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For decades, the academic study of Islam in Southeast Asia has been dominated by a preoccupation with the role of mysticism in the region. From the earliest descriptions in Raffles' *History of Java* of 1817 to the anthropological writings of Clifford Geertz (Geertz 1960, 1968), the mystical orientation of Southeast Asian Islam has been assumed *a priori*. Such an orientation has dominated the contents of several Leiden dissertations, and eventually led to Professor Johns' thesis concerning the role of Sufi *ṭurūq* in the Islamization of the region.¹ While there is no denying that some schools of Islamic mystic thought have been influential in the development of Islamic civilization in Southeast Asia, it seems inadvisable to continue taking the 'mystical' nature of Islam in the region as a given. Rather, we should refrain from letting the nebulous term 'Sufism' bias us in our investigations of the actual situation in both its historical and contemporary contexts.

It was just such a predisposition to find the 'mystical' in Southeast Asian Islam that was evident in the Dutch publications cited by Massignon in his *Passion*.² Going by indications in this handful of studies, Massignon came to imagine a much more prominent role of 'Sufism', and of Hallajian elements therein, than it may have actually played. In this paper I will go into the factors that were responsible for Professor Massignon's conclusions and examine these in light of subsequent research.³

In this connection it might be useful first of all to look at the explanation

¹ Johns 1961. Professor Johns' thesis that Islam spread through the whole of Southeast Asia thanks largely to the efforts of seafaring mystics, causing an expansion of various international brotherhoods (Arabic *ṭarīqah* / pl. *ṭurūq*), has met with considerable criticism for its lack of factual grounding. Recently Professor Johns himself revised his stance on the situation, taking a more balanced view of the process and modestly acknowledging the limitations imposed by scarcity of sources (Johns 1995).

² All relevant references in this paper will be to the first edition of Professor Mason's 1982 English translation of Massignon, here simply referred to as *Passion*.

³ The relevant texts which are referred to directly in the four-volume edition of the *Passion* include: Doorenbos 1933; Drewes 1927, 1930; Kraemer 1921; Rinkes 1911; and Zoetmulder 1935. The latter work has recently been translated into English (see Zoetmulder 1995).

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which Massignon offers for the presence of Hallajiana in Muslim Southeast Asia, before proceeding to conduct a more particular investigation into what he viewed as 'Hallajian survivals' in the region. Following the general model of this process constructed by such scholars as Snouck Hurgronje (see Snouck Hurgronje 1913), Massignon assumed that Islam came to the Archipelago from India. Many early studies on the role of Indian Muslims in the Islamization of the Archipelago focused on Gujarat, well-known for its mercantile history and commercial connections with the seaports of Southeast Asia (Schrieke 1955:12-5). Zoetmulder, in his 1935 Leiden dissertation, juxtaposes data from early Dutch studies on the Islamization of the Archipelago with information from Massignon's 1922 edition of the *Passion* to emphasize the role of Gujarati merchants in the spread of Hallajiana to insular Southeast Asia (Zoetmulder 1995:28). His use of Massignon's references to the Mansuri castes of the region (Massignon 1982 II:275) and their influence on the spread of Hallajian doctrine needs to be reconsidered, however. In the first place, not all early Gujarati emigrants to the Indonesian Archipelago could be classified as Hallajians.⁴ In a more general sense, we should also realize that, as subsequent research has shown, no general theories such as 'the first impulses for the expansion of Indonesian Islam came predominantly from India and especially from Gujarat' are adequate for explaining the complex historical process or the region's Islamization.⁵ It seems that from two such tenuous starting-points it would be inadvisable to posit the existence of dominant Hallajian tendencies in Southeast Asian Islam.

Massignon has also pointed to the possibility of the Shattariya *ṭarīqah* playing a role in the spread of Hallajiana to Southeast Asia – focusing particularly on the role of Shaykh Ibrahim al-Kurani (d. 1101 H. / 1690 A.D.), who taught at Medina in the mid seventeenth century.⁶ He mentions specifically that the latter sent one of his students, °Abd al-Ra'uf Singkeli⁷, 'to preach

⁴ In fact, the most famous Gujarati in Indonesian history, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī, was anything but a Hallajian. He arrived at the court of Aceh in about 1636, where he proceeded to launch a harsh campaign against adherents of the strain of Islam which he found to be predominant there, namely the *wahdat al-wujūd* as professed in the writings of Sjamsuddin Pasai and Hamzah Fansuri. As we shall see below, Hamzah's work contains several references to Ḥallāj and his notorious 'Anā 'l-Ḥaqq' (Nieuwenhuijze 1948; Van Ronkel 1943).

⁵ For a recent reassessment of the Islamization of the Archipelago, see Johns 1995. Another interesting perspective on the complexity of this process can be found in Bausani 1975.

⁶ On the connection between these two figures, see Johns 1978.

⁷ °Abd al-Ra'uf Singkeli (known locally in Aceh as Teungku di Kuala) was born in Aceh in the first part of the seventeenth century and left there to perform the pilgrimage and to further his studies in Arabia in 1642. He stayed in Arabia for nineteen years, visiting and studying at such centres as Zabid, Bayt al-Faqih, Mecca, and Medina. It was in the last-mentioned of these centres that he spent the majority of his time studying under the renowned Sufi *shaykh* Ahmad al-Qushayshi (d. 1661) and Ibrahim al-Kurani (d. 1101 H. / 1690 A.D.). After the death of al-

Shattarism in Malaysia' (Massignon 1982 II:278). It should be noted, however, that the Shattariya order was not known in Muslim Southeast Asia, as it was in India, for the incorporation of Hallajian teachings and terminology in its *dhikr*. Rather, it came to be a vehicle for the propagation of the doctrine of the 'Seven Grades' (*Martabat Tujuh*).⁸ Thus, when this order underwent an extensive expansion throughout the Archipelago in the years that followed, it was the emanation doctrines of Ibn al-°Arabī and al-Jili, as reformulated by al-Burhanpuri⁹, that were spread, and not the *Dhikr al-Dhat*, 'Anā 'l-Ḥaqq' (Massignon 1982 II:278).

Another source of possible Indian influence on the early Islamization of Southeast Asia that should be considered here is the Labbai – a Muslim Tamil mercantile sub-caste. Massignon makes a number of references to this group throughout the second volume of his work (Massignon 1982), including the following:

'The existence of the *madfan* of Hallaj at Porto-Novo (Muhammad Bandar) in a center of Tamil-speaking *Marakkayar* Shafi'ite Muslim sailors (mixed with *Tamil Labbai* Muslims in Nagore) must certainly be connected with the apostolate of Nathan Shah Mashar al-Din (d. 411 H., Trichinopoly), one of whose disciples, Baba Fakhr al-Din Sijistani, buried in Penukondah (in the district of Anantapur, the present day Sufi center of the Presidency of Madras), is the patron saint there of "cotton carders" (*Pinjaras*).'¹⁰

Qushayshi in 1661, °Abd al-Ra'uf returned to Aceh, where he wrote numerous works on *fiqh*, *hadith*, the duties of teachers and students, *taṣawwuf*, and *tafsīr* until he died in around 1700. Today he is generally remembered for his 'Tarjuman al-Mustafid' – the first complete Malay work on *tafsīr*, which was based largely on the Arabic 'Tafsīr al-Jalalayn' (Rinkes 1909; Voorhoeve 1952; Riddell 1990).

