Introduction

The recent emergence and current development of the Imami Shi'i school in Indonesia and Malaysia can only be understood against the backdrop of the early history of the Ṣi‘ah, as well as that of the history of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. The common factor that binds these three historical processes together in a remarkable case of "conversion" within Islam is the ‘alawiyyah sufi order (al-tariqah al-'alawiyyah).

The tariqah al-'alawiyyah is the path of the Sādat Banī ‘alawiyyah. The Sādah al-'alawiyyah (sing. sayyid), of the Shafi'i madhab (school of jurisprudence), originate from the Hadramawt, Yemen and played a major role in the Islamization of East Africa, Southern India, and the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. The Sayyids of Hadramawt share a common history with the Shi'i school and to some extent it is this commonality that caused Shi'i elements and tendencies among the descendants of Hadrami Sādat émigrés in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago to surface, particularly after the Iranian revolution of 1978. Today, the Hadrami Sayyids of the Malay-Indonesian world continue to play a role in the religious life of the region. With this in mind, it is important and interesting to observe that the 'alawiyyah 'ulamā' in particular and community in general is becoming differentiated into a number of orientations vis a vis the Shi'i school. To date, the literature on Islam in Indonesia, Malaysia and the rest of the region has not taken note of this phenomenon, with the exception of a few journal articles and a handful of newspaper and magazine items. Even then, these works falsely labour under the assumption that the rise of the Shi'i school in the region is symptomatic of the current wave of Islamic fundamentalism, being a result of the establishment of a Shi'i republic in Iran in 1979. It would be more accurate to say that the Iranian revolution had resulted in whatever Shi'i tendencies that had already existed among the 'Alawiyyūn of the Malay world being articulated with greater clarity, fervour and sense of mission.

* This essay on the Shi'i school in Indonesia and Malaysia is merely a preface to a larger work and is based on materials gathered during an exploratory two weeks field trip in Indonesia during the summer of 1993. Funding for this trip was provided by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore.
The purpose of this study is to examine the emergence of the Shi'i school in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago, in the context of the origins and early history of Shi'i Islam as well as that of the Islamization of the Malay world.

The next section on the origins and development of Shi'i Islam touches upon various aspects of the political history of early Islam, the development of the five legal schools (madhhab), as well as the pendulum rise of the Shi'i state in Iran.

This is followed by a discussion on the question of the principle divergences between the Sunni and Shi'i schools, not only in terms of jurisprudence but also in the rational sciences (al-'alim al-'aqilyyah) and political theory as well.

The discussion moves on the to the tariqah al-'alawiyyah, tracing its origins in Hadramawt, and its spread to the Malay world by the Sayyids of Hadramawt. It is also here where I elaborate on the belief system ('aqidah) of the Hadrami Sayyids (i.e. the tariqah), and locate the 'Alawiyyin historically and doctrinally vis-à-vis the Sunni-Shi'i divide.

The final section then shifts to a discussion on the rise of Imami Shi'ah among the 'Alawiyyin of the Malay world both before and after the Iranian revolution of 1978.

This section illustrates the various orientations toward the Shi'i school among the 'Alawiyyin. The question of adherence to the Sunni or Shi'i schools refers not only to schools of jurisprudence but to political theory, historical consciousness, philosophy, theology and sufism, but this argument is not developed in the present essay.

The Origins and Development of Shi'ah Islam

The division of the ummah into its Sunni and Shi'i branches emerged originally as a result of irreconcilable political differences over the succession of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon Him) and the leadership of the community. It is only much later that further differences in terms of belief systems, philosophy and jurisprudence emerged. These will be treated in the next section.

There are several theories on the rise and early development of Islam, their proponents being Muslims as well orientalists, historical materialists, and a number of other Western scholars.

The Muslim explanations of the origins of early Islam broadly fall into two groups, the standard Sunni1 and Shi'i2 versions. In addition, there are also critical accounts that are based on both Sunni and Shi'i sources.3

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1 - al-Bağdādi, Abū Maṣūr, al-Farq bayn al-firaq, al-Qāhirah, 1948; Ibn Hāzin, Abū Muhammad 'A., al-Fasıl fi 'l-mīkāl wa 'l-khwā' wa 'l-nihāl, al-Qāhirah, 1347h.; al-Sāhrastāni, M., al-Mīkāl wa 'l-nihāl, al-Qāhirah, 1961; al-Baladīrī, A., Futūḥ al-baladīrī, Hiti, Ph.K. (trans.), Origins of the Islamic State, New York, 1916; Ibn Sa'd, M.,
Apart from these standard Muslim perspectives, modern scholars of Islam have also attempted to account for the rise and early development of Islam. Many of these theories locate the rise of Islam around the theme of Mecca as a centre of caravan trade in the Arabian peninsula.4

Whatever the role of trade, ecology and various sociological factors in the rise and subsequent development of Islam, it is equally plausible to view these developments in Khaldunian terms, for which the concept of 'asabiyyah is of paramount importance.5

The eventual rise of the Umayyad dynasty left the Shi'ah (party) of imam 'Ali, a group that gathered around 'Ali and his descendants, in the opposition. The revolt of Imam al-Husayn against Mu'awiyah's successor, Yazid, and his tragic destruction in the battle of Karbalah (muharram 61/October 680) signified the end of anti-Umayyad activism of the Shi'ah. The fourth, fifth and sixth Imams, that is, 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin, Muhammad al-Baqir and Ga'far al-Sadiq retreated to Madina and diverted their attention to the development and codification of the turāf (heritage). In fact, it is the last who elaborated on the doctrine of the imāmah, giving it its final form. The imāmah is an office bestowed by God upon a chosen person from among the descendants of the Prophet through 'Ali and Fātimah (Ahl al-Bayt).6

Nevertheless, the Shi'ah never controlled a state till the emergence of the Safavids in 907/1501 and it was only in 1979 that the arbāb-i 'amā'īm (religious institution) captured state power.

