islam at the time of Rasulullah (s.'a.w), Khulafa' al-Rasyidin, and Bani Umaiyah

Based on the historical books written by Islamic scholars, at the time of Rasulullah (s.a.w) (610-632), the spread of Islam was confined to the Arabic peninsula. However, at the time of *Khulafa' al-Rasyidin* (11-40/632-661), Islam begins to be spread outside the Arab peninsula, six years after the death of the prophet including to Iraq and Syria. Four years later, Egypt and the area west of Egypt which are at that time under the Byzantine Empire, whilst the area east of Iraq then is under the Sasan (Persian) Empire. In 30/650 Turkey is opened by Muslims and many Persians embraced Islam.

At the time of Bani Umaiyah (41-132/661-750), the teachings of Islam spread further to Spain and Italy to the west and to China and Nusantara to the east. To spread the teachings of Islam, many Muslim (Arab) scholars and others emigrated abroad including to Nusantara.

Political and social turmoil occurs during the time of Bani Umaiyah between the government of Bani Umaiyah and his main political enemies which are the followers of Shia led by the descendents of 'Ali bin Abi Talib (r.'a.) from the Bani Hashim group. This is because the Shia group cannot compromise on issues of government and the cruelty of the Bani Umaiyah. History has shown that oppression, cruelty and the massacres have been directed at the Shia groups, particularly by Mu'awiyah and Yazid. The assassination of Husayn bin 'Ali bin Abi Talib (r.'a) marks the black spot in the history of Islam and this is carried out by Yazid bin Mu'awiyah bin Abi Sufyan (Qutaibah 1963, 4-8).

However, the fate of the Shia group is good during the time of Mu'awiyah II (64/683) due to his policies that differed from that of his father and grandfather before him. He did not massacre and oppress the descendents of 'Ali bin Abi Talib and their followers. However, he is able to live only for a few days because then he is said to have been poisoned (Mughniyyah, tt: 111). At the time of 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan (64-85/685-705) the Shia group of 'Alawiyyah have escaped to Nusantara to avoid the oppression of the army of Umaiyah led by al-Hajjaj (Al-Hadid 1960, 116).

For as long as Bani Marwan was in power, the Shia followers are oppressed and cruelly treated except for the period under 'Umar bin 'Abd al-'Aziz (99-101/717-720). His attitude is clearly different towards the Shia followers. He stops the condemnation of 'Ali bin Abi Talib, he returns the rights of Ahl al-Bayt and returns them to their rightful positions. However, he is not given the chance to govern for a long time because he is assassinated by Bani Umaiyah who is unhappy about his actions (Al-Hadid 1960).

In 126-129/744-747, a big Shia rebellion breaks up in Persia under the leadership of 'Abdullah bin Mu'awiyah, a descendent of Ja'far bin Abi Talib (Bani Hashim). According to Ahmad Shalaby (tt: 141), 'Abdullah is deemed to be deviant in Islam because of his belief in re-incarnation, his claim to be God and a Prophet and claims to know of the invisible. However, al-Nawbakhti explains that the statement of Ahmad Shalaby is not accurate because 'Abdullah bin Mu'awiyah bin 'Abdullah bin Ja'far is a leader, a poet, and a learned man who is very knowledgeable and these cause his followers to overly revere him (*ghallu*). This has led them to believe God has a *Nur* and God's *Nur* is 'Abdullah bin Mu'awiyah. According to Watt, his followers adhered to this believe, especially after his death (Watt n.d., 53).

'Abdullah bin Mu'awiyah has a big following among the Shia groups of 'Alawiyyah, Zaidiyyah and 'Abbasiyyah. Al-Tabari says that the area between al-Hirah and al-Kufah, which is about 3 miles "is full of them." (Al-Tabari 1966, 308). Ibn al-Athir also said that the white area are full of the followers of Ibn Mu'awiyah (the white turbans). 'Abdullah is said to be able to control an area (in Isfahan) for two years (126-128/744-746) and build a palace in Istakhr and declares himself as the king in Mada'in, Hulwan, Qumis, Asbahan, Ray and other

big cities in the east. However he is finally defeated by the armies of Marwan bin Muhammad (126-132/744-750) led by 'Amir bin Dubara, in 129/746-747 in the Battle of Merw al-Syadhan. With this defeat, some of his followers flee to as far as the Far East and some to India, Oman and Egypt (Al-Athir 1979, 326).

Developments During the Time of Bani 'Abbasiyyah

During the time of Bani 'Abbasiyyah (132-656/750-1258), during the time of the government of al-Saffah (132-136/750-762) and al-Mansur (136-158/754-775), there are Shia groups that cannot accept the oppression and tyranny and rise up in rebellion. They are led by Muhammad bin 'Abdullah bin al-Hasan bin al-Hasan bin 'Ali bin Abi Talib also called *Sahib al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah*. In the time of al-Hadi (169-170/785-786), the rebellion is led by al-Husayn bin 'Ali bin al-Hasan bin 'Ali bin Abi Talib (Mughniyyah 1985, 181-82). However, both rebellions are defeated.

During the time of al-Ma'mun (198-218/813-833), there is a Shia 'Alawiyyah rebellion led by Muhammad al-Dibaj. He rebels against al-Ma'mun in Baghdad and declares himself as the caliph and the Amir al-Mu'minin in Makkah (Ibn al-Tiqtaqa 1966, 195). Al-Ma'mun send his army to Makkah to put down the rebellion and was able to do so with ease. However, al-Ma'mun forgives Muhammad al-Dibaj and other rebels and does not kill them. Al-Ma'mun is said to propose to them to better leave the Arab soil and go to propagate Islam in regions of Hindi, South-east Asia, and the Far East (China and others) (Ahmed n.d., 156-58).

