

THE SYIAH TURMOIL IN A SHARIA SOIL:

An Anthropological Study of Hidden Syiah Minority Entity in Contemporary Aceh

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Abstract

Syiah had ever been a major Islamic denomination in Aceh for centuries. This research is not only about how much classical Sharia rules can be a reference to resolve political problems of majority and minority division, but also to examine the power of sharia in protecting and marginalising Syiah. Based mainly on classical Snouck Hurgronje ethnography, this study elaborate the the former sharia as a living law in old Aceh and comparing it with recent legal pluralism of Aceh nowadays. With a spectacular growing of traditional *Dayah* (conservative Sunnism) in present politics, and the transnational Salafi Wahabism intrusion into Aceh, the position of Syiah is at the most tip of the edge in society. Those who embraced or converted Syiah are living scatteredly all over Aceh by a unique ideo-syncretic way of survival. Achenese Syiah are now facing hardest situation in this Syafii-dominated land and hardened with the rage of Wahabism.

Keywords: syiah , wahabi, sharia, aceh

INTRODUCTION

Based on historical facts, it is believed that the Syiah were the first to enter Aceh. In Peureulak found the first Sultanate of Peureulak tombstones, Sultan Abdul Aziz Shah. He was the son of Muhammad bin Ja'far Sadiq (the teacher of Abu Hanifa who developed the Hanafi school) bin Muhammad Al Bagir bin Ali Zainal Abidin bin Sayyidina Husein. He was the descendant of Rasulullah Muhammad whose lineage was still very close to the *ahlul bait* of Syiah. In addition to material evidence in the form of tombstones engraved with Persian poems, we also saw some traditions of Acehnese society such as *Khanuri Hasan Husen* and *Assyura Day* celebrations and poems about the two greatest grandchildren of this Prophet popularized by Rafli in his song and some other examples outlined in detail as evidence of Syiah relics in past time Aceh.

Researches on the history of Syiah in Indonesia —and especially in Aceh— has been done by Hilmy Bakar Almascaty (2013) and Fakhriati (2014) and Rabbani (2013) also Dhuhri (2016). Previously, a similar study also concerns the history that comes first in reference to the history of Syiah and its spaces investigated by Thabathaba'i and Husayn (1989), Azmi (1989), Abdul Hadi (2002), and T. Iskandar (2011). Kajian Almascaty lebih melihat peradaban Persia dan pengaruhnya ke adat-istiadat di Aceh. 1 Similarly, Wan Hussein Azmi concluded that in the 10th century AD migration of the most Persians to the archipelago Leran, Gresik, Siak (Inderapura, Riau), and to Pasai from Jawani at the time of reign of Jawani al-Qurdi, (913 AD) that later developed the Jawi alphabets.² Meanwhile, Fakhriati is much more in the research on the *Hikayat Hasan dan Husain* and *Hikayat Nur Muhammad* which is very colossal in Aceh history references which shows the strong influence of Syiah in Aceh since the first century of Hijriyah.³ As Bukhari al-Jauhari through his book *Taj al-Salatin* is an adaptation of a work in Persian. It also shows that the Syiah influence is quite strong in the literature.⁴

Rabbani's cultural studies also show how great the influence of Syiah in the spread of Islam in Southeast Asia.⁵ The Thabathaba'i and Husayn studies also show that Syiah is a historic reality in Islam in Indonesia and Aceh in particular.⁶ The study of Muslim internal conflicts between Sunnis and Syiahs has been done by Shihab (2007) and answers the most basic theological question of the possibility of peaceful co-existence on one earth and in particular the Indonesian state or in more specific region, in Aceh.

1 Hilmy Bakar Almascaty, "Relasi Persia dan Nusantara pada Awal Islamisasi: Sebuah Kajian Awal Pengaruh Persia dalam Politik Aceh", *Media Syari'ah*, Vol. XV, No. 1 Januari-Juni Tahun 2013.

2 Wan Hussen Azmi, "Islam di Aceh: Masuk dan Berkembangnya pada Abad ke-16", in Ali Hasjmy, *Sejarah Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: al-Ma'arif, 1989), p. 175.

3 Fakhriati, "Pengaruh Syiah dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Aceh: Refleksi atas Naskah Hikayat Hasan Husain dan Nur Muhammad", *Jurnal Analisis*, Vol. 11, No. 2, Tahun 2014, p. 421-446.

4Kun Zahrun Istanti, "Pengaruh Persia dalam Sastra Melayu Klasik", *Humaniora: Jurnal Fakultas Ilmu Budaya Universitas Gadjah Mada*, Nomor VI, Oktober-November, 1997.

5 Mohammad Ali Rabbani, "Mediasi India dalam Perpindahan dan Penyebaran Kultur dan Peradaban Persia: Islamisasi di Asia Tenggara", *Media Syari'ah*, Vol. XV, No. 1 Januari-Juni Tahun 2013.

6 Allamah Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Thabathaba'i, *Islam Syiah: Asal-Usul dan Perkembangannya* (Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1989).

Quraish Shihab discusses the concept of Syiah teachings and ideas fundamentally related to the real-political conditions in Indonesia.⁷ Despite the many occurrences of syncretization between Sunni and Syiah schools in Indonesia,⁸ But the Syiah development has been phenomenal since 1979.⁹

Muslih (1994) explains that Syiahism may be accepted as part of mainstream Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia and Southeast Asia in general. However, in its later development it shows that the Syiah are still regarded as distinctively separate religious schools separate from the mainstream of Islam in Southeast Asia. The Syiah transmission in Indonesia shows how hard the clash of discourses is in the intellectual and social levels of this religious movement. From a series of studies that have been done by various scholars, there is very little research on the Syiah realm especially concerning the discourse of millenarianism.¹⁰ The Mahdiism movement, or the Messianic movement, of the Syiah is still very little studied in the research literature in Indonesia. This research will try to explore the millenarian aspects of the Syiah movement in Aceh. While Duhri review about Sirajuddin Abbas book as guidance of *dayah* (traditional islamic *pesantren* in Aceh). He critically analyzed the book *I'tiqad Ahlussunnah Wal-Jamaah* which has a very high position among traditional Islamic movements in Aceh. In fact, this book is a general guide in seeking justification for anarchist acts that occur between modernist and traditional Islamic groups.¹¹

Nowadays, Syiah has been in a turmoil in Aceh despite its historical contributions for Aceh in the glory of the past. The Acehnese welcomed the Anti-Shia National Alliance Declaration on April 20, 2014 in Bandung and soon spread to Aceh. The event was attended by various scholars and people

7 M. Quraish Shihab, *Sunnah-Syiah Bergandengan Tangan, Mungkinkah?: Kajian atas Konsep Ajaran dan Pemikiran* (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2007).

8 Sirajuddin, D. A. R. dan Iqbal Abdurrauf Saimima, "Yang disini, Syiah Gado-Gado, Pak", *Panji Masyarakat*, Edisi, 513, 1986, p. 20.