Sunni and Shi'i: Principle Divergences

Many Muslim scholars and laymen alike are often quick to point out that the differences between the ahl al-sunnah wa 'l-ghābah and the Shi'ah are minor and that both groups co-exist in Muslim brotherhood (uṣūwat

Kitāb al-tabaqāt al-kubrā, Bayrūt, 1957; al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ǧa'far, Tariq al-rusul wa 'l-mulūk, de Goecje, M.I. et alii (eds.), Leiden, 1879-1901.
2 - al-Mas'ūdī, 'A., Maruğ al-dahab, Bayrūt, 1966; al-Ya'qūbī, A., al-Ta'rih, 1960.
3 - See, for example, Jafri, S.H.M., Origins and Early Development of Shi'a Islam, Qum, Ansariya Publications, nd.
4 - Engineer, A.A., The Origins and Development of Islam, Kuala Lumpur, 1990; Sharma, A., "Max Weber's Concept of Routinization of Charisma and Abu Bakr", in: Hamadār Islamicus, 4, 119, p. 65-69; Watt, W.M., Muḥammad at Mecca. Oxford, 1953; id., Muḥammad at Medina, Oxford, 1956; id., Muḥammad. Prophet and Statesman, Oxford, 1964; Aswad, B., "Sociol and Ecological Aspects in the Origin of the Islamic State", in: Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters, 48 (1963), p. 419-442; Bousquet, G.H., "Observations Sociologiques sur les origines de l'Islam", in: Studia Islamica, 2 (1954), p. 61-87; Crane, P., Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam, Oxford, 1987.
5 - Ibn Haldūn, Muqaddimah Ibn Haldūn, Bayrūt, 1981.
6 - Jafri, Origins, cit., p. 290.
al-islāmiyyah). While this form of brotherhood is true historically as well as at the present, this must not lead us to underestimate the differences in philosophy and outlook between the two.

More often than not, the Sunni-Shi'i divide is perceived in terms of jurisprudence and the principles of jurisprudence and in fact, this is the area where the differences between the two are the least. Thus, it is important not to reduce the Sunni and Shi'ah to schools of jurisprudence (madāhib) as if they differ along only these lines.

In fact the principle divergences between the Sunni and Shi'ah exist across the whole spectrum of the belief system. While the initial differences concerned notions of justice and the question of succession, the two groups that evolved separately as a result of these differences developed distinct traditions in political theory, philosophy, theology, mysticism, and jurisprudence.

The 'aqidah can be utilized as an organizing principle with which we may develop comparative dimensions to appreciate Sunni-Shi'i differences. In a more restricted sense, 'aqidah refers to article of faith, the formulation of doctrine or dogma, or even a formula that seeks to define the stature of a scholar or individual, usually with respect to theological issues. In a more general sense, 'aqidah refers to epistemological and other philosophical issues and, therefore, approximates the total outlook or belief system of an individual or school. This would of course, be in keeping with the modern rendition of 'aqidah as ideology, at least in the Arabic language.

The Sunni and Shi'i 'aqīḍād, therefore, differ across the whole spectrum of doctrines, concepts, theories, and rulings.

Of paramount importance is the question of historical consciousness. The event of the Saqifah, the murder of Sayyidna 'Ali, and the tragedy of Karbala' are historical events about which Muslims cannot be neutral. The average Sunni is unaware of these events and, therefore, lacks an historical dimension to the question of justice and truth in Islam. What has prevailed as the "truth" is that which is held by the majority (ahl al-gāna'ah). The degree to which this historically early majority were ahl al-sunnah as well is a matter of contention from the Shi'i point of view. The proclamation of majority status by those claiming to adhere to the sunnah of the Prophet resulted in the definition of historical reality through silence and falsification, it has been claimed. As standard Sunni interpretations of early Muslim history took root, their legitimacy was boosted by the fact that these views were held by the majority. This reminds us of Alexis de Tocqueville's theory of democracy where he spoke of the tyranny and degradation of the majority.

The different notions of justice and truth are also reflected in the political theories to which the Sunnis and Shi'is subscribe, that is, the theory of the caliphate (hilāfat) on the one hand and the theories of imamate (imāmah) and wiliyat al-faqīh on the other.
There are, of course, the well-known differences in the areas of jurisprudence and its principles, concerning the five schools as well as the question of madhab Ahl al-Bayt.

Concerning the rational and intellectual sciences (al-'ulûm al-`aqliyyah), namely kalâm (theology), falsafah (philosophy), and tasawwuf (sufism), the Sunni and Ši‘ah fall into different categories as well.

In philosophy, the Sunni tend to be maṣḥaḥîn (Peripatetic, deductionist), whereas the Ši‘ah tend to be isrâqîs (illuminationists), combining rational deduction (istidldl) and demonstration (burhân) with asceticism, mystical experience, purification of the soul, and experiential wisdom (hikmat al-`awqîl).

In theology, the Sunnis tend to be either mu`tazilah or followers of al-Aš`âri. The Ši‘ah belong to their own school of theology, while borrowing from the mu`tazilah.

In tasawwuf, the tariqah is seen by the Sunnis as `irfâ`n, involving a near total rejection of rational deduction while the Ši‘ah combine rational deduction and the Sufi spiritual path (tariqah).

