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Najmuddin al-Kubra, Jumadil Kubra and Jamaluddin al-Akbar

Traces of Kubrawiyya Influence in Early Indonesian Islam

The Javanese *Sajarah Banten ranté-ranté* (hereafter abbreviated as *SBR*) and its Malay translation *Hikayat Hasanuddin*, compiled in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century but incorporating much older material, consist of a number of disparate narratives, one of which tells of the alleged studies of Sunan Gunung Jati in Mecca.¹ A very similar, though less detailed, account is contained in the Brandes-Rinkes recension of the *Babad Cirebon*. Sunan Gunung Jati, venerated as one of the nine saints of Java, is a historical person, who lived in the first half of the 16th century and founded the Muslim kingdoms of Banten and Cirebon. Present tradition gives his proper name as Syarif Hidayatullah; the *babad* literature names him variously as Sa'īd Kāmil, Muḥammad Nūruddīn, Nūrullāh Ibrāhīm, and Maulānā Shaikh Madhkūr, and has him born either in Egypt or in Pasai, in north Sumatra. It appears that a number of different historical and legendary persons have merged into the Sunan Gunung Jati of the *babad*.

Sunan Gunung Jati and the Kubrawiyya

The historical Sunan Gunung Jati may or may not have actually visited Mecca and Medina. However, the account of his studies there, irrespective of its historicity, yields some precious information on 17th-century Indonesian Islam. The saint is said to have first studied with Najmuddin al-Kubrā in Mecca, and then for twenty or twenty-two years with Ibn ʿAṭāʾillāh al-Iskandarī al-Shādhilī in Medina, where he was initiated into

¹ The Malay and Javanese texts have been edited and summarily translated by Edel (1938). For an attempt to date the text and to assess its relation to other Banten and Cirebon chronicles, see Djajadiningrat 1913:195-9.

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the Shadhiliyya, Shattariyya and Naqshbandiyya Sufi orders (Edel 1938:137-9; Brandes and Rinkes 1911: Canto 13). As we know from other sources, the Shattariyya and Naqshbandiyya spread from Medina to the Archipelago in the course of the 17th century, and the same may well have been true of the Shadhiliyya. Ibn 'Aṭā'illāh, of course, was a well-known mystic in Egypt in the 13th rather than in Medina in the 16th century. His appearance in the narrative only shows that his name was known in Banten and Cirebon – probably through his famous collection of Sufi aphorisms, *al-Ḥikam* – by the time this episode was written.

The temporal and spatial distance separating Sunan Gunung Jati from his other alleged teacher, Najmuddīn al-Kubrā, is even greater: al-Kubrā worked in Khwarazm, in Central Asia, and died there in 1221. The *SBR*, however, not only mentions al-Kubrā as a teacher but also lists his entire spiritual genealogy (*silsila*) and mentions the names of twenty-seven 'fellow-students' (*rèncang sapaguron*) of Sunan Gunung Jati. These names point to a more than superficial acquaintance with the Kubrawiyya, the mystical order associated with Najmuddīn al-Kubrā.

The *silsila* is identical, apart from a few trivial copyists' errors² and two missing names, with one of the two found in early Kubrawiyya sources (Meier 1957:17-9). Al-Kubrā had two major teachers, °Ammār b. Yāsir al-Bidlīsī and Ismā'īl al-Qaṣrī, and he traced his spiritual ancestry through both. The *SBR* gives his *silsila* through the latter, which contains the following names (I have tacitly corrected minor spelling errors and added the two missing names between square brackets):

Ismā'īl al-Qaṣrī

Muḥammad b. Malik al-Mātikīdī [correctly: Muḥammad b. Mānkīl]

[Dāwūd b. Muḥammad khādīm al-fuqarā']

Abu'l-°Abbās Idrīs

Abu'l-Qāsim b. Ramaḍān

[Abū Ya°qūb al-Ṭabarī]

Abū °Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān

Abu'l-Ya°qūb al-Nahārī Jūdi [correctly: al-Nahrajūrī]

Abū Ya°qūb al-Sūsī

°Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd

Kumayl b. Ziyād

°Alī al-Murtaḍā

Muḥammad.

The same *silsila* is also found in a work by the well-known 17th-century Medinan mystic Aḥmad al-Qushāshī, *al-Simṭ al-majīd* (al-Qushāshī

² The editor of the text, J. Edel, introduced a few errors of his own, making some of the names less easily recognizable. I have consulted the Malay ms. he used as the basis for his edition (Leiden Cod.Or. 1711) to emend a few of his readings.

1327:98-9).³ Al-Qushāshī is primarily known as a teacher of the Shattariyya and Naqshbandiyya orders, but he was initiated into numerous others, among them the Kubrawiyya. He had, among others, Indonesian students, and one of these, °Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkili, quotes the *Simt* (though not this *silsila*) in one of his own writings.⁴ Al-Qushāshī's initiations were all at the hands of his teacher and predecessor as the leading scholar of Medina, Aḥmad al-Shinnāwī (d.1619), and he in turn initiated Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, who succeeded him upon his death in 1661.

The simplest hypothesis explaining the references to the Shattariyya, Naqshbandiyya and Kubrawiyya⁵ in the *SBR* and *Babad Cirebon* that I have mentioned so far is that the court circles where these texts originated had become acquainted with these mystical orders in the course of the 17th century through one or more disciples of Shinnāwī or his successors – either indigenous Indonesians who had performed the *hajj* or foreign visitors. The most interesting piece of information, however, is yet to come. The *SBR*, as was said above, gives twenty-seven names of persons who allegedly studied together with Sunan Gunung Jati at the feet of Najmuddin al-Kubrā in Mecca.⁶ About half of these can be unambiguously identified (the editor of the text has not made recognition of the names any the easier, so that we shall have to have recourse to the manuscript again). It is hardly surprising that, just like the alleged teacher himself, they are not contemporaries of Sunan Gunung Jati or even of each other. However, their names do not, as might perhaps be supposed, constitute a random selection of prestigious names, either. At least eleven of them are leading Kubrawiyya *shaikhs*, and together their names constitute the (incomplete) *silsila* of two distinct branches of that order.

Sunan Gunung Jati's 'fellow-students'

I shall first give here the names in the order in which they appear in the *SBR*, tacitly correcting minor errors and placing major corrections and comments between square brackets. The names of those identified as Kubrawi are italicized.

- (1) Jamāluddīn Muḥammad al-Khalwafī
- (2) Khwāja °Azīzān °Alī Ramaqatānī [al-Rāmītanī]

³ Professor Hermann Landolt kindly drew my attention to this and related *silsila* given in al-Qushāshī's work.

⁴ °Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkili, *Tanbih al-māshī al-mansūb ilā tariq al-Qushāshī* (Cod. Jakarta A 101). His contemporary, Yusuf Makassar, who was also tutored intensively by al-Qushāshī's successor, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, mentions the Kubrawiyya just once in his writings (*Safīna al-najāh*), as one of fifteen orders with which he was acquainted, but does not give it any special attention.

⁵ Not the Shadhiliyya, for al-Qushāshī does not list this order among those into which he had been initiated.

⁶ The *Babad Cirebon* does not refer to these 'fellow-students'.