⁸ This was a system of emanations widely known throughout Muslim Southeast Asia through 'al-Tuhfa al-Mursala ila Ruh al-Nabi', by Muhammad ibn Fadlī'līah al-Burhanpuri (d. 1620), and its accompanying commentary, 'al-Hakika al-Muwafika li'l-Shari'a' (Johns 1965).

⁹ Brockelmann 1937-1949, vol. 2:551, Supplement 2:617. In the third Supplement volume the entries for Muhammad Fadlallah al-Hindi al-Burhanpuri are incorrectly indexed, reading 'GII, 418' for what should be 'GII:551'.

¹⁰ Massignon 1982 II:276. A few pages later, Massignon elaborates on this as follows: 'In 1938, Professor Hamidullah called attention to the existence of a cenotaph (*madfan*) of Mansur Hallaj in Muhammad Bandar (= Porto-Novo), on the southeastern coast of India, south of Madras, in the Tamil region, where there is only a tiny minority of converts to Islam forming two castes, the *Marakkayar* in Porto-Novo, Nagore, and Kayalpatnam, the Labbai in Nagore and Trichinopoly. This *madfan* could be attributed to the Sufis of this region, who, in the present day, are divided into four orders: the Banava (= Qadiriya of Ghulam °Ali Shah Dihlawi), the Rifa'iya, the Shah-madariya (and Malang), and the Jalaliya Chistiya (of Jalal Bukhari = Makhdume Jahaniyan), subject to the supreme authority of a "surguru", a hereditary position belonging to the family of Bab Fakhr al-Din, interred in Penukondah (in northwestern Arcot). This Fakhr al-Din Sijistani, a direct disciple of Nathar Shah Mazhar al-Din (d. 411/1020), the saint of Trichinopoly, is the patron saint of the Panjuris caste (= Pinjaras) or "carders of cotton"; this is because Mansur Hallaj Wattan was in the Ottoman Empire. This *madfan* should be attributed to one Pinjara Labbai, converted by some member of the Shirazian order of the Kazeruniya.' (Massignon 1982 II:284.)

These Labbai have been the focus of considerable attention in studies of the Islamization of Southeast Asia. Attention was perhaps first called to them by Snouck Hurgronje, who in about 1890 discovered a tri-lingual manuscript in Arabic, Tamil, and Malay on the north coast of Java (Van Ronkel 1922). Taking Snouck's suggestion as point of departure, Professor van Ronkel, who produced several short studies on the subject (Van Ronkel 1914, 1922), carried out research in this direction. Seeing that this group is mentioned in connection with Hallajiana in several places in Massignon's *Passion*, one wonders why Massignon did not consider their relation to the spread of Hallajian elements to Southeast Asia.

The question thus becomes one about whether or not these Labbai did, in fact, communicate their own appreciation for Ḥallāj to the new Muslim converts they associated with in the entrepôts of the Indonesian Archipelago. However, I was unable to find any evidence of this in an examination of the available relevant literature. In many parts of the Archipelago, in fact, the word *lebai* itself has come to designate simply a teacher of religion – and generally one associated with teaching at *pesantren*-type institutions, which, as we shall see, were not generally known for their teaching of Hallajian doctrine.

It is curious that neither of the two latter instances of Hallajiana discussed in the *Passion* is considered in terms of its potential role in the development of Islam in Southeast Asia. Instead of investigating these possible links, Massignon focused on another node, which he considered to be the most important in the transmission of Hallajian doctrine to the lands below the winds. He writes:

'... in eastern India the canvas of the Javanese legend of Siti Jenar contains, along with other Hallajian features, those which we have just emphasized in the figure of Satya Pir. Therefore it is correct to infer from this that the Hallajian theme, after having arrived in Bengal (either by sea or by the Khilji conquest), was carried by sea from Kalinga to Java in a form of popular drama for *wayang*.' (Massignon 1982 II:287.)

Here Massignon envisages the Islamization of Java as the final phase of a grand sweeping movement across Southern Asia. As the major piece of supporting evidence for this theory, Massignon makes extensive use of the well-known story of Seh Siti Jenar before the Synod of the Nine Saints (*Wali Sanga*).¹¹ For example, in his discussion of the Satya Pir cult of Bengal he mentions the fact that many of the elements of the Siti Jenar narrative – such

¹¹ *Wali Sanga* (Javanese, literally 'Nine Saints'). Although their number is well established, the list of individuals that make up this nine varies among the numerous traditions related about them. The following four are invariably included among them, however: Sunan Ampel (Raden Rahmat), Sunan Bonang (Raden Mahdun), Sunan Kalijaga (Raden Syahid), and Sunan Giri (Raden Ainul Yaqin). The remainder is usually comprised of some combination of the following:

as that of a virgin conceiving after drinking water in which a martyr's ashes have been dispersed – have parallels in the Bengali and Turkish traditions. From this he then infers more 'conclusive evidence' for the importance of Bengal in the transmission of Hallajian elements to Java. At one point, he even goes so far as to state that:

'Four similar accounts of the martyrdom dating from the early years of Java's Islamization are replete with details borrowed from an account of Hallaj's martyrdom whose origin is not yet firmly established, but seems to go back to the *tadhkira* of °Attar brought to the Archipelago by Indo-Persian missionaries, either from Fars (Kazeruniya) or from Khurasan, by way of the Deccan or Chittagong' (Massignon 1982 II:290).

This statement not only is without firm references, but also is without any historical grounding whatsoever and represents the kind of free speculation that has long hindered real understanding of the process of Islamization and the role of Sufism in Southeast Asia.