9 Fuad Mohd Fachruddin, *Syiah: Suatu Pengamatan Kritis* (Jakarta: CV Pedoman Ilmu Jaya, 1990).

10 Fathoni Muslih, *Faham Mahdi Syi'ah dan Ahmadiyah dalam Perspektif* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 1994), p. 59-69.

11 Saifuddin Duhri, "The Text of Conservatism: The Role of Abbas' Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jam'ah in Underpinning Acehnese Current Religious Violence", *Studi Islamika*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 2016, p. 29-54.

from various cities in Indonesia, where initially provided for about 7000 people to stand up and outside due to the spirit of society in expelling syiah from Indonesia. Around 100 scholars have approved the formation of this declaration, and before signing the official official declaration, 12 people representing various mass organizations and ulama expressed their oration to encourage the Muslims and show how important the declaration is. That the teachings of Syiah according to the belief of the ummah of Islam is a distorted understanding of the Qur'an and As Sunnah. That the Shiite group in Indonesia is increasingly brave and more massive propagandize its teachings and teachings through all kinds of ways, among them with *taqiyyah* (munafiq), both through education, social, and politics. That there has been anxiety in various regions that cause horizontal conflict as a result of the progression of the spread of Syiah, the rejection of the *ummah* and the politics of the development of Syiah heresy, by saying bismillaah and putting it only to Allah *subhanahu wa ta'ala*, ulama, *habaib*, *asatidz*, leaders of Islamic organizations, *pesantren* and *harakah* lodges incorporated in the Anti-Syiah National Alliance agreed to affirm the commitment and determination that: (1) making the National Alliance of Anti-Syiah institutions as a forum of *da'wah amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*; (2) maximizing preventive, anticipatory and proactive efforts to defend and protect the *ummah* from various efforts of *aqidah* and *syariah* apostasy committed by the Syiah group in Indonesia; (3) establish *ukhuwah Islamiyyah* with various organizations and da'wah movement in Indonesia to be wary and prevent the development of Syiah heresy, (4) urge the government to immediately mel charter of dissemination of Syiah and teachings and revoke the permission of all organizations, foundations, and institutions associated with the teachings of Syiah throughout Indonesia.¹² Syiah is second largest

12 Ulamas and Representatives of CBOs Attending the Anti-Syiah Declaration, 20 April 2014, in Bandung : KH. Abdul Hamid Baidlowi (Tokoh NU/Nahdhatul Ulama), Prof. Dr. KH. Muslim Ibrahim (Ketua Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama/MPU Aceh), KH. Muhammad Said Abdus Shamad, Lc (Ketua LPPI-Lembaga Pengkajian dan Penelitian Islam, Makasar), Prof. Dr. Maman Abdurrahman (Ketum PERSIS-Persatuan Islam), Drs. KH. Abdul Muis Abdullah (Ketua MUI-Majelis Ulama Indonesia Balikpapan).KH. Ahmad Cholil Ridwan, Lc (Ketua MUI-Majelis Ulama Indonesia Pusat), Al-Habib Zein Al-Kaff (Ketua Front Anti Aliran Sesat-FAAS Jawa Timur, Pengurus NU Jawa Timur), Drs. KH. Muhammad Nuruddin A.Rahman, SH (Pengasuh Ponpes Al-Hikam Bangkalan Jawa Timur), KH. Ir. Muhammad al-Khaththath (Sekjen FUI-Forum Umat

follower of Islam in Indonesia. In Arabic, Syiah stands for the phrase *Shiatu Ali* or "followers of Ali" - referring to Ali ibn Abi Talib, son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad. The Sunnis consider Ali to be the fourth and final khilafah of the four khilafah (656-661). The Syiah view Ali as the first Imam and mendapuk him and his descendants as a legitimate replacement of Muhammad. There is no census of the number of Syiah Muslims in Indonesia. The Association of Jama'ah Ahlul Bait Indonesia (IJABI), a national Shiite organization established in 2000, says about 2.5 million Syiah pilgrims in Indonesia. Another Syiah organization, Ahlul Bait Indonesia (ABI), which emerged in 2010, said most Shia pilgrims in Indonesia live in the provinces of East Java and West Java. In 1984, the Indonesian Council of Ulama issued a fatwa stating that Indonesian Muslims "should be wary of" the Syiah teachings.

METHOD

In order to reach the reseach abjectives and significances, the method employed in this research changed from a merely simple ethnography into a wider type of ethnography which combines netnography, participant-observation method, and spacial analysis metode. This research is expected to be useful as a means of early detection of religious conflicts in Aceh which is very likely to happen. In Indonesia, Sunni-Syiah conflicts are not based on power conflicts, but some people misunderstand in receiving information about theology about theology. In addition, the past regime also contributed to the emergence of Sunni-Syiah conflict. During the New Order period, Syiahs were regarded as agents of revolution that would overthrow authoritarian rulers. The Syiah are regarded as exporters of the Iranian

Islam), KH. Dr. Farid Ahmad Okbah, Lc, MA (Pengasuh Yayasan Islamic Centre Al-Islam, Bekasi-Jawa Barat), Al-Habib Prof. Dr. Muhammad Baharun, SH, MA (Ketua MUI-Majelis Ulama Indonesia Pusat Bidang Hukum dan Perundang-undangan).Tuan Rumah KH. Dr. Athian Ali Muhammad Da'i, Lc, MA (Ketua FUUI-Forum Ulama Ummat Indonesia) dan dihadiri pula Pakar Syiah diantaranya: Ustadz Drs. Hartono Ahmad Jaiz (Pakar Aliran Sesat dan Pimred Situs www.nahimunkar.com), Ustadz Agus Hasan Bashori, Lc, M.Ag (Pakar Syiah dari Malang Jawa Timur), Ustadz Yusuf Usman Baisa, Lc (Pengurus Perhimpunan Al-Irsyad).Ustadz Muhammad Faisal, S.Pd, M.MPd (Aktivis Anti Pemurtadan dan Aliran Sesat, Pimred Situs Anti Syiah www.sunnahdefenceleague.com), Ustadz Dr. Khalid Basalamah, Lc, MA (Ketua Umum Yayasan Ats Tsabat Jakarta Timur, Ketua Forum Pengiriman Da'i Irian/Papua) serta KH. Abu Jiebril Abdurrahmah (Wakil Ketua Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia-MMI) dan para ulama/asatidz lainnya.

