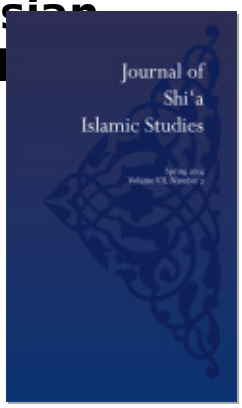
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The Study of Persian Shi'ism in the Malay-Indonesian World: A Review of Literature from the Nineteenth Century Onwards

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ABSTRACT: The purpose of this essay is to display the significance of studies relating to the influence of Persian Shi'ism in Southeast Asia in general, and the Malay Archipelago in particular. With this purpose in mind, a comprehensive bibliography of works published in the ninteenth, twentieth, and early twenty-first centuries (1888-2014) is presented. An attempt is also made to present the influence of Persian Shi'a figures and elements on the historical and modern Malay Archipelago.

KEYWORDS: Persia; Southeast Asia; Malay Archipelago; Shi'a; Islam.

Introduction[1]

There are numerous diverse religious and cultural ethnic groups worldwide, many of which have mutual interactions with each other. For hundreds of years, Persian as well as Shi'a communities have been known as minority groups with considerable influence on some Eastern and Western societies. At present, many Persians, or Iranians, are Shi'a believers who combine ancient Persian literature and culture from pre-Islamic periods with Islamic-Shi'a thought. The association of Iran with Shi'ism has especially been recognised since the Islamic Revolution of 1979. For political, economic, and sociocultural reasons, many Iranians are today scattered throughout the world.[2]

In the view of the Iranian public, it was the founder of the Safavid dynasty, Shah Isma'il (r. 1501-1524) who was responsible for presenting Twelver Shi'ism as a systematized religious sect in Persia from 1501

onwards. While, at the beginning of Shah Isma'il's reign, Shi'a doctrine, culture, and theology conflicted with the religion of his subjects, neither Shah Isma'il nor the Shi'a theologians who came to Iran upon being invited by Safavid rulers, entered into a sociopolitical vacuum.[3]

The foreign policy of the Safavids had an impact on South Asia and upon the literature and culture of the Indian subcontinent as did the 1738-9 invasion of India of a non-Safavid Persian king, Nadir Shah Afshar (1688/98-1747). Persian loan words and Shi'a cultural practices can still be found in South Asia and it is worth recalling that the principal language of Indian Muslims up until the nineteenth century was Persian.[4] It is clear that this Persian Shi'a influence extended beyond South Asia into the Malay Archipelago, yet the exact nature of this influence remains somewhat unknown. As Marcinkowski says, when considering the history of Islam in the Eastern Indian Ocean region and the Eastern Archipelago, as well as the place of Shi'ism within this context, the role played by lingua francas will become apparent. In the course of Islamic history, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Malay (not to speak of several other lingua francas in Africa) had been major tools in communicating the message of Islam to a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual audience. Due to several historical developments, Persian obtained such a position in Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent and it was also to have a say in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago.[5]

In this essay the Persian Shi'a influence in Southeast Asia, and particularly in the Malay Archipelago,[6] will be evaluated through an analysis of relevant literature.[7] The influence will be charted in three sections. First, some historical background will be given and the impact of Persian Shi'ism on Malay literature will be discussed. Second, the status of Persian Shi'ism in the contemporary Archipelago will be considered. Third, a bibliographical study of literature from 1888 until 2014 pertaining to Persian Shi'ism in the archipelago will be presented.

Historical background: Persian Shi'a influence on Malay literature

Three Persian poets who acquired a unique reputation among Malay scholars are Farid al-Din 'Attar al-Nishaburi (d. *c.*1119), Shaykh Muslih al-Din Sa'di Shirazi (d. 1291), and 'Abd al-Rahman Jami (1414-1492). While

Jami was not a Shi'a, Sa'di and Attar were. A *ghazal* by Sa'di can be found inscribed on the tomb of Na'inah Husam al-Din (d. *c.*1420 CE/823 AH) in North Sumatra.[8] Such an inscription proves that Persian literature made its way to the southeastern tip of Asia from an early period. The inscribed *ghazal* on Husam al-Din's tomb begins with the couplet *bisyar sal-ha bih sar-i khak-i ma ravad | kin ab-i chishmih ayad u bad-i saba ravad,* translated by Cowan as 'Countless years pass over our earth (*or:* grave) | while the water of the spring passes and the zephyr blows.'[9] As Cowan says, 'Na'ina Husam al-Din is a typically Indian name. In Islamic India, Persian was and is largely the language of culture and science. It need not, therefore, cause much surprise that a Persian inscription should be found in this part of Sumatra.'[10] Other Arabic texts and Qur'anic verses like the *basmalah*, the declaration of faith, the verse of the throne (2:256), and 9:21 are written on the tombstone. Through his investigation of the tombstone, Cowan came to the conclusion that Islam was brought to North Sumatra, and the Malay Archipelago as a whole, from India and even maintained that the tombstones were routinely sent from India to Southeast Asia in the fifteenth century.

Hamza Fansuri (d. *c.*1550-1600), a noted Malay Sufi poet, regularly referred to Persian Shi'a characters in his works. In *al-Muntahi* (*The Adept*),[11] after praising God and blessing the Prophet Muhammad and his followers, Fansuri gave a narration by 'Ali ibn Abi Talib: ' 'Ali (may God be well pleased with him) said: I see nothing except that I see God within it.'[12] He went on to develop his prose work with several verses from 'Abd al-Rahman Jami, a Sunni Persian, such as: 'And Mawlana 'Abd al-Rahman Jami (God's mercy be upon him) said, in verse: In neighbour, friend, and travelling companion – all is He | In the veils of beggars and in the robes of Kings – all is He.'[13] Some of 'Attar's couplets from his *Mantiq al-Tayr*, for instance, have also been cited by Fansuri: 'Furthermore, Shaykh 'Attar (may God be well pleased with him) said: Some from among them returned, after beholding, leaping for joy; their souls have been given release from seeking.'[14] Fansuri did not restrict himself to Jami and 'Attar but also referred to other Persians, such as the non-Shi'a Fakhr al-Din Iraqi (d. 1289) and Shaykh Mahmud Shabistari (d. 1320). No wonder Persian conceptions of the philosophy of the unity of existence (*wahdat al-wujud*) – inspired by Ibn 'Arabi (1165-1240) – are visible in Fansuri's *oeuvre*.[15] Shams al-Din Sumatrani (d. 1630) was a prominent student of Fansuri who elucidated some of his tutor's notions through Arabic

and Persian[16] and modern Southeast Asian scholars, and Islamologists recognise Fansuri as a Shi'a who knew both Arabic and Persian.[17]

