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Table of Contents

The Consequences of Proliferation of Islamophobia in India and Muslims' Predicaments: An Overview	5-30
<i>Thameem Ushama</i>	
Stress Alleviation – Benefitting from the Twenty-Fifth Flash Of Saïd Nursi's <i>Lem'alar</i>	31-55
<i>Che Amnah Bahari</i>	
Basic Requirements of <i>Da'wah</i> Methods in Multi-Racial and Multi-Religious Societies: A Preamble	57-79
<i>Abdul Salam Muhamad Shukri</i> <i>Nurul Aminah Mat Zain</i>	
Taşawwuf Thought of Shaykh Yusuf Al-Makassari	81-91
<i>Ismail Mamat</i>	
The Biblical Meaning of Ekklesia and Its Relevance with the Christian Church	93-108
<i>Ungaran@Rashid</i>	
The Genesis of the Phenomenon of Korean Wave (<i>Hallyu</i>) and its Influence on Youths in Malaysia: An Islamic Perspective	109-122
<i>Nur Sa'adah Syaiful Anwar</i> <i>Nur Suriya Mohd Nor</i>	
Religious Interaction of Muslims and Buddhists in Pasir Mas, Kelantan	123-140
<i>Zuriati Mohd Rashid</i> <i>Wan Mohd Azam Mohd Amin</i>	
The Methodological Features of Al-Ḥadīth Scholars In Studying Religions	141-166
<i>'Amr Muhammad Ahmad Hussayn</i> <i>Majdan Alias</i>	
Satan's Role in Adam's Story (In the Holy Qur`ān and the Torah)	167-195
<i>Ghassan Atef Badran</i>	

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***Taşawwuf* Thought of Shaykh Yusuf Al-Makassari**

Ismail bin Mamat*

Abstract

This study deals with the idea of *taşawwuf* in the thought of Shaykh Yusuf al-Makassari (1626-1699), a celebrated Muslim scholar in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago in the seventeenth century. Shaykh Yusuf al-Makassari had been accepted by people in the corners of the Archipelago and people across the world for his tolerance towards differences. This study aims to explore al-Makassari's works, such as *Zubdah al-Asrār fi taḥqīq ba'da mashārib al-akhyār*, *Tāj al-asrār fi taḥqīq mashrab al-Ārifin*, *Ma'ālib al-sālikīn*, and other treatises written by him, to present his idea on some *taşawwuf* concepts. Besides to describe the Islamic historical development in Indonesia in the era of 17th -18th centuries in order to find another variants of the spread of Islam used by Shaykh Yusuf al-Makassari as a carrier of *taşawwuf* especially in Makassar, Banten, West Java and South Africa.

Keywords: Shaykh Yusuf Al-Makassari, Indonesia, *Taşawwuf*, *Fanā'*, *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*

Introduction

This study investigates the Malay scholar's thought in seventeenth century and one of the great Sufi masters and disseminators of *taşawwuf*, especially the *Khalwatīyah* Order in the Malay- Indonesian Archipelago, Sri Lanka and South Africa. His life was popular up to now in four places or countries; they are Makassar (South Sulawesi), Banten (West Java), Ceylon (Sri Langka), and Cape Town (South Africa) since he spent much of his life at those places. In Ceylon and South Africa, he was even regarded as the first who put foundations of the existing Muslim community and as the father of several Muslim communities in South Africa who struggled to realize unity against oppression and ethnical differences. In South Sulawesi, he is known as one of the seven Religious Leaders who are known as "Wali Pitue". This study can also help the Muslims, especially Muslims in Malay Archipelago, to understand some concepts in *taşawwuf* by referring to works and intellectual legacy written by their predecessors.

Short Biography of Shaykh Yusuf al-Makassari

Shaykh Yusuf was born on the 8th of Shawwal 1036/3rd of July 1626 in Gowa (Goa) (South of Sulawesi), East Indies. His full name is Yusuf ibn

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‘Abd Allah Abū al-Maḥāsīn al-Tāj al-Shāfi‘ī al-Ash‘arī al-Khalwatī al-Makassarī, also known in Sulawesi as *Tuanta Salamaka ri Gowa* (Our Gracious Master from Gowa). He was a prominent Sufi scholar in the Malay Archipelago and came from a noble Gowa and Tallo family. His father, ‘Abd Allah, was the Gallarang of Moncong Loe, a town in Tallo. His mother, Aminah, was the daughter of a man named Dapak Omara and she was related to the kings of Gowa. His birth coincided with the rule of I Mangarangi Daeng Manra’bia or Sultan ‘Alā al-Dīn (1591 to 1639 M).