revolution and other revolutions which are orchestrated by Syiah forces. The Sunni-Syiah conflict also shifts to theological level. The Sunni-Syiah "theological dispute" is a domino effect of the conflict of power. The "power enthusiast" drags the public into the sphere of political interest. The Sunni-Syiah row is an almost eternal struggle that has taken place throughout the history of Muslims. Until now, the battle of former power became the trigger that most easily blew the emotions of society. Small issues are wrapped with the issue of deviation akidah or heresy that is very easy to burn hostility among the community. Spacially, the research method in this study about Syiah has adapted the geography tools. This study aims to: (1) try to see how far the demographics of Muslims throughout Aceh by examining deeper and more detailed about this increasingly phenomenal Syiah minority. (2) By examining the history of Syiah birth, the religious doctrine that developed among them and the development of the Ahlul Bayt community in the map of the Islamic world, it is envisaged that the ma'hab of Shī'ah experienced a significant development. (3) This study will also see the influence of Syiah in the religious practices of the Acehnese people. (4) The mapping of the history of the Shi'a community will be traced from some of the main figures and other supporting figures in Aceh. The development of the Syiah especially after the Iranian revolution, as well as Sunnī has long been developed. (5) This study will theoretically see how the people of Aceh accept or reject the Shi'a school of thought. (6) This research will trace any discourse or concept that appeals to the people of Aceh to adopt the Syiah school, (7) how the response of Acehnese ulama (MPU), HUDA (Acehnese Ulama Association), and MUNA (Majelis Ulama Nanggroe Aceh) on and towards Syiah, and (8) in an economic context, this study also seeks to see how the Ahlul Bayt community meets the needs of its economy—in particular the needs of its family— does this community have certain economic potentials and whether there are regular donors or irregular donors who support the *Ahlul Bayt* community. Social mapping is defined as a systematic process of community image and involves the collection of data and information about the community, including the profile and social problems that exist in the community. Referring to Netting, Kettner and McMurtry (1993), social mapping can be referred to as social profiling or "making a community profile". Social mapping can be viewed as one of the

approaches in Community Development which by Twelvetrees (1991: 1) is defined as "the process of assisting ordinary people to improve their own communities by undertaking collective actions." As an approach, social mapping is strongly influenced by the research sciences social and geography. One form or outcome of social mapping is usually a map of a region that has been formatted in such a way as to produce an image of the concentration of community characteristics or social problems, such as the number of poor, slum houses, neglected children, marked by a particular color according to the level of concentration. It should be noted that there are no rules and even single methods that are systematically considered to be the most superior in social mapping. The main principle for social work practitioners in doing social mapping is that they can gather as much information as possible within a specific area that can be used as a material to make the best decision in their relief process. Referring to Netting, Kettner and McMurtry (1993: 68) there are three main reasons why social work practitioners need a systematic approach to social mapping: (1) The view of the "human in the environment" is an important factor in social work practices, especially in macro-level practices or community development practices. The society in which a person lives is very important in describing who he is, what problems he faces, and what sources are available to deal with the problem. Community development will not work well without an understanding of the influence of the community; (2) Community development requires an understanding of the history and development of a society as well as an analysis of the current status of society. Without this knowledge, practitioners will experience obstacles in applying the values, attitudes and traditions of social work as well as in maintaining stability and seeking change; (3) Society is constantly changing. Individuals and groups move into a change of power, economic structure, source of funding and the role of the population. Social mapping can help in understanding and interpreting those changes.

DISCUSSION

Syiah in Clasical Sharia Rule of Aceh

History records as affirmed by Abubakar Aceh that the first Islamic empire in Southeast Asia is in Pereulak (Eastern Aceh), the first sultanate was a Syiah adherent of Sultan Alaidin Sayyid Maulana Abdul Aziz Syah

(1161-1186 AD) geneology continued to Prophet Muhammad SAW , namely Sayyid Abdul Aziz bin Ali bin Mukhtabar al-baqir bin Ali Muhammad Zainal Abidin bin Husayn al-shahid bin Fatimah of the Prophecy Muhammad Shalallahu alahi wasallam.¹³ Then to the kingdom of Samudra Pasai reported by Ibn Battuta during a visit to the area in meet with two great scholars from Persia namely al-Qadhi Amir Sayyid al-Syirazi and Faqih Tajuddin al-Isfahani (Saby, 1995: 51). There is also the tomb of Na'ina Hisamuddin bin Na'ina Amin (1225 AD) around the relic written sya'ir poet Persia Sa'di (1292 AD).

The arrival of Islam to Aceh, known leader named Sahir, such as Sahir Poli, Sahir Nuwi or Sahir Duli. In the old Aceh saga, the title of Sahir is often called Shah. For example, Sahir Nuwi read Shah Nuwi, Sahir Poli read Syahir Poli and so on. This Syahir word is more or less equivalent to the word Ampon Tuwanku in Malay tradition in Malaysia. The etymology of the word *shir* or *sahir*, originated from a noble family in the Persian region, and beyond. So the daughter of the Persian King who after his land was captured by Umar Ibnul-Khatib, was taken captive and brought to Medina, originally named Sahir Banu. After being released by Ali bin Abi Thaleb, Sahir Banu married Ali's son Husen. While two other Sahir Banu sisters became Abubakar's son-in-law and son-in-law Umar Ibnul Khattab. Later the name of the son-in-law of Ali turned into Shahna Banu, and in the recitation of Hikayat Hasan Husen, the name was called Shari Banon, who became the wife of Sayyidina Husen bin Ali. Husen martyred killed by Yazid bin Muawiyah in Karbala on 10 Muharram. Sahir Banu or Syari Banon widowed while raising his son Ali Zainal Abidin, who is often called Imam as-Sajad, for always like to prostrate (to pray, *shalat*).¹⁴

Shari Banonin *Hikayat Hasan Husen* described many times because she was accompanying her husband with great loyalty, down to the last tent at Karbala, escorting Husen to martyrdom. Banon with his beloved son Ali Zainal Abidin, who is still very young, witnessed the tragedy that became the black history of Muslims, because the blood of the Apostle's incarnation spilled on the earth of Kufa by the hand of the man who was in the name of himself the Caliph of the Muslims. This Karbala event, in Aceh commemorated with *khanduri Asyura* from generation to generation. Sometimes it is accompanied by reading the Hasan Husen saga, and the Acehese women prepare snacks as *khanduri keu pangulee* (festive for a

13 Ali Hasjmy, *Adakah Kerajaan Islam Perlak Negara Islam Pertama di Asia Tenggara: Sejarah Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: al-Ma'arif, 1993), p. 155-157.

14 Hasballah M. Saad, "Syiah Aceh", *Serambi Indonesia*, 22 Februari 2009.

great day). Often also, the listeners of this saga shed tears when the story to the massacre of the Prophet's son's grandson.¹⁵ Similarly within the *Hikayat Muhammad Nafiah*, (Muhammad Hanafiah, in Arabic) Which narrates the role of the younger brother of Hasen bin Ali from another mother, who demanded defending over the martyrs of Husen in Karbala, is clearly illustrated how Yazid's followers were "disbelieved" by the chronicler. When Muhammad Nafiah wanted to execute another pregnant woman who was still alive, while the others had been killed, the sound of the sky fell.

