

3

Sufi Cosmopolitanism in the Seventeenth-century Indian Ocean: *Sharī'a*, Lineage and Royal Power in Southeast Asia and the Maldives

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Sufi networks have been seen as constituting one of the prime means through which cosmopolitanism in a variety of senses was articulated in the pre-modern Islamic world. In emulation of the Prophetic *ḥadīth*, ‘seek knowledge though it be in China’, travel was one of the key duties of the Sufi, both in theory and in practice, and Sufi literature was permeated with the vocabulary of voyaging.¹ Through shared texts, holy men and genealogies both spiritual and blood, *ṭarīqas* bound together the Islamic world in a way that political and commercial links never rivalled. Itinerant holy men criss-crossed the *dār al-Islām*, and from an early date some specifically sought out contested zones on the border with non-Muslims, far from the urban centres of Islamic civilisation, to devote themselves to contemplation and holy war.

As a type of religiosity that thrived on these contested peripheries, Sufism has often been characterised as especially receptive to non-Muslim influences,² which for some modern scholars constitutes a form of cosmopolitanism.³ This presumed aspect of Sufism is often seen as underlying its alleged role in converting non-Muslim populations, by providing a sort of common ground whereby pre-Islamic practices could be incorporated into a Muslim society.⁴ One scholar has written that analysis of Sufism in the Indian Ocean is ‘more

apt to speak of an acceptance of Islamic practices into pre-Islamic cosmology and customs rather than conversion to a new orthodoxy'.⁵ However, as Nile Green has put it, 'to a very large extent, Sufism *was* Islam in its medieval form' and it cannot easily be detached from other forms of Islamic piety.⁶ Sufi Islam encompassed a wide variety of practices, the distinctive unifying component being a belief in the efficacy of the blessing power (*baraka*) of holy men. Thus, whatever the reasons for the widespread appeal of Sufism to Muslims and converts throughout post-classical Islamic history, it would be wrong to assume that it was in any uniform sense especially (or at all) accommodating to pre-Islamic practices.

If claims that Sufism is cosmopolitan by virtue of openness to other religions are questionable, so is the idea that travel necessarily engenders cosmopolitanism, except perhaps in a very limited sense where it becomes little more than a synonym for itinerancy.⁷ The early modern Indian Ocean, for instance, is characterised by an intensification of links between its various parts, with ever greater numbers of itinerant scholars and Sufis.⁸ Yet these links, far from promoting openness to diversity, in fact brought an unsettling realisation of the variety of Muslim practices – often merely local variants rather than true survivals of pre-Islamic tradition – which in turn have been linked to a prevailing trend over the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries that sought to criticise and eradicate *bid'a* (innovation), or diversity in religious practice.⁹ Some recent scholarship has sought to identify these competing interpretations of Islam as rival forms of cosmopolitanism, in the sense of cosmopolitanism as the challenge of 'how to create or envisage wider unity when faced with social diversity'.¹⁰ In this sense, cosmopolitanism could thus constitute a religious or even a political project, and one far removed from the utopian ideas of open-mindedness and mobility that characterise many discussions of the phenomenon. Indeed, like many universalist religious and political projects, such a cosmopolitanism might overlap with, and indeed require, coercion. Although Sufis are characterised in some scholarship as other-worldly 'Muslim mystics', recent work has drawn attention to the intense political connections of Sufis in diverse areas of the Muslim world, such as, for instance, on the peripheries of the *dār al-Islām* where Sufis played an important role in turning frontier regions such as Bengal, the Deccan and the Balkans into Muslim space, receiving in return support and patron-

age from political elites, and thus participating in and facilitating imperial expansion.¹¹

In at least some times and places Sufism supported imperial political power by offering through its philosophical theology a legitimization of sultanic authority. This is associated, in particular, with various developments of the thought of Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 1240). In the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire claimed its very foundation had been predicted by this great Sufi thinker,¹² while in newly Islamising territories like Southeast Asia the doctrine of the perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil*) associated with Ibn ‘Arabī has been interpreted as offering a means of perpetuating the pre-Islamic, divine status of the ruler and justifying it in Islamic terms.¹³ Studies of Southeast Asia have often seen this political function of Sufism as linked to an elite court culture. Martin Van Bruinessen argues that in Southeast Asia until the eighteenth or even the nineteenth century, Sufism had no wider appeal. For him, Sufism is intimately bound up with efforts to support the ruler’s legitimacy, or as he puts it, ‘The *tarékat* [i.e., *ṭarīqa*] was perceived as a source of spiritual power, at once legitimating and supporting the ruler’s position. It was obviously not in the rulers’ interest to make the same supernatural power available to all their subjects.’¹⁴

However, during the seventeenth century, a critical phase in the spread of Islam in the Indian Ocean region, a certain *sharī‘a*-minded Sufi piety was disseminated that had little connection with the speculations of the school of Ibn ‘Arabī. This phenomenon, sometimes called ‘neo-Sufism’, has been attributed to the efforts of scholars from the Ḥaramayn, the two great Muslim holy cities of Mecca and Medina which in the seventeenth century were major intellectual centres,¹⁵ and is often seen as associated with a more popular rather than courtly religiosity. As Michael Laffan puts it, ‘Sufism was formally restricted to the regal elite, while adherence to the *sharī‘a* was commended to their subjects.’¹⁶ Yet beyond constituting a reaction to the perception of *bid‘a* mentioned above, this *sharī‘a*-minded piety had profound political consequences, seeking to shape societies in accordance with the norms of an idealised Islamic Middle East and sweep away existing dynasties. Here cosmopolitanism, in the sense of an attempt to impose unity over diversity, appears as both a disruptive and a coercive force. Yet the political consequences of the rise of this *sharī‘a*-minded piety in the Indian

Ocean have received little attention. In this chapter, I focus on the sultanates of Banten in Java, Aceh in Sumatra and the Maldivian Islands in the Indian Ocean. All fell outside the compass of the great imperial projects of the Asian mainland – the Mughal, Ottoman and Safavid empires; all were societies still undergoing a process of Islamisation (culturally, if not demographically); and all were, from the perspective of the Middle East, remote frontiers of Islam, even if their self-image was otherwise.¹⁷ Furthermore, although geographically disparate, cultural and commercial ties – especially but not exclusively the spice trade – bound Banten closely to Aceh, and Aceh to the Maldives.¹⁸ These lands thus shared a relationship with one another, as well as with the Middle East.

I will draw on some neglected Arabic texts to argue that promoting the universalist project of *sharīʿa*-minded Sufism was a prime concern not just of Ḥaramayn *ʿulamāʾ* but more importantly local actors, including royal courts. Promotion of *sharīʿa* was a component of efforts to promote themselves as Islamic, and sometimes more specifically as Middle Eastern-style, monarchies,¹⁹ and in this sense can itself be seen as a cosmopolitan venture in the sense outlined in the previous paragraph. First, I will look at the evidence of the Arabic texts composed in the Hijaz for the royal library of the Banten sultanate, which can help us to understand better the Sufi interests of at least some Southeast Asian rulers, which are suggestive of the intimate relationship between the *sharīʿa*, Sufism and the court. I will then in the second part of this chapter develop the argument by turning to a practical example of a Sufi in action in late seventeenth-century Aceh and the Maldives, the Syrian Qādirī shaykh Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn, a descendant of the famed Baghdadi saint ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 1166). While in both locations our Syrian Qādirī received the support of the political elite for a programme that aimed at enforcing a more rigorous interpretation of the *sharīʿa*, and rejection of local customs, he also played a part in destabilising royal power. Here another component of Sufism, genealogical links as embodied in a holy man, play a crucial role, as will be discussed in further detail below.