That Malay scholars have devoted considerable time to Persian literature is worthy of note. For instance, the book *Tadhkirat al-Awliya'* written by 'Attar was translated into the Malay language by 'Abdul Majid bin Haji Khatib in 1977.[18] A number of great Malay intellectuals like Bukhari Lubis (b. 1953) have shown considerable interest in Attar's work:

> I checked thoroughly all anthologies of poems by Malaysian 'religious poets' or poets who have Sufi tendencies […]. I did not find the name of 'Attar in their poetical works even though they sometimes mention other poets who wrote in Persian, like Hafiz, Sa'di, Rumi […]. I did find one poem, which is in fact a poem I wrote in Mashhad after I visited 'Attar's tomb […].[19]

The poem Bukhari Lubis refers to begins 'Your name is Fariduddin, your book on God is the *Conference of the Birds* | A memorial to saints, and much, much more […].'[20]

Apart from the loaned poetic terms and expressions in Malay literature, much of the literature on Persian Shi'ism in the Malay Archipelago deals with Malay *hikayat,* or folk prose.[21] Several commonalities exist between these Malay tales and Shi'a and Persian characters. For instance, the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah* narrates Imam Husayn's defeat in Karbala. Subsequently, this story became linked to people's culture in parts of Sumatra. On this subject, Drakard states that,

> [the] *Tabut* ceremony is still practiced on Sumatra's west coast. *Tabut*, otherwise known as the Feast of Hasan and Husain, is a Shi'a festival which mourns the defeat of the prophet's descendants on the field of Karbala. The story of this defeat is known in the Malay world through the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah* […].[22]

Amazingly, the *tabut* or *'ashura* ceremony continues to be practiced in West Sumatra.[23] Furthermore, the Aceh language uses other names for the Islamic lunar months, for example, *asan-usén* for Muharram. Hurgronje assumes that *asan-usén* refers to the tenth day of Muharram (*'ashura*) and the commemoration of Hasan and Husayn, the Prophet's

grandchildren.[24]

Baroroh Baried's *Le Shi'isme en Indonésie* aptly introduces the status of Shi'a in Indonesia.[25] Baried lists the Malay *hikayat* which relate to personalities venerated by the Shi'a as *Hikayat Nabi Muhammad Mengajar Anaknya Bibi Fatimah* (*The Story of Prophet Muhammad Training his Daughter Fatimah*); *Hikayat Dhu al-Faqar* (*The Story of Dhu al-Faqar*); *Hikayat Fatimah berswami* (*The Story of Fatimah's Marriage and Wedding*); *Hikayat Wafat Nabi Mohammad* (*The Story of Prophet Muhammad's Death*); *Hikayat Raja Khandaq* (*The Story of the King of Khandaq*); *Hikayat Bulan berbelah* (*The Story of the Splitting of the Moon*); *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah (The Story of Muhammad al-Hanafiyyah)*; *Hikayat Hasan dan Husain* (*The Story of Hasan and Husayn*); and *Cerita Tabut* (*The History of Tabut*). Also, some more *hikayat* relate to 'Ali and Fatimah were introduced by Wieringa. [26] Aside from these *hikayat,* Winstedt reasoned that *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina* is a translated version of Nasrullah Munshi's Persian work entitled 'Kalilih va Dimnih'.[27] Furthermore, *Taj al-Salatin*, a Malay book of the 'mirrors for princes' genre written by Bukhari Jawhari (*c.*17th century) is styled on Persian advice (*andarz/nasihat*) literature.[28] Marrison believed that 'the *Taj al-Salatin* translates many verses from Persian, retaining the original metres – *mathnawi, ruba'i, ghazal*. One of these is quoted from the *Secrets of 'Attar*'.[29]

Apart from the historical and textual influences of Persian Shi'ism on Southeast Asia, and Malay literature in particular, themes popular among Persian Shi'as can also be found in contemporary Malaya. For example, the chivalry and braveness of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib is seen in Malay martial art and the piety and virtue of Fatimah al-Zahra is seen in discourse on marital life.[30] In addition to the aforementioned points mostly related to Malaya and Indonesia, a travel account narrates the journey of Iranians to Siam (Thailand) in 1685. The work, *Safinih-yi Sulayman* (*The Ship of Sulayman*), is written by Ibn Muhammad Ibrahim, the secretary to the ambassador of Safavid ruler, Shah Sulayman (r. 1666-94).[31] *Safinih-yi Sulayman* deals with the impact of Shaykh Ahmad Qummi (1543-1631), a merchant who arrived in Ayutthaya in 1602 and, more generally, the relationship between Persians and Siamese, and the effect of Persian Shi'ism on the Malay Archipelago. Shaykh Ahmad became the first *shaykh al-Islam* or *chularajmontri* in Siam; his Shi'a descendants, otherwise known as the Bunnag family,[32] became pillars of the Thai state. The tomb of this influential cultural-political figure has a prominent status among

Thais, just as the tomb of Avicenna in Hamadan, or Hafiz and Sa'di in Shiraz, have a prominent status in modern day Iran. Some of the inscription on the tombstone of Shaykh Ahmad reads:

> Chao Phya Boworn Rajnayok (Sheikh Ahmad), Shia-Ithna Ashari (i.e. Twelver Shi'ite) Muslim, was born in 1543 A.D. in the Paeene Shahar district of Qum, the Islamic centre of Iran. Towards the end of King Naresuan the Great's reign [r. 1590-1605], Sheikh Ahmad and his retinue migrated to Ayudhaya and set up their residential and trading quarters in the Ghayee landing district. His business prospered and he became very wealthy. He married a lady named Chuey, who bore him two sons and a daughter. As a result of his contribution to the development of the port administration during King Songdham's reign, Sheikh Ahmad was appointed by royal command to be Phya Sheikh Ahmad Rattana Rahsethee, Head of 'Krom Tha of the Right' in charge of foreign trade and responsible for settling disputes among foreigners other than Chinese. As Chula Rajmontri [i.e. Shaykh al-Islam], leader of the Muslim community, he was the first holder of the 'Chula Rajmontri' title and was recognized as the one who introduced the Shia-Ithna Ashari sect [i.e. Twelver Shi'ism] to Thailand. Subsequently, Sheikh Ahmad, together with his devoted friends, helped suppress an uprising in Ayudhya when a group of foreigners seized the Grand Palace. This dangerous deed led to the King promoting him to the title of 'Chao Phya'. He thus became Chao Phya Sheikh Ahmad Rattana Dhibodi, holding the position of 'Principle Minister for Civil Affairs (North)'. During the reign of King Prasartthong, when Sheikh Ahmad was 87 years old, the king appointed him 'Emeritus Councilor for Civil Affairs' with the new title Chao Phya Boworn Rajnayok'. He passed away one year later in 1631 A.D. at the age of 88.[33]

So far an overview of the influence of Persian Shi'ism in various parts of Malay literature and history has been presented. In the next section more contemporary matters are dealt with and the influence of Persian Shi'ism in the modern-day Malay Archipelago is discussed.

Persian Shi'ism in the modern archipelago

Shi'a activities in today's Malaysia are strictly controlled (to the dissatisfaction of local and international commentators) and several scholars have written about that,[34] and so discussion of Persian Shi'ism in the modern-day Malay Archipelago must focus on Indonesia and Thailand. Indonesia, with the motto 'unity in diversity', is at the forefront of promoting and welcoming Shi'a rituals in Southeast Asia. Although in the New Order period Shi'a believers were labeled deviant Muslims, the Islamic revolution in Iran prompted many to travel from Indonesia to Iran and other parts of the Middle East to acquire Shi'a-Islamic teachings. Works by Mulla Sadra (1572-1640),[35] 'Ali Shari'ati (d. 1977), Murtada Mutahhari (d. 1979), 'Allamah Muhammad Husayn Tabataba'i (d. 1981), and other influential Shi'a figures, have been studied by Indonesian scholars. As Formichi states,

> The works of Shi'i theologists and philosophers, distributed by Indonesian students returning from Iran and other Middle Eastern countries, have stirred enthusiastic responses on university campuses. The egalitarian messages of Mullah Sadra, Mutahhari and the political views of Ali Shari'ati have been enthusiastically supported by those searching for a 'pure' form of Islam.[36]

Indeed, Indonesian Shi'a followers were apparently free to pursue their beliefs following the collapse of Suharto's regime in 1998. As such, the Islamic Republic of Iran has shown active support and presented Southeast Asian students with numerous scholarship opportunities to study at the international *hawzah* of Qum or at Al-Mustafa International University, which has several international branches. Indeed, one of the most influential branches of Al-Mustafa is the Islamic College in Indonesia.[37] Indonesians spend considerable time studying modern Shi'a figures. The PhD dissertation of Khoirul Imam, for instance, investigates *wilayat al-faqih* (guardianship of the jurisconsult) from Ayatollah Khomeini's perspective and relates it to the Indonesian context.[38] Ahmad Muhibbin also pursued this religious-political aspect of Shi'a studies and evaluated the concept of *imamah* (leadership) in light of the views of Muhammad Husayn Tabataba'i. Muhibbin introduces the concept of

imamah in three chief branches of Shi'ism (i.e. Zaydiyyah, Isma'iliyyah, and Imamiyyah). He then analyses the meaning of the phrases *ulu al-amr*, *wilayah*, and *imamah* by using the work of Tabataba'i.[39] Several other Indonesian researchers have also examined the exegetical approach used by Tabataba'i in his *al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an*. Another area of Indonesian research has also been Iranian sociopolitical thought. 'The Political Thought of Ali Shari'ati: The Relation between Religion and State' was a PhD dissertation written at the University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta in 2007. In this study, following discussion of the history of religion and Islam, Nugroho comments on the crucial role of Islamic ideology in revolution[40] according to the viewpoint of Shari'ati.[41] This level of freedom to explore Shi'ism in Indonesia prompted the establishment of Ikatan Jamaah Ahlulbait Indonesia (IJABI) (All-Indonesian Assembly of Ahlulbayt Association) in 2000 under the supervision of Jalaluddin Rahmat (b. 1949) to promote Islamic-Shi'a culture in Indonesia.[42]

As for Thailand, modern links with Persian Shi'ism were initiated when Thai Shi'a believers made official contact with Iranians during the first phase of Iran's Islamic revolution. The Persian translation of the letter was published by the reputed journal *Darsha'i az Maktab-i Islam* in 1978 (Bahman 1357 / January-February 1978). The gist of the letter, entitled in translation 'An Utterance from the Shi'as of Thailand', is as follows:

> We are almost two thousand Shi'as in Bangkok and this enormous number of believers only have [sic] four mosques throughout Bangkok (Masjid Shahi, Masjid Khushbakht, Masjid Fallah, Masjid al-I'anah al-Islamiyyah)….Shaykh Ahmad Qummi and his companions left Qum, came here and founded the Shi'a sect in Thailand. Nowadays, these two thousand believers are his descendants. After Shaykh Ahmad passed away, Thai Shi'as do [sic] not have a religious leader (*rawhani*), and nobody has yet been to Iraq, Iran, or other Muslim countries to acquire Islamic teachings. Therefore, none of the Thai Shi'as are familiar with Arabic, Farsi, or Urdu, but they use the books of *Jami' Abbasi* and *Mafatih al-Jinan* in their ritual ceremonies. Also, in the sacred month of Muharram, mourning for the *ahl al-bayt* is done in Farsi but unfortunately we do not have a prayer leader to lead the prayers […]. We

> request all Shi'as of the world to cooperate with Thai Shi'as in religious affairs.[43]

The letter shows the important role of Shaykh Ahmad Qummi in founding Iran-Thai relations. Following the Islamic revolution, the new Iranian government embarked on building upon existing Iran-Thailand links by seeking to strengthen relations with Thailand and its Shi'a communities.[44] The efforts of the cultural section of the Islamic Republic of Iran's embassy in Bangkok have been more inclined to cultural initiatives rather than specifically religious activities, as has been the case with the embassy in Jakarta. For instance, the Bangkok embassy has held several conferences and launched several books on the scientific and cultural contributions of Persian Shi'a ulema in Southeast Asia. In 1995, *Sheikh Ahmad Qomi and the History of Siam* was published. Some years later, *Measuring the Effect of Iranian Mysticism on Southeast Asia,* a book edited by Imitiyaz Yusuf, presented thirteen well-written essays dealing with Persian and Shi'a studies in Southeast Asia. These two culturally-focussed academic publications display the influence of Iranian Shi'ism in Southeast Asia and particularly in the Malay Archipelago.