// "Sep ka wahe Muhammad Nafiah, bek le tapoh kaphe ulu/ Bah tinggai keu bijeh, agar uroe dudoe mangat na asoe neuraka" //

// Muhammad Nafiah lam guha bate/ Sinan meu teuntee dua ngen guda //¹⁶
(Muhammad Nafiah in stone cave/ Hived there altogether with his horse).¹⁷

In another part, it is narrated that one day, when Muhammad Nafiah was a child, Ali bin Abi Thaleb took home to his son Madinah and sat seated chatting with the Rasulullah and his two other brothers, Hasan and Husen. Allah's Messenger (may peace be upon him) seated Hasan and Husen in the lap on the left, while Muhammad Nafiah sat on the right thigh of the Messenger of Allah. When Fatimah, her mother Hasan and Husen crossed her face, seeing that Ali's son who was not from the womb of Fatimah had a place to the right of the Messenger of Allah, while his son Hasan and Husen sat on the Prophet's left thigh. Similarly, the names of sultans used in Aceh, many wear titles "syah" in Persian means ruler, "syah alam" means the ruler of universe. The name can be found in the names of Ali Mughayatsyah, Riayatsyah, and Keumalatsyah. Similarly, Jalaluddin Rakhmat said that the Syiah (Persian) tradition is very influential in the Sunni majority of Indonesia. This religious tradition has become an integral part of religious social life with no falsehood. According to Jalaluddin Rakhmat this religious tradition is mostly done by the community of Nahdlatul Ulama which is famous to hold the tradition. Even Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) often says NU people are Syiah in culture. For example, every Friday night the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ "Enough is Muhammad Nafiah, do not be killed again the pregnant infidel/ for him reproduce again for the contents of them later". Because Muhammad Nafiah wanted to ignore the order to stop the massacre, then suddenly he and his horse were caught by supernatural powers. Then he was caged with his horse in a rock cave.

¹⁷ Hasballah M. Saad, *op.cit.*

Nahdliyyin (the traditional NU) recite *salawatdiba'* which constitute Imam of 12 in Syiah Imamiyah sect. 18

In addition, the Syiah influence can also be witnessed on the headstone of Sultan Malikussaleh (w 1297 AD). This gravestone tombstone features a crown shape with leaf and flower motifs arranged at its apex so as to form the crown of the roof top. This sculpture style on the tombstone resembles Persian rugs.¹⁹ Then the most interesting according to Ibrahim Alfian is on his headstone written words of wisdom that comes from Ali bin Abi Talib kw. Which was copied back by Moqueete on support by Ronkel as follow:

*Sesungguhnya dunia ini Dunia ini tiadalah kekal
Sesungguhnya dunia ini ibarat sarang Yang ditenun oleh laba-laba
Memadailah buat engkau dunia ini Hai orang yang mencari makan
Dan umur hanyalah singkat sahaja Semuanya akan menuju kematian.*²⁰

[Surely this world This world is not eternal Surely this world is like a den Woven by the spider Be the world for you O people who are looking for food And age is just short All will go to death.]

Wisdom words contained on the headstone can then be found in *Kitab Diwan al-Iman Ali* Published by Beirut, Lebanon. 150 years later the same words were found on the headstone of Sultan Mansur Shah bin Muzaffar Shah in Malacca (1477 AD) and Sultan Abdul Jamil in Pahang (d.1511 AD).²¹

The many number of Persian scholars who broadcast Islam in Aceh, especially in Pasai and Peureulak in the 12th century according to Slamet Muljana was due to the support of the Fatimid dynasty in Egypt, a Syiah dynasty.²² Therefore, it is almost certain that two Persian clerics, al-Shirazi and al-Isfahani were then heads of women, Naina in Pasai was part of the migrating Javanese Javanese community. As Fatima's grave in Leran, East Java is also part of the Lor family of Persia.

18 Jalaluddin Rakhmat, *Catatan Kang Jalal: Visi Media, Pendidikan, dan Politik* (Bandung: Rosda Karya, 1997), p. 434.

19 Kautsar Azhari Noer, "Arsitektur", in Taufik Abdullah (ed), *Ensiklopedi Tematis Islam Jilid 7* (Jakarta: Ichtiar Baru Van Hoeve, 2002), p. 337.

20 Teuku Ibrahim Alfian, *Wajah Aceh dalam Lintasan Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada Universitas Press, 2005), p. 19.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 60.

22 Slamet Muljana, *Runtuhnya Kerajaan Hindu Jawa dan Timbulnya Negara Islam di Nusantara* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2009), p. 155.

The spirit of loving ahlul bait, the family of the Prophet of Allah appeared in Aceh in the form of dance dance. Among the famous is the Saman Dance of Aceh. Variety of motion, song lyrics and *ratoh* filled with symbols of Karbala. "*Tumbok Tumbok Droë*" (hitting his own chest) Performed by the Saman Aceh players (also in seudati) as a symbol of Karbala's regrets. All of Saman's dance movements were inspired by sorrow, regret, and lamentation over the martyrs of Sayyidina Husen, who was trapped by the deceitfulness of the Kufa population who supported Yazid bin Mu'awiyah.²³In addition there is a tradition in South Aceh called *dabuih* (in Jamee language, South Aceh) *daboih* (in Acehnese) Which is linked to the tragedy of Karbala mourning the death of Imam Husen, which is the influence of the Syiah tradition that comes from Persia.²⁴

In addition, according to research conducted by Taqiuddin Muhammad on the cultural traces of the gravestone sites in Samudra pasai, it can be concluded that the Syiah influence is strong enough that there has been a Syiah community or at least a cleric originating from Persia in the 13th century CE. The tombstone site is; (1) Ibnu Khaddijah (w. 696 H/1297 M) located in Kecamatan Ulim, Samudra Aceh Utara; *khaddijah* in Persian means *Syaikh* or teacher (2) The tombstone of Nur Khatun Umar (w. 805 H/1403 M), seorang perempuan makamnya berada di Kuta Krueng, Samudra Aceh Utara, khatun means lady or mistress; (3) The tombstone of Na'ina Husamuddin bin Na'ina Amin (w. 823 H/1420 M) located in Gampong Pie, Samudra, Aceh Utara. The word of *Na'ina* also from Persian; (4) The tombstone of Ash-Sadrul Ajal Khawwajah Muhammad bin Sulaiman (w. 845 H/1442 M), *Ash-Sadrul Ajal* in Persian language also means an influential figure; (5) The tombstone of Khawwajah Tajuddin bin Ibrahim (w. 857 H/1453 M), the word Khawwajah usually used in tarikat Naqsyabandiyah means teacher; (6) The tombstone of Mir Hasan (w. 910 H/1505 M), *mir* in Persian means prince (amir), those three tombstones found in Kuta Krueng, Samudra, North Aceh.²⁵ Moreover, in the practice of the Aceh

23 Hasballah M. Saad, "Syiah...", *op.cit.*

24 Yusny Saby, "Jejak Parsi di Nusantara: Interplay Antara Agama dan Budaya", *Jurnal Media Syariah*, Vol. XV, No. 1 Januari-Juni Tahun 2013, p. 21-30.