Based on the proposal of this, a group is created to propagate Islam under the leadership of Nakhoda Khalifah and is made up mostly of Shia Arabs, Persians and Indian personalities. One of the important ones in this group is 'Ali bin Muhammad bin Ja'far al-Sadiq who rebels against al-Ma'mun (Hasjmy 1981, 156). During the government of al-Ma'mun, the Shia group is quite lucky in the earlier stages. The Shia sect is able to spread widely to most Islamic cities and its effects can be seen in the palace of al-Ma'mun itself. The Shia followers hold positions in government, such as its minister Fadl bin Sahl (*Dhu al-Riyasatain*), its army general Tahir bin al-Husayn al-Khuza'i and others. Nevertheless, finally they again faced oppression like they do under khalifah 'Abbasiyyah before (Mughniyyah 1985).

During the time of al-Ma'mun too, there are two important developments, that is the movement of al-Batiniyyah (Vaux: 679) that undergoes through two stages of developments:

1. Open political movements through its divisions like Isma'iliyyah, Qaramitah (Al-Nawbakhti n.d., 88, 100). The Qaramitah movement is a branch of the sect of Isma'iliyyah. This is because they believe that Muhammad bin Isma'il bin Ja'far is al-Mahdi (al-Qa'im) who is still alive. Al-Qa'im according to them means a person who brings a new teaching that supercedes that brought by Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w). He is also the *ulu al-'azm* the seventh after Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muhammad (s.a.w) and 'Ali) and the like. It moves as a political and religious body with its own identity, and the unifying factor for them is the doctrine that "everything has its exergesis." (Peters 1968, 443). Among this movements is the Isma'iliyyah. According to Petrushevsky, Isma'iliyyah is a sect that is the arch enemy of Imamiyyah, and they control the power and important positions in the Islamic countries, particularly Iran from the end of 3/9 century till the middle of 7/13 century. They are active and threaten the nation's stability. The al-Batiniyyah and Isma'iliyyah relationship is so close that sometimes one is synonymous with the other.

2. At the second stage, there is increasing differences in thinking between the fuqaha' and the sufis, or between the regular ulama (religious scholar) and the mystical ulama. At one instance the ulama of Fiqh (Islamic practices) are accused of favoring the zahir (apparent), and at another instance the followers of tasawwuf are accused of being deviant because they are said to be deviating from the religious teachings, the Kor'an and the hadis (Prophet's teachings.) After the fall of Baghdad, it is said that tasawwuf tariqat is closely connected to Shia.

After the attack of the Mongols, the Isma'iliyyah move in secret and appear in the Sufi groups. If before this the Isma'iliyyah group is known for its firm political stance, after that their history is not much known because of their secrecy and their lack of political involvement.

The group of Isma'iliyyah are the followers of Aga Khan (Hasan, 14) who belief in *Imamah* Isma'il bin Ja'far al-Sadiq and are found in Pakistan and West Africa. They are also known as Bohoras. The group of Fatimiyyah in Egypt also adopts the Isma'iliyyah thoughts. It is one of the groups in al-Batiniyyah, and it can be assumed that the development of tasawwuf tariqat after the fall of Baghdad has been influenced by al-Batiniyyah (Hj. Abdullah 1989, 89). Although the Umaiyah and 'Abbasiyyah are violent and cruel towards the Shia, the Shia however, managed to gain power. Among them are:

1. The government of Bani Buwayh in Baghdad (333-447/945-1055) [around west Persia (in Syiraz in 321) and Iraq] (Lane-Poole 1925, 139).
2. The government of Fatimiyyah in Egypt (297-567/909-1171).
3. The government of Idrisiyyah in Moroco in years 172/789.
4. The government of Mazyad (Maqdisi, 1954: 249-262) `Arab - Syi`ah in `Iraq (403-545/1012-1150)
5. The government of Rassid di Yaman (280-700/893-1300) dominated by Syi`ah Zaidiyyah (Watt n.d.).
6. The government of Bani Hamdan under the leadership of Saif al-Dawlah al-Hamdani in Aleppo.
7. The government of Bani Mardas, led by Saleh bin Mardas in Aleppo in 414/1023.
8. The government of Bani 'Ammar in Tripoli (Lebanon).

However, the growth and development of Shia during the time of 'Abbasiyyah must be studied from the perspective of the Shia which then consists of the groups of Imamiyyah, Zaidiyyah and Isma'iliyyah. Focus must be given to the development of each of these groups in the Islamic world, generally.

Development in the Middle Ages

It can be said that in the 3/9 century until the 6/12 century, the Islamic world is under the influence of Shia. Among the governments of the time that have a direct influence on the development of Islam (Shia) on the whole world is the Fatimids in Egypt. This is because within the administration of this government, there is a propaganda body named (*Dar al-Du'at*) which runs an efficient propaganda machinery to the entire Asia using a large number of evengalists.

During the century of 4/10, there is a big immigration of Turks to Nusantara. Among them are Shia families that arrive in Nusantara during the time of the government of Rukn al-Dawlah Ibn Hasan ibn Buwayh al-Daylami, around the years 359/969 (Azmi 1993, 185).

In early 7/13, major changes occur in the West Asia. Two main challenges come from both within and without.

1. External challenge – from the century 5/11 to 7/13, the Christians from the West and the Mongols.
2. Internal challenge – the rise of the Shia.

When the Shia government is in power in Baghdad, they are slandered and condemned. Among the accusations, they are said to prevent the khalifah from helping the Muslims in Syria, while at the same time the Byzantine is trying to wrestle their land in the 4/10 century. When the government of Fatimiyyah is in power in Egypt, they are said to be in alliance with the Christian crusaders from the west.

The most important challenge is that they (including the Prime Minister of al-Mu'tasim that is, al-Alqami) is said to have invited Hulagu Khan to attack the city of Baghdad and after 656/1258 they are accused of devoting themselves to the Mongols and continue to work to destroy what they have all damaged. The fall of Baghdad in 656/1258 caused an emigration of a large number of scholars and religious leaders (theology) to neighboring Muslim countries as far as India, spreading the Islamic religion.