In order to understand the ultimate source of all these speculations, we should turn our attention more specifically to the narrative which attracted so much of Massignon's attention: that of the Javanese mystic Seh Siti Jenar. According to local historiographical tradition, the island of Java was Islamized through the efforts of the above-mentioned nine saints known collectively as the Wali Sanga. These figures have become the subject of numerous legends, and many of the highest expressions of Javanese culture are attributed to them.¹² These tales are known not only from the immense corpus of oral traditions, but also from a tradition of written texts produced at the Central Javanese courts of Solo (Surakarta) and Yogyakarta, as well as in Cirebon and the Pesisir region.¹³ It is from such texts that most scholars have come to know what is perhaps the most famous story among the dozens concerning this group of saints. The story has several variants, but in general follows the general outline below.¹⁴

Sunan Drajat (Raden Syarifuddin), Sunan Kudus (Sayed Jakfat Shadiq), Sunan Muria (Raden Umar Said), Sunan Gunung Jati (Raden Syarif Hidayatullah/'Falatehan'), Sunan Geseng, Sunan Tembayat, Sunan Cerbon, and Maulana Malik Ibrahim. Sometimes even the infamous Seh Siti Jenar is counted as one of the Wali Sanga, although he was later put to death by the others.

¹² In East and Central Java, Sunan Kalijaga is widely regarded as the inventor of both the *gamelan* orchestra and the *wayang* theatre, both of which actually have histories stretching deep into Java's pre-Islamic past. For the western part of the island it has been noted that 'According to the Sundanese, six of the nine *wali* were significant in the development of *wayang*: Sunan Gunung Jati, Sunan Kalijaga, Sunan Rachmad, Sunan Bonang, Sunan Muria, and Sunan Kudus' (Foley 1979:240).

¹³ References to several such texts can be found in Pigeaud 1968 and Florida 1993.

¹⁴ The summary given here largely follows the version presented by Professor Rinkes (Rinkes 1911:24-7). s 1911:24-7).

Seh Siti Jenar has been frequently absent from the Friday congregational prayers and has been making trouble by preaching esoteric doctrines to the uninitiated. It is said that he no longer wishes to discuss the sources of *fiqh* and no longer follows the fourfold path of *sharī'ah*, *ṭarīqah*, *haqīqah*, and *ma'rīfah*; instead he is focusing solely on attaining union with the Divine Essence.¹⁵ A messenger is sent to call Siti Jenar before the other Wali, but when this messenger knocks on the Seh's door, he receives the answer that Seh Siti Jenar is not there and only God is there. When the messenger returns to the Wali and reports what he has heard, Sunan Ampel (the eldest of the assembly) gives a knowing smile and instructs the messenger to go back and ask God to present Himself at the conference of the Wali. Upon arrival, the messenger relays this message, only to receive the reply that God is not there, but only Siti Jenar is there. Frustrated, the messenger returns to the Wali and tells them what he has heard. He is then instructed to return once again and request the presence of both Seh Siti Jenar and God at the Synod of the Wali. Upon hearing this last request, Seh Siti Jenar agrees to come and present himself before the saints assembled at Giri (Gresik).

At this session he is questioned about his beliefs concerning the union of the servant and his Lord (Javanese *Kawula Gusti*). In some versions, all the other Wali present first explain this divine mystery as they understand it before Siti Jenar himself speaks. After elucidating his esoteric views on the subject (which he had been accused of spreading beyond the limited circles of initiates), Siti Jenar is condemned and is executed on the spot by the swift sword of Sunan Kalijaga. There are various versions of what immediately follows this execution, but in various ways post-mortem testimony is given to the truth of Siti Jenar's teaching.¹⁶

From the above summary one can quickly detect several trademark elements of the Ḥallāj narrative. And it is precisely for this reason that this story has become the test case in any further discussion about Hallajianism in the region. Upon further investigation it appears, however, that no elements of this story need necessarily have come from what one might consider 'Hallajian sources' in the strict sense, that is, sources that either profess Ḥallāj's doctrine or especially revere him as a figure. For it appears that the elements of the story which have generally been regarded as so 'clearly

¹⁵ This is explicitly stated in the Widya Pustaka recension (1917) of the story cited in Soebardi 1975:35.

¹⁶ Massignon confidently gives an exact date for this execution, namely 22 Jumada al-Ukhra, Saka 1410 (893 H. / 1488 A.D.) – something that even specialists in the field of Javanese Islamic history are unable to do. Judging from the use of the Saka calendar date, he must have taken it from a Javanese text, most likely that reproduced in Rinkes 1911. However, once again there is no reference to confirm this.

Hallajian' may in fact be simply a reflection of more common motifs in the literature of medieval Muslim mysticism in general.¹⁷

It thus seems rather over-enthusiastic and premature for scholars to make such blanket statements as, 'Shaikh Siti Jēnar was in fact a Javanese al-Hallāj'.¹⁸ Complicating the question even further is the way in which archetypical 'Hallajian' elements of the Siti Jenar narrative recur with significant variations in the accounts of numerous other Javanese mystics who were convicted of teaching *ilmu haqiqat* to common people and subsequently executed. These include Pangeran (Sunan) Panggung, who was burned at the stake in the Demak period¹⁹, and Ki Bebeluk, who was sentenced to death by drowning during the hegemony of Pajang.²⁰

The most recent example of this comes to us via Yasadipura I's 'Serat Cabolek', and concerns one Haji Ahmad Mutamakin, who is said to have lived in the first half of the eighteenth century (Soebardi 1975:26). Following the archetypical pattern displayed by Seh Siti Jenar and others, Haji Mutamakin is called to account for his teaching of esoteric doctrines to common people. However, in this case the sentence of death is commuted by the king. The pious scholar Ketib Anom Kudus, in his protest against this royal decree, links the case to the above-mentioned episodes in order to mock Haji Mutamakin by showing his obvious inferiority to the distinguished persons named above (Soebardi 1975:41).

In the second volume of the *Passion*²¹ Massignon mentions two other martyrs who followed the archetypical pattern of Seh Siti Jenar: Ki Baghdad of Pajang, who might be identifiable with the above-mentioned Ki Bebeluk (see note 20 above), and Seh Among Raga of Mataram, the protagonist of the

¹⁷ These motifs and the sources through which they became widely known will be discussed further down.

¹⁸ Soebardi 1975:35. Here we have an interesting example of the influence of Massignon's work on subsequent interpretations of the Siti Jenar narrative; for more on this, see below.

¹⁹ As the flames were raging about him, he is said to have taken up his pen and composed the 'Suluk Malang Sumirang'. An edition of the Javanese text with a Dutch translation can be found in Drewes 1927.

²⁰ Soebardi 1975:30. Unlike the names preceding it, that of Ki Bebeluk finds no corroboration in any known older Javanese text. This has led Soebardi to suppose that perhaps the name was simply invented by Yasadipura I during the composition of the 'Serat Cabolek' in order to provide a link in the archetypical continuity between Seh Siti Jenar, Pangeran Panggung, and Haji Mutamakin, around whom the narrative of the 'Serat Cabolek' revolves. In this connection Soebardi also draws attention to a figure known as Rsi Wisrawa, a pre-Islamic sage 'who was cursed by the gods because he drew aside the [Divine] veil and proclaimed himself to be God' (Soebardi 1975:38). It may be due to the existence of such figures in pre-Islamic Javanese religious thought that elements from the Hallāj narrative were incorporated into later Javanese Muslim texts.