25 Taqiyuddin Muhammad, "Jejak Kebudayaan Persia di Kawasan Tinggalan Sejarah Samudera Pasai" in *Jurnal Media Syariah*, Vol XV, No. 1, Januari-Juni Tahun 2013, p. 37-39.

community some of the most frequently used prayers and spells judged by Fakhriati are influenced by Syiahs. The prayer is spelled:

Ya Allah, neubri beu jeu'oh dari rimueng nyo, nebri beu hebat tenaga lon lagee Ali.

(O God keep me away from this tiger, give me great power like Ali).²⁶

The Islamization process in the archipelago, the Syiah (or at least Persians) have made great contributions to the tradition of scholarship and intellectualism. The strength of Syiah influence in the context of science and scientific tradition can be seen in the world of tarekat and tasawwuf. This is possible because there is a transfer of knowledge between scholars of the archipelago who studied to the scholars of Persia, as a logical consequence of the process of migration and the spread of Islam to the archipelago. Therefore, the cleric of Persia became the bridge in understanding Islam, so it is not surprising that the ulama of Persia are well known throughout the archipelago, for example: al-Hallaj (w. 922 M), al-Attar (w. 1229), Sa'di (w. 1291 M) Umar Khayyam (w.1132 M), who were almost certain that they were of Syiah adherents.

Hamzah Fansuri as affirmed by Al-Attas and Abdul Hadi is influenced by not a few of the Persian scholars among them: al-Attar, Sa'di, al-Hallaj and Suhrawardi. These works can be seen from *Syair Burung Pingai* It can be seen inspired from al-Attar, derived from the Simurgh bird in Persian or Funiks (phoenix) which is considered sacred, he calls it pingai birds. The doctrine of *wujudiyah* influenced by al-Hallaj beside Ibn Arabi, as Sheikh Siti Jenar was also influenced by the two figures. Bukhari al-Jauhari in *Taj al-Salatin* and Nuruddin al-Raniry in *Bustanus Salatin* clearly inspired by al-Ghazali's work, *Nasihah al-Muluk*. In his work while al-Gazali also refers to many pre-Islamic Persian traditions. The book of *Syah Namah* (in Persian, means story of kings) by Abdul Qasim Manshur (al-Firdausi) (w. 936 M). The influence of the *Taj al-Salatin* Even to Java, Yasadipura I a poet from Surakarta in the 18th century translated into the Java language with the title *Serat Tajussalatin*. This process of translation means that it has happened twice, first when al-Bukhari translates it from Persian into Malay, then

²⁶ Fakhriati, *Pengaruh Syiah...*, *op.cit.*, p. 443.

Yasadipura translates it into Javanese. So it is clear that these books clearly contribute and influence Persia in the field of politics and government in some Islamic kingdoms in the archipelago.²⁷

In line with that, Istanti, a Cultural expert from Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta admitted that the influence of Syiah (at least Persians) on classical Malay literary works is quite thick. Syiah literary works for example, *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnaian*, *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* and *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyah*. The saga is quite popular among the people of Aceh, Java, Sundanese, Madura and Sasak.²⁸ The face of Politics and Government: literary works containing regulations in government such as; *Taj al-salatin* by Bukhari al-Jauhari and *Bustan al-Salatin* karya Nuruddin al-Raniry (w. 1658 M). Van Ronkel made sure that al-Jauhari translated it from Persian in 1630, or at least used Persian sources among others, *Syi'ar al-Muluk* by Nizam al-Mulk (1508 M), *Tuhfa al-wuzara dan Kitab Asrar* by Fariruddin Attar (w.1230 M), *Tanbih al-Ghafilin* by Siraj al-Din Ali Khan (w. 1489 M).²⁹ Sufi-style romances; This literary work is often found in essay by famous scholars such as; Hamzah Fansuri (w. 1600 M) His work in the form of poetry i.e., *Syair Perahu*, *Syair Burung Pingai*, *Syair Dagang*, In the form of prose i.e.; *Syarab al-Asyikin*, *Asrar al-Arifin* and *Muntahi*. The works of Hamzah are heavily influenced by the Persian tradition, syair Burung Pingai inspired by *Mantiq al-Tayr (musyawarah burung)*, by al-Attar, a poet from Persia. He also introduced the term *syai'ir* in Malay or called *pantun* Is a four-line poem that ends *a-a-a-a*. The lyrics of this model then developed and famous to date throughout the archipelago. Syamsuddin al-Sumatrani (w. 1630 M) on *Mir'atul Mukmin* and *Mir'atul Muhaqqiqin* as well as *Syair Makrifat Tujuh*. Nuruddin al-Raniry (w. 1638 M): *Shirat al-Mustaqim*, *Asrar fi Ma'rifah al-Ruh* and *Syifa al-Qulub*.³⁰ Therefore, it is not surprising that hundreds of manuscripts of the Museum of Aceh and those in the community collect many manuscripts allegedly influenced by the Syiah school of thought; *Hikayat Hasan Husain* can be found in four manuscripts all from Pidie; *Hikayat Ureo Asyura*, only one manuscript was also found in Pidie; *Hikayat Perang Khaibar*, (depicted the greatness of Imam Ali against the

27 Syed Naquib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya, 1970), p. 14. Abdul Hadi, *Tasawuf Tertindas: Kajian Heurmeneutik Terhadap Karya-Karya Hamzah Fansuri* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2001), p. 422.

28 Kun Zahrun Istanti, "Pengaruh Persia dalam Sastra Melayu Klasik", *Humaniora: Jurnal Fakultas Ilmu Budaya Universitas Gadjah Mada*, No. VI, Oktober-November, 1997.

29 Teuku Iskandar, *Aceh Sebagai...*, *op.cit.*, p. 52.

30 Abdul Hadi, *Sastra Islam...*, *op.cit.*, p. 376.

enemies of Islam) there are two manuscripts from Aceh Besar. *Hikayat Nun Farisi*, there are three manuscripts, from the title can certainly come from Persia; *Hikayat Muhammad Nafiah* only one manuscript, and *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, also a manuscript from Lamno, Aceh Jaya, and *Hikayat Nur Muhammad*.³¹

The manuscripts above are mainly, *Nur Muhammad* and *Hikayat Hasan Husain* Clearly showing his inclination to exaltation to the main figures proud and impassioned by the Syiahs. In the text of Nur Muhammad there is a description of creation through Nur Muhammad beginning with a description of 'Ali, Hasan, and Husain. The site of Ali's creation is the most important part of a bird named the Nuri, the head of the parrot, indicating that 'Ali was created in the most glorious place of the parrot, the *burung nuri*.³²