God’s Law at the Royal Court of Banten: the Evidence of Texts

One of the early Islamic monarchies of Southeast Asia was Banten, a rich trading city on the island of Java whose commercial links stretched as far

west as Mecca and as far east as Manila. From the sixteenth century onwards, the sultans of Banten sponsored the development of Islamic institutions in northeast Java. For instance, as van Bruinessen notes, the position of *qāḍī* was especially politically important in Banten compared with other Javanese sultanates where it had a more limited role.²⁰ Moreover, as the Javanese chronicle the *Sejarah Banten* relates, two sultans visited Mecca in person, receiving recognition from the Sharīf of Mecca; one, indeed, was subsequently known as Sultan Hajji. The *Sejarah Banten* also recounts how in 1638 a Bantenese embassy, after passing through the Maldives, the Coromandel Coast, Surat, Mocha and Jeddah, reached Mecca to ask the Sharīf to explain for them certain tracts. This report has attracted attention from scholarship because these tracts have been identified with the debates over the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd* attributed to Ibn ‘Arabī that rocked Southeast Asian learned circles. This has often been taken as further evidence for the association of courts, and that of Banten in particular, with a high-flown philosophical mysticism, evidence of Sufism’s ‘elite’ nature and its appeal to royal legitimisation strategies.²¹

An examination of the texts themselves, however, suggests rather different conclusions. The royal library of Banten, preserved in the National Library in Jakarta, contains copies of the works commissioned by the Sharīf from the leading Meccan scholar Ibn ‘Alān (d. 1647 or 1648) for the Bantenese embassy. The Bantenese had tried to persuade Ibn ‘Alān to make the long journey to Java with them but he declined.²² Although Ibn ‘Alān was a well-known Hijazi scholar, some of whose works remain in print today, his compositions written at the behest of the sultan of Banten, Abū l-Mafākhīr, apparently only circulated in Southeast Asia, for their titles never feature in biographical notices of Ibn ‘Alān from the Middle East, such as the detailed one given by the seventeenth-century biographer al-Muḥibbī in his *Khulāṣat al-Athār*.²³ Perhaps most importantly for the Bantenese purposes, Ibn ‘Alān was not just a well-known scholar, known as the *muḥyī al-sunna*, or ‘reviver of the Prophet’s custom’, but possessed a distinguished lineage as a direct descendant of Caliph Abū Bakr.²⁴

In an unpublished commentary on a work on eschatology attributed to al-Ghazālī, *al-Durra al-Fākhira*, Ibn ‘Alān provides a detailed account of how the work’s composition came about, confirming the reality of the sultans’

contacts with the Sharīfs. He starts by describing how Ghazālī's reputation reached Southeast Asia (Jakarta, MS A32, p. 3):

And the 'ulamā' of distant regions ('ulamā' *al-atrāf*) became aware of the precious fine pearls [of his writings] and wanted to copy these lights [of knowledge], and these delightful gems. The righteous, noble 'ulamā' of Java, highly respected, raised a petition to their king, the noble sultan who defends Islam and Muslims, whose task it is to spread noble justice over the succession of the years; the glorious, fortunate Abu l-Mafākhir 'Abd al-Qādir [sultan of Banten]. The king contemplated and examined then cogitated and considered; he knew that light had not been granted to [al-Ghazālī] nor had he reached this knowledge except by the guidance of the Prophet Muḥammad, born in the Holy Land; and he realised that this [knowledge] could not be acquired except from the family of the Prophet . . .

The king therefore sought to acquire his desire, and 'the finest man of his age urged him to realise his desire' – this was, Ibn 'Alān tells us, the Sharīf of Mecca, Zayd b. Muḥsin. The sultan wrote Zayd 'a letter which asked him, of his good grace, requesting what he wanted. His request was well-received, that the book entitled *al-Durra al-Fākhira fi 'Ulūm al-Ākhira* should be explained to him, along with the book *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* ("Advice for Kings").'

Ibn 'Alān then relates how the Sharif Zayd b. Muḥsin chose him to undertake this task, being qualified by virtue both of caliphal descent and his learning. The commentary on *al-Durra al-Fākhira* survives only in this one manuscript, with occasional annotations in Arabic-script Javanese (*pegon*). The *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, also by al-Ghazālī, was copied in Banten, and two manuscripts of the Arabic text survive in Jakarta.²⁵ In addition, Ibn 'Alān supplied another work of his own composition, titled *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya 'alā l-As'ila al-Jāwiyya* ("The divine gifts in response to Javanese questions").²⁶ These questions, posed by Sultan Abū l-Mafākhir, all arise from the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, and *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya* in many ways reads like a commentary on the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*.

The *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* is designed as a practical primer on how to govern in accordance with Islamic precepts. Many examples of this type of 'mirror for princes' are known, although some place much more emphasis on Persian

courtly traditions. The central idea of the text is that ‘the tree of faith has ten roots and ten branches, its roots being the beliefs of the heart and its branches actions of the body’. Al-Ghazālī outlines these ten roots of faith but devotes most attention to the ten ‘branches’ – that is, actions, which he illustrates with anecdotes usually drawn from early Islamic history. The *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* thus aims to show the sultan how to behave, above all how to act with justice. Through its anecdotes, it offers something of a manual for relatively recent converts to Islam, and its popularity in Mamluk times suggests that its appeal for new Muslims was enduring. It is easy to see then why it might have appealed to the rulers of Banten, at a time when it was still a peripheral area of the Muslim world.

The questions that Ibn ‘Alān addresses in his *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya* also revolve around justice and, in particular, the implementation of the *ḥudūd*, divinely prescribed punishments.²⁷ Just like al-Ghazālī, Ibn ‘Alān draws on *ḥadīth* and anecdotes of early Islamic history to illustrate his points, although he occasionally also relates anecdotes concerning the behaviour of recent Sharīfs of the Hijaz. Both the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* and *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya* are thus designed as practical guides on how to behave, and in particular how to rule as a Muslim. The very lack of mystical content in *al-Durra al-Fākhira* has been noted and the texts described by its English translator as ‘presenting a series of ethical teachings that are intended less as descriptions of the future life than as injunctions for the living of this life in order to be ready for the Day and the Hour’.²⁸ In a Southeast Asian context, it has also been noted that the works of al-Ghazālī are sometimes invoked precisely in opposition to Ibn ‘Arabī and the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*.²⁹

In other words, the evidence of these texts is that, for the court of Banten, Sufism was not a source of legitimacy through esoteric doctrines. On the contrary, the texts show a preoccupation with the *sharī‘a*, with the *ḥudūd* and with obedience to the external forms of Islam, not with metaphysical speculation. Moreover, Ibn ‘Alān’s testimony suggests that the mission to Mecca was prompted ultimately by the ‘*ulamā*’ of Banten rather than by their court. Nonetheless, the preservation of these texts in the palace library, sometimes in fine presentation copies, with careful Arabic vocalisation alongside *pegon* translations, indicates their enduring importance for the royal

court of Banten and suggests that they had ritual as well as purely functional uses, perhaps for public declamation.

The key point, though, as Ibn ‘Alān underlines in his introduction to his commentary on *al-Durra al-Fākhira*, is that these texts, and their transmission from Mecca via the agency of the Sharīf and Ibn ‘Alān, served to link them, and the dynasty of Banten, to the Prophet himself. In this context, it is worth recalling that, as one scholar has put it, ‘Sufi Islam was a religiosity of embodied holy men who re-presented the blessing power that via genealogical memory believers traced through space and time back to the Prophet Muhammad in Mecca.’³⁰ When a physical holy man was lacking – or could not be persuaded to move, as in the case of Ibn ‘Alān – texts stood in for him and served to ‘re-present the blessing power’, hence the emphasis Ibn ‘Alān gives to both his and the Sharīfs’ lineage. In this sense, the example of Banten suggests that a simple disjunction between *sharī‘a* for masses and Sufism for the court is untenable, nor can we see these missions as simply an attempt to raise the standards of Southeast Asian Islam by Hijazi scholars and their sympathisers, as has been suggested.³¹ Rather, embracing and supporting the *sharī‘a* and the *ḥudūd* as promoted by texts such as *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya* was a source of legitimacy, reinforcing the link to the sacred land of the Hijaz and to the family of the Prophet that was provided by the association with the Sharīf and Ibn ‘Alān. This is a point that we will see more clearly in our second case, that of the itinerant Qādirī preacher Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn.

Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Late Seventeenth-century Aceh and the Maldives

The Qādirī Sufi *ṭarīqa*, taking its name from the Prophet’s descendant ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī (d. 1166), is often credited with a major role in the spread of Islam in Southeast Asia. As early as the fourteenth century, the Arabic author al-Yāfi‘ī recalls being initiated into the Qādiriyya in Aden by a certain Mas‘ūd al-Jāwī, a Southeast Asian, and al-Yāfi‘ī’s Qādirī hagiographic texts such as the *Khulāṣat al-Mafākhir* obtained a widespread currency in the archipelago.³² The poems of the sixteenth-century Acehnesse mystic Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī in several places mention ‘Abd al-Qādir, suggesting Ḥamzah’s affiliation to the Qādirī order. By the mid-eighteenth century *saraka* (investiture

documents issued by the sultan) from Aceh were invoking ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī directly after God, the Prophet and his four companions,³³ while allusions to ‘Abd al-Qādir may also be found in documents from the Minangkabau sultanate of south Sumatra.³⁴ The Qādiriyya may also have had an important place in the sultanate of Banten – van Bruinessen has suggested that the name of Sultan ‘Abd al-Qādir indicates an affiliation with the order. Similarly affiliated to the Qādiriyya (in addition to other *ṭarīqas* such as the Rifā‘iyya) were two of the leading figures in seventeenth-century Southeast Asian Islam, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1658) and Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassārī (1629–99).³⁵

The careers of both al-Rānīrī and al-Maqassārī are emblematic of the interconnected nature of the Indian Ocean world in this period, the close association of leading ‘*ulamā*’ with royal power and the growing influence of *sharī‘a*-minded piety. Al-Rānīrī, born in Gujarat to a Hadrami family, made his career at the sultanate of Aceh, for whose ruler, Iskandar Thānī (r. 1636–1641), he composed a vast compilation of Arabic texts in Malay translation, the *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*, which aimed at promoting acculturation to a Middle Eastern Islamic cultural ideal.³⁶ Al-Rānīrī is notorious for launching a campaign against the teachings of two earlier Acehnese Sufis, Ḥamzah Faṅṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī, condemning them as unbelievers (*kāfir*) and burning their books.³⁷ Al-Maqassārī, meanwhile, was born into the royal family of the kingdom of Goa in Sulawesi, and was educated in the palace. He travelled to Banten and then Aceh, before continuing to Arabia to complete his education and to undertake the pilgrimage. One of his teachers was al-Rānīrī, who inducted him into the Qādirī order.³⁸ On al-Maqassārī’s return to Southeast Asia, he was employed at the court of Banten and married into the royal family. After the revolution in 1682 in which Sultan Ageng was overthrown by the Dutch, al-Maqassārī himself was also captured. Regarding him as a grave security risk, the Dutch exiled him, first to Ceylon then to the Cape of Good Hope. Although al-Maqassārī’s travels in his later life were thus coerced, he nonetheless remained part of Muslim networks. Indeed, the development of the Qādiriyya and Rifā‘iyya Sufi orders in the Cape has been attributed to his exile there.³⁹

Both al-Rānīrī and al-Maqassārī emphasised a *sharī‘a*-minded piety,⁴⁰ yet the Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa* to which they adhered is often considered by modern

scholarship to be in some sense opposed to *sharī'a*-minded Islam. Anthony Reid remarks that 'An orthodox Muslim code of ethics from sixteenth-century Java warns its readers against the most popular of all the [Sufi] orders, the Kadiriyya',⁴¹ while van Bruinessen, for instance, has noted the association between the reading of 'Abd al-Qādir's *manāqib* and the *debus* cult of invulnerability involving the adept striking himself with metal spikes.⁴² The *Encyclopaedia of Islam* entry on the Qādiriyya is also devoted almost exclusively to discussing such exotic practices.⁴³ In this sense, the Qādiriyya may be said to embody the tendency to view Sufism as in some sense opposed to *sharī'a*. Such a view though, hardly does justice to the historical practice of the Qādirī *ṭarīqa*, which, following 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī's own custom, emphasised adherence to the Qur'ān and *sharī'a*, as is suggested by the activities of the seventeenth-century Qādirī Sufi Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn, who forms the focus of the remainder of this chapter.

Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn's career underlines the intricate relationship between Sufis and royal power. To my knowledge, the sole source to discuss him is the eighteenth-century Arabic chronicle of the Maldive Islands by Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn, himself a disciple of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn. Although an edition of the Arabic text was published in Tokyo in 1982, the chronicle seems to have attracted very little attention subsequently.⁴⁴

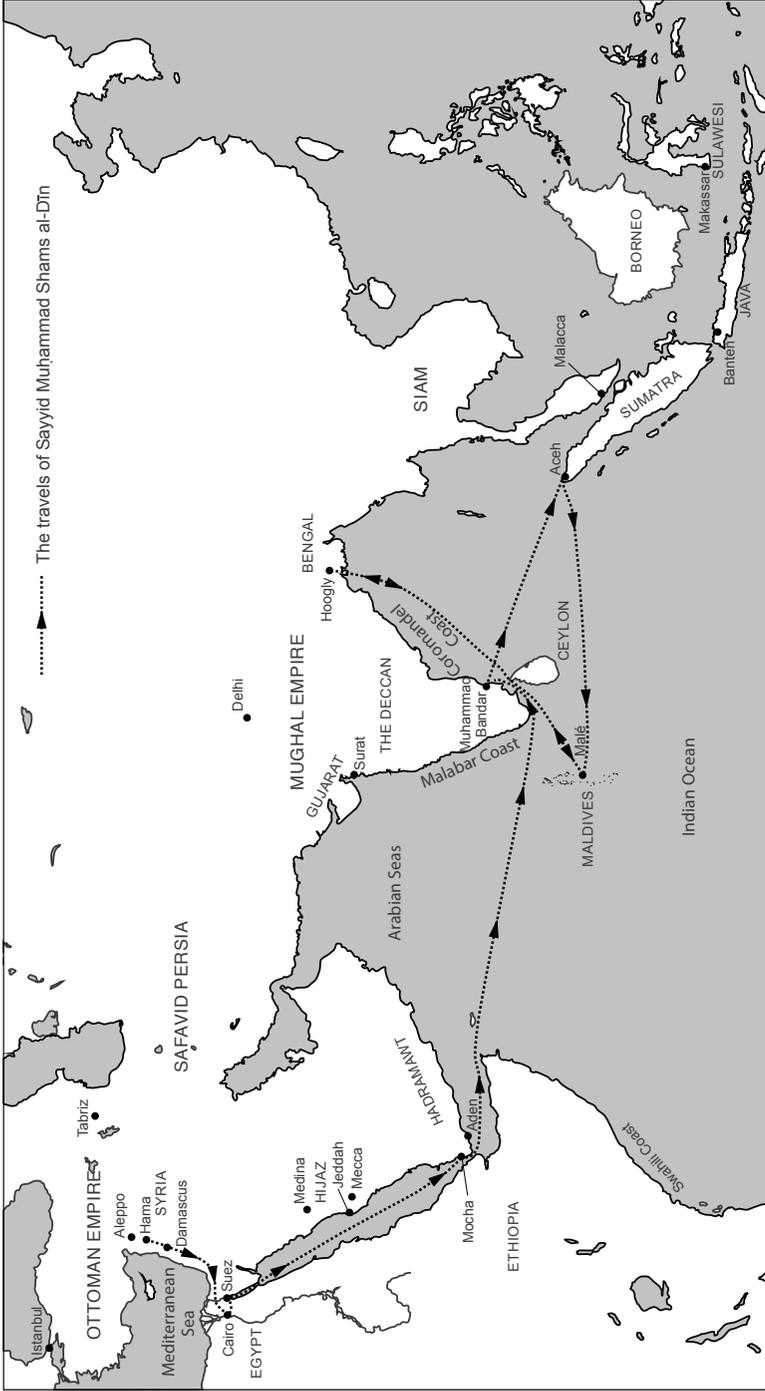
Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn relates that Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn was originally from Hama in Syria, where a famous branch of the descendants of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī had settled.⁴⁵ We are told that he had studied at the al-Azhar in Cairo, the premier institution of learning in the Arabic-speaking world, and then travelled with his brother Ṭāhā to Mocha in Yemen. From there they went to the Coromandel coast of India and on to Sumatra. Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn recounts the circumstances of his arrival in Aceh:

He sailed from Muḥammad Bandar [Parangipettai on the Coromandel coast] to Banda Aceh. When he arrived there the people of Aceh received him with the highest honours. As long as he was in Aceh, he used to command what is right and forbid what is wrong [*ya'muru bi l-ma'rūf wa-yunhī 'an al-munkar*]. Many of its notables [*akābiruhu*] were his disciples [*murīdīn lahu*], and they gave him slaves and much money. He was brave and feared no one in abolishing things that are forbidden and

destroying innovation [*bid'a*] and in reviving the sublime practice [*sunna*] of the Prophet. He used to progress in the land, he and his brother carried on two thrones, accompanied by a great green flag on the middle of which was written the name of their ancestor Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī. Sayyid Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn would only go out under a great green parasol like a king of great rank. He continued to order what is right and forbid what is wrong, to abolish shameful innovation and detestable wrongdoing until he heard that the Maldives were worse than Aceh in terms of wrongdoing, innovation, corruption and promiscuous behaviour. So he sailed from Banda Aceh making haste with his army of slaves and disciples, and reached the Maldives . . . [Rabī' i 1097/1686 CE].

Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn's account of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn's activities in Aceh draws our attention to several elements that will resurface in his more detailed account of the Maldives. First, his account explicitly compares this Sufi's conduct to that of a 'king of great rank', accompanied by his parasol and banner with the name of his illustrious ancestor; it underlines how Shams al-Dīn derived prestige from his lineage and suggests his potential to destabilise existing structures of rulership. In addition, the account suggests that Shams al-Dīn's *sharī'a*-minded agenda of rooting out 'innovation' had an appeal both to the elite and the wider population. We are not told anything more of the direct consequences of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn's visit, but it does serve to provide a context to the events that would follow shortly in Aceh, when sixty years of female rule was brought to an end and a Hadrami *sayyid* dynasty was brought to power.⁴⁶ Although in the early seventeenth century, Sultan Iskandar Muda (r. 1606–36) had attempted to create an autocratic monarchy in Aceh, albeit one in which the '*ulamā*' had significant influence,⁴⁷ royal power there was rather weak in the second half of the century.⁴⁸ Doubts about the legitimacy of female rule under the four queens who reigned between 1641 and 1699 may have contributed both to this weakness and to the subsequent Hadrami coup, and the immigration to Aceh of Arabs with different ideas of political legitimacy may also have undermined the queens' position.⁴⁹

The Hadrami coup was orchestrated by the Acehnese noble elites; doubtless, practical considerations may have played a part, but Tāj al-Dīn's account



Map 3.1 The travels of Sayyid Muhammad Shams al-Din, 1686–92.

also points to a thirst for *sharī'a*-minded piety and leadership by a foreigner of noble, Prophetic lineage among this same constituency – the *akābir* (i.e., notables or *orangkaya*) who became Shams al-Dīn's *murīds*. Yet Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn's greatest effect was in the Maldives, where, in contrast, a strong monarchy under Sultan Ibrāhīm Iskandar portrayed itself as a vigorous defender of Islam. However, royal power was decisively undermined by Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn and the appeal of his *sharī'a*-minded agenda and his prestigious lineage, as we shall see. Before examining Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn's account in more detail, however, it is worth briefly reviewing the historical situation in the archipelago.

The Maldives have long served as an intermediary stop on routes linking Southeast Asia and the Middle East, although their importance seems to have developed especially from the sixteenth century as a consequence of the Portuguese disruption of established routes via India. The Maldivans themselves claim Islam was brought by a twelfth-century Sufi saint from Iran, Shams al-Dīn of Tabriz; the name points to connections both east and west, for Shams al-Dīn is also claimed by Javanese legend as one of the forerunners of Islam in Java.⁵⁰ The French traveller Pyrard de Laval visited in the early seventeenth century, leaving an account that attests the importance of Sufis in court and society.⁵¹ Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn's chronicle points to the late sixteenth century as a turning point in the Islamisation of the Maldives, with Jamal al-Din, a scholar from the main Maldivan town of Malé, returning after studies in Hadramawt in 1573, and founding a *khānqāh* (Sufi lodge) of his own at Vadu, which played a crucial role in the promotion of Islam in the archipelago.⁵² Another factor in the increasing Islamisation of the Maldives was doubtless the bitter struggle with the Portuguese in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, led by the prayer leader (*khāṭīb*) Muḥammad Takurufānu who founded a new ruling dynasty. The struggle also intensified the Maldives' links across the Indian Ocean, for Aceh was an important point from which the fort of Malé was supplied with munitions to defend itself against the Portuguese, and there were important commercial connections too between the two regions.⁵³

These developments laid the ground for the reign of Sultan Iskandar Ibrāhīm I (1648–1687), who styled himself *ghāzī* (holy warrior) and sponsored the building of mosques and the endowment of *waqfs*. A *waqf* deed for

the mosque of Gan Fat-Kolu island dated 1652/3 describes the sultan in traditional Indian terms as a *kshatriya*, the name given to members of the warrior elite, but its content is thoroughly Islamic, praising the destruction of pagan/Buddhist temples and relating the glorious conversion of the Maldives under Shams al-Dīn Tabrīzī.⁵⁴ Indeed, in the view of the local Maldives chronicle, Islam and military values seem to have been intertwined. Ibrāhīm studied in his youth with a shaykh who ‘taught him the Qur’ān, the conditions of the obligatory rituals and pillars of Islam, and then the wisdom of cannon guns, arrows, the sword, shield and spear’.⁵⁵ During his reign, Ibrāhīm continued the marriage of Islamic and military values, as according to the chronicle: ‘he was a teacher to the people of his time; from him people learned the wisdom of the sword, shield, arrows, cannon, guns and fighting, and he used to make the ‘*ulamā*’ happy to teach the people knowledge [*al-‘ilm*], so that the land should not be empty of ‘*ulamā*’ out of fear of God’s revenge’. As well as piety, practical politics may have encouraged Ibrāhīm’s attempts to deepen the Islamic character of the Maldives, for his relatives, the descendants of the apostate Sultan Ḥasan IX who converted to Christianity and fled to Goa, had sought to topple him with Portuguese support.⁵⁶