At the time al-Makassarī was born, it was about 23 years after the King of Gowa and Tallo and their family accepted Islam. Therefore, it is not surprising that since his early childhood, al-Makassarī was educated according to Islamic tradition. He initially learned to read the holy Qur’ān with a local teacher called Daeng Ri Tasammang. Later he studied Arabic, *fiqh*, *tawḥīd* and Sufism with an Arab preacher, Sayyid Bā Alawī ibn ‘Abd Allah, known as al-‘Allāmah al-Ṭāhir, in Bontoala, a Center of Islamic Education in Gowa, since 1634. By the age of 15, he went to Cikoang to study with Jalāl al-Dīn al-Aidid, a scholar who was reported to have come from Aceh to Kutai (Borneo) and then finally lived in Gowa.

When he reached the age of eighteen, in 22 September 1644, al-Makassarī left Gowa for Arabia. This was during the government of I Mannuntungi Daeng Mattola Karaeng Lakiung or Muhammad Saïd which is known as Sultan Malikussaid (1639-1653). In Somba Opu (port and capital city of Gowa), he boarded a Malay ship to Banten.

The Sultanate of Banten was one of the important Muslim Kingdoms in Java. When al-Makassarī arrived to Banten, the reigning ruler was Abu al-Mafākhir ‘Abd al-Qadīr (r. 1626-1651). ‘Abd al-Qadīr was the first ruler of Banten who awarded the title of Sultān from Sharif Mecca, in 1638. He was also known for his great interest in Islam. He sent some inquiries on religious matters to al-Ranīrī and scholars in the Haramayn, which resulted in some work written by those scholars in answering his questions. It is highly possibly that al-Makassarī studied during his sojourn in Banten. During his stay in Banten, al-Makassarī established close personal relation to ‘scholars and the elite of Bantenese Sultanate, especially with Pangeran Surya who was later became sultān of Banten and better known as Sultān Ageng of Tirtayasa.

From Banten, al-Makassarī continued his travel to Aceh. He might have heard the fame of al-Ranīrī (d. 1666) and wanted to study with him. However, in 1644, al-Ranīrī had left Aceh and returned to Ranir. It was the same year with al-Makassarī’s departure from Gowa. Therefore, it was unlikely that they met in Aceh. Nevertheless, al-Makassarī mentioned

al-Raniri as one of his teachers in his work, *Safīnat al-Najāh*. Perhaps al-Makassarī met al-Ranīrī and studied with him in Gujarat. According to al-Attās, ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd Allah Bā Shaybān (d. 1656), the teacher of al-Ranīrī, was also the teacher of al-Makassarī. Perhaps al-Makassarī was introduced to Bā Shaybān by al-Ranīrī and studied with him in Gujarat.

From Gujarat, he continued his travels to Yemen. In the area called Zabīd, in Yemen, Al-Makassarī studied under Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Naqṣabandī (d. 1664), Sayyid ‘Ali al-Zabīdī (d 1662), and Muhammad ibn al-Wajīh al-Sa’dī al-Yamanī. Al-Makassarī got the *ijazah* of al-Naqṣabandiyya Order from Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Naqṣabandī, and the *ijazah* of Bā Alawiyya order from Sayyid ‘Ali.¹

There is no information about the date and the period of al-Makassarī’s sojourn in Yemen, but it probably took several years before he continued his journey to the Haramayn. Among of al-Makassarī’s teacher in the Haramayn were Ahmad al-Qushāshī (d. 1661), Ibrāhīm al-Kuranī (d. 1690),² Ḥasan al-‘Ajāmī (d. 1701),³ Muhammad al-Mazrū’ (d. 1656), ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Lahūrī, and Muhammad Muraz al-Shāmī (d. 1656).⁴

It was Ibrāhīm al-Kuranī, the leading scholar in Medina, who initiated al-Makassarī in the Shatarīyah. Al-Makassarī mentioned Ibrāhīm al-Kuranī in his *silsilah* (chain) of Shatarīyah Order.⁵ Al-Kuranī was also teacher of ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Sinkili, who responsible for the spreading of this *ṭarīqah* (Sūfī Order) in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago.⁶ It is possible that what al-Makassarī has learned from al-Kuranī was merely about *ṭarīqah* Shatarīyah, but also other Islamic teachings.