Persian Shi'ism in Southeast Asia during the twenty-first century

For most of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, works on Shi'ism in Southeast Asia addressed the commonalities between Karbala commemorations and Malay culture, particularly in Indonesia. Helfrich and colleagues were the first to write about Hasan-Husayn and the feast of *tabut* in Benkoelken, Indonesia:

> Every year in the month Muharram, the first month of the Muhammadan year, at the capital Benkoelen and in the principality of Kroe which belongs to the Benkoelen area, there is a feast celebrated, which is known under the title Hasan-Husayn or Tabut-feast, also known as 'Ashura. The day of 'Ashura (the 10th of Muharram) is according to the orthodox Muhammadan creed a day of fasting on which several facts are commemorated, including the heroic death of Husayn at the battle of Karbala (680 CE). This last event has now, especially

> in the countries where the Shi'a have or had a large influence, been the cause of many celebrations, which have the sufferance history of the family of 'Ali as its subject, but which originate from mostly non-Muslim customs. The account of this feast, as it takes place in Hindustan, can be found in the works on Islam in that country. In the East-Indies the Muhammadans in some areas make on the day of Ashura a special food. Weird customs, as told in the mentioned accounts, are only to be found in Benkoelen, Kroē, and here and there on the Sumatran west coast at Padang, as far as we know; maybe Bengalese soldiers are the source of these when they came in the times of the British. Some specialities of the Husayn legend will be told below, where they add to the knowledge of these matters at Benkoelen, but in general reference to the mentioned accounts is deemed sufficient.Of the event that occurred after the battle of Karbala it is told: the beheaded corpse of Husayn was left on the battlefield.[45]

As for works on Persian influence in Southeast Asia, the majority of works refer to the emergence of Persians or Persian literature. As indicated earlier, Cowan found that Sa'adi's poems were introduced to the Malay world via Indian Muslims. Later on, Voorhoeve explored Persian influence on the Malay world and language. Other modern works on Persian-Shi'ism have followed the same lead, but it should be noted that only a few have studied the combined Persian and Shi'a influence on Southeast Asia and the Malay Archipelago. A trend in more recent works is to discuss sociopolitical matters, which, to some extent, is a rupture with the historical studies of Persian-Shi'a influence in Southeast Asia. In the bibliography of studies of Persian-Shi'a influence in Southeast Asia which follows, three themes can clearly be seen to emerge after 2000.

(a) Culture and history, in which both historical and modern issues are related regarding the cultural aspect of Persian Shi'ism in the Malay Archipelago. Since 2000, Christoph Marcinkowski and Shahab Setudeh Nejad were among the first to concentrate on linking historical stories with contemporary matters. From the numerous works of Marcinkowski, some of his essays relate to Persian Shi'ism in Southeast Asia and were published by *Encyclopedia Iranica* under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Yar Shatir.[46]

(b) Religion, society, and anthropology, in which the amalgamation of religious historical features with sociological and anthropological norms and values forms another component of the study of modern Persian-Shi'ism in the Malay Archipelago. For example, Wendy Mukherjee discusses Malay *hikayat* among women in relation to their life stage. Similarly, Daneshgar et al. conducted research on the manifestation of Shi'ism in Malay customs. Also, Halimatusa'diyah prepared an article in which she analyses Shi'a women in Indonesia as a religious minority group.[47]

(c) Society and politics, for which various academics have attempted to integrate religious-social factors with political issues in modern society. The majority of publications in this category are authored either by Indonesian scholars or individuals writing about Indonesia, suggesting that Indonesians are seeking to assert their formal rights in society. Several studies are conducted on *mut'ah*, or temporary marriage, which is considered by Indonesians to be one of the most controversial aspects of Shi'ism. Among Malaysians, M. F. Musa also occasionally presents socio-political views on Shi'ism.[48] Formichi's works, listed in the bibliography, fall under this category.

Bibliographical background

Based on the above discussion I seek to show the extent to which Persian-Shi'ism in the Malay Archipelago has been studied by presenting a comprehensive bibliography of relevant works. This bibliographical study does not list works related to Shi'ism or Sufism written by Malay scholars which are otherwise unrelated to Southeast Asia or the Malay Archipelago. Rather, the bibliography gathers works on themes such as Persian studies in Indonesia, the *ahl al-bayt* in the Malay Archipelago, and Shi'a elements in Fansuri's poems. The bibliography is ordered in two chronological groups, 1888-1999 and 2000-2014. For ease of reference, the works are further divided into twenty-year batches. The bibliography includes books, articles, review articles, and official reports written in Persian, English, Malay, Indonesian, Thai, Arabic, Italian, French, German, and Dutch. The language of each work is mentioned in brackets (apart from works written in English). Online resources have been stated separately.

The works in the bibliography have been gathered by visiting several Malay local libraries as well as some Arab and Iranian libraries. Moreover, virtual libraries and various databases helped to validate and authenticate the works retrieved. Four bibliographical studies which relate to Islam in Indonesia and general Islamic issues in Southeast Asia were particularly helpful. These bibliographies are as follows, with the most complete bibliography being that by Bonneff & Lombard:

Marcel Bonneff & Denys Lombard, 'Bibliographie sélective', in *Archipel* XXIX, no. 1 (1985), 91-105.

B. J. Boland & I. Farjon *Islam in Indonesia: A Bibliographical Survey*, K.I.T.L.V. Bibl. Series XIV (Dordrecht: Foris, 1983).

Michel de Gigord, *Bibliographie sur l'Islam en Indonésie* (Paris, 1979), miméo.

Muljanto Sumardi, *Islamic Education in Indonesia: A Bibliography* (Singapore: I.S.E.A.S., 1983).