- (3) Shaikh °Abdullāh
- (4) Shaikh Niẓāmuddīn al-Ḥawārī [al-Khwārazmī?]
- (5) *Shaikh Majduddīn al-Baghdādī*
- (6) *Shaikh Aḥmad al-Jasadafānī [al-Jūrfānī] al-Rūdbārī*
- (7) Shaikh Maḥmūd b. Yūsuf Rashad Ūdahālī
- (8) Shaikh Ḥamīduddīn Maḥmūd al-Samarqandī
- (9) Shāh ...⁷
- (10) Shaikh Mubārak
- (11) *Shihābuddīn al-Dimashqī*
- (12) *Shaikh °Alā' al-Dawla Astamāb [al-Simnānī]*
- (13) Mīr Shāh Rajū
- (14) Sayyid Ṣadruddīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī
- (15) *Maḥmūd al-Mazdaqānī*
- (16) Shaikh Sāranak
- (17) Shaikh Maḥmūd b. Jalāluddīn al-Bukhārī
- (18) *Qāḍī Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī*
- (19) *Ishāq Abu'l-Ḥattān [Ishāq al-Khuttalānī]*
- (20) *Shaikh °Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha°rāwī*
- (21) Shāh °Alī al-Khaṭīb
- (22) Badruddīn al-Sa°id Qāḍī Burhān
- (23) *Shāh °Alī al-Bīdūd [al-Bīdāwāzī]*
- (24) Shaikh °Abd al-Karīm b. Sha°bān
- (25) Faḍl Allāh Muḥammad Ṣadr
- (26) *Shaikh Aḥmad al-Shinnāwī*
- (27) *Maulānā °Abd al-Laṭīf al-Jāmī.*

Six of these names also occur in the Kubrawi *silsila* of Aḥmad al-Qushāshī, representing links in the chain between himself and Najmuddīn al-Kubrā. Majduddīn al-Baghdādī (5) was al-Kubrā's major disciple, and from him the line passed through Aḥmad al-Rūdbārī (6)⁸, Shihābuddīn al-Dimashqī (11), Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī (18), °Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha°rānī (or al-Sha°rāwī) (20), and Aḥmad al-Shinnāwī (26) to al-Qushāshī. This is not the complete *silsila* (for this see Table 1), only the most famous names being listed in it, and almost half left out.⁹ Anṣārī and Sha°rānī, incidentally, are well-known in Indonesia for their contributions in the field of Islamic jurisprudence

⁷ Here a proper name appears to have been omitted.

⁸ Central Asian and East Iranian Kubrawiyya *silsila* list an Aḥmad Gūrpānī (Arabized as al-Jūrfānī) as Majduddīn's chief *khalīfa*, others, including al-Qushāshī's, mention an Aḥmad Rūdbārī. The list in the *SBR* shows these two Ahmad to be one and the same person.

⁹ Al-Qushāshī 1327:98-9. Al-Sha°rānī, in *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, gives brief biographies of his three predecessors in this *silsila*, al-Anṣārī, al-Ghamrī and Aḥmad al-Zāhid, but does not mention the persons preceding them. Elsewhere he mentions another *shaikh*, Yūsuf al-°Ajāmī al-Kūrānī, al-Zāhid's spiritual 'grandfather', as the progenitor of this Kubrawi line of affiliation in Egypt, in fact (Winter 1982:93, 215).

(*fiqh*). Several of their works have long been studied at the advanced levels of *pesantren* education. Here, however, they occur in a lesser-known capacity, as mystics affiliated with the Kubrawiyya.

Five of the remaining Kubrawi names in the list of the *SBR* constitute another illustrious line of affiliation, often named the Kubrawiyya-Hamadaniyya, after the most charismatic teacher of this line, °Alī al-Hamadānī (see Table 1, and compare with the table in Trimmingham 1973:56-7). Hamadānī himself appears to be missing in the list, unless he is identifiable with Shāh °Alī al-Khaṭīb ('the Preacher'). The last person of this particular Kubrawiyya line in the list who can be identified is °Abd al-Laṭīf al-Jāmī (d.1555-6), on whom we find a brief but interesting note in al-Ghazzī's biographical dictionary of 16th-century personalities.

The Central Asian Jāmī (who should not be confused with the famous poet °Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī) was not the chief disciple of his teacher, Muḥammad al-Khābūshānī. Central Asian sources are almost unanimous in according that status to Kamāluddīn Ḥusain al-Khwārazmī, through whom Shāh Walī Allāh also traces his Hamadaniyya lineage (see Table 1).¹⁰ Through another disciple, Khābūshānī was also the progenitor of the Iranian, Shi'ite, Dhahabiyya order (Gramlich 1965:10-16). It is only thanks to the *silsila* given by al-Ghazzī (1979, II:182) that we know Jāmī to be affiliated with this branch of the Kubrawiyya. Given this affiliation, we can easily recognize Shāh °Alī al-Bīdūd (no. 23 in the list) as Shāh °Alī al-Isfarā'īnī al-Bīdāwāzī¹¹, while it is not unlikely that the Shaikh °Abdullāh of our list (no. 3) is Hamadānī's spiritual grandson, °Abdullāh al-Barzishābādī.

Precisely because Jāmī represents a minor offshoot of the Hamadaniyya branch and is not named in later *silsila*, his occurrence in our list provides the key towards understanding what this list is all about. The few scraps of biographical information that are to be found in al-Ghazzī and other sources clearly show why Jāmī may have had a special appeal for contemporary Indonesian Muslims.

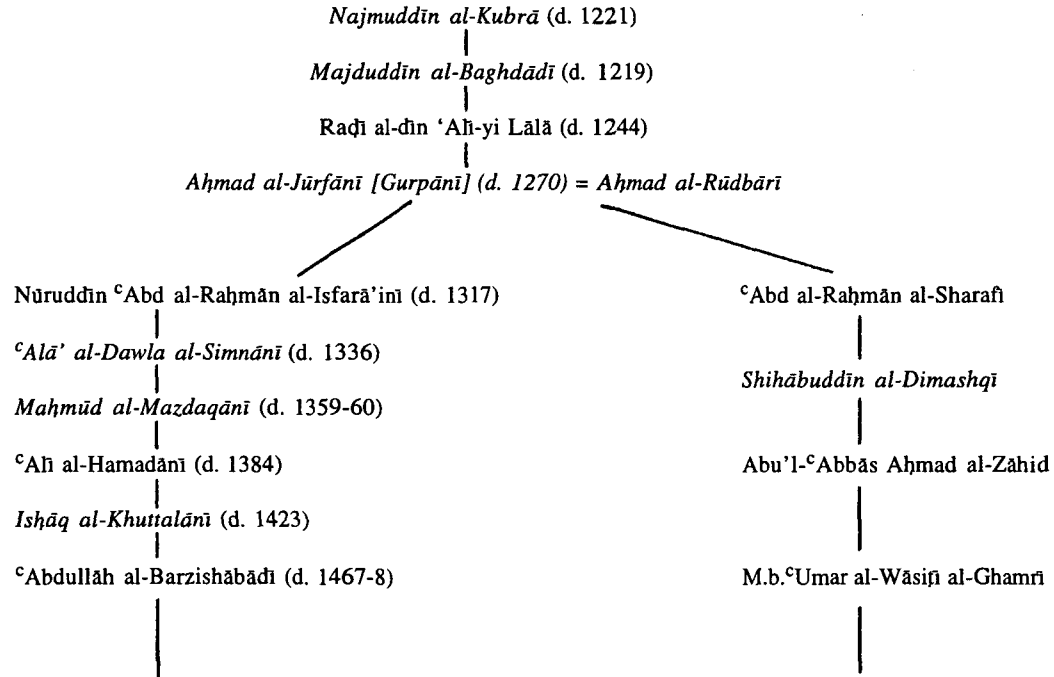
°Abd al-Laṭīf al-Jāmī is reported to have made the pilgrimage with a large following of disciples in 1547-8. On the way to Mecca he stopped in Istanbul, where he was greatly honoured by the highest dignitaries. None less than the Ottoman Sultan himself, Sulayman the Magnificent, requested to be instructed by him in the *dhikr* of the Kubrawiyya-Hamadaniyya, and