From Imám to Sayyid: The Ťariqah al-`Alawiyyah, the Ši‘ah, and the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago

Having observed the differences between the Sunni and Ši‘ah in terms `aqîdah, we are now in a better position to locate the tariqah al-`alawiyyah in Shi‘i history and in the history of Islam in the Malay world.

The persecution of the descendants of the Prophet during Umayyah and Abbasiyah times led to their retreat from political activism. One of the members of the House of the Prophet (Ahl al-Bayt), Imâm Ahmad ibn `Îsá ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alî al-`Uraydî ibn Ǧa`far al-Šâdiq, also known as Ahmad al-Muhâǧir, left Basra as a result of persecution by the Qârâmitâh in 317 h., with the aim of performing the hâjj in Mecca.7 He was finally able to perform the hâjj in 318/930, after which he went to Yemen with his second son `Ubaydallâh and two descendants of Imâm Mûsâ al-Kâzîm, Sâlim ibn `Abdallâh and Muḥammad ibn Sulaymân.8
Finally, in 340/952, Imam Ahmad al-Muhagir settled in Hadramawt which at that time, according to Hadhrami accounts, was dominated by the Ibadi. Imam Ahmad, with the support of the inhabitants of Wadi Daw'an, sympathizers of the Ahl al-Bayt, began the process of conversion of Hadramawt to the Shafi'i school.\(^9\)

Most Hadrami Sadat 'ulamâ maintain that Imam Ahmad belonged to the Shafi'i school.\(^10\) Nevertheless, there had been some debate in this century between ‘Alawi ibn Tahir al-Haddad, the Hadrami mafsi of Johor and various historians of Saiwân, Hadramawt, in which it was suggested that Ahmad al-Muhagir was an Imamî Shi‘ah.\(^11\) The fact that Imam Ahmad was of the 8th generation from Imam ‘Ali and the 4th generation from Imam Gâfar al-Sâdıq lends credence to this view. Since it was dangerous to hold Shi‘i views in an Ibadi-dominated area such as Hadramawt, it is possible that Shi‘i views were held under conditions of taqiyyah (disimulation) while the Shafi‘i views were openly propagated. According to this reading, Imam Ahmad disseminated the Shafi‘i school but had the historical consciousness of the Shi‘ah.

The grandson of Imam Ahmad, ‘Alawi ibn ‘Ubaydallah was the only one among his brothers Basri and Gadld to leave male issue and it is he who gave his name to the clan of the Hadrami Sadah, variously known as Banu ‘Alawi, Bâ ‘Alawi, or Banû Sâdah ‘alawiyyah.\(^12\)

‘Alawiyyin ‘ulamâ divide the historical development of the ‘Alawiyyân into four stages.\(^13\)

During the first stage, which lasted from the third century to the seventh century h., ‘Alawiyyin leaders such as Ahmad al-Muhagir and his grandson, ‘Alawi ibn ‘Ubaydallah were muqtihidís and carried the title of Imam. They were not followers of any particular madhab or jarihah. While it is true that a great deal of their igtihiid was in line with Imam Safi‘i, this may have been partly due to the circumstances in Hadramawt at that time.

Having decided to lay down their arms and give up political struggle, the ‘Alawiyyân became the carriers of a Sufi jarihah when al-Ustad al-Azam Muhammard al-Faqih Muqaddám of the thirteenth generation from Imam ‘Ali obtained the igzâat al-hirqah from Sayyî Abû Madyan Su‘ayb ibn al-.
It is interesting to note that during this first stage the names Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUṭmān were not given to the ʿAlawīyyīn.<sup>15</sup> In the silsilah of Āl al-ʿAttās, for example, the first time that any of these names appear is in 992<sup>h</sup>, when the first al-ʿAttās, of the 27th generation from Imām ʿAlī, was named ʿUmar (ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al- Raḥmān ibn ʿAqīl ibn Sālim ibn ʿAbdallāḥ ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbdallāḥ ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saqāfī). This had led some to suggest that the ʿAlawīyyīn, up until this time, were Shīʿī. In the opinion of Sayyid al-Ḥasan al-ʿAttās, however, the reason for the absence of such names in some of the genealogies of the ʿAlawīyyīn has to do with the preference for names that occur earlier on in the silsilah resulting in other names not appearing for several generations. Among the descendants of Sayyidnā al-Ḥusayn ibn Abī Ṭālib one of the most frequently occurring names is ʿAll. Sayyidnā al-Ḥusayn himself named three of his sons ʿAll, that is, ʿAll al-Akbar, ʿAll Zayn al-ʿAbidīn and ʿAll al-Asgār.<sup>16</sup> As a result, for several generations since the time of Sayyidnā al-Ḥusayn ibn Abī Ṭālib, the names such as Muḥammad, ʿAll, al-Ḥusayn, al-Ḥasan, and ʿAlawī appear more frequently in some houses (bahīt) than others due to precedence established by a father or grandfather.

The second stage, then, is that of the development and consolidation of the tariqah al-ʿalawīyyāh. This stage lasted from the seventh century to the eleventh century <sup>h</sup>. The tariqah is a simple one which does not stress ḥulwah but rather worldly activities while at the same time denouncing materialism. It may be referred to as a this-worldly tariqah and is based on the simple formula of ʿilm, ʿamal, tahalli, tahalli. It is the only order in which nasab and jariqah come together, and this is where the importance of the Khaldunian concept of ʾasabiyah is evident.