²¹ Although there is no reference to it in the *Passion*, the paragraph in which Massignon discusses these two figures seems to be a direct translation of one found in Drewes 1927:100.

'Serat Centhini'.²² In connection with these two figures, Massignon makes a very important observation where he writes:

'Rinkes and Drewes are inclined to see in these two legends, as in the preceding ones, the survival of the Hindu theme of Ajar Wiswara, who, in the novel of Arjuna, arouses the wrath of gods for having "raised the curtain" and revealed the *sastra* to Prince Soemali. Let us note that we are not excluding the possibility that the four martyrdoms really occurred, and that, in any case, the coloration of the earlier theme was heightened by the Muslim addition to Hallajian details.' (Massignon 1982 II:292.)

Thus it appears that the development of the Siti Jenar narrative (and its derivatives) may in fact be a reflection of an earlier indigenous or Hindu-Javanese motif recast in a Javanese Muslim setting. In this case it may have simply been a coincidence that traditional accounts of Ḥallāj's execution struck such a responsive chord. This inference seems to be supported by the fact that the story finds few immediate parallels in any of the other Islamic literary traditions in the region. I have been unable to find any pre-modern Malay text containing such a tale.²³ My modest searches in the catalogues of known collections of Acehnese, Minangkabau, Bugis, Makassarese, and Sasak manuscripts²⁴ have likewise brought nothing to light. This seems particularly strange because many of these literatures include texts dealing with other major figures of the Islamic tradition. For instance, the well-known eighth-century Sufi, Ibrahim b. Adham, is the subject of a well-known Malay *hikayat* contained in a number of manuscripts which can generally be classified into two major recensions.²⁵ ° Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī (d. 1166), who is revered throughout the Muslim world as the founder of a widespread mystical order, is likewise the subject of a vigorous textual tradition in the region, not only in Malay, but also in Javanese and Sundanese (Drewes and Poerbatjaraka

²² This encyclopedic work of nineteenth-century Javanese literature still remains relatively under-studied. A summary of its contents was first published by Pigeaud in 1933. Since then some partial studies of it have been undertaken, including those by Soebardi (1971) and Steenbrink (1984:197-210). However, to my knowledge no comprehensive study of this work has appeared so far.

²³ From Banjarmasin, however there is the story of Shaykh Haji Abdul Hamid, which so closely resembles the archetypal Seh Siti Jenar narrative that the possibility of direct Javanese influence cannot be denied. See Hamka (1994:751) and Steenbrink (1984), citing Zafri Zamzam 1979:13. Hamka, in the paragraph referred to above, also makes a passing mention of one Datuk Patimang, who was executed in South Sulawesi by Datuk ri Tiro and Datuk ri Bandang for spreading esoteric Sufi teachings among commoners (*orang awam*). Unfortunately, as is generally the case throughout his 'historical' works, Hamka provides no reference for this information.

²⁴ Jumsari Jusuf et al. 1980, 1983, 1984; Juynboll 1899, 1912; Matthes 1875; Voorhoeve 1952, 1973; Voorhoeve and Ricklefs 1977; Van Ronkel 1907a, 1907b, 1909, 1913; Snouck Hurgronje 1989; Sutaarga et al. 1972.

²⁵ An edition and translation of a text of the shorter recension can be found in Jones 1983.

1938). There are even a number of manuscripts of a Malay *hikayat* containing stories concerning Bāyezīd al-Bisṭāmī.²⁶ At any rate, since the Islamic intellectual and cultural goods that found their way to Java generally circulated in other parts of the Archipelago as well, it seems strange that they did not make the same kind of impression there as they did in Java. This, too, would seem to suggest that the origin of the Siti Jenar narrative is due not to the presence of any specifically Hallajian texts or teachers in Java, but rather to an affinity between elements of the Hallajian narrative that were more widely spread in the medieval Muslim world and the pre-existing local tradition.

What could some of these more 'general' sources of information concerning Ḥallāj have been? To be able to answer this, we need to look at the history of Islamization in Southeast Asia within the wider context of developments in the Muslim world as a whole. Although there have been small, temporary Muslim trading settlements in the Archipelago since the first century of the *hijra*, large-scale local conversion did not take place for several centuries. By that time, Sufism had undergone considerable development in the more central areas of the Islamic world. In several senses this development involved a measure of consolidation and standardization, as evidenced by the proliferation not only of systematic treatises summarizing the views of various schools of Sufi thought and practice, but also of collections of anecdotes about events in the lives of the great Sufi masters²⁷, such as the 'Tadhkirāt al-°Awliyā'²⁸ by the great Persian poet Farid al-Dīn °Aṭṭār, perhaps the best-known such work. To date there is no solid textual evidence for the influence of such works in Muslim Southeast Asia. However, even if such evidence were forthcoming from future studies, it would not dramatically

²⁶ The central event in these narratives is a visit paid to a Christian monastery by Bāyezīd disguised as a monk. It is said that the priest was unable to deliver his sermon because of his presence. When he informed the assembled monks that he was unable to continue because of the presence of an unbeliever among them, the congregation immediately called for the intruder to be killed. The priest advised moderation, however, and proposed that Bāyezīd be questioned on a number of religious issues; if he answered satisfactorily he would be released, but if he did not, the monks could do with him as they wished. Of course Bāyezīd answered all the questions asked him so well that the entire congregation of monks gave up their religion and spontaneously embraced Islam. However, this seems to be a later development in Malay literature and, judging from the content, the narrative seems to have more to do with increased contact with 'Christian' Europeans than with any of Bāyezīd's actual mystical doctrines (Van Ronkel 1932; Hamid 1983:173).

²⁷ It is interesting to note that several such 'classic' works have recently appeared in Indonesian, all adapted not from their Arabic or Persian originals, but rather from English translations by Orientalists such as Nicholson and Arberry. Here I wish to remain open also to the possibility of influence from Arabic works in the tradition of al-Sulamī's 'Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣufiyyah', although there is no evidence as yet of the existence of such texts in pre-modern Southeast Asia.

²⁸ Partially translated by A.J. Arberry as *Muslim Saints and Mystics; Episodes from the Tadhkirat al-Auliya'*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966.

affect our assessment of the role of Ḥallāj in the history of Southeast Asian Islam. For both the *tadhkirāt* literature and other types of encyclopedic Sufi works share one important common feature: in neither does the relation of anecdotes about a given figure necessarily imply a complete acceptance of the doctrines taught by him.²⁹ Indeed, some of the most famous *tadhkirāt* collections produced in the central areas of the Islamic world contain stories about numerous figures whose explicitly formulated doctrines may not be mutually compatible. The important feature of these writings are the miraculous tales they tell about these saints, rather than giving an exposition of their doctrines. In such collections of miraculous tales, stories about Ḥallāj often had a place. It is possible that the stock events in 'Hallajian narrative' that are to be found in stories such as that of Seh Siti Jenar are influenced more by this kind of collection of anecdotes than by any strong current of particularly Hallajian thought.