1888-1999

1888-1908

O. L., Helfrich, W. R. Winter, and D. M. J. Schiff, 'Het Hasan-Hosein of Taboet-feest te Bengkoelen' ('Hasan-Husayn or Tabut Celebration in Benkoelen'), in *Internationales Archivfür Ethnographie* I (1888), 191-96. (Dutch)

P. J. Veth, 'Opmerkingen naar aanleiding van het opstel, Hat Hasan-Hosein of Taboet-feest te Benkoelen', in *Internationales Archivfür Ethnographie* I (1888), 230-233 (Some Comments on the essay 'Het Hasan-Hosein of Taboet-feest te Bengkoelen'). (Dutch)

Th. Delprat, 'Viering van het Muharram- of Hassan-Hossein-Feest, ('Celebration of the Muharram- or Hassan-Hussein Feast'), in *Eigen Haard* (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1889), 480-489. (Dutch)

C. Van der Pol, 'De Hassan-Hossein Feesten in Nederlandsch-Indië' ('The Hassan-Hussein Feasts in the Dutch-Indies), in *Vragen van den Dag* XVI (1901), 223-246. (Dutch)

1909-1928

Ph. S. Van Ronkel, 'Nadere gegevens omtrent het Hasan-Hoesein-feest' ('Some Information about the Hasan-Hosein Feast'), in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* LVI (1914), 334-344. (Dutch)

1929-1949

J. H. Hooykas van Leeuwen Boomkamp, 'Over de Oorspronkelijke Beteekenis van het

Asjoera Feest' ('On the original meaning of the Ashura Celebration'), in *Djāwā* XIX (1939), 113-117. (Dutch)

J. Jongejans, 'Taboet-of Hasan-Hoesein-feesten' ('Hasan-Husayn Tabut Celebrations'), in *Onze Aarde* XII (1939), 326-330. (Dutch)

H. K. J. Cowan. 'A Persian inscription in north Sumatra', in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* LXXX, no. 1 (1940), 15-21

1950-1970

P. Voorhoeve, 'Perzische invloed op het Maleis' ('Persian Influence on the Malay Language'), in *B.K.I.* CVIII (1952): 92-93. (Dutch)

Ahmad Suhayli-Khvansari, 'Karivan-i Siam: Ravabit-i Dusti-yi Siam ba Iran dar 'Ahd-i Shah Sulayman-i Safavi' ('Siam's Caravan: Siam's Close Ties with Iran during the Reign of Shah Solaiman Safavi'), in *Danish-i Mihr* VII (1333/1954), 432-436. (Farsi)

G. E. Marrison, 'Persian Influences in Malay Life (1280-1650)', in *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* XXVIII, no. 1 (1955), 52-69.

al-Sayyid Mustafa al-Tabataba'i, *Hawl al-'Alaqat al-Thaqafiyyah bayn Iran wa Andunisiya* (*About the Cultural Relationships between Iran and Indonesia*) (Jakarta: al-Maktab al-Thaqafi al-Irani, 1339/1960). (Arabic)

Muhammad Asad Shahab, *Al-Shi'ah fi Indonisia* (*Shi'a in Indonesia*) (Najaf: Matba'ah al-Ghari al-Hadithah, 1962). (Arabic)

Muhammad Asad Shihab, 'Shi'ih dar Andunizi az Ruzigar-i Nukhust ta 'Asr-i Hadir' ('Shi'ism in Indonesia from its Emergence to the Present Time'), in *Darsha'i az Maktab-i Islam*, nos. 10-11 (1341/1962), 46-53 & 47-52. (Farsi)

S. M. N. al-Attas, *'Persian Influences on Malay/Indonesian Islamic Mysticism',* in *Some Aspects of Sufism, as Understood and Practised Among the Malays*, ed. Shirle Gordon and S. M. N. al-Attas (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963).

Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Raniri and the Wujudiyyah of 17th Century Acheh* (Singapore: Malaysia Printers 1966).

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'Malacca Bans Shia Teachings', in *New Straits Times* (2013) <http://www.nst.com.my/latest/malacca-bans-shia-teachings-1.326906/>. Accessed 09 March 2014.

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latest/iranians-paying-shia-ulama-1.348886/>. Accessed 09 March 2014.

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Notes

[1] Special thanks to Prof. Dr. Peter Riddell for his fruitful comments and editions, Dr. Michael Feener for providing some bibliographical information, and Dr. Amir Dastmalchian for assistance with editing.

[2] This article does not focus on showing which form of Islamic (Shi'a or Sunni) came first to the Malay Archipelago. Zulkifli, in the introduction to his thesis, has aptly stated that there are divided opinions about this, particularly with respect to Indonesia. He says, 'The first theory, widely accepted among historians, social scientists, and Indonesian Muslim scholars, such as Hamka, and Azra, neglects the existence of Shi'ism and generally affirms that Sunnism was the first branch of Islam to arrive in Indonesia and continues to predominant [sic] the Muslim community today. In contrast the proponents of "Shi'i theory" such as Fatimi, Jamil, Hasymi, Azmi, Aceh, and Sunyoto, believe that the Shi'is have been present in Indonesia since the early days of Islamisation of the region and that, in fact, its adherents have played an important part in this process.... Proponents of this theory generally admits [sic] that most Shi'i traces have vanished over the course of time and as a result of the huge impact of Sunnism has had on the country.' Zulkifli, 'The Struggle of the Shi'is in Indonesia' (PhD Thesis, University of Leiden, 2009), 1-12. Moreover, the aim of this article is not to say that the study of Persia and Persians is necessarily related to Shi'ism and Iran or vice-versa. But the article will try to show the prodound influence of Persian Shi'ism – as an aspect of Middle Eastern religion, culture, and literature – on the Malay world.

[3] Said Amir Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam: Religion, Political Order, and Societal Change in Shi'ite Iran from the Beginning to 1890* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 20-80.

[4] Martin van Bruinessen, 'Kurdish 'Ulama and their Indonesian Students', in *De Turcicis aliisque rebus: commentarii Henry Hofman dedicati* III (1992), 205.

[5] Christoph Marcinkowski, *Shi'ite Identities: Community and Culture in Changing Social Contexts* (Berlin: LIT Verlag Münster, 2010), 156.

[6] The Malay Archipelago is understood to encompass the following modern-day countries: Brunei, Burma (Myanmar), Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam.