¹ Tudjimah, *Sheikh Yusuf Makassar, Riwayat dan Ajarannya* (Jakarta: UI Press, 1997), p. 16-17. hereafter cited as *Yusuf Makassar*. In his *Safīnah al-Najāh*, al-Makassarī mentions that he received the *silsilah* (chain) from Sayyid Ali who received it from his father, Abū Bakr. Al-Makassarī, “Safīnat al-Najāh”, cited in Tudjimah, *Yusuf Makassar*, p. 204.

² In his *Nafḥah al-Saylānīyah*, al-Makassarī mentions his name as Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥasan ibn Sihāb al-Dīn al-Kurdī, Al-Makassarī, “Al-Nafḥah al-Saylānīyah”, p. 25. Al-Baghdādī mentions his name as Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kūrānī al-Shahrazwarī al-Shāfī’ī al-Naqṣhabandī. He was born on 1025 H and dead on 1101 H. Ismā’īl Bāshā al-Baghdādī. *Hadiyah al-‘Arīfīn*, Vol. 5 (Dār al-Fikr, 1982), p. 35.

³ Al-Makassarī mentions his name as Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Umar ibn Yahyā al-‘Ajāmī al-Makkī. Al-Makassarī, “Al-Nafḥah al-Saylānīyah”, p. 25.

⁴ Azra, Azyumardi, *The Origins of Islamic reformism in Southeast Asia, Networks of Malay Indonesian and Middle Eastern Ulama in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, (Honolulu: Asian Studies Association of Australia in association with Allen & Unwin and University of Hawai’i Press, 2004), p. 90-1.

⁵ Tudjimah, *Yusuf Makassar*, p. 16.

⁶ Iskandar, Teuku, *Kesusasteraan Klasik Melayu Sepanjang Abad*, (Brunei: Jabatan Kesusasteraan Melayu Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 1995), p. 421.

After studying in Haramayn, al-Makassari continued his travel to Damascus. In Damascus, he studied with Ayyūb ibn Aḥmad ibn Ayyūb al-Dimashqī al-Khalwatī (994-1071 / 1586-16610).¹ He was known as a very knowledgeable in many fields such as *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, *fiqh*, *kalām* and *taşawwuf*. In addition, he provided a new interpretation of Ibn ‘Arabi’s doctrines, especially on the concept of *al-Insān al-Kāmil* in light of the *sharī‘ah*.² It was Ayyūb al-Khalwatī who awarded al-Makassari the title of *Tāj al-Khalwatī* (the crown of Khalwatiyya Order).³ Later, al-Makassari praised him in his work, *al-Nafḥah al-Saylāniyyah*,⁴ and from Ayyūb al-Khalwatī, he got the *ijāzah* of Khalwatīyah order.⁵ From Damascus, al-Makassari continued his travel to Istanbul.⁶

According to Gowa sources, as pointed out by Abu Hamid, al-Makassari had begun to teach when he was in Mecca. Most of his students were those people from the Malay-Indonesia Archipelago who went there to perform *hajj*, and one of them was Abdul Baṣīr al-Ḍarīrī al-Rappanī, known as Tuang Rappang I Wodi.⁷ Later he became a *khalīfah* of *Khalwatīyah* and *Naqşabandīyah* Order and responsible for the spreading of those *ṭarīqahs* in South Sulawesi.⁸

Life of al-Makassari

Having acquired a great reputation of learning and piety, al-Makassari returned to the Malay-Indonesian Archipelagos from Arabia. There are two dates regarding his return. According to Abu Hamid, he returned when he was 38 years old, in 1664.⁹ On the other hand, Van Bruinessen claims that he returned in 1670.¹⁰ If this is true, it means that al-Makassari spent 20 or 26 years travelling for seeking knowledge.