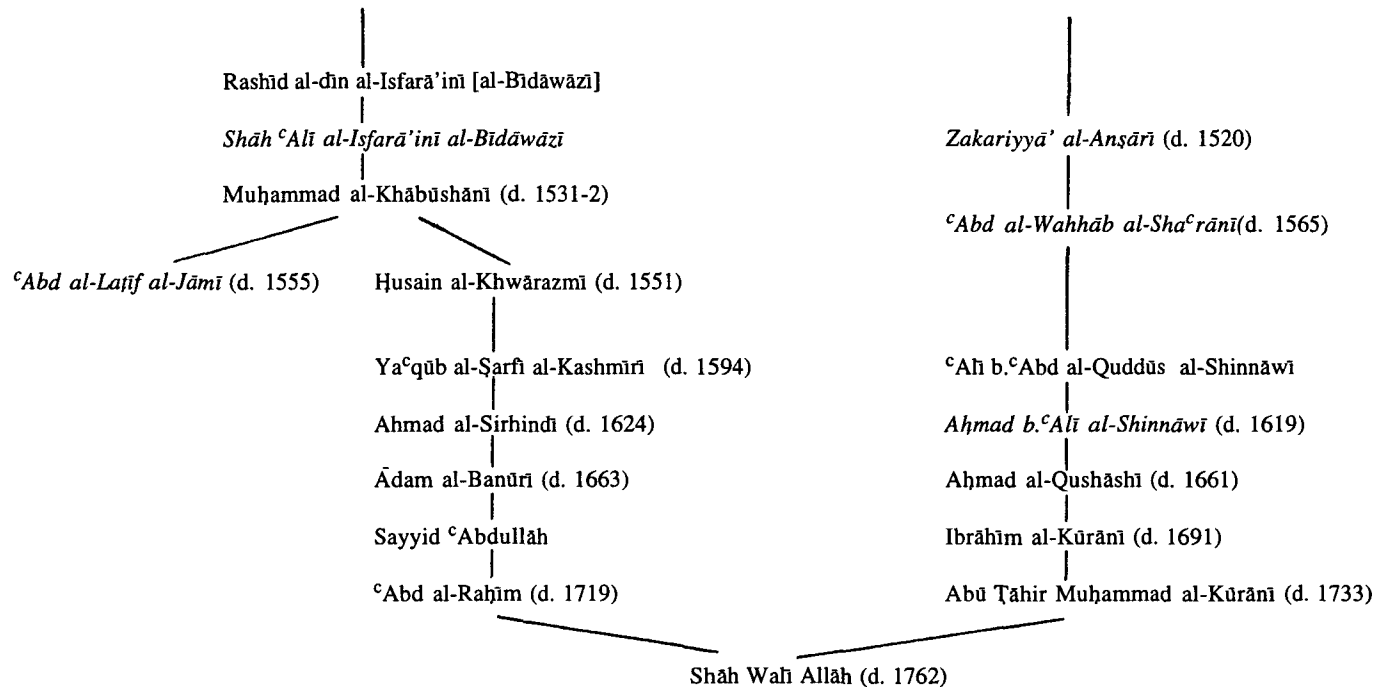
¹⁰ Walī Allāh s.a.:120-1. The activities of Al-Khābūshānī, al-Khwārazmī, and the latter's successor, Ya'qūb al-°Sharfī al-Kashmīrī, are given extensive treatment in DeWeese 1988:67-77. Note that the next person in Shāh Walī Allāh's *silsila*, Aḥmad al-Sirhindī, is known primarily as the great reformer of the Naqshbandiyya. He is credited with introducing al-Simnānī's doctrines and spiritual techniques (*waḥda al-shuhūd* as opposed to *waḥda al-wujūd*; meditation focusing on 'subtle points' in the body, or *laṭā'if*) to this order (cf. Van Bruinessen 1992:54-8).

¹¹ Called Shaikh Shāh al-Isfarā'īnī al-Bīdāwarānī by al-Ghazzī, and °Alī al-Baidāwārī by Trimmingham. On the Kubrawiyya *shaikhs* of this Central Asian line, see DeWeese 1988.

Table 1

Kubrawiyya *silsila*: The Hamadaniyya branch and al-Qushāshī's line of affiliation, with their extensions down to Shāh Walī Allāh. (Compiled from the *silsila* in Ghazzi's *al-Kawākib al-sā'ira*, Qushāshī's *al-Simṭ al-majīd*, and Walī Allāh's *Intibāh*.)





Italicized names also occur in the SBR list.

the highest military and administrative authorities became his disciples. Continuing his journey to Mecca, Jāmī stopped again at Aleppo, where once more he found the chief authorities of the city eager to receive instruction from him. He took up residence in one of the major dervish lodges here and taught the litanies known as the *Awṛād fathīyya*, constituting one of the distinctive devotions of the Hamadaniyya.¹² These litanies (*awṛād*, singular *wird*) originated with ʿAlī al-Hamadānī, to whom, it was believed, they had been revealed by the Prophet himself in a vision.

Shaikh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's return journey to Central Asia, after performing the *hajj*, was no less spectacular than his reception in Istanbul and Aleppo. Sultan Sulayman gave him an escort of 300 Janissaries, who accompanied him all the way from Asia Minor across the Caucasus and along the northern shores of the Caspian Sea to Khwarazm and Bukhara.¹³ The author to whom we owe this information, the Ottoman admiral Sidi Ali Reīs, was also a disciple of the *shaikh*. In mid-1556, as he was passing through Khwarazm on his long and arduous overland journey from India to Istanbul, he heard of Shaikh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's recent death in the town of Wazir. He spared no effort to make a pilgrimage to the *shaikh*'s tomb and recite the entire Qur'an over it (Sidi Ali Reīs 1899:79).

We have no record of the impact made by Shaikh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Jāmī in Mecca when he was performing the pilgrimage, but it must also have been considerable. The arrival of the sultan's spiritual preceptor, travelling with a large band of followers, can hardly have passed unnoticed and may have been one of those events which people were still talking about years later.

ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Jāmī was a contemporary of Sunan Gunung Jati. Without going into speculations about whether Sunan Gunung Jati himself actually visited Mecca and met this Kubrawiyya teacher, we may safely conclude that at least some Bantenese became acquainted with (some aspects of) the Kubrawiyya as taught by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Jāmī at some time (and quite possibly still in the 16th century, for we recognize no names of later representatives of this line of affiliation in the above list). If word of Jāmī's having initiated the Ottoman Sultan reached Banten, that may have convinced the Javanese ruler that this Sufi order represented a potent *ngèlmu*, which it was useful to acquire (or at least to claim possession of).

The *silsila* ending with Shinnāwī probably is the outcome of a second

¹² Al-Ghazzī 1979, II:181-2. Cf. Trimmingham 1973:96, who cites Ibn al-ʿImād, a later Syrian historian, who for his account of al-Jāmī (in vol. VIII:282-3) depends entirely on al-Ghazzī.

¹³ This military force may have had other functions besides that of honouring and protecting the *shaikh*. Upon arrival the soldiers entered the service of the ruler of Bukhara, thus giving rise to Iranian suspicions of military cooperation between the two Sunni states against Shiʿite Iran (Sidi Ali Reīs 1899:96-7; cf. Vambéry's introduction to this text, pp. vi-viii).

contact with the same Sufi order one or two generations later. Could it be that a Banteneese in quest of initiation into this prestigious order failed to locate a successor of Jāmī and therefore had recourse to the other Kubrawiyya branch, represented by Shinnāwī?¹⁴ Al-Qushāshī's successor, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1328:108-9), and the latter's second-generation disciple, Shāh Walī Allāh (s.a.:119-21), furnish several other Kubrawiyya *silsila*, showing that they were (subsequently?) initiated into several other branches of the order. These additional *silsila* do not contain any other names that occur in our list – which suggests that the list in its present form dates from Shinnāwī's or, at the latest, al-Qushāshī's time.

One other person figuring in the list who can be unambiguously identified is Khwāja °Azīzān °Alī al-Rāmītanī (d.1321 or 1328). He was one of the Central Asian mystics known as the Khwājagān, who are posthumously associated with the Naqshbandi order.¹⁵ He is best known for his correspondence with °Alā' al-Dawla al-Simnānī (Şuşud 1992:30-2, after °Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī's *Nafahāt al-uns*) and therefore is not out of place in the list of Kubrawi mystics.

Another identification that suggests itself is that of Mīr Shāh Rajū (13) with the mystic Sayyid Hibatullāh b. °Atā'illāh al-Fārisī, who was popularly known as Shāh Mīr.¹⁶ Sayyid Hibatullāh was affiliated with the Kubrawiyya through both Simnānī and another disciple of Nūruddīn al-Isfarā'inī, Amīnuddīn °Abd al-Salām al-Khunjī, and al-Qushāshī in fact quotes him in the *Simṭ* on methods of *dhikr* (Landolt 1986:47). Another possible identification is more speculative: could Nizāmuddīn 'al-Ḥawārī' (4) perhaps be Simnānī's disciple Nizāmuddīn °Alī (on whom see DeWeese 1988:64)? The occurrence of these names in the list shows that the compiler did not merely copy two partial *silsila* and suggests that he had a certain knowledge of the history of the Kubrawiyya order.