The Arrival of Shia in Malay World (South-east Asia)

In discussing the development, influence and effect of the Shia teachings in Nusantara, the students of history who study the Shia sect have made a few errors in their writings because without an in-depth study and analysis, they generalize that all Shia are deviant and erroneous. In addition, whether it is deviant or not is based on the existing sect that dominates the scene in Nusantara, that is, the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah. It is not based on the al-Qur'an and al-Hadith and is an unfair evaluation. This is because they make the study without using the authentic Islamic sources, instead they gather the proof from the anti-Shia groups and based their thoughts on sentiments and fanaticism to condemn them without differentiating the true Shia and the Batiniyyah (*ghulat* or extremist) groups.

Regarding the arrival of Shia to Nusantara in particular, historical data has shown that the influence of Shia has supercedes that of the Sunni and in fact the Shia mazhab has been the official mazhab in a number of Islamic countries in the region. This is not surprising because Shia followers have been found in business centers in the Far East and South-east Asia. It is said that the early dates for the arrival of Muslims in this region is around the time of Bani Umaiyah (Groneveldt 1960, 14).

Generally, the nature of the teachings of the Shia in Nusantara is sourced from the al-Batiniyyah (*ghulat*) group. It has also penetrated the tasawwuf groups, either the Sunni or otherwise. The teachings and thinking of Shia like Imamiyyah Ithna-'Asyariah and others are also present, but not as obvious and prevalent as compared to al-Batiniyyah.

It is important to note here that Batiniyyah thinking is entirely different from the real Shia thinking, with similarities confined to a few aspects only. This is because the initiator of al-Batiniyyah, Abu al-Khattab (Lewis 1940, 32) was at one time associated with Maymun al-Qaddah and his son, 'Abdullah bin Maymun al-Qaddah. These two is said to follow the teachings of Ja'far al-Sadiq (Lewis 1940), the sixth Imam of Syi'ah Imamiyyah Ithna-'Asyariah. All the sources of Imamiyyah Ithna-'Asyariah and almost all Sunni sources accept the rejection of Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq towards Abu al-Khattab (Lewis 1940).

Most scholars studying the introduction of Islam to Nusantara agree that the Islam that propagated in Nusantara is initiated by Sufi teachers in the form of tasawwuf thinking. History

has also accepted that the thinking of Isma'iliyyah Batiniyyah has penetrated into the tasawwuf streams after the fall of the government of Fatimiyyah in Egypt. Consequently, the thinking of al-Batiniyyah makes its way into the thinking of people in this region through tasawwuf since this is the most effective and simple way in terms of spreading and accepting Islam.

Champa

Islam is said to have existed in Champa (Ahmadi 1981, 19) based on a tombstone dated 431/1039 found in Phang Rang or Pandurangga which is a major port in Champa (Fatimi 1963, 47) in those days and the Shia teachings are spread here. The Shia 'Alawiyyah group that travels to the islands of Sila (Sulu) (Brockelmann 1980, 18) is said to transit at Champa before this, that is, around 65-132/685-705 while running away from the armies of al-Hajjaj, of the Umayyad Dynasty.

Indonesia

In Indonesia the spread of the Shia teachings resulted from the propaganda of Shia, (Isma'iliyyah) which is very effective in the 5/11 and 6/12 century. This caused Indonesia to be under the influence of Shia. This is perhaps also caused by the dominance of Shia in the Arab world then. A scholar of the Shia (Zaydiyyah) group, named Sulayman bin 'Abdullah comes to Aceh from Yaman in 235/850, but his intentions and his role in Aceh are never really known (Hj. Abdullah 1990, 38).

The Shia teachings has spread here in the times of Mu'awiyah bin Abi Sufyan around the 24/674 (Arnold 1979, 368). The main factor driving the Arab and Persian traders to come to north Sumatera (or Sumatera in general) in the 1/7 is the fact that the Straits of Melaka is controlled by the Buddhist government of Srivijaya. This is said to be the vengeance for the Muslim attack on the Hindu government in India at the time of Khalifah of al-Hadi (158-169/775-785) (Arnold 1979) (Azmi 1993).

This *madhhab* is later brought by the Shia Isma'iliyyah (from Persia) group in 2/8 century, spreads to the interior of India through the Bukhara route and Afghanistan. It finally arrives in Indonesia (on the west coast of Sumatera). The spread of the teachings of Shia Isma'iliyyah in Sumatera is because in the time of the government of Shia Isma'iliyyah (296-566/909-1171), in Egypt, the Fatimiyyah propaganda has arrived in Sumatera (Hj. Abdullah 1989).

This probably happened because many Persians emigrated to Sumatera, particularly North Sumatera to spread the religion. In the area of East Sumatera, a number of Shia families arrived in the time of Buwayh around 359/969 and set up their homes in the middle of east Sumatera. This is in the Siak area which later changed its name to Nagari Siak or Siak Seri Inderapura (Azmi 1993).

The Islamic government of Samudera-Pasai has existed even before Aceh has one. The Islamic thinking at the earlier stages (before the Aceh government) from 433-848/1042-1444 (Warsito 1973, 53) is influenced by Shia especially during the times of Meurah Nui, the fourth king of Pasai. He was known as Sultan al-Kamil (550-606/1155-1210). This is because a group of ulama' from Makkah under Shaikh 'Abdullah 'Arif, a Sufi leader from the 6/12 century becomes the first person to spread the Shia teachings in Aceh, Kedah and Patani. He left behind a book he wrote titled *Bahr al-Lahut* on tasawwuf philosophy which contains Shia teachings. This the first religious book to arrive in this region based on the arrival of its writer in the 6/12 century (Yahya 1980, 73).