The Maldives also became ever more closely linked to the Middle East over the course of the seventeenth century. It was also a time of growing cosmopolitanism: ‘the port of Malé in his times was a blessed port, a harbour to which ships from India, Aceh and other ports brought money, foodstuffs and other products’.⁵⁷ Sultan Ibrāhīm himself undertook the *ḥajj* in 1666, and his visit to the Hijaz may have inspired the import of Arabian architectural styles, for the chronicler notes that on his return he built a madrasa and a minaret ‘in the style of Meccan minarets’.⁵⁸ He undertook a further visit to the Hijaz a few years later, in 1093/1683, the thirty-fifth year of his reign, visiting the tomb of the Prophet at Medina as well as Mecca for a second time.⁵⁹ Perhaps copying Middle Eastern rulers’ practice, on the death of his wife Ibrāhīm resolved not to re-marry but instead adopted a series of concubines for his harem.⁶⁰

With his cosmopolitan Islamic horizons, it is thus natural that Sultan Ibrāhīm should welcome the Syrian Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn, with his prestigious descent from ‘Abd al-Qādir Al-Jilānī, when he arrived in Malé from Aceh in Rabī‘ I 1097/1686, as Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn describes:

The sultan Ibrāhīm Iskandar lodged him in a blessed lodging, and honoured him as much as possible . . . When the sultan sat on his throne in the court of the palace [*dār al-saltāna*] he sent his ministers and soldiers with weapons and drums of honour to the *sayyid*, asking him to embrace him and kiss his hand. And *sayyid* Muḥammad came to him carried on his throne/litter [*sarīr*] with his green Qādirī flag before him and the parasol above his head, with his *murīds* praising his ancestors the Prophet and ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī before him, until they put the *sayyid*’s throne opposite that of the sultan.⁶¹

It was thus with the encouragement and support of the sultan that Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn started his campaign of ‘commanding what is right and forbidding what is wrong, reviving the *sunna*, and destroying innovation, and abolishing customs contrary to Muhammadan *sharī‘a* in deed and word by force and strength’.⁶² These included forbidding the shaving of beards and the wearing of silver belts, both of which were local customs. The latter prohibition was enforced by the *sayyid*’s brother Ṭāhā, who with his assistants ‘would break the belt from the middle of any man they saw wearing it, whether he liked it or not. They did this as the *sayyid* ordered, not distinguishing between great and little people.’⁶³ Women were also ordered to cover their heads and stay at home. Despite this enforcement of a fairly rigorous interpretation of the *sharī‘a*, we are told Sayyid Muḥammad’s popularity increased, and numerous Maldivans joined the Qādirī *ṭarīqa*. Next, Sayyid Muḥammad directly challenged Sultan Ibrāhīm, writing to him that:

God created you, raised you, gave you kingship and entrusted you with the affairs of the Muslims. You were preoccupied, however, with other affairs, and were concerned with seizing their money by plunder and expropriation, and you have appointed corrupt viziers and adopted oppressive assistants, and have strengthened them in oppressing God’s servants. You did not listen to the complaint of the oppressed but you prevented them from entering into your presence, and you veiled those in need from yourself. You rendered the mosques inactive with your seizure of their endowments of land and date palms, and prevented free women from marriage, and did not marry them but demanded they become your prostitutes . . .⁶⁴

The sultan, unsurprisingly, reacted with fury (*ishtaddat ḥamiyyatuhu al-jāhiliyya*), attempting to ban the populace from frequenting the *sayyid*. This was, however, to no effect for, we are told, ‘they listened to [Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn’s] advice and entered his *ṭarīqa* and loved him very much, and they continued to attend the *sayyid* every Friday and Monday for Qādirī rituals’.⁶⁵ One of his adepts was the sultan’s nephew, with whom he was staying, and whom the *sayyid* proclaimed to be the true sultan. Evidently, however, the Maldives became sufficiently uncomfortable that Muḥammad decided to leave for Hoogly (Calcutta) – other branches of the al-Jīlānīs were already established in India,⁶⁶ which may have made it an attractive location for him to continue his work.

Upon the holy man’s departure, the sultan instituted the persecution of the Qādiriyya. However, shortly afterwards the sultan died of poisoning at the hands of his senior concubine (*umm walad*), Mariyam.⁶⁷ A period of turbulence followed, as his son, Sultan Muḥammad, was only six years old, and power ended up in the hands of the *umm walad* Mariyam – who was vehemently denounced by Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn as a pleasure-loving fornicator who sought to corrupt the morals of the people and royal family. Sultan Ibrāhīm’s nephew (also called Muḥammad) nevertheless remained faithful to the teachings of his *murshid*, Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn, and was imprisoned for resisting her. A number of ‘*ulamā*’ fled to India or Arabia, including the historian Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn himself, while his shaykh, al-Khaṭīb Muḥammad Sirāj al-Dīn, was grievously persecuted by the *umm walad*’s regime.⁶⁸ Eventually, the *umm walad* and her son Sultan Muḥammad died in a fire in 1102/1691. The nobility then bestowed the throne on Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn’s disciple, Sultan Ibrāhīm’s nephew Muḥammad, with the regnal title Muḥyī al-Dīn. On gaining power, the latter immediately summoned his *murshid* from Hoogly, writing to him that ‘The kingdom of the Maldives is mine, just as you predicted when you sat in my house; now I desire to see your blessed face, come in the next sailing season.’⁶⁹

In his brief reign, Muḥyī al-Dīn sought to follow the example of his mentor by imposing Islamic law and trying to abolish local habits that were contrary to it. However, he died after only a year. Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn recounts what happened next:

When Sultan Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn was buried next to his uncle Sultan Muḥammad son of Sultan Iskandar [Ibrāhīm] by the congregational mosque, Sayyid Muḥammad [Shams al-Dīn] proclaimed to them that, ‘I am entitled to the succession/caliphate [*mustahiqq al-khilāfa*], you should not give oaths of obedience to anyone but me. For I am at your head in accordance with the Prophetic *ḥadīth*, “Let the Quraysh lead [do not lead them] (*qaddimū qurayshan al-ḥadīth*).”’ Then they sought out the *sayyid* and gave oaths of obedience to him and seated him on the throne of kingship, and he took the title Sultan Muḥammad al-Sayyid Shams al-Dīn, and the oaths were given to him at the beginning of Jumada II 1103 [February 1692]. And he undertook the duties of the *khilāfa* perfectly, and was a generous, prudent king, and a noble, great, knowledgeable, virtuous, just, pious, and ascetic sultan. He ordered what is right and forbade what is wrong, and abolished customs contrary to *sharī‘a* . . . He preached to the people every night between *‘ishā* and *maghrib* prayers, and after *‘ishā* he taught Qāḍī Muḥammad, the Khaṭīb Muḥammad Sirāj al-Dīn and Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn *fiqh*, grammar and other sciences.⁷⁰

Even in the sympathetic account of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn’s pupil Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn, it is clear that adherence to Islamic law had to be imposed by force. Ḥasan describes how his teacher:

sent him out every Friday with the *qadi*’s assistants and a troop of soldiers to go around the streets of the town to command what is right and forbid what is wrong and to command the people to gather together to undertake the prescribed prayers at the first opportunity, and to reprimand anyone who opposed him. [He ordered him] to bring him anyone who failed to perform the prescribed prayers so that he could kill him with the shining sword of *sharī‘a*.⁷¹

As under Sultan Ibrāhīm, Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn’s efforts to enforce the *sharī‘a* had to be accompanied by force. Coercion was a vital element in propagating *sharī‘a*-minded piety in the Maldives, as elsewhere in the expanding Muslim world of the seventeenth century.

Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn did not rule for long, dying after only six months. On his death he was afforded the signal honour of burial next to

the tomb of the apostle to the Maldives, Shams al-Dīn of Tabriz. As he did not leave any descendants, only marrying Muḥyī al-Dīn's widow on his deathbed, he did not found a dynasty. Nonetheless, his prestige is reflected in the fact that his regnal title was adopted by two subsequent sultans,⁷² and that on his death the nobles of Malé again sought to appoint a religious leader, the Khaṭīb Muḥammad, as sultan. Although the Khaṭīb refused, eventually a *qāḍī*, Muḥammad, was appointed as ruler, the first of the new Isdu dynasty. Muḥammad did have some distant royal ancestry as a descendant of Muḥammad Takurufanu (r. 1573–85), the leader of the sixteenth-century struggle against the Portuguese,⁷³ who had also been a *khaṭīb* – another indication of the extent to which the religious and royal establishments were intertwined.

Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn's account of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn's activities clearly must be treated with a certain degree of circumspection: the author was a student of, and clearly sympathetic to, the *sayyid*. Nonetheless, it does suggest several features to which we have alluded in the first part of the chapter. First, the sort of Sufism being espoused by this Qādirī was clearly *sharī'a*-orientated, and appealed both to and beyond the royal court. Although the universal adoption of this rigorous piety was evidently secured only by force, the chronicle repeatedly emphasises the popular appeal of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn, while his conversion of the youthful future Sultan Muḥyī al-Dīn and the fact of his own apparently unchallenged rise to power suggests that he also won over the elite. Secondly, the chronicler underlines the importance of genealogy, in particular Prophetic descent, in providing a new form of legitimacy that could trump existing political structures: note how Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn even included his title of *sayyid* in his regnal *laqab*, underlining this point, as well as drawing on the authority of *ḥadīth* in his speech claiming the right to rule.

Sultan Ibrāhīm Iskandar's reign featured an attempt to turn the Maldives into an Islamic monarchy based on Middle Eastern patterns, suggested by a variety of reforms and innovations: the endowment of *waqfs*; the building of Meccan-style minarets; the abolition of sultanic marriage and the introduction of concubinage (polygyny being almost unknown in the Maldives);⁷⁴ and the consequent institution of *umm walad*. Yet far from securing the ruler's position as an autocrat (if that was the intention), bringing the Maldives

closer in line with the Middle East had precisely the opposite effect, undermining the legitimacy of royal power and reminding the inhabitants that the thing they really lacked was a ruler of Qurayshi descent. Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn's challenge to Ibrāhīm seems to have been rooted not in any fundamental difference of approach, but rather in the fact that the holy man, with his distinguished lineage, more precisely embodied the Islamic values that the sultan had spent his reign promoting than the sultan himself did.

Conclusion

The story of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn and his coup reminds us of the figure of the 'stranger-king', well known to the historiography of Southeast Asia. However, studies have tended to emphasise the ability of such strangers to seize power as resting in their ability to form marriage alliances with local elites and to impress the populace by performing impressive feats of magic.⁷⁵ In common with many of these stranger-kings Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn boasts his own prestigious *sayyid* lineage. However, his ancestor 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī seems to have played an almost equally important role as his *sayyid* status. In both Aceh and the Maldives, Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn is paraded around under the great green banner with 'Abd al-Qādir's name inscribed on it. His reception indicates that the name was already known and prestigious in both locations, suggesting perhaps a rather broader diffusion of the Qādirī *ṭarīqa* in the Indian Ocean in the seventeenth century than is sometimes admitted, and indeed the popular appeal of the cosmopolitan networks of Sufis that linked the Indian Ocean world to the Middle East.

This Sufi and *sharī'a*-minded religiosity appealed to the elite, but also more widely, and rather than Sufism offering a way of combining pre-Islamic and Islamic practices and legitimising traditional royal power in Islamic terms, this chapter has suggested that on occasion we can see it achieving almost the opposite. Through *sharī'a*-orientated Sufi texts and holy men, Indian Ocean courts sought to link themselves to the Hijaz and to the Prophetic *sunna*. In Banten, the texts stood in for the absent holy man, Ibn 'Alān, but by virtue of being composed by a scholar of Caliphal descent, served to bestow some measure of their *baraka* on the royal court, as is indicated by the careful copies made of them in the eighteenth century. Yet, as Ibn 'Alān states, this was ultimately a project of local, Bantenese origin,

not the initiative of Ḥaramayn scholars. It was by emulating the practices of kings as laid down by al-Ghazālī, as implemented by the Sharīfs of Mecca and as interpreted and explained by Ibn ‘Alān that the sultans of Banten aspired to assert their legitimacy. In our second case, the holy man in person is embraced and honoured by Sultan Ibrāhīm Iskandar, doubtless seeking to harness him for his own purposes of building a Middle Eastern-style monarchy in the Maldives. Yet this project rebounded against the sultan, suggesting that this emergent *sharī‘a*-orientated piety had a popular purchase that in fact allowed it to undermine traditional power structures, as is also suggested by the *sayyid* coups in both the Maldives and Aceh at the close of the seventeenth century. (The case of Banten is rather different as royal power was sapped by effectively being made into a Dutch protectorate in the same period).⁷⁶

Finally, it is worth noting that this phenomenon of a rising *sharī‘a*-orientated piety is of broader currency in the seventeenth-century Muslim world, often with similar consequences. The Ottoman Empire was convulsed for much of the seventeenth century by the partisans of the *sharī‘a*-minded Kadızadeli movement, whose leaders achieved great influence in the palace – and the period is noted for the dissipation of sultanic power.⁷⁷ In Safavid Iran, the late seventeenth century sees the growth of an increasingly powerful clerical movement led by Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī (d. 1699), which dominated the court and politics; this clerical dominance has often been attributed with a decisive role in the fall of the dynasty.⁷⁸ In India, too, the last great ruler of the Mughal dynasty, Aurangzeb, is generally thought to have espoused a much more *sharī‘a*-orientated piety than his predecessors.⁷⁹ Whether the occurrence of these comparable phenomena in these disparate places is not coincidental or needs further research, Sufi networks certainly seem to have ensured that Islam’s frontier in the Indian Ocean world was increasingly integrated into the broader Muslim world and its political and religious trends.

Acknowledgement

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Notes

1. Green, Nile, 'Saints, Rebels, Booksellers: Sufis in the Cosmopolitan Western Indian Ocean, ca. 1780–1920', in Edward Simpson and Kai Kresse (eds), *Struggling with History: Islam and Cosmopolitanism in the Western Indian Ocean* (London: Hurst, 2007), p. 159; for an example of the connection between Sufism, scholarship and travel in one *tariqa*, see Le Gall, Dina, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450–1700* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007), pp. 17–23, 169–75; and in general on travel and piety in Islam, see the essays in Eickelman, Dale F. and James Piscatori (eds), *Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990).
2. See, for instance, Ricklefs, M. C., *Mystic Synthesis in Java: a History of Islamization from the Fourteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Norwalk, CT: Eastbridge, 2006), esp. pp. 21–2.
3. For a discussion and critique of various conceptions of cosmopolitanism in the field, see Hanley, Will, 'Grieving Cosmopolitanism in Middle East Studies', *History Compass* 6(5) (2008): 1346–67.
4. See, for instance, Letvzion, Nehemia, 'Toward a Comparative Study of Islamization', in Nehemia Letvzion (ed.), *Conversion to Islam* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1979), pp. 16–18. For ideas of syncretism in more recent scholarship, see, for example, Green, Nile, *Sufism: A Global History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 102–3, and see also the discussion by Simon Kemper, Chapter 4, this volume.
5. Prange, Sebastian R., 'Like banners on the Sea: Muslim Trade Networks and Islamization in Malabar and Maritime Southeast Asia', in R. Michael Feener and Terenjit Sevea (eds), *Islamic Connections: Muslim Societies in South and Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009), pp. 36–7, citing Parkin, David, 'Inside and Outside the Mosque: A Master Trope', in D. Parkin and S. C. Headley (eds), *Islamic Prayer across the Indian Ocean: Inside and Outside the Mosque* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000), p. 3.
6. Green, *Sufism*, p. 126. For this reason, in this chapter I deliberately do not make the distinction between 'ulamā' and Sufis that we find in some scholarship; if certainly not all Sufis were 'ulamā', yet in one sense or another almost all 'ulamā' were Sufis. See also note 77 below.
7. See, for instance, the comments in Simpson, Edward and Kai Kresse, 'Cosmopolitanism Contested: Anthropology and History in the Western Indian