Traces of Kubrawiyya influence in Indonesian Islam

The question that arises here is whether the early acquaintance with the Kubrawiyya that is documented in the *Babad Cirebon* and the *SBR* has left any lasting traces in Indonesian Islam. Can any specific mystical doctrines or spiritual techniques be traced to Kubrawiyya influence, for instance?

¹⁴ The Kubrawiyya-Hamadaniyya branch is seldom mentioned in later sources, but there are indications that it remained in existence in the Hijaz. As late as 1731-2, Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad al-Kūrānī initiated the Indian Shāh Walī Allāh into several orders, including the Hamadaniyya branch of the Kubrawiyya (Walī Allāh s.a.:120-1).

¹⁵ In the standard Naqshbandi *silsila*, Bahā'uddīn Naqshband (d.1389), to whom the Naqshbandiyya owes its name, is shown as coming after Khwāja °Azīzān in the third generation, cf. Van Bruinessen 1992:50.

¹⁶ The possibility of this identity was suggested to me by Hermann Landolt.

Our knowledge of the precise techniques developed by the early Kubrawiyya is very imperfect, although important work has been done in this field by Meier, Corbin, Algar and Landolt. The most detailed information we have concerns the various techniques of *dhikr* (Meier 1957:200-13; Landolt 1986:38-50; Elias 1993; cf. Rāzī 1982:268-78) and the various metaphysical speculations (Meier 1957:93-199; Landolt 1986:70-9). At least some of the Kubrawiyya *dhikr* techniques have also been adopted in the Naqshbandiyya order through the said 14th-century Central Asian mystics known as the Khwājagān. Since the presence of this order in Indonesia is attested from the mid-17th century down, the occurrence of some of these techniques in Indonesia does not necessarily testify to direct Kubrawiyya influence.

It was observed above that an important devotional exercise and mystical technique of the Kubrawiyya as taught by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Jāmī was the recitation of the *Awrād Fathīyya*, which originated with ʿAlī al-Hamadānī. These litanies are still in use in various parts of the Muslim world today, for instance in certain Naqshbandiyya circles in Turkey.¹⁷ The name of the *Awrād Fathīyya* appears to be unknown in Indonesia. One of the litanies from this collection, however, is widely known throughout Java.¹⁸ It is in fact one of the most common formulas for pious recitation, not associated with any specific mystical order, there. It is tempting to assume that the popularity of this *wird* is still due to the prestige ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Jāmī once enjoyed.

The most distinctive feature of the Kubrawiyya order – or at least, of its leading thinkers, Kubrā, Isfarāʾinī, Najmuddīn Rāzī, Simnānī, and Hamadānī – is the emphasis on the visionary perception of coloured lights, the symbolic interpretation of these colours and the use of these coloured lights to guide the devotee towards spiritual perfection (see Corbin 1978; Meier 1957:115-26; Elias 1993). Some scholars have regarded this as a direct borrowing from Tantric Hinduism or Buddhism.

Now, there are in Java various esoteric Muslim sects that also use meditational techniques to induce a perception of coloured lights (among which *black* and *green* lights, as in the case of the Kubrawiyya, occupy a privileged place). The anthropologist Woodward heard in Yogyakarta, for instance, that the Sultan 'is believed to see a green light when meditating'.¹⁹ This appears to correspond to the highest category of

¹⁷ They are to be found in a much-used Turkish Naqshbandi manual, *Miftāḥ al-qulūb* (el-Nakṣibendi 1979:557-89).

¹⁸ This is the *wird* (litany) beginning with the words '*astaghfir Allāh al-ʿazīm, astaghfir Allāh al-ʿazīm, astaghfir Allāh al-ʿazīm al-lādhī lā ilāh illā hū al-ḥayy al-qayyūm wa atūbu ilayh. Allāhumma anta al-salām wa minka al-salām wa ilayka yarjiʿu al-salām ...*' in el-Nakṣibendi 1979:564 ff.

¹⁹ Woodward 1989:180. None of my own informants in Yogyakarta knew anything

visionary experience recognized by Kubrawiyya authors.

Visions of coloured lights appear to occupy a key place among the spiritual techniques of the Haqmaliyah or Akmaliyah, a little-known local *tarékat* (mystical order) originating in West Java.²⁰ There appear to be significant differences between the various branches of this *tarékat*, as regards both practices and the interpretation of visions; they are, moreover, highly reluctant to divulge any information about their teachings and practices to the uninitiated for fear of giving rise to misunderstanding and provoking accusations of heresy. One branch of the Haqmaliyah with which I am acquainted induces the visionary perception of coloured rays of light through the recitation of certain formulas in combination with a technique of sensory deprivation and breath control: the ears are closed with the thumbs, the eyes with the index fingers, the nostrils with the middle fingers, while the remaining four fingers tightly close the mouth.²¹

Just like the Kubrawiyya authors, teachers of this specific meditational technique have a more or less elaborate system of interpretation of the various lights, and the practitioners whom I talked to believed that spiritual progress is reflected in the different colours perceived, a radiant black light in particular appearing only to the more advanced meditator. One is tempted to attribute this practice to early Kubrawiyya influence, the origins of which may have been forgotten.²² However, exactly the same technique of closing the apertures of the head is also used in Indian Tantric circles, where it is known as *yoni mudra*.²³ On the other hand, the technique has not been attested anywhere in Kubrawiyya sources. So the

about the Sultan's meditations and this alleged effect. Here, as elsewhere in his book, Woodward appears to be relying entirely on one or a few informants with idiosyncratic views, though such views may of course well be rooted in an authentic oral tradition.

²⁰ The three teachers whose writings Drewes studied in his dissertation (1925) were affiliated with the Akmaliyah, but their texts contain no references to the specific devotions of this order. The *tarékat* spread from the Cirebon-Banyumas region to Central and East Java, among other areas, but never acquired a large following.

²¹ This branch, founded by Kiai Kahpi of Garut, is also known as Muslimin Muslimat, after its major scripture, a didactic text in Sundanese verse (*dangding*) written by Kahpi's son Asep Martawidjaja (1930). See also the brief note on this sect and its meditation techniques in Atjeh 1984:390. The same techniques were described to me by a teacher of the Sammaniyya order in West Sumatra, Buya Syahrudin of Berulak, who claimed that they formed part of the regular Sammaniyya devotions, in an interview on 24 March 1990.

²² Simnāni enumerates the coloured lights in the order in which they appear to the mystic as: dark blue, ruby red, white, yellow, black, and green. In the early stages of the path, the mystic may have brief glimpses of these lights, the strength of his *dhikr* determining the colour he perceives (Elias 1993:72-4).

²³ This technique was explained to me by a Tantric practitioner whom I met in Lucknow in 1984. My informant was a Hindu by birth but had recently become converted to Islam; however, he had learned the *yoni mudra* from a Hindu holy man. He was not aware of any system of interpretation of the various colours, nor of any hierarchy among the colours.

question is whether the vision of coloured lights here represents a Tantric 'survival' from Java's pre-Islamic past²⁴, or whether it is due to Kubrawiyya influence.

The written literature of this sect does not offer any clear clues as to the origins of this meditation technique. The major work, *Lajang Moeslimin-Moeslimat* (Martawidjaja 1930), presents metaphysical-mystical teachings of the *wahda al-wujūd* kind in the form of a dialogue between Raden Muslimin and his younger brother Raden Muslimat, in a manner similar to the didactic sections of the *Serat Centhini*. There are unmistakable influences here from al-Jīlī's *al-Insān al-kāmil*²⁵, but with typically Indonesian modifications. The text, as is commonly found in Indonesia, describes not five but seven stages of emanation (*martabat tujuh*).²⁶ In the third stage (*Wāḥidiyya*), where the Prophet's spiritual substance (*nūr Muḥammad*, the Light of Muhammad) first emerges, this is said to appear in the form of coloured rays, first red, then yellow, and then white and black.²⁷ In later stages of the emanation process, these coloured lights become associated, in typically Javanese fashion, with the four Arabic letters making up the name of Allah, the four elements (fire, wind, water and earth), four bodily constituents (flesh, marrow, skin and bone), four souls (*nafsu*) or states of the soul (*nafsu amarah*, *nafsu lawamah*, *nafsu sawiah* and *nafsu mutma'inah*)²⁸, and four organs of sense (ears, eyes, mouth and nose). Another passage adds colourless clear and dark lights and various shades of blue to the range of coloured lights, without any

²⁴ That meditation techniques to induce visions of coloured lights were known in Java in the pre-Islamic period is clear from such Old Javanese works as the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyanikan*. See, for example, Kats 1910:106-7.