Samudera - Pasai is said to play an important role in the development of Islam in Jawa and Sulawesi in the years 797/1395. This is based on the event where Sultan Zainal Abidin Bahiyah Syah (748-809/1349-1406) sends two of his religious scholars to Jawa and these are Mawlana Malik Ibrahim, and Mawlana Ishak titled Shaikh Awwal al-Islam.

In early 7/13 century the Sunni teachings are brought to this region by Shaikh Isma'il al-Siddiq (al-Zarfy), a special envoy from Makkah to Pasai sent by Sharif Makkah who is governing under the auspicious of the government of Mamluk (Turki) (650-922/1252-1517) in Egypt. The purpose is to replace the Shia *madhhab* which is in control of Pasai then with Sunni believes and to convert to Islam Raja Pasai Meurah Silu (al-Malik al-Salih).

The government of Pasai ends at the time of Ratu Nihrasiyah Rawangsu Khadiyu (802-831/1400-1428), who is the daughter of Sultan Zainal Abidin. At the time, the war is between Malik Mustafa (husband of the princess) and Mangkubumi Pasai, Maharaja Bakoy Ahmad Permalu. The latter is the pantheism tasawwuf leader in the Shia mould.

The group of Shia 'Alawiyyah has been living in islands of Sulu (Sila), Sulawesi and Kalimantan at the time of 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan (65-86/685-705) because they are running from the oppression of Bani Umayyiah. At the same time they are spreading the Shia version of Islam.

In the 2/8 century, Perlak (Peureulak) is already known as an important port and is a place transited by Arab Muslims and the Persians. There is a book written by Abu Ishaq Makarani al-Fasy titled *Izhar al-Haqq fi Mamlakah Ferlak* (Hasjmy 1981) that tells vividly about the development of Shia Islam in Pasai.

The development of Shia started in 173/790 when Nakhoda Khalifah together with 100 of his religious teachers anchored at Bandar Perlak. They consist of Arabs, Persians and Hindi. This group arrives here at the time Shahir Nuwi is the Meurah Negeri Perlak. Shahir Nuwi was said to be a descendent of the Sasan Dynasty. At that time the entire Persian population including the entire Sasan descendents has converted to Islam and is dominated under the Islamic faith.

Shahir Nuwi accepted the arrival of the band of religious scholars under Nakhoda Khalifah and in less than half a century, Meurah and the whole of the Perlak population embraced Islam. As a result of the assimilation through the marriages of the Muslim Arabs and Persians and maidens of Perlak there is a presence of a mixed blood generation. As an example Meurah Perlak, Shahir Nuwi married 'Ali bin Muhammad al-Dibaj bin Ja'far al-Sadiq of Arab descent and links his roots to Nabi Muhammad (s.a.w), whilst his mother descended from the Persian Sasan Dynasty with his biological younger sister Puteri Makhdom Tansyuri. The factor that attracts Shahir Nuwi to take the Arab/Persian youth to be his brother-in-law is because of the blood connection to the revered 'Ali bin bin Muhammad al-Dibaj. From this marriage they had a son named Sayyid 'Abd al-'Aziz who is later proclaimed to be the king of the Islamic Kingdom of Perlak, with the title Sultan Alauddin Sayyid Mawlana 'Abd al-'Aziz Shah.

Regarding the history of the the descendents of Sayyid 'Abd al-'Aziz who is declared as Sultan Alauddin Sayyid Mawlana 'Abd al-'Aziz Shah who is really 'Abd al-'Aziz bin 'Ali bin Muhammad al-Dibaj bin Ja'far al-Sadiq bin Muhammad al-Baqir bin 'Ali Zayn al-Abidin bin Husayn al-Shahid bin 'Ali bin Abi Talib (with his wife, Fatimah bint Muhammad (s.a.w)). This resulted in the establishment of the Islamic Government of Perlak on Tuesday, 1 Muharram 225/840 and the Islamic teachings then is the version of Shia (Azmi 1993). The following is a list of kings based on the dynasty of Sayyid Mawlana 'Abd al-'Aziz Shah:

1. Sultan Alauddin Sayyid Mawlana 'Abd al-'Aziz Shah (225-249/840-864).

2. Sultan Alauddin Sayyid Mawlana `Abd al-Rahim Shah (249-285/864-888).
3. Sultan Alauddin Sayyid Mawlana `Abbas Shah (285-300/888-913).

During the times of Sultan Alauddin Sayyid Mawlana `Abd al-`Aziz Shah, Sunni teachings begin to penetrate into the Islamic society of Perlak. This is not to the liking of the Shia groups, and at the end of his reign a civil war erupted between the two groups resulting in Perlak not having a sultan for two (2) years when the sultan dies.

At the end of the reign of Sultan Alauddin Sayyid Mawlana Ali Mughayat Syah (302-305/915-918), there is a struggle and civil war breaks out between the Shia and Sunni groups. This ends with the defeat of the government of Sayyid (Azizah Dynasty) and the rise of the Makhдум Dynasty. With the victory of the Sunni, they are able to appoint their own king from the descendents of Meurah Perlak asli (Shahir Nuwi) and their first sultan is Sultan Makhдум Alauddin Malik Abd al-Qadir Syah Johan Berdaulat (306-310/928-932). During the reign of Sultan Makhдум Alauddin Malik Muhammad Amin Shah Johan Berdaulat (310-334/922-946), many major attempts are made to unite the families of Azizah and Makhдум.

One method used is to appoint one ancestor of Azizah named Sayyid Mawlana Abdullah to be the Mangkubumi. At the end of the reign of Sultan Makhдум Alauddin Malik Shah Johan Berdaulat in (334-362/956-983), the Shia group rebel to seize power. This causes a civil war lasting four years ending in the Alue Meuh peace accord on 10 Muharram 353/964. Among the contents of the agreement is the government of Perlak is divided into two, that is:

1. Coastal Perlak (Perlak Baroh) – For the Shia, and they can appoint their own sultan from the Azizah Dynasty.
2. Interior Perlak (Perlak Tunong) - For Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama`ah and they can appoint their own sultan from the Makhдум Dynasty.