- Ocean', in Edward Simpson and Kai Kresse (eds), *Struggling with History: Islam and Cosmopolitanism in the Western Indian Ocean* (London: Hurst, 2007), p. 13, and for a more detailed critique of reductive ideas of cosmopolitanism, see Hanley, 'Grieving Cosmopolitanism'.
8. For a discussion of some of these links, see Azra, Azyumardi, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay–Indonesian and Middle-Eastern 'ulamā' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2004); Tschacher, Torsten, 'Circulating Islam: Understanding Convergence and Divergence in the Islamic Tradition of Ma'bar and Nusantara', in R. Michael Feener and Terenjit Sevea (eds), *Islamic Connections: Muslim Societies in South and Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009), pp. 48–67; Laffan, Michael, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), esp. ch. 1.
 9. Green, *Sufism*, pp. 155–6.
 10. Simpson and Kresse, 'Cosmopolitanism Contested', p. 3, for quotation and see further discussion on pp. 24–6; cf. Hanley, 'Grieving Cosmopolitanism', pp. 1346–7.
 11. Green, Nile, *Making Space: Sufis and Settlers in Early Modern India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012); Eaton, Richard, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204–1760* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993); Barkan, Ömer Lüfti, 'İstila devirlerinin Kolonizator Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeleri', *Vakıf Dergisi* 2 (1942): 279–353.
 12. See Masters, Bruce, *The Arabs of the Ottoman Empire 1516–1918: a Social and Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 114–20.
 13. See Gibson, Thomas, *Islamic Narrative and Authority in Southeast Asia: From the 16th to the 21st Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), ch. 2; Milner, A. C., 'Islam and the Muslim State', in M. B. Hooker (ed.), *Islam in Southeast Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), pp. 23–49.
 14. Van Bruinessen, Martin, 'The Origins and Development of Sufi Orders (*tarekat*) in Southeast Asia', *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies* 1(1) (1994): 1–23.
 15. Azra, Azyumardi, 'Opposition to Sufism in the East Indies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in Frederick de Jong and Bernd Radtke (eds), *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 665–86.
 16. Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam*, p. 24.

17. The description of Aceh by the secretary to the seventeenth-century Iranian embassy to Siam starts off by praising the wealth of the place but soon moves on to describe it as an alien and remarkable land, remarking how ‘the king and people have a very strange sense of morals and proper behaviour . . . On the island of Aceh stealing is most common and this basic flaw of character has infected all the inhabitants, young and old.’ Moreover Aceh is described as equipped with wonders such as a booming mountain. Likewise, while the Maldives is reported to have a Muslim king who seats his Qur’ān on an amber throne, the author remarks that ‘they do their trading with various bits of broken sherds’ (*The Ship of Sulaiman*, trans. J. O’Kane (London: Routledge, 1972), pp. 177, 178, 225).
18. On Aceh–Banten links, see Lieberman, Victor, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, vol. 2: Mainland Mirrors. Europe, Japan, China, South Asia, and the Islands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 849–50; Kathirithamby-Wells, J., ‘Banten: A West Indonesian Port and Polity’, in J. Kathirithamby-Wells and John Villiers (eds), *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity* (Singapore: National University of Singapore, 1990), pp. 107–25, esp. p. 117. On the Maldivian connection to Aceh, which at times also seems to have been political, see Maloney, Clarence, *People of the Maldivian Islands* (Hyderabad: Orient Blacksong, 2013), pp. 111–14, also n. 53 below.
19. This is not, of course, to suggest that contemporaries thought specifically of a Middle East; yet disparate influences such as the prestige of Ottoman royal power, of the holy cities of Arabia, of descent from the Prophet, and of Persian culture and even literature, which were to make themselves felt in Southeast Asia and other parts of the Indian Ocean world in this period are most conveniently summed up under this neologism.
20. For an overview, see van Bruinessen, Martin, ‘Shari‘a Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Sultanate of Banten’, *Archipel* 50 (1995): 165–99; and also Yakin, Ayang Utriza, ‘Undhang-Undhang Bantĕn: a 17th- to 18th-century Legal Compilation of the Qadi Court of the Sultanate of Bantĕn’, *Indonesia and the Malay World* 44(130) (2016): 365–88.
21. Van Bruinessen, ‘Shari‘a Court’, p. 193, n. 10, for the proposed identity of these three treatises. Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam*, p. 17, with further references; Djajadiningrat, Hosein, *Critische Beschouwing van de Sedjarah Banten* (Haarlem: Joh. Enschedé en zonen, 1913), pp. 50–1.
22. Djajadiningrat, *Critische Beschouwing*, p. 50.
23. Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Āthār fi A‘yān al-Qarn al-Hādī ‘Ashar*, ed. Muḥammad

- Ḥasan Ismā'īl (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 2006), vol. 4, pp. 183–8; for further references, consult al-Hayla, Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb, *al-Ta'rikh wa'l-Mu'arrikhūn bi-Makka* (London: Mu'assasat al-Furqān, 1994), pp. 314–30.
24. Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāsat al-Āthār*, vol. 1, pp. 185–6; vol. 4, p. 183. His uncle was also a well-known Naqshbandi, known as the 'imām al-taṣawwuf fi zamānihi' (ibid., vol. 1, p. 186), and this may have provided a further link to the Banten court, where the Naqshbandi *ṭarīqa* was much in vogue (on this point, see van Bruinessen, 'Shari'a Court', pp. 178–80).
 25. National Library, Jakarta, MSS A102 and A103.
 26. National Library, Jakarta, MS A105. For a more detailed discussion of this text, see Tim Peneliti, 'Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin' Banten, 'Al-Mawahib ar-Rabbaniyah 'An Al-As'ilah al-Jawiyah dan Etika Kekuasaan', in Fadhal A. R. Bafadal and Asap Saefullah (eds), *Naskah Klasik Kegamaan Nusantara: Cerminan Budaya Bangsa II* (Jakarta: Pulitbang Lektur Keagamaan Badan Litbang dan Diklat, 2006), pp. 55–96.
 27. Also on the *ḥudūd* in Banten, see Yakin, 'Undhang-Undhang Bantĕn', pp. 382–83.
 28. Smith, Jane Idleman, *The Precious Pearl: a Translation from the Arabic* (Cambridge: Scholars Press, 1979), pp. 8–9.
 29. Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam*, pp. 9–10; cf. Azra, 'Opposition to Sufism', pp. 671, 682.
 30. Green, *Making Space*, p. 1.
 31. Azra writes that Sultan Abū l-Mafākhir 'Abd al-Qādir 'had a special interest in religious matters; he sent inquiries about religious matters not only to al-Raniri but also to scholars in the Ḥaramayn, which resulted in special works being written by those scholars, answering his questions. As a result, Banten became known as one of the most important Islamic centres on Java', *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 89. Of his son Sultan Ageng, Azra writes that 'he had a special interest in religion' (ibid., p. 98).
 32. Feener, R. Michael and Michael F. Laffan, 'Sufi Scents across the Indian Ocean: Yemeni Hagiography and the Earliest History of Southeast Asian Islam', *Archipel* 70 (2005):185–208.
 33. Gallop, Annabel Teh, 'Sultanah Tajul 'Alam's *tarakata* of 1666: the Earliest Known Original Royal Decree from Aceh', in M. Hasbi Amiruddin, Kamaruzzaman Bustaman-Ahmad and Baiquni (eds), *Yusny Saby Sang Motivator: menelusuri karakter pemimpin jujur dan ikhlas dalam membangun umat* (Banda Aceh: Lembaga Studi Agama dan Masyarakat Aceh, 2009), p. 319.