[7] Considering the sensitivity over Shi'ism in Southeast Asia is not the concern of this article. For a work that does cover this issue see Marcinkowski's *Shi'ite Identities.*

[8] H. K. J. Cowan, 'A Persian Inscription in North Sumatra', in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* LXXX, no. 1 (1940), 15-21.

[9] Ibid.

[10] K. J. Cowan, *Persian inscription in North Sumatra,* 15-21.

[11] Hamza Fansuri, *Al-Muntahi* (*The Adept*) Leiden Text Cod. Or. 7291 (III).

[12] Syed Muhammad Naguib Al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya, 1970), 448.

[13] Ibid, 458: *hamsayih u hamnishin u hamrah hamih ust | dar dalq gida u atlas u shah hamih ust*.

[14] Ibid, 468.

[15] Ahmad Kazemi Musavi, 'The Presence of Perso-Islamic Mysticism in Malay-Indonesian Literature', in *Measuring the Effects of Iranian Mysticism in Southeast Asia*, ed. Imtiyaz Yusuf (Bangkok, Cultural Centre – Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, 2004), 56-66.

[16] Ahmad Kazemi Musavi stated that 'in his *Nur al-Daqa'iq*, Sumatrani employs Persian expressions such as "*nist hasti-yi man agar haqq nist*" (I will not exist if God does not exist) to illustrate his conception of existence and its various forms and degrees.'

[17] Marcinkowski, *Shi'ite Identities.*

[18] Syekh Fariduddin Attar & Abdul Majid bin Haji Khatib, *Tazkiratul-Awliya'* (Kelantan: Pustaka Aman Press, 1980).

[19] Muhammad Bukhari Lubis, 'Farid al-Din 'Attar and Scholarly/Literary Works in Malaysia: Brief Remarks', *The Gombak Review* I, no. 2 (1996), 133-142. See another work of Lusi about 'Attar: Muhammad Bukhari Lubis, *Qasidahs in Honor of the Prophet: A Comparative Study Between Al-Busiri's Al-Burdah and Attar's Nat in His Illahi-Namah* (Malaysia: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1983).

[20] '*Namamu ternama Fariduddin buku Ilahi persidangan beburung | peringatan wali dan banyak lagi*….' Ibid.

[21] Jones says 'As Von Ronkel had pointed out, the Malay text is derived from a Persian version which in turn derives from a prototype in Arabic.' See Russell Jones, 'Review Article: Problems of Editing Malay Texts. Discussed with Reference to the Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah', in *Archipel* XX, no. 1 (1980), 121-131; Lode Frank Brakel, *The Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah: A Medieval Muslim-Malay Romance* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975).

[22] Jane Drakard, *A Malay Frontier: Unity and Duality in a Sumatrian Kingdom*, no. 7 (New York: SEAP Publications, 1990), 75.

[23] Zulkifli states 'Snouck Hurgronje suggests that the carnival ['Ashura festival] originated during one of two waves of Shi'i influence in Indonesia in the late-17th and early 18th centuries, at a time when the British brought the *Sipahis* (Sepoy) from India.' Azra also maintains that "Ashura or *tabut* are not fully shaped based Shi'i traditions, because their Islamic practices are originally just similarities, empty from the theological framework and ideology of Shi'ism.' Zulkifli, The Struggle of the Shi'is in Indonesia (PhD Thesis, University of Leiden, 2009), 6-10; Azyumardi Azra 'Syi'ah di Indonesia: Antara Mitos dan Realitas', in *Ulu-mul Quran: Jurnal Ilmu dan kebudayaan* VI, no. 4 (1995): 4-19.

[24] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, trans. A. W. S. O'Sullivan (Leiden: Brill, 1906); C. Marcinkowski, 'Southeast Asia I: Persian Presence In', in *Iranica* (July 20, 2004) <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/southeast-asia-i>. Accessed 20 November 2013. Teuku Iskandar, 'Aceh as a Muslim-Malay Cultural Centre (14th-19th Century)', *First International Conference of Aceh and Indian Ocean Studies* (2007), 1-24.

[25] Baried expresses his reason for focussing on Shi'ism in the Malay Archipelago, particularly in Indonesia: '*A notre connaissance, cependant, une véritable étude traitant spécialement du Shi'isme en Indonésie et analysant ces vestiges, n'ajamais été entreprise. La raison en réside peut-être dans le défaut de données et le fait que ces dernières ne se remarquent pas aisément (bien que dans certaines régions, avec le développement du tourisme, à Pariaman par exemple, ces coutumes soient remises en honneur). Aussi aimerions-nous attirer l'attention sur ce sujet, en espérant apporter ainsi notre contribution à l'étude de l'Islam en Indonésie*.' Baroroh Baried, 'Le Shi'isme en Indonésie', in *Archipel* XV, no. 1 (1978), 65-84.

[26] Ibid. It should also be noted that the influence of Sunnism in the Malay Archipelago brought about the demolition of Shi'a culture, history, and tradition. Wieringa, in this regard, has stated that traces of Shi'ism gradually vanished, particularly after the nineteenth century, due to social, religious, and political relationships with the Sunni countries of the Middle Eastern like Arabia and Egypt. The phrase applied by Wieringa is 'a de-Shi'izaitaion of Malay *hikayat* literature'. On this subject, Snouck Hurgronje mentioned 'international relations between Indonesia and Muslim countries, especially Mecca and Egypt, make traces of the Shi'i belief vanish in the Indonesian Muslim Community.' See Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, 205. Also see Edwin Wieringa, 'Does Traditional Islamic Malay Literature Contain Shi'ite Elements? 'Ali and Fatimah in Malay Hikayat Literature', in *Studia Islamika* III, no. 4 (1996), 93-111.

[27] Sir Richard Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature* (Malaysia, Petaling Jaya: Eagle Trading, 1996), 84. See also Ahmad Kazemi Musavi, 'The Presence of Perso-Islamic Mysticism in Malay-Indonesian Literature', in *Measuring the Effects of Iranian Mysticism in*

Southeast Asia, ed. Imtiyaz Yusuf (Bangkok, Cultural Centre – Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, 2004), 56-66. Also, Marrison stated that *hikayat Iskandar Dhu al-Qarnayn* is a Malay version of a Persian *hikayat* which talks about the name of the first sultan of Malacca, Sultan Iskandar Shah. Moreover, due to the presence of the term 'shah' among Muslim rulers of India, it could be concluded that 'it comes from India and not Persia directly'. G. E. Marrison, 'Persian Influences in Malay Life (1280-1650)', in *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* XXVIII, no. 1 (1955), 52-69.