So there are two sultans in Perlak as the eighth sultan, that is:

1. The Shia group appoints their sultan, Sultan Alauddin Sayyid Mawlana Mahmud Shah reigning from 365-377/976-988, ruling in Perlak Baroh with its capital in Bandar Perlak.
2. The Sunni pula appoints their sultan Sultan Makhдум Alauddin Malik Ibrahim Shah Johan Berdaulat reigning from 365-402/986-1023, ruling in Perlak Tunong with its capital in Bandar Khalifah (Hasjmy 1981).

In 375/986, the Buddhist government of Srivijaya (Sribuza) attacks the government of Perlak (Perlak Baroh) and war breaks out between the two sides. Sultan Alauddin Sayyid Mawlana Mahmud Syah (sultan of coastal Perlak (Shia area) dies.

After the government of Srivijaya withdraws from Perlak in 396/1006, the Perlak government is re-united under Sultan Makhдум Alauddin Malik Ibrahim Shah Johan Berdaulat (Fatimi 1963). Sultan Makhдум Alauddin Malik Abdullah Shah Johan Berdaulat (470-501/1078-1108) takes steps to avoid civil war with the Sayyid Mawlana (Shia) by marrying the daughter of Sharifah Azizah.

The Philippines

In the Philippines (Harrison 1972, 10-20), Islam has been established and spread with much influence and success in Mindanao (Magindanao) by the actions of Sharif Mohammad Kabungsuwan or better known as Sharif Kabungsuwan (Ali, 2012: 489-498). He is the son of Sharif `Ali Zainal Abidin, a descendent of Rasulullah (s.a.w) who migrated from Makkah to Hadramaut, south of the Arabia Jazirah to Juhur (Johor) the Malay Peninsula. According to

Saleeby, the arrival of Sharif Kabungsuwan in Mindanao may have happened at the end of the 9/15 century or early 10/16 century (Saleeby 1976, 52–53).

If based on the chronological history after the fall of Melaka in 917/1511 and the establishment of the Juhur (Johor) government, Sharif Kabungsuwan may have come to Malabang around the year 921/1515.

Although based on the traditions of Magindanao and his writings mentions that he is preceded by two pioneers who are also descendents of Nabi Muhammad (s.a.w), that is, Sharif Awliya (Sharif Hasan) and Sharif Maraja, both of them related, but their influence and success in spreading Islam cannot be ascertained. It is believed that the first sultan of Sulu, Sharif Hasan originated from Basilan. Basilan is the place Sharif Hasan called at and where he established the Sulu sultanate. Descendents of the Brunei, Sulu and Mindanao sultans are said to be related.

Burma (Myanmar)

The arrival of the Shiites to Burma is hard to determine. Most probably, they come and settled down in Burma in the 12/18 century. Mostly the data that supported their coming to this area based on the existence of Sayyid in Bengal (Harvey 1967, 144). In Burma there are a few small groups of the Shia followers in Amarapoora and others scattered in a few other places. But they begin to be united around 1327/1909. Around 2000 of them in Burma are involved in business. They are known in Burma as “Mogul” with the majority of Indian descent, whereas their dedication and adherence to Iran. There are 3 main Shia mosques in Rangoon and the biggest is Mogul mosque, built in 1332/1914 (Yegar 1972, 14).

Thailand

Just as in the case of Burma, the arrival of the Shi'ites to Thailand (Siam) is also hardly determine due to not much information collected and compiled thus far, but in Thailand, the 'Alawiyyah group has been based there for 500 years since 18th century ago or may be a little bit earlier. It is based on research by Dr. Omar Farouk and also of American University in Thailand (Farouk 1981, 102). It is said that until the middle of 1380/1960, there are as many Shia mosques as 1350 all over the places, and the rest are from Sunnites.

Malaysia

In Malaysia (Tanah Melayu), the 'Alawiyyah (Sayyid) group descending from Husayn bin 'Ali is based in a few states, among them, Johor and Terengganu. In Terengganu, they are descendents of al-'Aidrus and their ancestry can be traced to Nabi Muhammad (s.a.w) through 'Ali bin Abi Talib (k.w) and Fatimah and Husayn bin 'Ali. In Melaka, Sayyid Abdul Aziz who is ulama' and *da'i* from Jeddah comes here to teach Raja Kechik Besar and other Melaka dignitaries regarding Islam (Ahmadi 1981). In Kedah, Syaikh 'Abdullah 'Arif may have spread Islam even in the 6/12 century in the form of tasawwuf (Shia) if the *Bahr al-Lahut* book really contains the Shia teachings.

The Influence of Shia thinking in South-east Asia

Regarding the influence of Shia in Nusantara, most of it can be seen from the religious aspects. These aspects can be divided into a number of categories like the Malay-Islam literature, religious practices, tasawwuf, usuluddin, celebrations (*Marwolid*), the du'a tradition, the recitals, *ratib* (*rawatib*) and others.

The field of Malay-Islam literature

In the Malay-Islam literature especially tales related to Islam, the influence of Shia can be traced. For example there are tales on *Hikayat Nabi Muhammad* (s.a.w) (Winstedt 1969, 102–3), *Hikayat 'Ali Kahwin* atau *Hikayat Fatimah*, *Hikayat Nabi Mengajar Ali*, *Hikayat Amir Mukminin 'Umar*, *Hikayat Abu Bakar*, *Hikayat Muhammad 'Ali al-Hanafiyah*, *Hikayat Raja Khandaq*, *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* and other legends. These tales are propaganda that glorifies 'Ali, his wife Fatima, and their children, Hasan and Husayn and all warriors from the Shia followers. These situations continue to influence the literature and belief of the Malays (Hamid 1982, 116–18). Besides 'Ali, Fatima, Hasan, Husayn and other Shia figures that are their Imams are 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin and Ja'far al-Sadiq gets special attention from the Malay world (Hamka 1963, 161–62).