Syiah in Contemporary Aceh

With a spectacular growing of traditional *Dayah* (conservative Sunnism) in present politics, and the fast growing of transnational Salafi Wahabism intrusion into Aceh, the position of Syiah is at the most tip of the edge in society. Those who embraced or converted Syiah are living scatteredly all over Aceh by a unique ideo-syncretic way of survival. Achenese Syiah are now facing hardest situation in this Syafii-dominated land and hardened with the rage of Wahabism. Syiah entity in Aceh is a hidden entity rather than a group, or community or as a society with definite criteria. As an entity, Syiah is something that exists as itself, as a subject or as an object, actually or potentially, concretely or abstractly, physically or not. It need not be of material existence. In particular, there are legal fictions which are usually regarded as Syiah entity. In general, there is also no presumption that the entity remains active. In law, a legal entity is an entity that is capable of bearing legal rights and obligations, such as a natural person or an artificial person (e.g. business entity or an ideological entity) and Syiah is a secretive movement that have rights to live and to maintain its prolonged tradition, ritual, moral and political attributes. Religious movements in Aceh show strong dynamics especially after the 2004 tsunami. One of the emerging religious movement groups is the Syiah community, in addition to HTI and Salafi. The *Ahlul Bayt* (Syiahs) group has been present as the entry of Islam into Aceh is quite influential in society in the context of religious and scientific traditions. The Islamic Sultanate of Pereulak and the Sultanate of Samudera Pasai was influenced by the mazhab (Islamic school) *Ahlul Bayt*

31 Team of authors, *Daftar Naskah Museum Aceh*, 2009.

32 Fakhriati, *Pengaruh Syiah...*, *op.cit.*, p. 437.

but not the majority and can be broken completely in the period of Aceh Darussalam Sultanate with its Iskandar Muda character. Iskandar Muda and the sultan subsequently perpetuated the mazhab Sunni as the majority of the mazhab supported by the above mentioned scholars. Nevertheless the mazhab does not become dominant in society, which is the majority of Sunni schools to date. The people of Aceh as well as the Sunni community of the Nusantara; In fiqh Aceh dominated by Syafii school, in aqidah it follows Ash'ari school and in Sufism is influenced by al-Ghazali school.

Iran's 1979 Islamic Revolution imposed by Imam Khomeini has become a historical momentum for the spread of Ahlul Bayt teachings around the world, including Indonesia.³³ The success of Imam Khomeini to overthrow Syah Reza Fahlevi's monarchy which was the main alliance of the United States in the Middle East has made the Indonesian nation stunned. The youth and students with high enthusiasm studied the books written by Iranian revolutionary scholars, such as Murtadha Muthahhari and Ali Shariati.³⁴ Since that time there was a big wave of Indonesian people entering the school of Ahlul Bayt. The rise of enthusiasm to the Ahlulbait School of Indonesia, as the largest and most influential Muslim country in Southeast Asia, certainly influenced the development of Ahlul Bayt teachings in Malaysia and the Southeast Asiatic region.³⁵

Even according to Ibn Battuta (1377 AD) when visiting Pasai for 15 days he met the two scholars and visited the palace of Sultan Malik al-Zahir.³⁶

According to Ali Hasjmy,³⁷ Two major Islamic sects, Syiah and Ahlussunnah, fought for power throughout the Aceh kingdom especially during the Peureulak Islamic Empire (East Aceh) which was established in

33 Abdullah Taufik, *Ensiklopedi Tematis Dunia Islam Jilid 3* (Jakarta: PT Ichtiar Baru Van Hoeve, 2002), p. 343.

34 Ajid Thohir, *Perkembangan Peradaban di Kawasan Dunia Islam Melacak Akar-Akar Sejarah, Sosial, Politik, dan Budaya Ummat Islam* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2009), p. 166.

35 Lihat Ann K.S. Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam* (Oxford: University Press, 1981), p. 36-38.

36 Hasbi Amiruddin, *Ulama Dayah: Pengawal Agama Masyarakat Aceh* (Lhokseumawe: Nadiya Foundation, 2003), p. 33. Yusny Saby, *Islam and Social Change: The Role The Ulama In Achenese Society*, (Temple University: Dissertation, 1995), p. 51. Zainuddin Rahman, "Ilmu Sejarah, Sosial, dan Politik", in Taufik Abdullah (ed), *Ensiklopedi Tematis Islam Jilid 7* (Jakarta: Ichtiar Baru Van Haeve, 2002), p. 279.

37 Ali Hasjmy, *Syiah dan Ahlussunnah Saling Merebut Kekuasaan dalam Kerajaan Aceh Darussalam* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1983).

840 AD.³⁸ Along with this rise, the iconic prominent profile of Ali Shariati and Murtadha Muthahhri was dimmed because of the relevance and contextuality of discourse to the necessary demands. In turn, there is a selection process that may be quantitatively less optimistic. It turns out the next few years, lethargy is also still visible and stagnation becomes an inevitable reality. Surely, there is no ivory not cracked because only artificial tusks survive. As a result, there is a polarization that sometimes culminates in conflicts that are often regarded as ordinary events due to miscommunication.³⁹

According to Jalaluddin Rakhmat (Indonesian Syiah figure and Chairman of Ahl Bait Jama'ah Association of Indonesia), the Syiah's development in Indonesia has four phases (periodization). The first phase, Syiah has entered Indonesia since the beginning of the entry of Islam in Indonesia through the early Islamic propagators, through the Persians who live in Gujarat. Syiah first came to Aceh. The first sultan of the Samudera Pasai sultanate located in Aceh. Marah Silu, embracing Syiah Islam by using the title Malikul Saleh. But then in the time of Sultan Iskandar Tsani, power was held by Sunni scholars (Sunnis). At that time the Syiah were hiding, not appearing until the second wave of Syiah influx came into Indonesia after the Islamic revolution in Iran.⁴⁰ It takes a serious research and verification to make sure. Now the Ahlulbait school in Indonesia and Southeast Asia has entered the third period politically. The challenge of the challenge is increasingly complex, because whatever happens at any point in the world, especially in the Middle East, will have an impact on the existence and future and projection of the development of this doctrine in Indonesia.⁴¹ The tragedy of September 11, 2011, the American invasion of Iraq, the rise of Ahmadinejad as President of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Hezbollah's rise to Israeli aggressors are

³⁸ Sehat Ihsan Shadiqin, "Islam dalam Masyarakat Kosmopolit: Relevankah Syariat Islam Aceh untuk Masyarakat Modern?", *Kontekstualita: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, Vol. 1 Tahun 2010.

³⁹ M. Quraish Shihab, *Sunnah-Syiah...*, *op.cit.*, p. 66.

⁴⁰ Abubakar Aceh, *Aliran Syiah di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Islamic Research Institute, 1977).

⁴¹ Azyumardi Azra. "Syiah di Indonesia: Antara Mitos dan Realitas", *Jurnal Ulumul Qur'an*, No. 4, Vol. VI, Tahun 1995.

part of a phenomenon of major phenomena affecting the position and growth of Ahlul Bayt teachings in Indonesia and Southeast Asia in general.