The third stage in the development of the ʿAlawīyyīn lasted from the 11th century to the 14th century <sup>h</sup>. During this period, the ʿAlawīyyīn ʿulamāʾ and awliyāʾ came to be known by the title of ḥabīb. This was the period of emigration to India and Southeast Asia.<sup>17</sup>

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14 On Sayy Abū Madyan see Cornell, V.J. (ed., trans.), The Way of Abū Madyan: Doctrinal and Poetic Works of Abū Madyan Shuʿayb ibn al-Ḥusayn al-ʿAnsārī (c. 599/1193-1202), Cambridge [UK], 1996.

15 al-Ṣātīrī, M.A. ʿU., al-Muʿjam al-lājīf: li-ṣafāb al-alqāb wa l-hunawī fi ʿnasab al-Ṣātīrī li-qabāʾ il wa huṣn al-Sādah Bani ʿAlawi, Gudah, 1406/1986, p. 43.

16 al-ʿAttās, S. H. [Sayyid Ḥasan Muḥammad Sālim al-ʿAttās], Umar ibn Abdurrahman: Pengasas Ratib Al-ʿAttās-Kisah dan Riwayah [in Malay], Singapore, 1996, p. 106-108.

17 Although Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Ṣātīrī dates the beginning of the third stage in the 11th century <sup>h</sup>, Ḥadrami emigration to India had begun much earlier. For overviews of Ḥadrami migration to India and Southeast Asia see Yusuf, A Ṭalib [Yiisuf A Ṭalib], “Studies on the South Arabian Diaspora: Some Critical Remarks”, in: Diogenes, 111 (1980).
For more than fifty years various theories have been presented as attempts at delineating the causes and modes of conversion to Islam as well as the consequences of the coming of Islam to the Malay-Indonesian archipelago. Many authors stressed the fact that Islam was brought to the region by traders from Arabia, Persia, India and China. Although it was clearly through trade that Islam was initially introduced into the archipelago it is extremely doubtful that the large-scale conversions to Islam can be explained simply in terms of these early trading contacts. Theories that suggest other modes of conversion to Islam need to be considered. These theories explain large-scale conversion in terms of economic and political motives, rivalry between the Muslims and Portuguese, inter-marriages, and Sufi proselytization.

It was van Leur, among others, who stressed the significance of political factors in the islamization of Indonesia. His reading was that Islam was adopted as a political instrument against Indian trade, Siam, China, and the Hindu Majapahit regime in Java. Several objections can be made to this view. One is that even if it was established that rulers in general converted to Islam for political and economic reasons, one cannot leap to the conclusion that the whole archipelago did so for the same reasons. Also, if the logic of conversion for economic and political reasons was operating, why were there no conversions to Chinese religion during the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries when China was a regional power in the archipelago?

Schrieke had discussed the conversion to Islam in terms of Muslim-Portuguese antagonism in the archipelago. Although he was fully aware that the large-scale conversions to Islam began in the thirteenth century, that is, before Portuguese dominance, he nevertheless insisted that it is "impossible to understand the spread of Islam in the archipelago unless one takes into account the antagonism between the Moslem traders and the Portuguese".

The theory that the conversion of the archipelago resulted from inter-marriages between members of royal and merchant families received special attention by Harrison who referred to the ability of the marriage institution to spread Islam from Malakka to the north in Pahang and Kedah,
and to the south in Sumatra. Before Harrison, Veth had referred to the marriage factor in the advent of Islam in the archipelago. This view of islamization seems rather unconvincing as there were only a relatively small number of foreign Muslim merchants who had settled in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago during the period under consideration. They were sporadically settled along coastal areas and mostly transient. While inter-marriage was probably a means of islamization, it would only explain conversions in the coastal areas.

The view that Sufism was responsible for the conversion of Indonesia to Islam was propounded by Johns. He pointed out that the Sufi “interpretation of Islam was certainly suited to the background of the Indonesians...” and that the “conversion of Indonesia to Islam was very largely the work of the tarikas even though they are ungratefully spurned at the present day”. While it is very true that Sufis were involved in the proselytization of Islam in the archipelago, there is little mention of the tariqah al-‘alawiyyah in this respect, although the role of the Hadrami Arabs in the islamization of the region is well-known. Works that discuss islamization had generally neglected the contribution of this community in the conversion of Southeast Asia to Islam. The view that Islam had spread in the archipelago largely as a result of marriages between royal and merchant families, or as a consequence of Sufi missionary activities, is mere speculation or, at best, incomplete unless supported by empirical studies on the histories and genealogies of the various Hadrami Arab as well as Indian Muslim families, many of which were assimilated into the indigenous societies in the archipelago. Hadrami Arab and Indian Muslim traders had been engaging in trade and missionary activities in the region for centuries and constituted an integral part of the Muslim trade diaspora which stretched from Egypt to the Malay world.

In the last century, European scholars had held that islamization was brought about as a result of direct contact with Arab traders, a thesis which was first rejected by the Dutch scholar Pijnappel. Pijnappel ascribed the spread of Islam in the region to the work of Arabs from Gujerat and Malabar. After Pijnappel, it was Snouck Hurgronje who developed the view of islamization from India.