Islamic Law (Shariah)

In the field of shariah, the influence Shia is difficult to ascertain. According to Wan Muhammad Saghir Abdullah, it is certain that when Islam comes to Nusantara, it follows the Shafi'i *madhhab*, besides other denominations, like Shia and others (Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah 1985, 14). According to some scholars, the Shia groups dominate the government of Kuntu/Kampar in East Minangkabau from the 5/11 century to the 7/13 century. Prof. Nasr admits that among the Shia law that differs from that of the Sunni is regarding the division of inheritance. In the Shia case, the womenfolk are given a bigger share of the estate as compared to the Sunni (Nasr 1981, 71). However it cannot be determined if this issue affects the system of the Minangkabau culture.

In the 11/17 century, Sayyid Husayn al-Faradz, one of the followers of Ahmad bin 'Isa al-Muhajir introduced the code *99 Laws of Perak* (Rigby 1908, 4) and used it for his generation since becoming a minister in Perak and it is continued for generations after him. The book containing this law is merely a reference book kept by this family and used by the family members when asked to give advice to the sultan on legal issue. In this 99 laws, the Shia influence is so obvious because it contains questions similar to the questions asked by Anushirwan to his minister, Buzurgmihr.

Sufism

In the tasawwuf field, according to S.H.Nasr (Nasr 1980b, 91), the Shia teachings are the basics which are later called tasawwuf. However, most Islamic scholars in Nusantara said the purity of tasawwuf has been tainted as a result of the influence of the Shia's philosophy and the activity of the Shia groups. Among the Shia influence that is obvious in Nusantara are:

- a. The importance of 'Ali bin Abi Talib (k.w)
- b. The doctrine of Nur Muhammad
- c. The concept of Imam al-Mahdi
- d. Celebrations relating to Shia like the celebration of 10 Muharram and others.

The Shia groups are recognized because they believe their Imams have special qualities and are above in stature to normal mortals except for Nabi Muhammad (s.a.w). The first Imam to be held in high esteem is 'Ali bin Abi Talib (k.w) and his descendents are known as *Ahl al-Bayt*.

Actually their high positions and stature are re-inforced by proof obtained and agreed to by Islamic scholars. However, Islamic scholars in the region do not study this issue in depth. Instead they adopt the sources that are opposed to Shia (especially from Shia

Imamiyyah Ithna-'Ashariah). They said that the hadith that is believed by the Shia groups are false hadith, especially those that concern their position and their supremacy.

Hadith that are said to be false, not just those regarding 'Ali bin Abi Talib (k.w), but also those regarding the *Nur Muhammad* doctrine which are the cosmological and main Shia teachings spread by Shia followers. Then in the 6/13 century, it is made popular by the Sufi.

From the classification of hadiths, it is said that those concerning *Nur Muhammad* are said to be false, because among those that narrates them are names like Ka'b al-Ahbar who is known to bring in fairy tales like *Isra'iliyyat* into Islam. However, sources about *Nur Muhammad* are found in abundance in books written by leading Muslim scholars even from the Sunni group. The Shia groups emphasized the truth of *Nur Muhammad* (primordial light) by sourcing them from the correct anecdotes. They believe that the *Nur* shines and drips onto their Imams that starts from 'Ali bin Abi Talib (k.w) and the process continues to their other Imams. The effect of the primordial light in their bodies makes the Imams have the ability to not commit sins (*'Ismah*) and any wrongdoings. This concept of this eternal light of the Shia has influenced the Sufi group till doctrine of *Nur Muhammad* becomes popular among them. The first person to introduce it into tasawwuf is Sahl al-Tustari (282/896).

Regarding the doctrine of *Nur Muhammad* in Nusantara, in the year 560/1165 a Sufi figure named Shaikh 'Abdullah 'Arif is spreading Islam in Sumatera during the time of the reign of Sultan Kamil (Nur al-Din) (550-606/1155-1210) did write books on Sufism, but the only books discovered are the book *Bahr al-Lahut*. In this book the in-depth analysis in the subject of *Nur Muhammad* that originated from the Shia groups is explained. The brief overview of the book mentions among others: 'Arash, kursi, the seven skies, the earth are created by God from *Nur*. The size of *Nur Muhammad* is equal to a journey of fifty thousand years. That is the greatness of Muhammad within the greatness of Allah. Following this, this influence can be clearly seen in a tale titled "This is the Tale of *Nur Muhammad*, the Tale of the Creation of *Nur Muhammad* or the descendents of the prophet" is governed by Sultan Taj al-Alam Safiyat al-Din Shah (Aceh) in the year 1079/1668.

In this tale it is said that after the creation of *Nur Muhammad*, God created a bird with its head being 'Ali, his two eyes made up of his sons, Hasan and Husayn, his neck Fatima al-Zahra'. The wings are made up of Abu Bakr al-Siddiq dan 'Umar al-Khattab, his tail Amir Hamzah bin 'Abd al-Muttalib, his back 'Abbas and his leg Khadija. Only after that others are created. The influence of the teachings of *Nur Muhammad* are also found in the book *Qisas al-Anbiya'* (Story of the prophets).

Regarding the above, it is clear that the story of *Nur Muhammad* in the tale above is not something that forms part of hadith Nabi Muhammad (s.a.w) that is genuine, reported by Muslim figures of some standing and in hadith books that is renowned. This shows that the concept of *Nur Muhammad* in the Malay books have its basis in Islamic sources but the difference is in its content that is clearly in contradiction to the authentic habit.

The links between tasawwuf tariqat, with the Shia teachings and influence was evidently through the concept of ancestry, the invisible, Imam al-Mahdi, saints and the holy soul.