Syiahism is one of the sects in Islam which believes that the most entitled to be the Imam of the Muslims after the death of Prophet Muhammad, is the family of the Prophet (ahlul bait). In this case, Abbas bin Abdul Muttalib (the Prophet's uncle) and Ali bin Abi Talib (the cousin and the son-in-law of the Prophet) along with his descendants. When re-traced its history, then the birth of sect in Islam can be classified into two streams. *First*, the political school, and the *second*, the theological school.⁴² Mazhabs or schools whose backgrounds are founded and motivated by *khilafah* or *imamah* issues, grouped as political schools, such as Syiah and Khawarij.⁴³ Whereas the school whose background is motivated by the problem of belief, grouped as a school of theology, such as Mu'tazilah, Ash'ariyah, Maturidiyah. These two last-mentioned sects, hereinafter known as the Sunni school.

In the Syiah mazhab, *imāmah* is a very important issue that requires them to make it the sixth pillar of Islam. The Syiah emphasized the role of Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, equivalent to the emphasis on the oneness of God and the prophethood of the Prophet Muhammad. Similarly after the death of Ali, the leadership of the Muslims turned to his children and grandchildren, and this seems to be God's ordinance. In the matter of *imāmah*, Syiah Zaidiah holds that a new person can be appointed as a priest if it meets five criteria; Widespread knowledge of religion, *zahid* (life only by worship), *jihād* in the way of Allah with arms, and brave. It is said that the Zaidiah sect recognizes the validity of the *khilafah* or *imamate* of Abu Bakr as-Siddiq and Umar ibn Khattab. For Syiah the most important issue is not law or mysticism but loyalty to the Ali caliph. In the seventh and eighth centuries AD, the issue led to a political movement in the form of resistance to the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphate. The loyalty of these Syiah Muslims repeatedly attempted to seize the Caliphate. Yet history records that their long and arduous struggle to seize the Caliphate has proved to be fruitless, and it is politically true that these Syiah Muslims experience the oppression of the Umayyad Caliphate and the Abbasid Caliphate. In the Middle Ages,

42 Ira M. Lapidus, *Sejarah Sosial Umat Islam* (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 2003), p. 177.

43 D.S. Margoliouth, D. Litt, *Umayyah and 'Abbasids Being The Fourth Part of Jurji Zaydan's of Islamic Civilization*, (London: Kitab Bhavan New Delhi, 1978), p. 39.

however, the map of the Islamic world was almost dominated by the Syiah especially during the Fatimid period. The Safavid dynasty gave Iran a kind of "national state" with a new identity, the Syiah school according to G.H. Jansen is the foundation for the development of Modern Iranian Nationalism (1501-1722).⁴⁴ Post-Islamic Revolution of Iran, Syiah schools spread throughout the world, not only in Western countries like the United States, but also to Indonesia. The development of the Syiah school in Indonesia on the one hand is a treasure in Islam. On the other hand, however, there will be a "surprise" in both the ideological, political and cultural fields. Ideologically and politically, the Syiah concept of Imamah gained various reactions from Sunni Islam who constitute the majority in Indonesia. This reaction travels along the continuum line along which two extreme poles. The total rejection of Syiah views and thoughts as reflected by the attitude of Sunni scholars is very apparent, especially with the MUI (Indonesian Ulama Council) decision which among other things prohibits the implementation of Syiah schools in this country.⁴⁵

For the Sunni, political justice lies in recognizing the rightful ruler through *ijma'* (community consensus).⁴⁶ For Syiah, justice lies in perpetuating a legitimate succession line.⁴⁷ For the sunni, theoretically, the legitimacy of a ruler is limited by the need for *shura'* (consultation or consultation).⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the moderate Sunni scholars continue to acknowledge the side of Syiah teachings especially regarding the figure and role of exemplary clerical leadership. They acknowledge that Iran is very fortunate to have a leadership figure such as Ayatollah Khomeini, who inherited the value of high spirituality, especially in opposing injustice, tyranny and injustice.⁴⁹

44 Cyril Glasse, *Ensiklopedi Islam*, (Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada, 2002), p. 16.

45 Sahilun A. Nasir, *Pemikiran Kalam (Teologi Islam) Sejarah, Ajaran, dan Perkembangan* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2010), p. 197-198.

46 Abubakar Aceh, *Syi'ah Rationalisme dalam Islam* (Solo: Ramadlani, 1984), p. 13.

47 Taib Thahir, *Ilmu Kalam* (Cet. VII; Jakarta: Widjaya, 1986), p. 95.

48 Harun Nasution, *Teologi Islam Aliran-Aliran Sejarah Analisa Perbandingan* (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia, 1986), p. 8.

49 John L. Esposito, *The Oxford Encyclopedia Of The Modern Islamic World* (New York: Oxford University Press 1995), p. 54.

The Power of Sharia in Aceh

The aftermath of the 2004 Tsunami rendered Aceh as being more than 30 years imprisoned by the social-political conflict between the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the government of the Republic of Indonesia which subsequently ended peacefully by the so-called MoU in Helsinki 2005. When the process of reconstruction and rehabilitation in Aceh invites almost all nations and countries in any part of the world to contribute to assist Aceh. In addition to the international community, there are also many national and international NGOs that enter and assist Aceh. Humanitarian missions in the form of aid coming from different countries, NGOs and interfaith, cultures and languages. At the time after the tsunami quite a lot of countries came to help Aceh, whether Muslim from Middle East, or Christian, or other religions such as China and Japan. Similarly, those who have the same belief and flow as well as there are different streams like the Syiah group. The problem is that some are married to Aceh women, some are with outsiders from Java who come from Java.⁵⁰ Similarly, an Acehnese woman married a man from North Sumatra who admitted she often took Syiah studies in North Sumatra and Aceh.⁵¹ The presence of the Syiah community in Aceh is also explained by Kamaruzzaman Bustaman Ahmad (2013) in several areas such as North Aceh, Pidie Jaya, Bireuen there are communities conducting activities such as Syiah celebrations (ritual).⁵² Whereas the people of Aceh as adherents of Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah strongly rejected the presence of ahlul bayt community. The form of rejection can be seen in three things, namely; *firstly*, The *fatwa* of the Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama (MPU) which asserts that the Syiah is a heretic. According to the results musyawarah decision MPU and the Provincial Government, 14 *aliran* (sects, cults) were considered heretical and forbidden to recruit followers. They also have to stop all activities that smell misleading. There are 14 cults banned: Millata Abraham (origin Bireuen), Darul Arqam (Banda Aceh), the Doctrine of Faith Abidin (Sabang), Aliran Syiah (Aceh), Teachings Muhammad Ilyas bin Yusuf (Aceh), tarikat Haji Ibrahim Bonjol (Central Aceh), Jama'at Qu'ran Hadist (Aceh Utara),

50 Interview with Iskandar Puteh [pseudoname] in Banda Aceh, 19 April 2017.

51 Interview with Hasan Lubis [pseudoname], in Banda Aceh, 8 Juli 2016.

52 Kamaruzzaman Bustaman-Ahmad, "Sejarah Syiah di Aceh", in Dicky Sofyan, *Sejarah dan Budaya Syiah di Asia Tenggara* (Yogyakarta: Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM, 2013), p. 199.