23 – Harrison, B., *South-East Asia: A Short History*, London, 1954, p. 50-51, 56-57.
24 – Veth, P.J., *Java, Geografisch, Ethnologisch, Historisch*, Harlem, 1896-1907.
25 – Schrieke, *Indonesian*, II, cit., p. 231.
26 – Johns, A.H., “Muslim Mystics and Historical Writing”, in: Hall, D.G.E. (ed.), *Historians of Southeast Asia*, London, 1961, p. 40-41.
27 – Pijnappel, J., “Over de Kennis, die de Arabieren voor de Komst der Portugeesen van den Indischen Archipel Bezaten”, in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, 7 (1972), p. 135-158.
28 – Pijnappel, “Over de Kennis”, cit., p. 157-158.
In a lecture on Arabia and the Netherlands Indies delivered at Leiden University in 1907, Snouck asserted that the view that colonies of Arab traders were established in Java and Sumatra before the 16th century was incorrect. Here Snouck suggests that all things of Arab origin that made their way to the Malay archipelago passed through India and that Islam was introduced to the region through the intermediation of India. Decisive Arab influence as far as the spread of Islam in the Malay world is concerned was only after the 16th century and this came out of Hadramawt in South Arabia and Mecca. The Hadrami influence in Southeast Asia is, of course, evident from the large numbers of Hadrami settlers who have become permanent additions to the demographic landscape of the Malay world.

Earlier, in 1883, Snouck proposed the thesis of the South Indian origins of Indonesian Islam but, as Drewes pointed out, fails to identify the region of South India from where these proselytizers came. In addition to this, Snouck did not specify the region in Arabia that the Arabs, coming via India, originated from.

The large-scale islamization of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago which began in the 14th century was carried out by Indians as well as by Indians of Arab origin and Arabs who came to the region via India. The Indo-Arab origins of Islam in Southeast Asia must be understood in the context of the modes of conversion such as trade, marriage, and the role of the Sufi tariqahs. What has been conspicuously absent in the literature on the history of Islam in Southeast Asia, especially with regard to the period in question, is recognition of the role of the Hadrami tariqah al-'alawiyyah in the process of conversion. In other words, the question of who were the Arabs who traded, intermarried, and established tariqahs in the region comes to mind. A prominent case in point is that of the so-called legend of the nine saints (Jav. wali songo) of Java.

The Babad Tanañ Jawi, a generic title referring to several Javanese manuscripts, attributes the conversion of Java to the work of the wali...
songo. These manuscripts contain some historical records but are, for the most part, legendary accounts on the islamization of Java. The accounts of the nine saints are usually couched in fantastic terms with descriptions of their magical powers. This had led many scholars to regard the legends more as insights into how the Indonesians viewed the process of islamization rather than as historical records of conversion to Islam. In some cases, the specific Hadrami origins appear to be unknown to some authors. For example, Raffles refers to some of the walis as originating from Arabia but does not refer to their Hadrami origins nor to the fact that they were settled in India prior to coming to Southeast Asia. Arnold refers to one of the walis, Malik Ibrahim, as a descendent of a grandson of the Prophet, Zayn al-'Abidin and a cousin of the Raja of Chermen. According to Veth, Chermen is located in India while Rouffaer places it in Sumatra. Majul refers to these walis as being Indians or Arabs originating from Arab settlements in India. Indonesian works, however, know these walis to be historical personalities. Furthermore, Hadrami sources contain the genealogies of these walis who lived in Java during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is from these genealogies that it is known that many were Hadrami Arabs who had come to the Malay archipelago via India. The names of the walis of whom there were more than nine can be listed as follows:

33 - Ramlan M. (trans.), Babad Tanah Jawi, Kuala Lumpur, 1975. This is a Malay translation of the original Javanese text.
34 - Johns, A.H., "Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and New Directions", in: Indonesia, 19 (1975), p. 42; Ricklefs, M.C., History of Modern Indonesia, Houndmills, 1981, p. 10-11.
35 - Raffles, T.S., The History of Java, Kuala Lumpur, 1965, p. 113, 117.
36 - Arnold, T.W., The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith, London, 1913, p. 378. Imam 'Ali' Zayn al-'Abidin was actually of the fourth generation from the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon Him).
37 - Veth, Java, cit., I, p. 230. Cited in Arnold, The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith, p. 378; Rouffaer, G.P., "Het Tijéperk van Godsdienstovergang (1400-1600) in den Maleischen Archipel", in: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 50 (1899), p. 115 n.
38 - Majul, C.A., "Theories on the Introduction and Expansion of Islam in Malaysia", in: International Association of the Historians of Asia, 2nd Biennial Conference Proceedings, 1962, p. 363.
39 - See, for example, Salama, S., Sekitar Walsanga, np, Penerbit Menara Kudus, nd; Lembaga Research Islam (Pesantren Luhur Islam Sunan Giri), Sejarah dan Da'wah Islamiyah Sunan Giri, Surabaya, 1975 (in Indonesian).
40 - al-Saqqaf, A. 'A. al-'A., Hidmat al-'a'tirah, Jakarta, 1384/1964. See also Chelub, T. [Tariq Sahib], Atat-usal Para Wali, Sunahwan, Sultan, Dsb. di Indonesia, Jakarta, 1975 (in Indonesian).
41 - Indonesian local names are given in parenthesis.
1. al-Imām Ǧāmāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Amīr Aḥmad Ǧāh Ǧalāl ibn al-Amīr ʿAbdallāh Ḥān ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn ʿAlawi ʿAmm al-Faqīḥ ibn Muḥammad Ǧāhīb Marbāt ibn ʿAlī Ḥālī Qasām ibn ʿAlawi ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlawi ibn ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Muhāǧīr ibn ʿĪsā ibn Muḥammad al-Naqīb ibn ʿAlī al-ʿUraydī ibn Ǧaʿfar al-Ṣādiq ibn Muḥammad al-Bāqîr ibn ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sibṭ ibn al-Imām ʿAlī ibn Aḥtālīb Karamallāh Waqūhū(1) (Wajuk Makasar).

2. Ibrāhīm Zayn al-Dīn al-Akbar ibn al-Imām Ǧāmāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn(1) (Sunan Nggesik of Tuban).