Another important development in the history of Sufism, and in the history of Muslim scholarship in general, is the proliferation of encyclopedic works incorporating the works of previous scholars in various fields. Perhaps the most important work to have appeared in this process of consolidation and systematization in medieval Islam is the massive 'Iḥyā' °Ulūm al-Dīn', the work for which al-Ghazālī is best known in Southeast Asia, as throughout the Muslim world. The 'Iḥyā'' has been known not only in its original form, but also via numerous commentaries, adaptations, *mukhtaṣar*, and translations into local languages³⁰, in Muslim Southeast Asia for centuries. Javanese-language abridgements of the third and fourth sections of this work are known in manuscript form and are generally attributed to Kyai Muhammad Saleh of Semarang³¹, while its continued popularity may be attested by the 1936 publication of a 'modernized' version of this abridgement by Kyai Hardjadarsana of Purwokerto.³² More recently a team of

²⁹ Such a discrepancy between knowledge about the life of certain mystics and an understanding of the doctrines actually taught by them seems especially to have existed in the case of Ḥallāj, not only among later Muslim writers, but also among Western scholars before Massignon, as evidenced by Carra de Vaux's characterization of him as '... un célèbre mystique que nous ne connaissons point comme écrivain, mais dont la figure singulière et la tragique destinée ont laissé dans l'Islam un profond souvenir' (Carra de Vaux 1902:197).

³⁰ The most famous of which is undoubtedly 'Abd al-Samad al-Palimbānī's free Malay adaptation entitled 'Sayr al-Sālikīn ilā °Ibadāt Rabb al-°Alamūn'. It was begun in 1193 H. / 1779 A.D. and finished at Ta'if in 1203 H. / 1788 A.D. (Voorhoeve 1960).

³¹ Dr. Martin van Bruinessen has informed me that this Saleh al-Samarani (a.k.a. Saleh Darat) was '... one of the most influential kiai of his day and the author of widely read Javanese adaptations of Arabic works on fiqh, 'aqidah and ṭasawwuf' (personal communication; see Van Bruinessen 1990:258-9).

³² 'Punika Serat Munjiyat. Inggih serat pambirating wawatakan kita ingkang awon sadasa, lajeng abusana wawatakan ingkang sae ugi sadasa' (Soebardi 1975:166).

scholars has been working on a translation of the complete 'Iḥyā' into modern Indonesian.³³ In view of the popularity and importance of this particular work in Southeast Asian Muslim intellectual history, it might be helpful to examine first what, if anything, is said about Ḥallāj in it. Ḥallāj is mentioned by name in a number of places in the 'Iḥyā', although he is generally referred to only in an anecdotal fashion in support of more general ideas on Sufism (see, for example, Gramlich 1984:167, 523, 655, and Smith 1983:177, 234). Where there is any sort of more detailed evaluation, Ghazālī acknowledges that Ḥallāj, although he was 'a pious man guided by a sound conscience'³⁴, was wrong to use and publicize the particular formulations he did, as such words give expression to a state of ecstasy which the lover should conceal.

Such teachings by Ghazālī, in fact, provide the basis for indigenous Javanese works dating back at least as far as the 16th century. For example, they form the foundation for the teachings found in the so-called 'Book of Bonang' – attributed to one of the *Wali Sanga* referred to above.³⁵ Professor Drewes, in the introduction to his edition of this text, remarks on the extensive commentary on the well-known *ḥadīth qudsī*, which runs: '*al-insān sirrī wa'anā sirruhu*' (Man is My secret and I am his secret). He mentions Zoetmulder's querying whether this is an expression of that which Ḥallāj expressed so much more forcefully in his *shāṭḥ* (Zoetmulder 1995:86), and in this connection makes the very important observation:

'We do not wish to detract from the possibility of acquaintance with the figure of al-Ḥallāj. The literature of Indonesia furnishes ample proof that this controversial figure was no stranger for practitioners of mysticism. [However,] it is not always clear from which sources this knowledge was drawn, as was mentioned above (note 22). We need not consider an acquaintance with the works of al-Ḥallāj. His name and his famous pronouncement were known through mention by others, and, as far as I can see, knowledge of him was restricted to this. But we can assume, as Kraemer observed (*op. cit.*, p. 18), observations taken from Arabic sources as background for what is discussed in our text.

If one should be inclined to wonder what the starting-point of these observations may have been one might perhaps consider expositions and observations concerning what should be understood under *qurb šifātī*, sometimes described as *al-takhalluq bi-akhlāq Allāh*, the possession of divine traits, which is characteristic of prophets and saints, rather than the teachings of al-Ḥallāj.' (Drewes 1969:23-4.)

³³ Published as *Imam al-Ghazali, 'Ihya' 'Ulumiddin'*, translated by H. Moh. Zuhri et al., Semarang: Asy Syifa°, 1990-, of which nine volumes have appeared to date.

³⁴ Massignon attributed these words to Tawfi (d. 716/1316), following Ghazālī (Massignon 1982 II:45). Assessments like this have led more recent scholars to believe that Ḥallāj's influence on Ghazālī was stronger than Massignon imagined (Lazarus-Yafeh 1975:333, n. 26).

³⁵ The first edition of this text was published with a Dutch translation in B.J.O. Schrieke's 1916 Leiden dissertation, *Het Boek van Bonang*. More recently it was re-edited and translated into English by Professor Drewes (1969).

Professor Drewes then continues with a quotation of the source of this doctrine, namely a well-known *ḥadīth* cited in Bukhari's 'Ṣaḥīḥ'.³⁶ Thus there appears to be nothing in these teachings that could be labelled as specifically Hallajian.

In fact, this seems to be the case in much of Southeast Asian Muslim literature where Ḥallāj is invoked. We see the same pattern, for example, in the poems of the great Malay poet of the late 16th century, Hamzah Fansuri. Here, too, mentions of Ḥallāj are not necessarily intended as a means of spreading the doctrines taught by Ḥallāj himself. As Professors Drewes and Brakel have recently pointed out:

'The extreme utterances (*shaṭhiyyāt*) of early mystics such as Bisṭāmī, Junayd [sic!] and Ḥallāj, are stereotypes in common to all mystical literature, and an appropriate quotation is likely to have been borrowed already by an earlier writer' (Drewes and Brakel 1986:14).