Regarding the concept of ancestry, it was a practice of tasawwuf tariqat to link their shaikhs and important figures to 'Ali bin Abi Talib (k.w), the first Shia Imam. As an example, the tarikat of Shattariyyah is said to have been founded by 'Abdullah Shattar but his ancestry has been linked to famous sufi figures like Yazid al-Bistami, Ja'far al-Sadiq and Muhammad al-Baqir. Muhammad al-Baqir obtained this tarikat from Zayn al-'Abidin. Zayn al-'Abidin received it from Ibn Fatima, that is, Husayn al-Shahid. Al-Shahid received it from Imam 'Ali bin Abi Talib (k.w) who received it directly from Nabi Muhammad (s.a.w). Nabi Muhammad

(s.a.w) in turn received it from the angel Jibril (a.s). For example, the Naqshabandiyyah tariqat connects their spiritual links to Nabi Muhammad (s.a.w) through 'Ali bin Abi Talib (k.w). This is said to be the Shia version or the form accepted by the Shia groups.

The 'Alawiyyah that exists in Malaysia is quite different from other tarikats. They place special importance to the ancestry of the *sayyid* that leads back to 'Ali and subsequently to the Prophet. It is a fact that most pioneers of tarikat including 'Alawiyyah are ancestors of *sayyid*.

Regarding the concept of *rijal al-ghayb*, this belief is said to have surfaced after the Shia groups failed to seize power from the government of Bani Umaiyyah, and they instituted a mystical government while they await the coming of Imam al-Mahdi. As an invisible government it also has its own arrangements and has personalities named *Qutb*, *Ghawth*, '*Abdal*, *Awtad*, *Nujaba*' and others. This belief is also held among the supporters of tasawwuf tariqat in Aceh like Nur al-Din al-Raniri, 'Abd al-Rauf Fansuri, Jalal al-Din al-Tursani.

In Kelantan, Tariqat Shaziliyyah which was spread by Wan 'Ali bin 'Abd al-Rahman al-Kelantani (1253-1330/1837-1912) as its pioneer in Kota Bharu. In his book, *Majmu' al-Qasa'id wa al-Awa'id*, discussed the position of the saints that are considered *rijal al-ghayb*. This could have links to Shia thinking regarding the invisible Imams. In Sumatera, the influence of Imam al-Mahdi who will rise as the savior from among the ancestors of 'Ali bin Abi Talib (k.w) was already in existence. He will be saving the religion.

The concept of the intermediary between humans and Allah and the coming of the awaited are very important. Because of this, after Nabi Muhammad (s.a.w) there must be Imams that act as intermediary between humans and Allah and they come from generations after the Holy Prophet (s.a.w). And then there must be a savior or *al-Mahdi* who will save the world from spiritual doom and he is the 12th Imam, who is now in the invisible world. The concept of saints and their special status can also be linked to the position of Imams of the Shia (Nasr 1980a, 93-95).

In Theology ('Ilm al-Kalam)

In *Usul al-Din* and in religious debates as can be found in old Malay texts, it is found that not only the influence of the Sunni was found but also other influences that included Shia. However, the scholars of Islamic thinking in this region seemed not to 'recognize' the existence of the Shia influence among the Malays. Consequently they were not too aware of the rise of the Shia influence in this region.

Celebrations

In Nusantara, the recitals on stories relating to the birth of the Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w) (*Mawlid al-Nabi*) were often read by the Sufi tariqat since the 13/19 century. Among the known text on this was *Qasidah al-Burdah* which was written by al-Busiri (604-695/1208-1296) and *Mawlid al-Nabi* by al-Barzanji (m.1179/1766). In both these works, the doctrine of *Nur Muhammad* received their attention. For example, in *Qasidah al-Burdah*, one of the lines is:

"The signs of prophethood of the prophets are really connected to *Nur Muhammad*. Other prophets are the other stars surrounding them and the sun shines its rays for humans still in darkness." (Muhammad Bukhari Lubis 1983, 85-86).

In the works of *Mawlid al-Nabi* by al-Barzanji, the following is found, meaning:

"I pray may Allah shower his blessings and rewards to his Prophets, and his *Nur* was created by Allah in the apparent world. *Nur* moved from one ancestry to another and these are honorable ancestries." (Jamaluddin Hashim 1981, 8).

Regarding the aspect of the celebrations of (*Mawlid*), the government of Bani Buwayh and Fatimiyyah commemorated certain events. During the time of the government of Fatimiyyah, the date of 10 Muharram (in memory when al-Husayn bin 'Ali died as a martyr) was seen as "a day of sadness". Some food was served, and sad poetry was read by the poets (Syalaby 1971, 203–4).

The other celebrations are Mawlid Nabi, 'Ali, Fatima, Hasan al-Qa'im bi-amri'Llah (*al-Hujjah* or *Sahib al-Zaman*). The celebration of 10 Muharram and Tabut Hasan and Husayn showed that the Shia influence existed in Nusantara. In Sumatera (Pariaman) and Padang (Hamka 1963), it is known that every 10 Muharram (Day of 'Asyura) the '*tabut*' that is designed like a stretcher is made. They will carry it in numbers while chanting loudly 'Oyak - Osen' (Hasan - Husain), the names of two of the Prophet's grandson from his daughter, Fatima al-Zahra', wife of 'Ali bin Abi Talib, the first Imam of Shia. In the Islamic calendar, 10 Muharram had two significances. One is the date the boat of Prophet Nuh (a.s) landed. The other is the 'Asyura day, the day Muslims were encouraged to fast. However, the day Husayn bin 'Ali bin Abi Talib was killed as a martyr on the field of Karbala' is also on this date. So the Shia followers made this date a day of mourning.