3. Aḥmad Rāḥmat Allāh Ǧāhīb Ampel ibn Ibrāhīm Zayn al-Dīn al-Akbar(2) (Sunan Ampel of Surabaya).

4. ʿAlī Murtādā ibn Ibrāhīm Zayn al-Dīn al-Akbar(3) (Raden Santri of Gresik).

5. Mawlānā Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm Zayn al-Dīn al-Akbar(4).

6. Muḥammad ʿAyn al-Qaṣīn Ǧāhīb Giri ibn Mawlānā Ishāq(5) (Sunan Giri of Gresik).

7. Ibrāhīm Ǧāhīb al-Tūban ibn Aḥmad Rāḥmat Allāh Ǧāhīb Ampel(6) (Sunan Bonang of Tuban).

8. Aḥmad Ḥisām ibn Aḥmad Rāḥmat Allāh Ǧāhīb Ampel.

9. Ǧaʿfar al-Ṣādiq Ǧāhīb al-Quds ibn Aḥmad Rāḥmat Allāh Ǧāhīb Ampel(7) (Sunan Kudus).

10. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Ǧāhīb Demak ibn Aḥmad Rāḥmat Allāh Ǧāhīb Ampel(8) (of Demak).

11. Hāṣim Ǧāhīb Darāḡat ibn Aḥmad Rāḥmat Allāh Ǧāhīb Ampel(9) (Sunan Darajat of Lampongan).

12. Hīḍāyat Allāh ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAlī Nūr al-ʿĀlam ibn al-Imām Ǧāmāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn(10) (Sunan Gunung Jati of Cirebon).

13. Ḥasan al-Dīn ibn Hīḍāyat Allāh.(11)

(1) The link to Aḥmad al-Muhāǧīr confirms the Ḥaddāmi origins of Ǧāmāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn, from whom many of the “legendary” wālis of Indonesia originate.

(2) al-Saqqaṯ, Ḥidmat.

(3) al-Saqqaṯ, Ḥidmat.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ibid.

1. Aḥmad al-Muhāǧīr

Rarshā Ṣahāb, Asal-Usul, pp. 54–55. This shows that Shiʿi”(1) and Sunni”(2) traditions differ in the dates of these two can be a bit different from those in other lexicon of:%.

52. — Ibid., Taʿlīl, L

53. — Ibid. ‘Abdallāh and his father, ‘Alī Nūr al-ʿĀlam established themselves in Cambodia and Siam, respectively.
14. al-Malik Ibrahim ibn Barakat Zayn al-'Alam ibn al-Imam Gamal al-Din al-Husayn (of Gapura).

In addition to the above, Chehab lists Bab Allah ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Ali Nour al-'Alam ibn al-Imam Gamal al-Din al-Husayn but the Hidmat al-'Asirah does not list Bab Allah in this genealogy.

The link of the wali songo to Ahmad al-Muhagir confirms their Hadrami origins. Nevertheless, some would claim that the Hadrami sayyid origin of the wali songo is a fabricated reconstruction. Such a position is probably due to a lack of familiarity with earlier Hadrami sources, that is, those that are more or less contemporaneous with the wali songo themselves. The Hidmat al-'Asirah itself is a twentieth century document but is based on a variety of earlier sources such as the Sams al-zahirah (1307/1889-1890) of 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn al-Husayn al-Mas'har; 'Umdat al-falab fi ansaab Al Abi Talib of Ahmad ibn 'Ali ibn al-Husayn; al-Gurar of Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn 'Alawi Hird al-Husayni al-'Alawi al-Tamir (d. 960h.).

The question of Hadrami origins is important not merely for the sake of historical accuracy but because it laid the foundations for the tariqah which was firmly established by Hadramis later and partly explains the Shi'i tendencies to be found in Indonesia today.

There are a number of derivatives of the tariqah al-'alawiyyah such as the 'aydrusiyyah 'alawiyyah founded by Abu Bakr ibn 'Abdallah al-'Aydrus (d. 914/1509) in Tarim which spread to East Africa, India and Indonesia. There is also the tariqah al-'attasiyyah which established itself in the Indian sub-continent and Burma.

Elements of Shi'i Culture in Indonesia

Any discussion on the presence of Shi'i Islam in Southeast Asia must distinguish between the Shi'i school of jurisprudence on the one hand and Shi'i culture on the other. To be sure, both are found although there are differences in their genesis and development. While the vast majority of Indonesian Muslims belong to the Safi'i madhab aspects of Shi'ah Islam can be found in their culture and mores, these having been implanted in the region centuries ago. It is only in this century, particularly after the Iranian revolution of 1978, that there has been a consciousness and awareness of the Shi'ah and their history, which was sometimes accompanied by “conversion” to the Shi'i school, but more often resulted in the study and

54 - Ibid.
55 - Ibid.
56 - Chehab, Asal-usul, cit., p. 15.
57 - See, for example, Bruinessen, van M., “Najmuddin al-Kubra and Jamaluddin al-Akbar: Traces of Kubrawiya Influence in Early Indonesian Islam”, in: Bijdragen to de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 150, 2 (1994), p. 326.
spread of Shi‘i teachings without necessarily involving a change in madhab. The rise of the Shi‘i madhab in Indonesia and Malaysia will be taken up in the next section. For now, I wish to enumerate the aspects of Shi‘i culture to be found in Indonesia. In this connection two points should be noted.

One, the vast majority of Indonesians are unaware of the presence of Shi‘i customs and norms in their practice of Islam.