When al-Makassari arrived at Banten, he found the ruler of Banten, Sulṭān Ageng Tirtayasa, was his old friend, Pangeran Surya, when he

¹ Al-Makassari, “al-Nafḥah al-Saylāniyyah,” p. 25; “Safīnat al-Najāh,” cited in Tujimah, *Yusuf Makassar*, p. 201.

² Azra, *The Origins*, p. 92.

³ Hamka, *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama*, (Medan: Firma Madju Medan, 1967), p. 54.

⁴ Al-Makassari, “al-Nafḥah al-Saylāniyyah,” p. 25.

⁵ Abu Hamid, *Syeikh Yusuf seorang Ulama, Sufi dan Pejuang*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2005), p. 93

⁶ Hamka, *Perbendaharaan Lama*, p. 55.

⁷ Abu Hamid, *Sufi dan Pejuang*, p. 94.

⁸ Azra, *The Origin*, p. 92.

⁹ Abu Hamid, *Sufi dan Pejuang*, p.95.

¹⁰ Van Bruinessen, Martin, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren and Tarekat, Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), p. 291.

was in Banten before. Here he was appointed as the Mufti of Banten Sultanate and advisor and also became the son in law of Sultān Ageng Tirtayasa.¹ He spent many years teaching various branches of Islamic studies to the Sultān, his courtiers and others who came to Banten.²

The Dutch, like the other colonial powers, had built up their position in the Malay-Indonesia Archipelago by a skillful application of ‘Divide and Rule’. In order to take control the kingdoms in the archipelago, the Dutch, taking advantage of the weaknesses of the Sultanate rulers in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago, fomented and encouraged disagreements among them.³ As a result of this Dutch machination and provocation, internal conflicts and wars broke out in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. One of them was the war between Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa and his son, Sultan Haji, who was supported by the Dutch.

When the war broke out between Sultan Ageng and his son on March 1682, al-Makassarī and Pangeran Purbaya (The son of Sultan Ageng) sided with Sultan Ageng. Even when the Sultan was captured by the Dutch troops in the beginning of 1683, al-Makassarī continued his resistance and led about 5000 soldiers, included approximately 1000 of Makasarese, Buginese, and Malays.⁴ On the 14th December 1683, he was finally captured by the Dutch and sent to exile in Batavia. The Dutch also sent his Makasarese and Buginese followers to South Sulawesi. On the 12th September 1684, The Dutch sent him to exile in Ceylon together with his two wives, several children, 12 disciples, and some maids.⁵

The Dutch ruled Ceylon or Sri Lanka for more than 150 years, from 1640 to 1796. Sri Lanka was one of the places for banishment for Malay-Indonesian exiles.⁶ Al-Makassarī stayed in Ceylon for almost a decade and wrote some of his treatises which are read widely until now.

After a decade in Ceylon, the Dutch found it necessary to remove him once again. They assumed that al-Makassarī still exerted a considerable influence to the Muslims in the Malay-Indonesia archipelago. He was already in his sixty-eight years when the Dutch sent him to exile in Cape of Good Hope.⁷ He arrived on board of ‘De Voetboog’ on 2nd April 1694 with

¹ Hamka, *Perbendaharaan Lama*, p. 58.

² Dangor, Suleman Essop, *Shaykh Yusuf*, (Durban: Iqra’ Research Committee MSA of South Africa, 1982), p. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁴ Abu Hamid, *Sufi dan Pejuang*, p. 101-3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 106-8.

⁶ Azra, *The Origin*, p. 98.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

49 of his family members and followers. He passed away five years later, on 23rd May 1699.¹

His Scholarly Works

The researchers who did studies on al-Makassarī have different opinions on the number of his works. Differences of opinion among scholars on the number of al-Makassari's works, apparently is caused by the absence of the author's name on some of the treatises. Tujimah, and Nabilah, for example, include some anonymous treatises as the work of al-Makassari based on the style of writing, content and also the place the treatises were written.