[28] *Bustan al-Salatin* follows the same literature.

[29] Marrison, 'Persian Influences in Malay Life (1280-1650)'.

[30] Majid Daneshgar, Faisal Bin Ahmad Shah, Zulkifli Bin Mohd Yusoff, Nurhanisah Senin, Siti Fairuz Ramlan, and Mohd Roslan Bin Mohd Nor, 'A Study on the Notions of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib in Malay Popular Culture', in *Journal of Shi'a Islamic Studies* VI, no. 4 (2013), 465-479.

[31] Ibn Muhammad Ibrahim, *The Ship of Sulaiman*, ed. J. O'Kane, Persian Heritage Series XI (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972).

[32] In Persian: *khandan-i bunnag;* in Arabic: *bunnag 'ashirah.* For more information on the Bunnag family see 'The Second Lineage – Sheikh Ahmad Qomi' <http://www.bunnag.in.th/english/history_05.html>. Accessed 20 November, 2013.

[33] C. Marcinkowski, 'The Safavid Presence in the Indian Ocean: A Reappraisal of the Ship of Solayman, a Seventeenth-Century Travel Account to Siam', in *Iran and the World in the Safavid Age,* ed. Willem Floor & Edmund Herzig (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 379-406; Mas'ud Taraqqi Jah, 'Istita' Mihwar: al-Islam fi Tayland wa duwar al-Shaykh Ahmad al-Qummi', in *al-Tawhid* LXXXIII (1375/1996), 130-142. More information about his tomb is available at: 'Tomb of Sheikh Ahmad Qomi', in *History of Ayutthaya* <http://www.ayutthaya-history.com/Historical_Sites_TombQomi.html>. Accessed 3 February 2014.

[34] Mohd Faizal Musa, 'The Malaysian Shi'a: A Preliminary Study of their History, Oppression, and Denied Rights', in *Journal of Shi'a Islamic Studies* VI, no. 4 (2013), 411-463.

[35] Zailan Moris, 'The Human Soul and its Destiny in Mulla Sadra's Transcendental Philosophy (al-Hikmah al-Muta'aliyah)', in *Measuring the Effects of Iranian Mysticism in Southeast Asia*, ed. Imtiyaz Yusuf (Bangkok, Cultural Centre – Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, 2004), 189-206.

[36] Chiara Formichi, 'Lovers of the Ahl al-Bayt: Indonesia's Shi'ism from the Keratin to Qum', in *Inside Indonesia* CV (July-September 2011) <http://www.insideindonesia.org/weekly-articles/lovers-of-the-ahl-al-bayt/>. Accessed 02 March 2014.

[37] Website: <http://icas.ac.id>. Accessed 02 March 2014.

[38] Khoirul Imam, 'Pemikiran Imam Khomeini Tentang Ayat-Ayat Wilayat al-Faqih' (PhD Thesis) (Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN): 2008).

[39] Ahmad Muhibbin, 'Konsep Imamah Menurut Imam Tabataba'i' (PhD Thesis, UIN

Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2009).

[40] Ideologi Islam sebagi sarana revolusi.

[41] Mohd Shaiful Ramze presents a new interpretation of Shari'ati's thought, saying that 'For Shariati, at the end, religion will be against itself. Historically, there are only two type of religion in Shariati's perspective: the good's religion (Red's Shi'ism) or evil's religion (Black's Shi'ism) [*sic*]. Both negate each other. So the tension between these two polars will pose a resistance […] by examining the work of Shariati we can appreciate the resistance factor, which finally brought the Iranian Revolution of 1979.' Mohd Shaiful Ramze bin Endut, 'Dialektika Agama Ali Shariati', in *Tajdid & Islam,* ed. Ahmad Zaki Berahim (Kuala Lumpur: Academy of Islamic Studies, University of Malaya, 2011), 51-76.

[42] The Indonesian Consortium for Religious Studies and the Cultural Center of the Iranian Embassy in Yogyakarta organized the International Conference on Historical and Cultural Presence of Shias in Southeast Asia: Looking at Future Trajectories in February 2013 at the Auditorium of University Club, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The conference proceedings, in 336 pages, have apparently since been published in Indonesia. The main panels of the conference were (a) Dynamic Presence of Shias in Nusantara, with the contributions by Jalaluddin Rakhmat, Siti Maryam, Yance Zadrak Rumahuru, Kamaruzzaman Bustaman Ahmad; (b) Dynamic Presence of Shias in Southeast Asia, with contributions by Syed Farid Alatas, Julispong Chularatana, Qasem Kakaei, Rabitah Mohamad Ghazali, Yusuf Roque Santos Morales. For more information on the conference see the conference website <http://icrs.ugm.ac.id/shia-conference/background#sthash.xR4kVEx5.dpbs> (accessed 12 April 2014) and also a report on the conference, in 'Kitab-i Tarikh va Farhang-i Shi'ih dar Junub-i Sharq-i Asiya Runamayi shod', in *RASA News Agency* (27 Aban 1392) <http://www.rasanews.ir/NSite/FullStory/News/?Id=189918>, accessed 12 April 2014.

[43] 'Sukhani az Shi'ayan- i Thailand', trans. Muhammad Ali Muhammadi, *Darsha'i az Maktab-i Islam*, no. 11 (1357/1978), 59-60.

[44] There are several videos in which the reporter expresses more information about Shaykh Ahmad Qummi and his role in Thailand's independence. See 'Shaykh Ahmad Qummi dar Tayland' (uploaded by iraniam110, 4 June 2013) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wuv_qzH3hxI> and 'Shaykh Ahmad Qummi Safir-e Shi'ayan dar Tayland' (uploaded by iribmalaysia, 10 July 2013) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hWJzIM4ZIIg> in *YouTube*. Accessed 02 March 2014.

[45] O. L., Helfrich, W. R. Winter, and D. M. J. Schiff, 'Het Hasan-Hosein of Taboet-feest te', in *Internationales Archivfür Ethnographie* I (1888), 191-96.