Two, the Shi‘i influences in Indonesian Islam are both the result of direct contact with Shi‘i communities in India and West Asia as well as the ‘Alawiyun factor in the islamization of the Malay world.

The Shi‘i customs to be found in Indonesia can be listed as follows:

1. The commemoration of ‘ašūrā’ (Ind. perayaan asyura), on the anniversary of the martyrdom of Imam al-Husayn at Karbala’.58 This takes place in Aceh, Palembang, Minangkabau, Bengkulu and includes a procession of the tabut of al-Husayn, drawn in procession by an ornately designed catafalque.59 This ceremony resembles that of the ta‘ziyah of Iran and the subcontinent.

2. ‘Ašūrā’ porridge. Known as bubur suran in Java and kanji acura in Sunda, this porridge is made from rice and other cereals with coconut milk and is offered to neighbours during the month of muharram.60

3. Various literary works give a special place to Imam ‘Ali and his family. For example, in the Hikayat Raja Khandaq, ‘Ali is aided in battle by the angel Gibril. In the Hikayat Mohammad Hanafiyyah, Muhammad Ibn al-Hanafiyyah dreams that the Prophet orders him to revenge the deaths of al-Hasan and al-Husayn.61

4. The lavishly decorated tombs (maqṣām) and the practice of ziyārah is seen as more as an element of Shi‘ah Islam that found its way into Indonesia.62

These Shi‘i elements in Indonesia are possibly a result of Shi‘i influence from West Asia as well as India. They are also a result of the influence of the ‘Alawiyun in Indonesia.63 The madhab of the ‘Alawiyun, though formally Shafi‘i, is also referred to as madhab Ahl al-Bayt because of the genealogical link of the practitioners of the tariqah al-‘alawiyyah with the Prophet (peace be upon Him). Nevertheless, it is incor-

58 - al-Baqir, M., [Muhammad al-Baqir], “Pengantar Tentang Kaum Alawiyin”, in: Haddad, A.['Abdallāh al-Haddād], Thariqah Menuju Kegagahan, Bandung, 1986, p. 51 [in Indonesian].
59 - Baried, B., “Le Shi‘isme en Indonesie”, in: Archipel, 15 (1978), p. 77. See also, Roedjiai Soemardjo, S. W., “Tjerita Tabut”, in: Bahasa dan Budaya, IX, 3-4, p. 81-89 [in Indonesian].
60 - Baried, “Le Shi‘isme”, cit., p. 76-77.
61 - For more examples and details see Baried, “Le Shi‘isme”, cit., p. 77-79.
62 - al-Baqir, “Pengantar”, cit., p. 51.
63 - Ibid.
rect to say that the 'Alawiyin, including the wali songo, introduced Shi'ah Islam to Indonesia, as suggested by some, because the 'Alawiyin have always been strict Shafii's, regardless of their Shi'i scent (Indo. bau Syi'a).

The Rise of the Imami Shi'i Among the 'Alawiyin

It has already been mentioned that there are Shi'i tendencies among the 'Alawiyin, the main reason for this being the genealogical convergence between the 'Alawiyin and the Shi'.

So far we have said nothing of the actual practices of the Imami or Gafari madhab among the Alawiyin. This is something that took place in the fourth stage of the development of the 'Alawiyin which began in the 14th century h., that is, the period of acculturation and assimilation in the Malay world of Southeast Asia.

The actual "conversion" to Shi'ah Islam took place generally after the Iranian revolution of 1979. Nevertheless, throughout the history of the Alawiyin there have been instances of practitioners of Shi'ah Islam both among the wilayati and the muwalladun.

One 'alawi scholar, about whom it is uncertain as to what extent he was a Shi', was Muhammad ibn 'Aqil al-'Alawi (1863-1931) of the al-Yahya house.

Muhammad ibn 'Aqil was born in Hadramawt in Masilah, 'Ali Shayh, lived part of his life in Singapore where he did some writing, and finally settled in al-Hudaydah, Yemen. He had written a number of historical works on the early history of the Shi', some of which were published in Iran and some in Jakarta.

Worth mentioning in this connection is Sayyid Abi Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Shab of Tarim, Hadramawt whose writings were in defense of Muhammad ibn 'Aqil's views and of Shi'ah Islam in general.

Nevertheless, it has been mainly among the muwalladun, particularly in Malaysia and Indonesia, that we have a renewed interest in Shi'ah Islam. There are three major reasons for which this happened.

One is the self-perceived general lack of development among the Alawiyin with respect to the other religious and ethnic communities of Southeast Asia.
Another was the Iranian revolution of 1979 and the heightened awareness of neo-colonialism, and cultural dependency that it brought.

Thirdly, and just as crucial was the fact that the leader who emerged in the revolution, Imam Khumayni, was a Sayyid himself. It was at this time that the genealogical convergence between the Imami Shi'i madhab and the 'Alawiyyin became apparent to the 'Alawiyyin of Indonesia and Malaysia. It was therefore in the 1980s that interest in Shi'i fiqh and usul al-fiqh, falsafah, ilm al-kalam, and social thought developed. This is reflected in religious education in the madrasah, as well as in informal education (maglis al-ta'lim, Malay/Indo. pengajian) and in the range of books translated from Arabic and Persian as well as original works written in Malay and Indonesian.