34. Gallop, Annabel Teh, 'Royal Minangkabau Seals: Disseminating Authority in Malay Borderlands', *Indonesia and the Malay World* 43(126) (2015): 284.
35. Van Bruinessen, Martin, 'Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani and the Qadiriyya in Indonesia', *Journal of the History of Sufism* 1/2 (2000): 362–5, 367; also Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, pp. 55, 60–3. The Leiden collection of manuscripts from Banten, many of which also have a royal connection, contains the following manuscripts that deal with the Qādiriyya in some form: Or 5601, Or 5658, Or 5660, Or 5669, Or 5701.
36. On al-Rānīrī and the contents of the *Bustan al-Salātīn*, see Wormser, Paul, *Le Bustan al-Salātīn de Nuruddin ar-Raniri: réflexions sur le rôle culturel d'un étranger dans le monde malais au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Cahiers d'Archipel, 2012), p. 41.
37. al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naguib, *Rānīrī and the Wujūdiyyah of 17th Century Aceh* (Singapore: Monographs of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1966), pp. 14–17; Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, pp. 66–9; Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam*, pp. 12–17.
38. On this point, see Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, pp. 66, 89; also see Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam*, p. 248, n. 61.
39. On Maqassāri's travels and career, see Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, pp. 87–108; Ward, Kerry, *Networks of Empire: Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 199–208, 231–6; Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam*, pp. 19–22.
40. Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, pp. 66–7, 107–8.
41. Reid, Anthony, 'The Islamization of Southeast Asia', in Anthony Reid, *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia* (Chiang-Mai: Silkworm Books, 2000), p. 20.
42. Van Bruinessen, 'Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir', pp. 374–5.
43. D. S. Margoliouth, 'Qādiriyya', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn (Brill online), available at: <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2>.
44. Yajima, Hikoichi (ed.), *Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn's The Islamic History of the Maldive Islands* (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of the Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1982), (hereafter Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn, *History*). The *History* was summarised in English by Bell in his classic study: Bell, H. C. P., *The Maldive Islands: Monograph on the History, Archaeology and Epigraphy* (Malé: Novelty Printers and Publishers, 2002; originally Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1940), pp. 18–43. However, the activities of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn are

treated only very scantily in this summary. Unfortunately, the chronicle is the sole narrative source for many aspects of Maldivian history, including the activities of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn, so it is not possible to compare its information against other sources.

45. Although both the earlier and later history of the Hama Jilānīs is well known, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries represent something of a black hole. See Khenchelaoui, Zaïm and Thierry Zarcone, 'La famille Jilāni de Hamâ (Syrie): Bayt al-Jilāni', *Journal of the History of Sufism* 1/2 (2000): 53–77.
46. Khan, Sher Banu A. L., *Sovereign Women in a Muslim Kingdom: the Sultanahs of Aceh, 1641–1699* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2017), pp. 248–53.
47. Takeshi, Ito, 'The World of the *Adat Aceh*: a Historical Study of the Sultanate of Aceh', PhD thesis, Australian National University, 1984, pp. 248–62.
48. Takeshi, 'The World of the *Adat Aceh*', pp. 31–2, 66–8. For a different interpretation see Khan, *Sovereign Women*, p. 226, who argues that the consensual style of rulership practised by Aceh's queens accorded with Malay tradition and was a sign of exemplary behaviour. Nonetheless, Khan does agree that the exercise of power by the queens was qualitatively different that that practised by rulers such as Iskandar Muda; cf. Khan, *Sovereign Women*, pp. 247, 255–6.
49. Khan, *Sovereign Women*, pp. 251–3.
50. Djajadiningrat, *Critische Beschouwing*, pp. 188–97; see also Kalus, Luvik and Claude Gilliot, 'Inscriptions islamiques en arabe de l'archipel des Maldives', *Archipel* 70 (2005): 15–52, at pp. 39–40. A conflation with Shams al-Dīn al-Tabrīzī, the great companion of Rūmī, has prompted suggestions that Sufism in the Maldives was Mevlevi in orientation (see also n. 51 below). It seems unlikely, however, that this aristocratic Ottoman order, which had a limited presence outside Anatolia, would have spread to the Maldives.
51. de Castro, Xavier (ed.), *Voyage de Pyrard de Laval aux Indes orientales (1601–1611)*, vol. 1 (Paris: Chandeigne, 1998), pp. 163–5; Nasheed, Mohamed, *Maldives: a Historical Overview of the Traditional Dhivehi Polity, 1800–1900* (Malé: Orient Academic Centre, 2003), pp. 51–6.
52. Nasheed, *Maldives*, pp. 47–69; Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn, *History*, vol. 1, p. 24.
53. Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn, *History*, vol. 1, p. 28; further on trade links between Aceh and the Maldives, see Takeshi, 'The World of the *Adat Aceh*', pp. 332–3 nn. 141, 144, p. 429, n. 29.
54. Bell, *The Maldivian Islands*, pp. 190–3. Formulas praising the ruler as a *kshatriya* (an Indic term denoting a warrior) continued to be used in Maldivian *waqf* documents into the twentieth century. See Ahmed Nazim Sattar, *King Kalaafaan*

- Manuscripts* (Malé: National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research, 2009), pp. 67, 68, 70. I am very grateful to Michael Feener for providing me with a copy of this publication. Cf. the discussion of the term *ghāzī* by Simon Kemper in Chapter 4, this volume.
55. Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn, *History*, vol. 1, p. 29.
 56. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 30.
 57. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 30–1.
 58. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 32: *thumma ibtada'a binā' al-mināra wa banā hādhihi al-mināra fi uslūb al-manābir al-makiyya*.
 59. *Ibid.*.
 60. *Ibid.*
 61. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 35.
 62. *Ibid.*
 63. *Ibid.*
 64. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 36.
 65. *Ibid.*
 66. Khenchelaoui and Zarcone, 'La famille', p. 71; Buehler, Arthur, 'The Indo-Pakistani Qadiriyya: An Overview', *Journal of the History of Sufism* 1/2 (2000): 339–60, at pp. 345–53.
 67. Ḥasan Tāj al-Dīn, *History*, vol. 1, p. 37.
 68. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 39–40.
 69. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 44.
 70. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 45.
 71. *Ibid.*
 72. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad II (r. 1773–4); Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad III (1893, 1903–1934). See Bell, *The Maldive Islands*.
 73. Bell, *The Maldive Islands*, pp. 27, 33.
 74. Maloney, *People of the Maldive Islands*, pp. 336, 342.
 75. See, for example, Kathirathamby-Wells, Jeyamalar, "“Strangers” and “Stranger-kings”: the Stranger-king in Eighteenth-century Southeast Asia", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 40 (2009): 567–91.
 76. Cf. Kemper's discussion of the power of *karamat* at the court of Mataram, Chapter 4, this volume.
 77. On the Kadızadelis and their Sufi links, see Le Gall, Diana, 'Kadızadelis, Naksbendis and Intra-Sufi Diatribe in Seventeenth-century Istanbul', *Turkish Studies Association Journal* 27 (2004): 1–28. For the circulation of texts by the proto-Kadızadeli Ottoman author Birgevi in Southeast Asia (Sumatra), see

Fathurahman, Oman, 'New Textual Evidence for Intellectual and Religious Connections between the Ottomans and Aceh', in A. C. S. Peacock and Annabel Teh Gallop (eds), *From Anatolia to Aceh: Ottomans, Turks and Southeast Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 306–7.

78. Matthee, Rudi, *Persia in Crisis: Safavid Decline and the Fall of Isfahan* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011), pp. 201–2, 248.
79. Pirbhai, M. Reza, *Reconsidering Islam in a South Asian Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 91–116.