In connection with a saying often attributed to Ḥallāj they go further, demonstrating that Hamzah quoted it from the 'Kimiya-i Sa^cadat', a Persian abridgement of al-Ghazālī's 'Iḥyā' ^cUlūm al-Dīn', which, as we have already noted, was widely known among Muslim scholars throughout Southeast Asia. There are other, more extended references to Ḥallāj and his infamous utterances in the poems of Hamzah³⁷, including:

'Completely swept away by the mighty ocean,
Do not be overwhelmed by this life of appearances.
Do not be afraid to say "Anā 'l-Ḥaqq",
[For] that is the wave becoming the sea.
Your corporeality is mere outward form;

³⁶ 'The Apostle of God – God bless him and give him peace – said: God said: Whosoever acts wrongfully against one of My friends, I declare war on that man. *My servant doth not draw nigh unto Me by any means that pleaseth Me better than performance of the obligatory duties of worship which I have laid upon him; and my servant doth not cease to draw nigh unto Me by voluntary works of devotion until I love him, and when I love him, I am his hearing by which he hears and his sight by which he sees and his hand by which he takes and his foot with which he walks.* If he asks Me, I shall surely give it him, and verily, if he takes refuge in Me, I shall grant it him. In nothing I do do I hesitate so much as with regard to the life of the believer who does not want to die, and whom I will do no ill.' (*Saḥīḥ, Kitāb al-riqāq* No. 38, Krehl and Juynboll IV:231, cited in Drewes 1969:24.)

³⁷ A full analysis of Hamzah's references to Ḥallāj is beyond the scope of the present paper, but would make an interesting line of future inquiry in itself. The poems edited by Drewes and Brakel containing direct references include: XIII, 17-18; XV, 7; XIX, 1-4; and XXV, 11. Professor al-Attas has postulated that one channel of Hallajian influence on Hamzah could be the Turkish *hurufi* poet Nasimi, who is invoked in Hamzah's poems (al-Attas 1970:176). However, since Hamzah knew no Turkish and his knowledge of Persian does not seem to have been as extensive as al-Attas believes it to have been (Drewes and Brakel 1986:13-5), it seems that this influence may also have been mediated by more general works on Sufism such as those discussed above.

Your inner reality is the point of departure.
 If you wish to come face to face,
 Become like Mansur upon the gibbet.³⁸

It is interesting to note that Ḥallāj is invoked here in order to support a position in the tradition of Ibn al-°Arabī³⁹, in whose works Ḥallāj is acknowledged as an important figure in the development of Sufism, although the doctrines he taught differ significantly from those of Ibn al-°Arabī himself (Zoetmulder 1995:37).

It is curious, however, that such frequent and positive mentions of Ḥallāj are not continued in the work of Hamzah's best-known follower, Shāms al-Dīn of Pasai.⁴⁰ This relative shift of emphasis may be due to the influence of a new Sufi doctrine that was adopted by Shāms al-Dīn and subsequently became perhaps the dominant one in Southeast Asian Muslim mysticism until the first part of the twentieth century. This is the doctrine of the 'Seven Grades'.⁴¹ It was an elaboration of Ibn al-°Arabī's doctrine of emanation, which assigned a prominent role to the 'Perfect Man' (*insān kāmil*) as formulated by al-Jīlī. In the sixteenth-century work in which this system was first set out, Ḥallāj is not mentioned once.⁴²

After Shāms al-Dīn's time, however, we see a gradual return of references to Ḥallāj in Malay Islamic literature – although these references once again are made in much the same way as in al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'* as mentioned above. This is the case, for instance, in Malay texts written by the Gujarati °*alim* Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, who was active in Acehese court circles in the mid seventeenth century (see note 4 above). None of al-Rānīrī's Ḥallāj ian references made in passing or by way of refutation⁴³ would have required more than a

³⁸ XXVIII, 11-12: 'Di laut °ulyā yogya berhanyut / Dengan hidup suwari jangan berkalut / Katakan "Ana 'l-Ḥaqq" jangan kautakut / Itulah ombak menjadi laut // Zāhir anggamu zāhir rupanya / Bāṭinmu dā'im ada mulanya / Jika hendak berlihat dengan mukanya / Menjadi Maṣṣūr ke atas sulanya.' (Drewes and Brakel 1986:128-9.) My translation differs somewhat from that given by Drewes and Brakel.

³⁹ That is, if these two quatrains are read in the wider context of Hamzah's work as a whole. For Hamzah's poetry, see Drewes and Brakel 1986; for his prose works, al-Attas 1970.

⁴⁰ For a study of his life and thought, see Nieuwenhuijze 1945, and more recently Dahlan 1991. Readily available editions of texts written by or attributed to Shāms al-Dīn are to be found in Nieuwenhuijze 1945 and Johns 1953.

⁴¹ This was known in Southeast Asia mainly through Fadlallah al-Burhanpuri's *Tuḥfah al-Mursalāh ilā Rūḥ al-Nabī* and subsequent commentaries on this work. For edited texts and translations of the Arabic original and a Javanese recension of this work, see Johns 1965.

⁴² See Johns 1965: Arabic text, pp. 128-38; English translation, pp. 139-48.

⁴³ For example, those in *'Asrār al-Insān fī Ma'rifa al-Rūḥ wa'l-Raḥman*. An edition of the Malay text in Jawi script is presented with an introduction and *apparatus criticus* in Professor Tudjimah's dissertation written at the University of Indonesia (Tudjimah 1961).

secondary knowledge of al-Hallāj – something which al-Rānirī could have easily picked up in his native Gujarat.

Even from such a brief survey of Sufi writings from or popular in Southeast Asia, it is clear that specifically Hallajian currents of thought do not appear to have been important in the intellectual development of Islam in the region. What we see instead is a predominance of two other major trends: the sober Sufism of al-Ghazālī, and the monistic and pantheistic elaborations of the work of Ibn al-ʿArabī. These were later distinguished from the doctrines of Hallāj and his followers by P. Zoetmulder (1995:37), and although Ibn al-ʿArabī himself mentioned Hallāj as a precursor to his own work, he was also aware of the critical differences between his own doctrine and that taught by the martyr of Baghdad.

If we are thus without a doctrinal legacy of Hallāj in Muslim Southeast Asia, what are we to make of the narratives of various 'mystic martyrs' which are included in the literatures of the region? In the face of these findings it seems that, if we are to explain the various 'survivals' of Hallāj in Muslim Southeast Asia, we should do so in terms not of direct transmission (be it via Gujarati Mansuris, Tamil Labbai, or anyone else) of specifically Hallajian teachings, but of a reflection of Hallāj and his teachings as disseminated here through some of the more 'standard' secondary works, such as al-Ghazālī's 'Ihyā', which were widely studied throughout the late medieval Muslim world.