²⁵ This work of al-Jīlī's is the single most important text used by other branches of the Haqmalīyah as well. The study devoted to this conceptually very rich text by Nicholson (1921: Chapter 2) is still the best.

²⁶ The theory of the seven stages probably originated with the early 17th-century Indian Sufi, Muḥammad b. Faḍlallāh Burhānpūri. For a discussion of *martabat tujuh* metaphysics in Malay and Javanese Sufi texts, see Johns 1957 and 1965.

²⁷ 'Enya éta sorotna nu tadi / tina Johar awal Dat Sipatna Allah / Hakékat Muḥammad écés / Sipatna padang alus / bijil cahya opat rupi / cahya beureum mimitina / dua konéng kitu / katilu cahaya bodas / kaopatna cahaya hideung geus pasti / ngaranna Nur Muḥammad.' (Martawidjaja 1930, I:34; spelling adapted). Compare this with Simnānī's description of the coloured lights as they appear in meditation (note 22 above).

²⁸ Traditional Muslim psychology recognizes three states of the *nafs* or animal soul: *al-nafs al-ammāra* (the concupiscent soul, indulging in vice and shunning virtue), *an-nafs al-lawwāma* (the reproaching soul, repenting past sins), and *al-nafs al-muṭma'inna* (the quiet soul, in harmony with the divine will). These three terms are Qur'anic. Javanese mysticism often appears to consider them as three different souls or vital forces, and for reasons of classification has added a fourth, named *ṣāwiyya* (as here) or *ṣūfiyya*. The characteristics attributed to these *nafsu* differ from sect to sect, but *mutma'inah* is always associated with harmony and altruism, and the other three with various worldly urges and desires.

further attempt at fitting them into a classificatory scheme.²⁹

The somewhat similar Malay and Javanese texts edited by Johns (1957, 1965) also speak of *nūr Muḥammad* in the stage of *Wāḥidiyya*, but make no mention of coloured lights, nor do they refer to any of the other fourfold classifications. These cosmological and cosmogonic speculations are very reminiscent of the Old Javanese *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*, with the difference that the classifications there are mostly fivefold (Kats 1910:106-16). If they actually have such a pre-Islamic origin, they must have passed through an earlier stage of Islamization, however, as the terms used and the associated imagery are definitely part of the Islamic mystical tradition.

The term my Sundanese informants used for the visionary experience and, by extension, for the technique to induce this itself, was *tajallī*. This is a well-known Sufi technical term, usually rendered as 'theophany' or 'self-manifestation of God'. It occurs frequently in al-Jīlī's *al-Insān al-kāmil*, the major source of inspiration for the Haqmalīyah. Al-Jīlī discusses God's self-revelation in His acts (*tajallī al-af'āl*), His names (*tajallī al-asmā'*), His attributes (*tajallī al-ṣifāt*) and His essence (*tajallī al-dhāt*). Seen from the human point of view, *tajallī* 'is the light whereby the mystic's heart has a vision of God' (Nicholson 1921:135). The same term is also used by Kubrawiyya authors, as well as by the eighteenth-century Kubrawiyya-influenced Indian Sufi and scholar Shāh Walī Allāh; in their writings, it appears to refer inter alia to the said visionary experience (see Landolt 1986: index, under *tajallī*; cf. Baljon 1986:31-2, 127-8).

For this Sundanese sect, *tajallī* represents the esoteric dimension of all Muslim worship. To summarize the *Lajang Moeslimin-Moeslimat*, each act has, besides its external meaning (*sharī'ah*), three deeper meanings, namely *ḥaqīqa*, *ṭarīqa* and *ma'rifa*, of which the last is the most esoteric. The *sharī'ah* of prayer (*ṣalāt*) comprises the physical movements of standing, bending forward, prostrating oneself and sitting; its *ḥaqīqa* consists of the letters ALLH, that is, the name of Allah; its *ṭarīqa* is the 'real' *ṣalāt*, or absolute *tajallī*; and its *ma'rifa* is the direct encounter with the *nūr Muḥammad*, that is, the four coloured lights.³⁰

This Sundanese text, as the reader may have noticed, does not mention the green light to which the Kubrawiyya authors give pre-eminence. My

²⁹ 'Geus gulung pana paningal, caang powék beureum hideung bodas kuning, bulao biru djeung wungu, péndékna sadayana ...' (Martawidjaja 1930, I:40).

³⁰ 'Saréat sholat téh kang rayi / nya éta nangtung ruku téa / sujud lungguh bukti gawé / ari hakékatna puguh / Alif Lam enggeus pasti / terasna Lam Ha nya éta lapa-dz Allah / henteu salah tangtu / dupi thorékatna sholat / tetep baé dina keur sholat sajati / tajalining mutlak // Ma'rifatna kudu sing kapanggih / sareng éta Nur Muḥammad téa / ka cahya opat sing 'ain / ...' (Martawidjaja 1981, III:85-6). One of my informants said that the technique of closing the organs of sense with the fingers constitutes 'the real prayer' and explained that these seven apertures plus the ten fingers together correspond to the 17 *raka'āt* that make up the five daily *sharī'ah* prayers.

informants, however, spontaneously mentioned this luminous green and attributed the most positive value to green, black and colourless light – which is consistent with what Kubrawiyya sources say. The doctrines and practices of this Sundanese sect are not, to my knowledge, found in the same combination elsewhere. It may of course have been the case that the founder or founders of this sect simply combined pre-Islamic techniques for inducing luminous visions, Javanese classificatory concepts and al-Jili's Islamic emanation theory. I nevertheless venture the hypothesis that there was an incursion of Kubrawiyya, which was easily grafted onto the remnants of pre-Islamic Tantric traditions and thereby facilitated their integration into Islamic esoteric mysticism, precisely because that order already incorporated a similar mixture.

Perhaps the least doubtful trace of early Kubrawiyya influence is the name of an almost omnipresent mythical character in the sacred history of Islamic Java: *shaikh* Jumadil Kubra, to whom all the saints of Java appear to be related somehow. It appears that this name, which almost certainly is a corruption of Najmuddin al-Kubrā, has attached itself to various legendary and mythical personalities, who have in common the fact that they are ancestors or preceptors of the founders of Islam in Java – an oblique acknowledgement, perhaps, of the prestige of the Kubrawiyya in the period of Islamization.

Sèh Jumadil Kubra

In traditions from western Java, Sèh Jumadil Kubra figures as an ancestor of Sunan Gunung Jati. The chronicles of Banten and Cirebon give, in slightly variant forms, the following abbreviated genealogy:

The Prophet Muhammad
 Ali and Fatimah
 Imam Husain
 Imam Zainal Abidin
 Imam Ja'far Sadiq
 Sèh Zainal Kubra (or: Zainal Kabir)
 Sèh Jumadil Kubra
 Sèh Jumadil Kabir
 Sultan Bani Israil
 Sultan Hut and Queen Fatimah
 Muhammad Nuruddin (the later Sunan Gunung Jati).³¹

³¹ Edel 1938:123, 149, 253; Brandes and Rinkes 1911: Canto 13; cf. Djajadiningrat 1913:17, 106. Ja'far Sadiq's name is lacking in the *SBR*, the *Babad Cirebon* has only one of the two Jumadi, and Djajadiningrat gives the latter's names in reverse order.