[46] Christoph Marcinkowski, 'Thailand and Iran Relations' (20 July 2002) <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/thailand-iran-relations>; 'Safine-ye Solayman' (20 July 2002) <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/safine-ye-solaymani>; 'Southeast Asia I:

Persians in' (20 July 2004) <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/southeast-asia-i>; 'Southeast Asia II: Shi'ism in' (20 July 2003) <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/southeast-asia-ii>; 'Taj al-Salatin' (20 April 2009) <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/taj-al-salatin>, in *Iranica*. Accessed 2 March 2014.

[47] Halimatusa'diyah, 'Being Shi'ite Women in Indonesia's Sunni Populated Community: Roles and Relations among Themselves and with Others', in *South East Asia Research* XXI, no. 1 (2013), 131-150.

[48] Mohd Faizal Musa, 'The Malaysian Shi'a: A Preliminary Study of their History, Oppression, and Denied Rights', 411-463.

[49] Muhammad Ibrahim, *The Ship of Sulayman*, trans. John O'Kane (New York: Colombia University Press, 1972); Muhammad Ibrahim, *Safinih-yi Suleimani: Tashih va Ta'liqat*, ed. 'Abbas Faruqi (Tehran: University of Tehran Press, 1356/1977) (originally in Farsi).

[50] Reading this article would be useful for those who wish to know about the influence of Yemeni Hadramawt on Southeast Asia.

[51] Also published in *Studies in Thai History, Collected Articles* (1999), 89-95. This is a review article of 'A Persian Mission to Siam in the Reign of King Narai, Ibn Muhammad Ibrahim, The Ship of Sulaiman, Translated from the Persian by John O'Kane' (Persian Heritage Series XI, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; New York: Columbia University Press 1972).

[52] Marcel Bonneff and Denys Lombard say 'Liste comprenant 2750 mots d'origine arabe et 321 d'origine persane; c.r. Arch. 20.'

[53] Notes et Documents.

[54] Also published under the author name of Oudaya Bhanuwongse.

[55] Although not directly relevant to Southeast Asia, this article provides information about Shi'ism in other regions of Asia.

[56] This article fully expresses the status of Thailand's Shi'as.

[57] Also published as 'Syiah in Indonesia: Antara Mitos dan Realitas', in *Syi'ah dan Politik di Indonesia: Sebuah Penelitian*, ed. A. Rahman Zainuddin (Bandung: Mizan, 2000).

[58] Marcinkowski, referring to Yusuf, says that 'Under the Siamese title *chualarajmontri*, the Islamic office of *shaykh al-islām* was introduced to Siam by "Shaykh Ahmad", who was appointed to this position by the King as its first holder.' See Marcinkowski, *Shi'ite Identities*, 173.

[59] Another version was presented in *International Workshop on South-East Asian Studies. No. 12, The Arab in Southeast Asia (1879-1990)* (Leiden: Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, n.d.).

[60] In some places the page extents of the article have been given as 59-76.

[61] Also published as 'The Iranian Presence in the Indian Ocean Rim: A Report on a

17th-Century Safawid Embassy to Siam (Thailand)', in *Islamic Culture* LXXVII, no. 2 (2003), 57-98.

[62] A translation of Muhaqqiq's article in *Measuring the Effects of Iranian Mysticism in Southeast Asia*, ed. Imtiyaz Yusuf, 2004.

[63] A paper presented at the conference Social Change in the 21st Century, Center for Social Change Research, Queensland University of Technology, 29 October 2004.

[64] Despite the title, this essay is mostly about Persian Sufism rather than the presence of Persian love mysticism in Southeast Asia.

[65] Also published in Symposium Series XVII (2005), 225-247. <http://www.cias.kyoto-u.ac.jp/publish/?page_id=727#no17>. Accessed 23 April 2014

[66] See also: Gerald Randall Tibbetts, *A Study of the Arabic texts Containing Material on South-East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 1979); 'Early Muslim Traders in South-East Asia' in *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1957), 1-45; 'Pre-Islamic Arabia and South-East Asia', in *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1956), 182-208; and Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1969).

[67] Originally a conference on Shi'ism and Beyond: 'Alid Piety', in Muslim Southeast Asia, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, 14-15 January 2010. <http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/showfile.asp?eventfileid=503/>. Accessed 24 March 2014. The collection includes Chiara Formichi, 'One Big Family? Dynamics of Interaction among the "Lovers of the Ahlul Bayt"'; Daniel Andrew Birchok, 'Locating the Descendents of Ali in Southwest Aceh: The Place(s) of the Habib Seunagan'; Daromir Rudnyckyj, 'Universal Spirit: An Islam neither Sunni nor Shi'a?'; Edwin Wieringa, 'A *Ta'ziya* from 21st-Century Malaysia: Faisal Tehrani's Passion Play Karbala'; Faried F. Saenong, 'Scripting Piety in Proper Sexual Arts: Shi'ite Elements in Bugis-Makassarese Texts'; Ismail Fajrie Alatas, 'They are the Inheritors of the Prophet: Discourses on the Ahl Al-bayt among the Ba'alawi in Modern Indonesia'; Jan Van Der Putten, 'Burlesquing Muharram Processions into Carnivalesque Boria'; R. Michael Feener & Chiara Formichi, 'Debating "Shi'ism" in Muslim Southeast Asia'; R. Michael Feener, 'Alid Piety and State-Sponsored Spectacle: Tabot Tradition in Bengkulu, Sumatra'; Nasir Tamara, 'Reflections on Shi'ism in Contemporary Indonesia'; Umar Faruk Assegaf, 'Aspects of Shi'ism in Contemporary Indonesia: A Quest for Social Recognition in the Post-Soeharto Era (1998-2008)'; Mulaika Hijjas, 'Penghulu Segala Perempuan: Fatimah in Malay Didactic Texts for Women'; Ronit Ricci, 'Ali in Javanese Literature'; Teren Sevea, 'Sex to the Next-World: Esoteric Science for the Penis-bearing Mualaa in Shi'ism in South East Asia'; Wendy Mukherjee, 'Fatimah in the Pasisir Zone'; and Yudhi Andoni, 'Hoyak Tabuik: From Sacred Expression to Emotional Dispirit: A Shi'ism Ritual in Padangpariaman'.

[68] Pictures about 'Ashura day in Yangon are available at: <http://www.mmtimes.com/

index.php/in-pictures/8832-day-of-ashura.html> and <http://www.mmtimes.com/index.php/national-news/yangon/1667-remembering-a-martyr.html>. Accessed 09 March 2014.