Nevertheless, the renewed interest in Shi'ah Islam does not necessarily take the form of "conversion" to the Shi'i madhab. In fact five different orientations among the 'Alawiyin to Shi'ah Islam can be discerned:

1. Anti-Shi'ah. These are a minority who are not only strict Shafi'is by conviction and practice, but who regard the Shi'ah as having strayed from the True Path and are not considered as being on an equal footing with the four Sunni madhabs. These are views that are held by quite a number of non-'Alawiyin in Southeast Asia as well and have attracted some attention in the media. A case in point is the work of Ustaz Ashaari Muhammad of the now banned Arqam organization in Malaysia. He referred to the Iranian revolution as not a revolution of Islam, but a revolution of the Shi'ah and holds the view that the Shi'ah are politically strong in Iran because they "sell the name of Islam". The book discusses various aspects of the "deviations" of the Shi'ah. There are also statements in the media expressing concern over the "Shi'ah threat" and questioning the aqidah of the Shi'ah.

2. The Ja'fari school as the fifth madhab. The majority of the 'Alawiyin see the Imami Shi'ah as belonging to a fifth madhab which is seen to be on an equal footing with the four Sunni schools.

3. Shafi'is with Shi'i sympathies. This group is very interesting in that they believe in following the Shafi'i school as far as the ibtidah is concerned, but take a more traditional approach to the Shi'ah. For them the Shi'ah are not a separate madhab, but a deviation from the other four Sunni madhabs. They see the Shi'ah as being opposed to the Sunnis and therefore not true Muslims, but rather disbelievers. This is a very dangerous argument and has been used by many radical groups in Malaysia to spread fear and mistrust among the Muslim community.

4. Inter-Si'ah. There is a strong sentiment among the 'Alawiyin to unifying with the Shi'ah and creating a single Islamic movement. They believe that the Shi'ah are a branch of Islam and that the two groups can work together for the betterment of the Muslim community.

5. Calm. This group is more moderate and sees the Shi'ah as being a part of the Islamic community and not a threat. They believe that the Shi'ah can be reconciled with the Sunnis and that the two groups can work together for the betterment of the Muslim community.

The following is a rather sketchy account as no printed material is available on the topic. Participant observation and interviews are currently being carried out to elaborate on the discussion presented here.

68 - The following is a rather sketchy account as no printed material is available on the topic. Participant observation and interviews are currently being carried out to elaborate on the discussion presented here.

69 - Ashaari, M., Bahaya Syiah (The Shi'ah Danger), Kuala Lumpur, 1987, p. V-VI [in Malay].

70 - Suhrimi, M., "Syiah: Menyalah Akidah Umat Islam" ["Shi'ah: Challenging the aqidah of the Muslim ummah"], in: al-Islam, 20, 232 (April, 1993), p. 10-12 [in Malay]; Said, F. M., "Mengkinkah Syiah Terkelaar Daripada Islam?" ["Are the Shi'ah Out of Islam?"] in: al-Islam, 20, 232, (April, 1993) [in Malay], p. 8-9; "Pensyarah Sebar Faham Syiah" ["Lecturer Spreads Shi'i Teachings"], in: Berita Minggu, 25 February, 1990 [in Malay]; "Ajuran Syiah Boleh Jejas Perpadaan" ["Shi'i Teachings Could Damage Unity"], Berita Harian, 3 March, 1990 [in Malay].
cerned, in line with the teachings and practice of the aḡdād (ancestors), but they are one with the Ši‘ah with regards to historical consciousness, especially when it comes to the interpretation of early Muslim history, the events of the Saqāfah, the tragedy of Karbala‘, and so on. They also approach the question of the validity of ḥadīth with the same caution that the Ši‘ah do. In fact, they regard the tariqah al-‘alawiyyah to be the way of the Ahl al-Bayt as much as the Ja‘fari school is. The fact that the one follows Imām Šafī‘i and the other Imām Ga‘far al-Ṣādiq is not an issue of consequence as far as imān and iḥsān are concerned.

4. ‘Alawiyyīn Ši‘ah. These are the ‘Alawiyyīn who have made the total switch to the Shi‘i school in term of ‘ibādah as well as worldview. They take the position that the madhāb of the Ahl al-Bayt can only be the Ja‘fari school and no other and that it is better (aṣfāl) for the ‘Alawiyyīn as descendants of the Prophet, to be direct followers of Imām Ga‘far al-Ṣādiq. Nevertheless, these “converts” retain the customs and mores of the Hadrami Ḍal‘iyyīn for the most part.

5. Anti-‘Alawiyyīn Ši‘ah. This is a minority who no longer maintain the appearance of the being ‘Alawiyyīn in terms of the acts of worship and culture. For example, they do not attend the Friday noon prayer, they do not participate in the weekly rūṭib sessions and read, instead, the du ‘a kumayl, and they consider zafīn (a Hadrami dance) as a prohibited (ha-rām) practice in Islam. It was even reported that members of this group were of the opinion that those ‘Alawiyyīn ‘ulamā’ who did not pass out of Shi‘i centres of learning, should not be given the respect that is normally accorded to the ‘Alawiyyīn, such as the kissing of the hands.

As far as the development of Ši‘ah Islam in Indonesia is concerned, it is the third and fourth groups that are the most important. Each group operates according to a different logic of argumentation in their debates with each other. The third group is more concerned with the social consequences of school switching while the fourth group is preoccupied with the juridical question of following the “right” madhāb. For the Šafi‘i with Shi‘i sympathies, while all the schools of jurisprudence are equal and legitimate, the social consequences of switching from one to another may be adverse in the sense that it results in highlighting differences in daily religious practices that were previously not there. In fact, many Ḍal‘iyyīn families are split between Šafi‘i and Shi‘i “factions” characterised by protracted social conflicts, some more benign than others.

This list of orientations towards Ši‘ah Islam only scratches the surface of the process of “conversion” and reaction to the school and worldview and is the basis of more elaborate work which is on-going.