Qadian Ahmadiyah Teachings (Aceh). Then, pengajians Abdul Majid Abdullah (East Aceh), the Doctrine of the Faith Lubis (SUAK Lamata, District Teupah Selatan, Simeulue), tarikat Mufarridiyah (Aceh), the Doctrine Ahmad Arifin (Southeast Aceh), Doctrine Makrifatullah (Banda Aceh), and pengajians Al - Qur'an and Hadist (Simpang Ulim and Madat District, East Aceh).

In addition, there are four other cults that alleged heresy or perverted from Islam. Namely, spreader or its adherents Salik Buta (in the District of Hand-Hand and Kuala Batee, Aceh Barat Daya), Doctrine Sukardi (Gampoeng Teungoh, District Lhoknga, Aceh Besar), believers Mubalik (Banda Aceh and Aceh Besar) and alleged heresy and blasphemy of Aqidah (District of Simeulue Timur, Kabupaten Simeuleu). It is based on a fatwa MPU No. 4 of 2007 on guidelines for the identification of a cult which contains 13 kinds of one is to believe or follow the aqidah which does not correspond to Ahlus-Sunnah I'tiqad waljama'ah.⁵³

Secondly, qanun (local legislation) which states that the aqidah adopted by the people of Aceh is *ahlussunah wal jamaah*. Qanun Islamic Shariah Principles number 8 year 2014 explained that aqidah adopted in Aceh is aqidah of *ahlussunah wal jamaah* Based on Al-Quran and As-Sunnah which became religious beliefs embraced by a person and became the basis of all forms of activities, attitudes, views, and grip one's life. Furthermore, in Article (11); (1) Every Moslem person in Aceh shall be obliged to be Islamic in accordance with Al-Quran and As-Sunnah in soul and behavior; (2) Aqidah Islamiyah as referred to in paragraph (1) is Aqidah Ahlussunah wal Jama'ah (Sunni); (3) Aceh Government and Regency / City Government together with the community is obliged to plant, build and strengthen aqidah to every Muslim since very early age; (4) The community obligation as referred to in paragraph (3) shall be in every parent / guardian of the family member.⁵⁴

Thirdly, Rejection in the form of parades and demonstrations which became known as "Parade Aswaja". In a parade of Ahlusunnah wal Jama'ah people carry posters and banners that read; "Reject Syiah in Aceh", "Wahabi, Salafi Go from Earth Aceh". In addition, the people in this parade demanded

⁵³ Fatwa Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama Nomor 4 Tahun 2007 tentang Pedoman Identifikasi Aliran Sesat.

⁵⁴ Qanun Nomor 8 Tahun 2014 tentang Pokok-Pokok Syariat Islam.

to stop all Syiah, Wahabi, Salafi and Communist activities against the Syafii school and the aqidah Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah. The action was led by PWNU Aceh, the Dayah Ulama Association (HUDA, Himpunan Ulama Dayah Aceh), the Ulama Council of Nanggroe Aceh (MUNA, Majelis Ulama Nanggroe Aceh), Rabithah Thaliban Aceh (RTA), Inshafuddin, FPI Aceh (Front Pembela Islam Aceh).⁵⁵ Parade convoys gathered at the tomb of Abdurrauf al-Singkil left for the Aceh Governor's office, the two symbols of past and present power in Aceh.

The power of Islamic law in Aceh is tremendous. The door to the implementation of Shariah Islam in Aceh was first opened by former President Abdurrachman Wahid through Law no. 44 in 1999. That way Jakarta hopes to erode the desire of the local population after a prolonged civil war. The newly established Aceh Parliament has no choice but to accept Sharia law for fear of being accused of being anti-Islam. The Aceh government's action on the population to participate in implementing Shariah Islam actually backfires. Various cases recorded vigilante actions by the public against suspects of Qanun offenders. In many cases, the victim was doused with water, beaten or paraded naked. Women are among the most commonly targeted groups of Islamic Sharia in Aceh. The findings were complained last 2013 by dozens of women's NGOs. Rules of dress such as more about women's clothing than men. In addition, the application of Sharia is considered to contribute in about 26% of cases of abuse against women that occurred in the public sphere.

Human rights groups criticize the application of Islamic law in Aceh is not balanced. Female rape victims, for example, must involve four male witnesses to support the indictment. Ironically, if it fails to bring sufficient number of witnesses, the victim is even threatened with a whip punishment under the pretext of nasty deeds. The alleged perpetrators processed after the Indonesian criminal law. According to the Office of Sharia Islam, the most violation of Islamic Sharia is related to Qanun no. 11 of 2002 and No. 14 of 2003. Both qanuns regulate the dress code and the prohibition of nasty deeds. Most perpetrators are adolescents who are caught dating or not

⁵⁵ Kamaruzzaman Bustamam-Ahmad, *Memahami Potensi Radikalisme dan Teorisme di Aceh* (Banda Aceh: Bandar Publishing, 2016), p. 123.

wearing the hijab. For that they can be subject to caning, even against underage children.

There is a huge budget and financial implication of the Sharia implementation in Aceh. A total of 22 billion Rupiah flows to the Shariah police institution (*Wilayahul Hisbah*). The institution authorized to impose the Islamic *qanun* now has 1280 members. Their duties include raiding in public spaces. But not infrequently WH officials accused of violence and at least in one case even rape. The budget for the implementation of Sharia in Aceh is set at 5% on the APBA. Its value reaches nearly 700 billion Rupiah. Even so, the Office of Islamic Sharia in Aceh every year admits to lack of money and ask for additional budget. Dinas Syariat Islam (Office of Islamic Law) serves primarily as an institution of da'wah and the strengthening of Aqidah. Islamic legalization through Sharia regulation in public area, however, has indicated that Islam performs expressively in Aceh. In some regions, for instance, there is a regulation that forces Muslim people to wear Islamic clothing and to read the Qur'an every day. The Motivation of undertaking this regulation is influenced by the theory of *receptie a contrario*. Looking at that theory, all Muslims should apply and do Islamic teachings because they are obligated to do that totally. Besides, there is no force for non-Muslim people compulsively to apply such Islamic teachings.

CONCLUSIONS

Aceh is absolutely belongs to Syafii school, so do not be surprised if the love of Imam Syafii contribute to the entire Acehnese society and therefore Syiah had been uneasy spreading the teaching here. It's a kind of ideological rejection or theological refusal towards the Syiah in Aceh. This form of rejection can be seen in three ways; *Firstly*, through the fatwa of the MPU which asserts that the Shi'a is a heresy; *Secondly*, the Qanun of Islamic Sharia Principles which reinforce that the aqidah adopted by the people of Aceh is ahlussunnah wal jamaah as opposed to the aqidah Ahlul Bayt; *Thirdly*, the "parade of aswaja" of community demonstrations that reject the Syiah. This study departs from the phenomenal development of the Shi'a school of thought in Aceh which is relatively phenomenal. This phenomenon is enlivened by the emergence of Syiah communities and crowded references to Syiah in various places.

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