Van Bruinessen mentioned 17 of al-Makassarī's works, namely: (1) *al-Risālah al-Naqṣabandīyah*; (2) *Safīnah al-Najāh*; (3) *Tuḥfat al-Amri fī faḍīlat al-dhikri*; (4) *al-Nafḥat al-Saylānīyah*; (5) *Zubdat al-Asrār*; (6) *al-Barakat al-Saylānīyah*; (7) *Asrār al-Ṣalāh*; (8) *Bidāyat al-Mubtadī*; (9) *al-Futūḥat al-Rabbānīyah*; (10) *Ḥabl al-warīd*; (11) *Kayfiyat al-Nafyi*; (12) *Maktūb*; (13) *Maṭālib al-Sālikkīn*; (14) *Qurrat A'yun*; (15) *Sirr al-Asrār*; (16) *Tāj al-Asrār*; and (17) *Fath Kayfiyat al-Dhikr*.²

While, Tujimah mentions 21 of al-Makassarī's works. They are: (1) *al-Barakah al-Saylānīyah*; (2) *Bidāyat al-Mubtadī*; (3) *al-Fawā'ih al-Yusuḥfīyah*; (4) *Hasīyah*; (5) *Kayfiyat al-Nafy wa al-Ithbat*, (6) *Maṭālib al-Sālikkīn*; (7) *al-Nafḥat al-Saylānīyah*; (8) *Qurrat al-'Ayn*; (9) *Sirr al-Asrār*; (10) *Surah*; (11) *Tāj al-Asrār*; (12) *Zubdat al-Asrār*, (13) *Fath Kayfiyat al-Dhikr*; (14) *Daf al-Balā'*; (15) *Hādhihi fawā'id aẓīmah Dhikr Lā ilāha illa Allah*; (16) *Muqaddimah al-fawā'id allatī mā lā budda min al-'Aqā'id*; (17) *Tahṣīl al-Ināyah wa al-Hidāyah*; (18) *Risālat Ghāyat al-Ikhtisār wa al-Nihāyat al-Intizār*; (19) *Tuḥfat al-Amri fī Faḍīlat al-Dhikr*; (20) *Tuḥfat al-Abrār li ahl al-Asrār*; and (21) *al-Munjiyya 'an Maḍarrat al-Ḥijaiba*.³

Nabilah Lubis, listed 23 woks of Makassarī. They are: (1) *al-Barakat al-Saylānīyah* (Blessing of Ceylon); (2) *Bidāyat al-Mubtadī* (The Beginning of the Beginner); (3) *Daf al-Balā'* (Rejection of Calamity); (4) *Fath al-Kayfiyat al-Dhikr* (The Opening of the Directions of Remembering God); (5) *al-Fawā'ih al-Yusuḥfīyah fī Bayān Taḥqīq al-Ṣūfiyah* (The Words of Yusuf in Explaining the Realization of Sufism);

¹ Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf*, p. 27-32.

² Wijaya, Aksin and Yamani, Abu Bakar, *Jejak Pemikiran Sufisme Indonesia: Konsep Wujud dalam Tasawuf Shekh Yusuf al-Makassari*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Ilmu, 2012), pp. 59-60.

³ Tujimah, *Yusuf Makassar*, p. 21.

(6) *Hāshiya h*(Marginal Comments), in the book entitled *al-Anbāh fī i'rāb Lā ilāha illa Allah*; (7) *Ḥabl al-Warīd li Sa'ādat al-Murīd* (The Jugular Vein for the Happiness of the Student); (8) *Hādhihi al-Fawā'id Lāzimah Dhikr Lā ilāha illa Allah* (The Benefits of Remembering God by uttering *Lā ilāha illa Allah*); (9) *Kayfiyat al-Nafy wa al-Itsbāt bi al-Ḥadīth al-Qudsi* (The Method of Negation and Affirmation by *ḥadīth al-Qudsi*); (10) *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* (The Wish of the Traveler on the Path of God); (11) *Muqaddimat al-Fawā'id allatī mā lā budda min al-'Aqā'id* (Introductions to Advantages that should be known from the Creeds); (12) *al-Nafaḥāt al-Saylāniyah* (The Breath of Ceylon); (13) *Qurrat al-'Ain* (the Consolation of the Eyes); (14) *Risālah Gāyat al-Ikṭisār wa Nihāyat al-Intizār* (Treatise on the Brief and the Last Expected Destination); (15) *Safīnat al-Najāt* (The Ship of Successfulness); (16) *Sirr al-Asrār* (The Secret of the Secrets); (17) *Surat* (The Letter of al-Makassarī to Sulṭān Wazīr Karaeng Karunrung 'Abdullah); (18) *Tahṣīl al-'Ināyah wa al-Hidāyah* (The Result of Help and Guidance); (19) *Tāj al-Asrār fī Tahqīq Mashārib al-'Ārifīn*; (20) *Tuḥfat al-Abrār li ahl al-Asrār* (The Secret Crown in the Verification of the Goblet of the Gnostic); (21) *Tuḥfat al-Ṭālib al-Mubtadi wa al-Minḥat al-Sālik al-Mubtadi* (The Gift for the Beginner Student and the Present for the Guided Traveler); (22) *al-Waṣīyāt al-Munjiyāt 'an Maḍarrat al-Ḥijāb* (The Advices to Escape from the Hidden Misery).; (23) *Zubdat al-Asrār fī Tahqīq ba'd Mashārib al-Akhyār* (the Essence of the Secrets in the Verification of the Goblets of the Excellent ones).