This genealogy consists of a number of distinct parts. The first part names the Prophet's direct lineal descendants down to the sixth Shi'ci Imam, Ja'far al-Şādiq (whose father, the fifth Imam, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, is not mentioned in any version I have seen). The *silsila* of several Sufi orders (though not that of the Kubrawiyya) begin with these names, as do the genealogies of all sayyids from Hadramaut; significantly, Ja'far is also the last of the Imams listed in those cases. The last part of the genealogy lists two mythical rulers of an equally mythical heartland of Islam (sometimes named as Egypt); their names appear to establish an explicit link with pre-Muhammadan prophetic tradition. Hūd is the name of the earliest of the five 'Arab' prophets mentioned in the Qur'an, but also occurs in the Qur'an as a collective noun denoting the Jews. Banū Isrā'il, 'the Children of Israel', similarly is a Qur'anic term for the Jews, which sometimes refers to other monotheists as well (Wensinck and Pellat 1967; Goitein 1960). Both these names therefore also mean 'ruler of the Jews'.

Most mysterious are the three linguistically deviant, quasi-Arabic names in the middle part. I believe that Jumadil Kubra is the only significant one and that the other two were formed by analogy, precisely because this is such a strange name. The Arabic word *kubrā* (written with the characters KBRY) is an adjective in the feminine gender, the superlative of *kabir* (KBYR), 'great'. The corresponding masculine form would be *akbar* (AKBR). It is highly anomalous to have al-Kubrā, 'the Greatest', as part of a man's name. Najmuddin al-Kubrā is the only prominent personality in Islamic history to be so designated; he is often simply referred to as Kubrā. In his case, the name is an elliptical form of the Qur'anic expression *al-tāmma al-kubrā*, 'the major disaster', used as a nickname referring to his skills as a debater (Algar 1980:300). It is easy to see how on Javanese tongues Najmuddin al-Kubrā could have become Najumadinil Kubra and subsequently, through elision of the first and contraction of the fourth and fifth syllables, developed into Jumadil Kubra, perhaps partly by analogy with the names of the Muslim months Jumādā'ī-Ūlā and Jumādā'ī-Ukhrā.³²

The name Jumadil Kabir is probably just a hypercorrect form of Jumadil Kubra, as are the names Jumadil Akbar and Jumadil Makbur, which are found in other Javanese texts. One rarely encounters both names together; some texts have one in places where other texts have the other. The name Zainal Kubra, finally, is another anomaly, since after Zainal one would expect a substantive, not an adjective.³³ The name appears to be the product of a simple permutation of the elements of other names in the

³² In Arabic script the pattern of both forms of the name is quite similar: NJM ALDYN ALKBRY became JMADY ALKBRY. The first part of the said names of the months is also written as JMADY.

³³ Some of the genealogies given in other Javanese texts contain yet other names formed on the same pattern, such as Zainal Azim, Zainal Alim, Zainal Kabir, Zainal Husain (Kosasi 1938:137; Hasyim 1979:15; and a genealogy in the book of the *jurukunci* of Jumadil Kubra's *maqam* in Turgo).

genealogy. Strange though the name Zainal Kubra may be, it occurs in texts from various parts of Java as a link between Jumadil Kubra and the Prophet's family. This prestigious association is probably the reason why Amangkurat II adopted precisely this name as one of those he adorned himself with upon his accession to the throne of Mataram: Susuhunan Ratu Amangkurat Senapati Ingalaga Ngabdulrahman Muhammad Zainal Kubra (Ricklefs 1993:273 n. 2).

Of these various fictitious persons, Jumadil Kubra is the only one about whom we find whole legends in Javanese literature, and with whom places of pilgrimage are associated. The *Babad Cirebon* makes him an ancestor not only of Sunan Gunung Jati, but also of the other *wali*, Sunan Bonang and Sunan Ampèl, and even of that most Javanese of the saints, Sunan Kalijaga.³⁴ In the genealogy of the last-named, the *babad* contains another name, following 'Jumadilmakbur', which is vaguely suggestive of a Kubrawiyya connection, namely Shaikh Aswa' al-Safaranin (or, in other manuscripts, Sagharnané, or Safaranā'i), which can hardly be anything other than a corruption of al-Isfarā'inī. The east Iranian town of Isfarā'in was a major Kubrawiyya centre, and several influential *shaikhs* of that order bear this *nisba* (the name Aswa', however, does not resemble that of any known Isfarā'inī).

A Javanese chronicle of Gresik summarized by Wiselius makes Jumadilkubra the grandfather of yet another *wali*, the first Sunan Giri. In this chronicle, Jumadil Kubra is a blood relation of Sunan Ampèl and resides in Gresik; his son, Maulana Ishaq, is dispatched by Sunan Ampèl to Blambangan in order to Islamize it. Ishaq marries the daughter of the ruler of Blambangan, but fails to convert his father-in-law to Islam and in his frustration moves to Malacca, leaving his pregnant wife behind. The princess dies in childbirth and the child is thrown into the sea, from which it is miraculously saved by a sailor from Gresik. The boy is given a solid Islamic education and ultimately becomes the first Sunan Giri (Wiselius 1876:467-8). The *Babad Tanah Jawi* contains a virtually identical legend, but Sunan Giri's father there is named Wali Lanang instead of Maulana

³⁴ 'Kacapa kandi asal mula / para wali Jawa kabèh / ingkang dhihin Sunan Bonang / iku kamulinira / panceran tedhaking Rasul / saking Syekh Jumadilkubra // Jumadilkubra sisiwi / lanang ika kang peparab / Syekh Molana Samsu Tamrès / jumeneng pandhita Cempa / akrama putra Cempa / ing kanané wus amasyhur / pandhita mustaqim akbar // paputra jalu kakalih / kang nama Tubagus Rakhmat / ya hiku Susunan Ampel / kalih Tubagus Angejawa / ngajak Islam ming sang ratu / Majapahit datan karsa / ...' (Brandes and Rinkes 1911: Canto 14); 'kaping sakawan satengah / para wali ing nusa Jawi nami / Sunan Kali Jaga ulu / tedhak saking Syekh Aswa' / Safarana'i kang pancer sang Jumadilmakbur / ika nuli puputra / Arya Shadiq ingkang nami // jujuluk Arya ing Tuban / apuputra ika ingkang pername / Radèn Arya Tumenggung / Wilatikta mengkana / Wilatikta puputra Radèn Sahidun / iku Sunan Kali Jaga / ...' (Brandes and Rinkes 1911: Canto 15). The other Javanese and Sundanese versions of the *Babad Cirebon* that have been published (Hadisutjipto 1979; Hermansoemantri 1984-85) do not mention Jumadilkubra at all.

Ishaq, and Jumadil Kubra is not mentioned in this connection at all (Meinsma 1941:20-1; cf. Fox 1991:25-8 for various other versions of Sunan Giri's ancestry). However, a genealogy of the late 17th-century Shattariyya *shaikh* Abdul Muhyi of Pamijahan, in south Tasikmalaya, who claimed descent from Sunan Giri, does list both Maulana Ishaq and Jumadil Kubra (Kosasi 1938:137).

A Javanese popular legend from the Tengger region(!), the *Cariosé Telaga Ranu*, mentions Maulana Ishaq and Jumadil Kubra as brothers of the hermits Ki Sèh Dadaputih on Mt Bromo and Ki Sèh Nyampo at Suku-domas. Maulana Ishaq goes to Balambangan and fathers Raden Paku (Sunan Giri); Jumadil Kubra establishes himself as a teacher in Mantingan.³⁵

A variant redaction of the *Babad Tanah Jawi*, the *Babad Pajajaran*, quoted by Djajadiningrat (1913:262), adds the theme of *incest* to the Jumadil Kubra legend. In this version, too, he is a cousin or a nephew of Sunan Ampèl and lives as an ascetic in the forest near Gresik. His wife dies in childbirth; the daughter that is born to her grows up into a beautiful girl, with whom one day Jumadil Kubra has sexual intercourse. When she gives birth to a son, he feels so ashamed that he throws himself into the river and drowns. He is buried in Gresik and his grave becomes a place of pilgrimage.³⁶