Thus we see that the most dominant 'Sufi' school of Islamic doctrine in the region in pre-modern times was not, in fact, doctrinal Hallajianism of any sort but rather a school comprising two other currents: (1) an elaboration of the more Neoplatonic ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī; and (2) what has often been referred to as 'sober Sufism', of the kind formulated by al-Ghazālī in the 'Ihyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn'. Even these, however, should not be regarded as a be-all and end-all summary of Islamic thought in Southeast Asia. For most of these works were studied alongside texts in other branches of traditional Islamic science in centres of study known as *pondok pesantren* in many parts of the Archipelago. The works included in the syllabus of these institutions are generally referred to as *kitab* literature, comprising works in both Arabic and Malay, as well as various local languages for the writing of which the Arabic script was used.⁴⁴

Extant surveys of literature of this genre give no indication whatsoever of

⁴⁴ For an introduction to these texts and the milieu in which they were studied, see Van Bruinessen 1994; for a survey of the production and distribution of such texts in a still active publishing centre, see Matheson and Hooker 1988. During a period of study in Cairo I was also able to collect a considerable number of such texts printed there in the early decades of the twentieth century, the existence of many of which has not yet been acknowledged in international scholarship. It is hoped that these works will become the subject of a future study.

what texts contain either Hallajian doctrine or even significant mentions of the person Ḥallāj. In fact, a recent study of these *kitab* has shown that among the 'Sufi' texts commonly studied in *pesantren*, not a single work that could be characterized as specifically Hallajian is in evidence (Van Bruinessen 1990). Instead, one finds al-Ghazālī's 'Iḥyā'' and its derivatives still occupying a dominant position (Van Bruinessen 1990:266). As the transmission of Muslim knowledge in the region has been largely dependent on the *pesantren* curricula, even in modern times, this would seem to have posed a serious obstacle to the preservation of any supposed Hallajian 'survivals' there.

However, in spite of this apparent lack of interest in the figure and teachings of Ḥallāj in traditional *pesantren* education, one nonetheless finds increasing attention focused on Ḥallāj and his Indonesian avatars in contemporary Southeast Asia.⁴⁵ In general this may be interpreted as simply one manifestation of a more general renaissance of Sufism in the region, and particularly in Indonesia, in the past few decades.⁴⁶

Any discussion of the resurgence of Sufism in modern Indonesia should certainly consider the role of Hamka (the acronymic pen-name of Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah) in this. Hamka is one of the most prominent Southeast Asian Muslim writers of this century, and is remembered not only for his thirty-volume *Tafsir al-Azhar*, but also for several novels, an immense quantity of journalistic writings in a number of newspapers and magazines, and works on Islamic history and philosophy, in addition to his writings on Sufism. Hamka was intimately associated with the Indonesian modernist organization Muhammadiyah, and as such might seem an unlikely candi-

⁴⁵ This is evidenced not only by the recent appearance of some publications on the subject, such as the Indonesian translation of Shaykh Ibrahim Gazur-i-Ilāhī's *The Secret of Ana 'l-Haqq* (Gazur-i-Ilāhī 1995, reprinted 1996), but also by the attempted theatrical staging of the 'Trial of Siti Jenar' by Dr. Simuh and Emha Ainun Nadjib in 1989 (Steenbrink 1997:174).

⁴⁶ The numerous publications which have appeared in recent years range from translations of selections from works by and stories about prominent Sufis from Middle Eastern Muslim history (Abdul Hadi (ed.) 1991; Mansur 1996) to secondary studies written in appreciation of famous Indonesian Muslim mystics (Abdul Hadi 1993; Simuh 1987, 1988, 1993, and 1995), and even textbooks such as the one outlining a 'Sufi' foundation for Islamic ethics, which has become required reading at IAIN (Institut Agama Islam Negeri; see Nata 1996). In addition, a number of contemporary Indonesian poets have become well-known for their 'religious' works, including Taufik Ismail, Sutardji Chalzoom Bachri, Danarto, Ahmadun Yosi Herfanda, K.H.A. Mustofa Bisri, and, of course, Emha Ainun Nadjib. In addition to his written texts, the latter is also becoming increasingly popular for his musical recordings of *zikir* and *wirid* with his group, Gamelan Kiai Kanjeng, and others. The video of one of their pieces, 'Tambo Ati' (Cures for the Heart), was played several times a day on national television during the month of Ramadhan in 1418 H. / 1998 A.D. Works by authors like those mentioned above also often form the basic texts in the 'Religious Poetry Recitation Competitions' that are frequently held by various *pesantren* and mosque-centred youth groups in Greater Jakarta.

date for the role of twentieth-century advocate of Sufism.⁴⁷ Nonetheless, his *Tasauif Moderen*⁴⁸ represented a major step in re-establishing Islamic mysticism as a legitimate force in contemporary Indonesia. Such a feat could not have been accomplished, of course, without his illustrating the historical roots of the mystical traditions of Islam to justify his position, towards which end he published *Perkembangan Tasauif dari Abad ke-Abad* (Hamka 1952), which was later expanded and republished under the title *Tasauif; Perkembangan dan Pemurniannya* (Hamka 1983).

In these and other works by Hamka on the history of Sufism, we find extensive discussions of Ḥallāj which deal particularly with his execution and the doctrines popularly attributed to him. Hamka's final assessment of Ḥallāj does not deviate significantly from the general 'Ghazalian' pattern we have discussed above.⁴⁹ His discussion of Ḥallāj does show one important difference with those in the earlier literature, however, in that it contains the first direct reference, as far as I know, to any of Ḥallāj's actual writings in Southeast Asian Muslim literature.⁵⁰

Hamka's writings seem to have stimulated a renewed interest in Ḥallāj and his relationship to Javanese mystics such as Seh Siti Jenar. Since then, similar extended discussions of Ḥallāj have occurred frequently in Indonesian literature, namely in works like the popular history of Sufism by Aboebakar Atjeh.⁵¹ In this work, the figure of Ḥallāj is explicitly connected

⁴⁷ While mysticism was by no means a characteristic trait of 'reformism' in general, some advocates of what is often referred to as 'reformist Islam' did feel there should be a place for certain forms of mysticism in their reconception of Islam. These included Hassan al-Banna, the founder of Egypt's Ikhwān al-Muslimīn, who maintained an affinity with certain forms of mysticism throughout his life (Voll 1995:115).

⁴⁸ Hamka 1987. I plan to discuss the particular significance of this work, which went through numerous reprints since it was first published in 1939, in detail in a forthcoming work on Hamka.

⁴⁹ Hamka 1952:114-5. However, in his *Sejarah Umat Islam* Hamka confuses the theological definitions of *wahdat al-wujūd* and the doctrine of *ḥulūl* (incarnation) and subsequently contrasts his understanding of them with 'the teachings of Sufism in accordance with the Sunnah as taught by al-Ghazālī and others'. Nonetheless, he eventually concurs with previous scholars that Ḥallāj was ultimately condemned for disseminating his ideas to the common people, who would have been unable to properly understand them (Hamka 1994:750-2).