All of the treatises above are on *ṭaṣawwuf* and written in Arabic. Having studied in the Arabia for a long time made al-Makassarī was able to write in proficient Arabic.

His Contributions

Shaykh Yusuf Al-Makassarī's teaching in Islamic sciences was sought by the high and the low people. He taught not only the sulṭān and his courtiers in the sultanate of Banten, but also to some of his students who later became the master (*khalīfah*) of the *khalwaṭiyah* order. His reputation as Ṣūfī Shaykh, political activist, and a fine Muslim scholar won him the respect of his friends and enemies. His influence can be seen in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago and South Africa.

In The Malay-Indonesian Archipelago

In the beginning we have mentioned that al-Makassarī had spent more than 20 years in the Arabia studying Islamic sciences. On his return to

Banten, he acquired the reputation of being an authority in Islamic sciences, especially in Sufism. It was in Banten he played an important role in the process of Islamization. He became a Qāḍi of Banten Sultanate and the advisor of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa.

In Banten, he established himself in the court of Sultan Ageng of Tirtayasa. Here, he spent many years teaching the sultan and his courtiers on various Islamic sciences, include *ṭaṣawwuf*.¹ Some of his treatises on *aqīdah* and *ṭaṣawwuf*, i.e., *Bidāyat al-Mubtadi'*, *Zubdah al-Asrār*² and *Shurūṭ al-Ārif al-Muḥaqqiq* for example, were written in Banten.

Sixtieth and seventieth century was a new phase of Islamization in Malay- Indonesian archipelago.³ Al-Makassarī was one of the scholars in the Malay- Indonesian Archipelago who contributed to the Islamization process in the seventieth century. It can be seen in his writings during his stay in Banten and his exile in Ceylon. His writings, later, were translated in Buginese, Makassarese, Malay, and Javanese.⁴

The people of Makassar regard him as *walī* Allah (friend of God) and call him as Tuanta Salamaka ri Gowa (our blessed master of Gowa). There is a manuscript written in Makassarese on al-Makassarī's biography which is known as Riwayatna Tuanta Salamaka ri Gowa (RTSG). To the Buginese and Makassarese, this manuscript is sacred and sacral. They read this manuscript just in special time.

When the King of Gowa sent an envoy to Banten to persuade al-Makassarī to return to his homeland, Gowa, he refuted politely. He, then, sent one of his students. This student was Shaykh Abū al-Faḥ Abū Yaḥyā 'Abd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīrī who was responsible for the spread of *ṭarīqah Khlawafīyah* and the Islamization in Sulawesi. He also wrote some treatise, one of them is *Daqā'iq al-Asrār*. Al-Ḍarīrī wrote this treatise for the Sulṭān of Bone, Idrīs al-Mudarris al-Būnī. Some important concepts in al-Makassarī's treatises such as the oneness of God (*tawḥīd*), direction (*qiblat*) appears in *Daqā'iq al-Asrār* of Al-Ḍarīrī.

In South Africa

After two months of al-Makassarī, his family, and his follower's arrival in the Cape, the Dutch housed them to the farm Zandvliet, a place which

¹ Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf*, p. 3.

² Syamsul Bahri Andi Galigo, *Pemikiran Tasawuf Syaikh Yusuf al-Taj*, (Kuala Lumpur: Unit Penerbitan KUIM, 2004), p. 11.

³ Syed Muhammad Naguib Al-Attas, *Islam dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu*, (Bangi: UKM Press, 2012), p. 44.