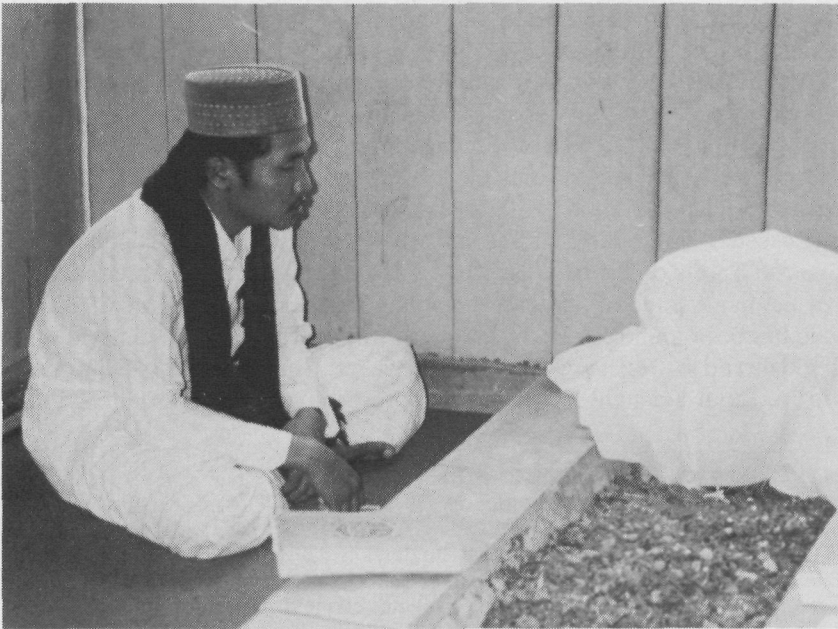
This incest legend also occurs, in a slightly different form, in the *Sajarah Banten*: Jumadil Kubra, who is not associated with any particular locality here, is a son of Ja'far Sadiq. His wife dies, leaving him with a son and a beautiful daughter. He makes the daughter pregnant, and when she bears a son, the child is abandoned in the forest. It is found and brought up by a poor man; as he grows up, the boy is sent to study with Sèh Jumadil Kubra, who gives him the name Shamsu Tabris and decides to make him his son-in-law. Discovering Shamsu's real identity, the *shaikh* dies of shame, and Shamsu sets out on a long trek of many years by way of penance (Djajadiningrat 1913:26, cf. 261-5, where other versions again are discussed). There are numerous other Javanese legends concerning Shamsu Tabris or Tamrès (Drewes 1930); this mythical character has little but the name in common with the young Persian dervish Shams-i Tabrîz, who has been immortalized by the great Sufi poet Jalâluddîn Rûmî (in some Turkish and Kurdish folk-legends, however, Shams-i Tabrîz is born of a virgin, Rûmî's daughter, which may foreshadow the incest theme). In the

³⁵ *Cariosé Telaga Ranu*, Leiden CB 145 (1) A. I wish to thank Karel Steenbrink for sending me his copy of the description and summary of this manuscript (in Dutch) by J. Soegijarto.

³⁶ This text gives Burérah (from Abu Huraira?) as the *shaikh's* original name; in the *Babad Tanah Jawi* (Meinsma 1941:20), a Burérah occurs as the son of the ruler of Champa. The text incidentally gives a popular etymology of the *shaikh's* name by writing it as Dumadil Kubra (Jav. *dumadi*, 'becoming'); alternatively, it refers to him as Abdul Qadir Kubra.



Two pilgrims performing *sunna* prayers and reciting *wird* beside the *maqam* of Sèh Jumadil Kubra on a hilltop at Turgo, Yogyakarta. They had spent several nights on this hilltop.



A pilgrim reciting invocations at Jumadil Kubra's *maqam* at Tralaya, Mojokerto.

Babad Cirebon, we find the earlier themes merged: Shamsu occurs again as a son of Jumadil Kubra (but without any suggestion of incest); he marries a princess of Champa and begets two sons, one of whom becomes Sunan Ampèl (see the Javanese text in note 34).

Raffles has preserved another legend from Gresik, in which Jumadil Kubra is not an ancestor but a preceptor of the first *wali*. Radèn Rahmat, the future Sunan Ampèl, born of the union of an Arab scholar and a princess of Champa, arrives first in Palembang and from there travels on to Majapahit. He lands at Gresik, 'where he visited Sheik Molana Jomadil Kobra, a devotee who had established himself on Gunung Jali, and who declared to him that his arrival at that particular period had been predicted by the prophet; that the fall of paganism was at hand, and that he was elected to preach the doctrine of Mahomet in the eastern ports of Java' (Raffles 1817:117).

A similar role is attributed to Sèh Jumadil Kubra in legends still told in villages on the slopes of Gunung Merapi, north of Yogyakarta. Here he is believed to be the oldest of the Javanese Muslim saints, originating from Majapahit and living as a hermit in the forest on this mountain. Without much regard for chronology, he is also said to have been a spiritual advisor to Sultan Agung, the greatest ruler of Mataram (1613-1646). Once every 35-day period, in the night of Friday Kliwon, the sultan's spirit allegedly visited the *shaikh* in his mountain haunt (Triyoga 1991:36-7). The *shaikh's maqam* or grave³⁷ is pointed out on the top of a secondary summit near the village of Turgo, Gunung Kawastu. It draws a steady trickle of visitors, many of whom spend one of more nights here in search of spiritual strength and sensitivity (*prihatin*).

Turgo is not the only place that boasts a *maqam* of Sèh Jumadil Kubra. There is no longer any knowledge of the grave at Gresik that is mentioned in the *Babad Pajajaran*, but at present one of the Muslim graves at Tralaya, near the capital of Majapahit, is pointed out as the one and only grave of Jumadil Kubra. This is the most widely acknowledged and most frequently visited of his *maqam*. It is not unusual for people making a pilgrimage to the Nine Saints of Java (*wali sanga*) to pay their respects to their ancestor at Tralaya first. Prior to the 1992 elections the grave was visited by three high-ranking cabinet ministers (all of whom were duly rewarded when the new government was formed). When the conflict-ridden Partai Demokrasi Indonesia convened its Extraordinary Congress in Surabaya in December 1993, the delegation from Solo stopped at Tralaya

³⁷ A saint's *maqam* may be, but is not necessarily, his grave. Any place sanctified by the presence of a saint's spirit may be called his *maqam* and may be visited by believers invoking his support. Several Yogyakarta informants emphatically told me that the *maqam* at Turgo is *not* Jumadil Kubra's grave. In 1955, however, a group of devotees from Purworejo had a gravestone erected on the site of the *maqam*.

to pay its respects to the saint before proceeding to Surabaya.³⁸

The saint furthermore has links with the Semarang area. One version of the *Babad Tanah Jawi* has him perform his *tapa* in the Bergota hills south of present Semarang.³⁹ A grave located among the coastal fish-ponds at a place called Terbayu, not far from Semarang, is locally known as the *maqam* of Sèh Jumadil Kubra (Budiman 1978:92). Elsewhere in the Semarang area, at Sampangan, there is a ruin (*petilasan*) named after him (Budiman 1978:93-4).

We thus find Jumadil Kubra associated with four different regions of Java (Banten-Cirebon, Gresik-Majapahit, Semarang-Mantingan and Yogyakarta) and with a number of different complexes of legends. It is almost as if Javanese Muslims of different times and places started out with the name, and then sought appropriate characters to attach it to, thereby coming up with some mutually inconsistent solutions. The range of the legends and the extent of the geographical dispersion suggest that the archetype of Jumadil Kubra must have enjoyed great prestige in early Indonesian Islam; the absence of any characteristic that is traceable to Najmuddin al-Kubra, on the other hand, suggests that his influence must have remained shallow.

Shaikh Jamāluddīn al-Akbar, the Arab ancestor of the wali and kiai of Java

Besides the *babad* tradition, there exists another legendary tradition about the Islamization of Java. It arose and is kept alive in circles of the Hadrami sayyid, descendants of the Prophet, who have had a great influence on Indonesian Islam. Javanese *kiai* at present tend to adhere to the sayyid version rather than to that of the *babad* – between which versions, as we shall see, there are many parallels. It was only in the 19th century that Arabs from Hadramaut started coming to Indonesia in large numbers, though individual traders and scholars from those parts had been settling in the archipelago for several centuries, marrying local women. According to the traditions of the sayyids from Hadramaut (which need of course not necessarily be very ancient), the saints who Islamized Java and other parts of Southeast Asia were the offspring of this kind of union. Their alleged common ancestor was named Jamāluddīn Ḥusain al-Akbar (see, for

³⁸ I was given this information in an interview with the *juru kunci* at Tralaya on January 6, 1994. Of the ministers who visited the shrine, one is known to be a strict Muslim, while one of the others is a Javanese Christian. The Solo PDI delegation presumably was largely *abangan*.