⁵⁰ Hamka 1952:115-7. Hamka here gives a list of eight titles attributed to Ḥallāj, including the 'Kitāb 'ilm al-baqā' wa'l-fana' and the 'Kitāb Ta wa Sin'. The sources of his information will be examined further below. Nonetheless, his understanding of what was exactly covered by these titles seems to be less than perfect. For even after making such positive mentions of Ḥallāj, Hamka insists that he was in fact a Shi'ite and that 'In the history of the development of Sufism in Indonesia, the Shafi'i influences of al-Ghazali were much greater than the Shi'i influences of al-Hallāj' (Hamka 1983:233).

⁵¹ Atjeh 1962:29, 210-8. Even after giving a fairly positive sketch of Ḥallāj, not unlike that presented by Hamka, Aboebakar Atjeh nonetheless refers to Ḥallāj's Eastern journeys as part of a mission as a 'missionary of the Qarmatians' (Atjeh 1962:212). Here we see – even more clearly

with such figures as Seh Siti Jenar.⁵² In earlier writings on Seh Siti Jenar and other mystical martyrs of Javanese Muslim history, such as the above-mentioned 'Serat Cabolek' (Soebardi 1975:36), these various figures are quite intentionally associated with one another, although their relationship to non-Javanese figures such as Ḥallāj is not prominently portrayed, except in the later editions of Hamka's *Sejarah Umat Islam* (Hamka 1994:751). Aboebakar Atjeh does just that, however. Furthermore, he not only draws attention to the similarity of the archetypical elements in the narratives about these various *shaykh* to those in that about Ḥallāj, but also asserts that all of these figures taught essentially the same doctrine.⁵³

It seems that subsequently no Indonesian author writing on Sufism could avoid incorporating at least some discussion of Ḥallāj and his 'legacy' in Southeast Asia into his work. More recently, even Indonesian translations of excerpts from Ḥallāj's own works have begun to appear in popular Sufi anthologies.⁵⁴ One wonders about the cause of this proliferation of Indonesian writings on Ḥallāj over the past few decades. This cause seems to be hinted at in the bibliographies of these works. For there we encounter references not to Arabic or Persian works of the great Sufi masters, or even to the later systematic digests summarizing them, but rather to the European-language translations by Orientalists such as Nicholson and Arberry, as well as to secondary studies, including Annemarie Schimmel's *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, an Indonesian translation of which was published in Jakarta by Pustaka Firdaus in 1991.

It is curious that even most Indonesian authors who have a solid grasp of

than in the above-mentioned writings of Hamka – the use of Ḥallāj and Indonesian mystics placed in a similar class in 'Shari'ah-minded' polemics against forms of Sufism and 'Javanism' that ignored the formal requirements of the law. For more information on the course and evolution of these debates, see Drewes 1966, and Steenbrink 1984:197-210.

⁵² Atjeh 1962:215. In fact, Atjeh goes even further, linking other figures from areas outside Java, including Teungku Trubu'ied of Aceh and even the well-known Malay poet Hamzah Fansuri, into this same pattern. Contrary to what is generally known of the latter's biography, Atjeh argues that he, too, was executed for his unorthodox beliefs, and that his blood testified to the truth after the fact. This is an important example of the way in which the memory of Ḥallāj is sometimes treated in modern Southeast Asia, where he is indiscriminately associated with both *hulūlī* (incarnationists) and adherents of *wahdat al-wujūd* (the unity of being). Nonetheless, he continues to represent a person who has indeed grasped the Truth, but simply made the mistake of disclosing it to those who could not understand (Atjeh 1962:218).

⁵³ This assertion seems to be based on Hamka's earlier assessment of Ḥallāj's teachings (Hamka 1952:108-15).

⁵⁴ Abdul Hadi (ed.) 1991 contains not only Indonesian translations of Ḥallāj's work (pp. 39-42, 60-1), but also a number of passages written in appreciation or defence of Ḥallāj by later Sufis, including Ibn al-ʿArabi (p. 174), Ḥafiz (p. 149) and Jalāl al-Din Rumi (pp. 43-4). The bibliography of sources from which these translations were made comprises almost entirely English translations by Western Orientalists.

Arabic and refer to the original Arabic *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, and *fiqh* texts do not refer to original Arabic works on Sufism. In fact, the only Arabic work on Sufism cited by Hamka in his histories of Sufism is an Arabic translation of Nicholson's *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (see the bibliographies in Hamka 1952 and 1983). This leads one to surmise that the increased attention to Sufism in general, and to Ḥallāj in particular, may be intrinsically connected with developments in the field of Islamic studies as initiated by Western scholars. In this context of course Massignon's work on Ḥallāj has had a profound effect in bringing such an extensive amount of information on the great martyr of Baghdad to light, thus in a sense restoring him to his place at the centre of discussions about Sufism.⁵⁵ For this he has not gone unrecognized. Hamka himself acknowledged Massignon as:

'The great pillar of all Orientalists ... Massignon outlined *new* ways of Sufism [my italics, R.M.F.]. Most importantly, he wrote about Hallaj in a deep and beautiful study – outlining all the sublime meanings in his book, *La Passion de Husayn Ibn Mansūr Hallāj* (Paris 1922).' (Hamka 1952:116.)⁵⁶

Here one can conclude that, although perhaps Massignon's theories about the role of Hallajia in Southeast Asia may not have been correct at the time, his work in fact seems to have stimulated a new awareness of Ḥallāj in Southeast Asia, unprecedented in the Muslim history of the region. Future studies of Hallajiana Nusantara will have to take this into account when assessing the role of mystical, and particularly Hallajian, trends in Southeast Asian Islam. This influence is a significant testimony to the importance of Massignon's work not only in Western Academia, but also in the larger Muslim world, as well as being a reminder that the work we do as 'scholars of Islam' may have repercussions in contexts far removed from the academic setting in which it is carried out.

⁵⁵ In *Perkembangan Tasawuf dari Abad ke-Abad*, Hamka directly cites Massignon's 1922 edition of the *Passion*, as well as his edition of the 'Ta wa Sin' (Hamka 1952:117).

⁵⁶ Elsewhere Hamka has elaborated on this appreciation of Massignon and his work in the following words: 'I myself have witnessed the way in which one who devoted decades of his life to the study of Sufism, namely Professor Louis Massignon – whom I have personally met twice (in Chicago in 1952 and Lahore in January 1958) – has had his soul truly and deeply influenced by the spirit of *la yamliku shayyan, wa la yamlikuhu shayyun* [sic]' (Hamka 1983:252).

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