In Jawa and Makasar, the porridge of 'Asyura or "suro", the symbol of the day of mourning is well known. It is said that Sultan Agung Hanjokro Kusumo Mataram changed the **Saka-Jawi** and adapts it to the Hijrah calendar. He named the first month as "Suro." Besides that, a Minang poet called Baginda Malim wrote a book of syair titled *Hikayat Hasan Husayn warring with raja (Ba) Yazid*. It is sung among young maidens especially on 10 Muharram.

In Burma, the Shia groups in Amarapoora had a *ta'ziyah* ceremony in their Imambara and this was their biggest celebration in the month of Muharram. In Arakan, the Muslim people were Sunnis but they continued to practice Shia traditions among them. For example, their womenfolk covered their faces which resembled the *pardah*. The Mongol mosques were the places where they gather for celebrations in the month of Muharram. On the day of 'Asyura, prayers were read and the event of the massacre in Karbala was discussed.

Spells and Incantation

The Shia influence can also be observed in tradition of spells and incantation, specifically directed to 'Ali and Fatima. One of them was:

*I know your origin,
From Fatima thou art sprung,
Moulded from a clod of clay,
Thy bones of sugar-cane knots,
Thy breast of palm-spathe.*

For example, the Malays utter these to ward of contagious diseases, cholera and others.

"Li-khamsatin utfi'u bi-ha harra al-waba' al-hatima al-Mustafa wa al-Murtada wabna-huma wa al-Fatimah." The translation is as follows:

"For me there are five people with whom I ward of diseases, that is the Prophet of choice, 'Ali which we revere, and both their sons (Hasan dan Husayn) and Fatima."

Prayers

As for prayers, the following words were repeated:

"*Salli 'ala Muhammad wa Al Muhammad*," which means salutation to Nabi Muhammad (s.a.w) and to his family (*Al*) (the Holy Prophet's progeny).

To acquire an unusual physical strength, Malays uttered the following words:

"In the name of God, the beneficent and the Merciful,
The veins of rocks, experts on rocks,
The rocks are stabbed, the rocks break,
The planks stabbed, they break,
Water stabbed, they dry,
The earth is stabbed, it breaks,
The earth is stabbed, it wilts,
The mountain is stabbed, it collapsed,
The sky is stabbed, it collapsed,
Standing upright before `Ali,
My attributes are the attributes of Allah,
The attributes are within the kalimah,
La ilaha illa Allah,
Hu Allah ! Hu Allah !
The iron morta, pounded by brass,
Ah, I am strong like Baginda `Ali,
I am courageous like Ummi Fatimah,
I am of iron, my bones of brass,
I am Allah's Tiger,
Hah, Berkat *La ilaha illa Allah* (Skeat 1967, 170).

Ratib (Rawatib):

In every *ratib* (recitals) for prayers for the departed, Malays have never omitted to tread the following sentences from the al-Qur'an:

"... *Innama yuridu-llah li-yudhhiba `an-kum al-rijsa Ahl al-Bayt wa yutahhiru-kum tathira.*" Al-Qur'an, the chapter of al-Ahzab (33): 33.

Its translation: "Allah really wants to cleanse the *Ahl al-Bayt*, to remove dirt from you, and make you as clean as possible." Based on the experts of Qur'anic translators, experts on hadith and history, the scholars are in consensus that the *Ahl al-Bayt* mentioned in the al-Qur'an above refers to Nabi Muhammad (s.a.w), 'Ali bin Abi Talib, Fatima al-Zahra', Hasan and Husayn (a.s).

In the practice of *ratib* (*rawatib*) Samman Ratib Samman was established by Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Sammani al-Ma'ani from Madinah between the years of 1700M and 1750M. It is said that this recital was popular in the islands of the east, particularly in Sumatera in the 18M century. This was when tariqat Syattariyyah had its following and influence there. Every recital (qasidah and nashid) was done in Arabic except for 'dhikr kelima belas' where the last two lines was changed by the Malays as follows:

"*Al-Hasan thumma al-Husayn ibu `Ali Fatimah ya `aini, Muhammad rasul Allah Amir Husayn sabil Allah, Al-Hasan thumma al-Husayn anak cucu rasul Allah ya `aini, Mati Hasan tinggal Husayn mati berperang sabil Allah.*" (The Malay Magician: being Shaman, Saiva and Sufi 1982).

Falak (Astrology)

The writer of the book *Taj al-Mulk*, Shaikh 'Abbas (m.1313H/1895M) was from Aceh and he quoted Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq from among *Ahl al-Bayt* (6th Imam of Shia al-Imamiyyah) as the true source of information regarding the field of astrology.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the development of Shia thoughts in the Nusantara world (Malay world) was driven by two main factors:

The first factor is they tried to escape from the oppression and cruelty imposed on them by the governments in the Islamic world in general and the government of Bani Umaiyyah and 'Abbasiyyah in particular.

The second factor is they would like to, at the same time, spread the Islamic teachings which they inherited from the Prophet and his *Ahl al-Bayt*. In terms of influence they were not very apparent. Their influence was better in the fields of literature, tasawwuf, and traditional medicine, whereas their influence in other fields were weak and not visible. In terms of effect, the Shia thinking did not leave a major impact compared to the other *madhhabs*, in fact it slowly faded away with time. This was particularly true when the Sunni or Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah was able to establish itself in 7/13 century and got the huge support from among the people of Nusantara. In addition, the local authorities did not permit the Shia line of thinking and those close to it (like Mu'tazilah) to gain any foothold. This is because of its differences with *madhhab* of al-Ash'ari (in the field of *usul al-din*) and al-Shafi'i (in the field of *fiqh*) or Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah which had been generally been declared the national *madhhab*. At the height of the Aceh empire, the government declared the al-Ash'ari as the official *madhhab*. At the same time all other *madhhabs* were said to be banned because they were said to be deviant and anyone violating this rule may be penalized with fines, imprisonment or banishment.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT IN THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO:
A SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SHIA
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