³⁹ 'Ya ta Sèh Jumadil Kobra / amertapa anengguh pernah neki / asanget prayoganipun / wonten ardi Pragota / pan akathah tiyang kang sami guguru / sanget kabul pandongané / sumungkem sagunging murid' (Budiman 1978:94, quoting the Van Dorp edition of the *Babad Tanah Jawi*).

instance, their 'family tree' in al-Baqir 1986:45).

The oldest written versions of this historical tradition that I have seen are those committed to paper by Sayyid °Alwī ibn Tāhir ibn °Abdallāh al-Haddār al-Ḥaddād, who until his death in 1962 was *mufī* of Johore. The tradition itself must be older, however, as some of the *kiai* I know had already heard from their grandfathers that they descended from a certain Jamāluddīn al-Ḥusainī.⁴⁰ There appears to be some confusion, though. A person by this name lies buried in Medina, and Javanese *kiai*, on the assumption that this is their ancestor, visit his grave after that of the Prophet. His patronyms, however, do not correspond with those of the alleged genealogy of Jamāluddīn al-Akbar.

The latter Jamāluddīn, like all Hadrami sayyid, descends from the sixth Shi'ī imam, Ja'far al-Šādiq, through his great-great-grandson, Aḥmad al-Muhājir, the first descendant of the Prophet to settle in Hadramaut. The genealogy for another six generations remains identical with that of several leading families of Hadrami sayyid (e.g., Mahayudin 1984:40, 47, 50, 54-5; al-Baqir 1986:17, 42). The last ancestor Jamāluddīn has in common with the sayyids is Muḥammad 'Šāhib Mirbāḥ'; his grandson, °Abd al-Malik, is said to have settled in Naṣrābād, in India, where his descendants became known as the family of Adhamat Khan and bore noble titles, his grandson Aḥmad even being called 'Shāh' (al-Ḥaddād 1403/1983:6-7; al-Baqir 1986:42). Shāh Aḥmad's son Jamāluddīn and his brothers are said to have swarmed across the whole of Southeast Asia, Jamāluddīn himself first setting foot in Cambodia and Acheh, then sailing on to Semarang and spending many years in Java, and finally continuing further east to 'the island of the Bugis', where he died (al-Ḥaddād 1403/1983:8-11).⁴¹ His son, Ibrāhīm Zain al-Akbar, married a Cambodian princess and begot two sons, Maulānā Iṣḥāq and Raḥmatullāh, alias Sunan Ampèl. Through another son, °Alī Nūr al-°Ālam, Jamāluddīn became the great-grandfather of Sunan Gunung Jati, and through a third son, Zain al-°Ālim, the grandfather of yet another *walī*, Maulānā Malik Ibrāhīm.⁴²

This Jamāluddīn al-Akbar has remarkably much in common with the Jumadil Kubra of the *babad*. Al-Baqir has also noticed this, commenting

⁴⁰ In fact, al-Ḥaddād appears to depend heavily on a work in Javanese or Malay by Haji °Ali bin Khairuddin, 'historian of the Javanese', which he cites as *Ketrangan kedatangan bungsu (sic!) Arab ke tanah Jawi sangking Hadramaut* (al-Ḥaddād 1403/1983:4).

⁴¹ The oral tradition among *kiai* and sayyid in Java is more specific about this Bugis connection. A holy grave in Wajo, South Sulawesi, locally known as '*kramat Mekah*', is believed to contain the remains of this very Jamāluddīn. Neither the above genealogy nor Jamāluddīn's role in the Islamization of Java, however, appear to form part of local knowledge concerning the grave (KH. Ma'ruf Amin, personal communication).

⁴² This summarizes the remainder of al-Ḥaddād 1403/1983 (which links yet many other persons with Jamāluddīn) and the corresponding table in al-Baqir 1986:45. Al-Baqir mentions as his source a 'research report' by Sayid Zain bin Abdullah Alkaf.

that Javanese-language books often incorrectly write Jamāluddīn's name as Jumadil Kubra (al-Baqir 1986:43n). I am inclined to believe it was the other way around. The Jamāluddīn story seems to me to be the product of an early 20th-century attempt to 'correct' the Javanese legends. Kubrā was replaced by the more 'correct' Akbar, and Jumādī by the Arabic name that it most resembled, Jamāluddīn. Furthermore, a more credible genealogy was constructed, the Hadrami sayyid conveniently also being descendants of Jaʿfar al-Šādiq, just like the Jumadil Kubra of the *babad*. The different and often mutually incompatible legends involving Jumadil Kubra were combined into a more or less coherent whole. Finally, un-Islamic elements such as the incest theme were suppressed, as was the name of the Persian, Shams-i Tabrīz.

My hypothesis that this 'sayyid' version is a relatively recent fabrication receives some support from Serjeant's observation that the sayyid in Hadramaut itself 'criticise them [the mixed offspring of sayyid in Java] and their Arab fathers for omitting to maintain family registers' (Serjeant 1957:25-6). It was only with the establishment in 1928 of al-Rābiṭa al-ʿAlawiyya, an association of sayyid families, that systematic efforts were made to register family genealogies. The person of Jamāluddīn al-Akbar and his genealogy are most probably the products of such attempts to reconstruct the history of the sayyid in Indonesia. There were no protests against this, for not only were there no documents to disprove the genealogy, but the two groups most concerned both stood to gain from this historical revision. Thanks to this 'corrected' genealogy, the leading Javanese *kiai* families, who claim descent from the saints of Java, could henceforth 'prove' themselves to be the distant cousins of the arrogant Hadrami sayyid, while the latter this way could attribute the entire process of Islamization of Java to their own lineage.

Conclusion

I set out to write this article because I had become fascinated with the Central Asian and Persian names I came across in early Javanese Muslim texts from Banten and Cirebon. The Kubrawiyya, with which many of these names are associated, is an important Sufi order that I have never, however, seen mentioned in an Indonesian context. I started searching for possible survivals of specific Kubrawiyya practices perhaps under another name, recalling a local *tarékat* whose meditational practices are reminiscent of the colour visions for which the Kubrawiyya is known. One widely used *wird* (litany) furthermore appeared to be one that forms part of the best-known Kubrawiyya collection of such litanies. In neither case can direct influence be proven, but at least a remarkable parallelism between certain Javanese Islamic and Central Asian Kubrawiyya practices has been established.

Looking back, I realize that the story of Najmuddīn al-Kubrā's

transformation into Jumadil Kubra and thence into Jamāluddīn al-Akbar, which I first noted only as a curiosity, may be read as a paradigm for the history of Indonesian Islam. A Persian-speaking Central Asian mystic, heir to the Iranian spiritual tradition and perhaps influenced by Tantric practices, who gave his name to particular Sufi teachings that were recognizable for and appealing to the Javanese, becomes an archetypal Javanese saint, ancestor figure and forest hermit, the *walī* of the *walī*. The one from among the coastal 'Nine Saints' whom he thereby came to resemble most was the most Javanese of them all, Sunan Kalijaga.⁴³ Like Kalijaga's, his *maqam* also are to be found in various parts of Java.

The Arabization of his name into Jamāluddīn al-Akbar is indicative of an increasing attention to correct form (I am tempted here to write 'form over substance') and corresponds of course to the gradual Arabization of Javanese Islam in general. The increasing prominence of the Hadrami sayyid in the religious life of Indonesians (their numbers increased dramatically in the 19th century) was an important factor in this process. Typically Javanese elements, but also elements of Indian or Iranian origin (exemplified, I would like to believe, by the figure of Shams-i Tabrīz), were gradually purged. Javanese *kiai* came to seek their ancestor no longer in the former capital of Majapahit or on Yogyakarta's magical mountain but in the city of the Prophet, Medina.

⁴³ It is worth noting, however, that there are no traces in Jumadil Kubra of that other mythical Javanese saint, Sèh Siti Jenar, and his heresies and martyrdom.

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