⁴ Abu Hamid, *Sufi dan Pejuang*, p. 147.

is not close to other exiles and slaves in order to prevent him to establish contact with them. It is an indication that the Dutch realizes the power of his influence. Regarding to this, Dangor writes,

The reason for housing Yusuf on a farmstead was so that he would not be able to get in touch with other exiles from the East Indies who had arrived before him. This undoubtedly proves that Shaykh Yusuf was a man of great influence and the Cape authorities being well aware of this were afraid of the fact that Yusuf would try to rally around himself his friends and followers which may lead to the political difficulties.¹

Furthermore, one of the reasons why he was sent to the Cape because he still has influence on his people in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago even he was exiled to Ceylon. There was an indication of rebel in Minangkabau, Banten, and Makassar. The Dutch were assuming that it is because of al-Makassarī's influence on the Muslims in Archipelago through his writings. During that time, Ceylon was a place of transit for the *hujjāj* (pilgrims) and most of his writings were brought to the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago by them. As a result, the Dutch sent him to a place far away from his people, cuts the relation between them, and removes the possibility of his influence to his people.² Consequently, during his exile in the Cape, the Dutch placed al-Makassarī and his retinue in the isolated place; because they aware of his power of influence.

The Dutch housed him in the farm Zandvliet, a place belongs to a Christian priest, the Reverend Petrus Kalden, minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at the Cave.³ Later, Zandvliet was renamed to Macassar in honoring of al-Makassarī's place of birth. It shows his influence was existing during his exile; still exist after his death and even until today.

Despite of the isolation of al-Makassarī from other Muslims and non-muslim community in the Cape, the number of Muslims there was still increaseing. This situation, the increasing of Muslim, was described by the Cape authorities, as he said, "The Mohammedans are multiplying rapidly and increasing in number."⁴ Based on this statement, Dangor suggested it as an indication of al-Makassarī and his follower's role in the Islamization in the Cape in the early years of the Dutch rule. He says,

This statement indicates clearly that the 'illegal' gatherings at

¹ Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf*, p. 29.

² Azra, *The Origin*, p. 99.

³ Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf*, p. 29

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

Faure of Shaykh Yusuf and his followers had a direct bearing on the spread of Islam in the Cape in the early years of the company rule and that the Company officials were quite apprehensive of the increase in the number of Muslims either due to conversion or due to large number of birth of Muslim children.¹

To the Malays in the Cape, Al-Makassarī is not just a common person; he is a Ṣūfī shaykh, a saint or walī Allah (friend of God). At the beginning, only slaves and convicts who were brought by the Dutch to the Cape from the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago (Sumatra, Java and Moluccas). Later, the Dutch exiled people of higher rank from the Archipelago the Cape, and one of them was al-Makassarī. His coming to the Cape had brought a new hope for the Malays who came before him. He is the first person whom they looked for support and leadership, for to them, he is not ordinary man, but he is a friend of God.²

Furthermore, al-Makassarī was not alone when he arrived in the Cape; he was accompanied by two wives, two slave girls, twelve children, twelve imams, and several friends with their families.³ Later, al-Makassarī and the twelve imams, along with the exiles, carried out teaching session and religious services secretly in their lodges. As a result, they are not only able to preserve the belief of the exiles, but also gain the number of new of new converts.⁴ These imams, who were the closest disciples and were deeply influenced by his teaching, later continued their master work after his death.⁵

In this chapter, we have discussed briefly the life, works, and the influence of al-Makassarī. In the following chapter we discuss the idea of *al-Insān al-Kāmil* (the perfect man) according some prominent Ṣūfī scholars before him, such as Al- Ghazzālī, Ibn ‘Arabī, and Al-Jīlī. For al-Ghazzalī, we rely mainly on his *Maqṣad*. He did not use the term perfect man, what we find is the perfect servant. For Ibn ‘Arabī, we rely mainly on his *Fuṣūṣ*, and also the works of some scholars who studied on him, such as Afifī, Izutsu, and Masataka. As for al-Jīlī, we rely mainly on his work, *al-Insān al-Kāmil fī Ma‘rifat al-Awakhir wa al-Awā’il* and also Nicholson’s book, i.e., *Studies in Islamic Myticism*.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., p. 29.

⁴ Azra, *The Origin*, p. 101.

⁵ Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf*, p. 60.

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