SHEIKH YŪSUF AL-MAQASSARY AND HIS REFORM IDEAS IN THE SPREAD OF ISLAM IN GOWA-MAKASSAR IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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Abstract:
This paper relates to the brief history of Sheikh Yūsuf al-Makassary as well as his brief role in the Spread of Islam in Gowa-Makassar as his birth land. Sheikh Yūsuf was born in 1626 M and grew up among noble families of Gowa-Tallo Kingdoms and then travelled to seek and deepen his Islamic knowledge from Aceh, India to the middle East (1645-1668) or for around 23 years and then he became a great ṣūfī and left many of his treatises for Islamic community, especially for his followers, which are most of them still preserved at Universiteit Bibliotheq Leiden and the national museum of Jakarta at the present day. The main concept of Islamic mysticism of Sheikh Yūsuf as one of his reform in the spread of Islam in Gowa-Makassar is the purification of belief (‘aqīdah) in the Oneness of Allāh or in the Unity of God (tawḥīd). This is his attempt to explain God’s transcendence (Ilāh) on His creatures. In a quoted al-Ikhlass verse (QS. 112:1-4) and al-Shura’ verse of al-Qur’an that there is nothing comparable to Him (QS. 42: 11), Sheikh Yūsuf emphasized that the Oneness of Allāh is infinite and absolute. Tawḥīd is the essential component in Islam.

Keywords: Sheikh Yūsuf, Reform Ideas, Islamic mysticism, and the Spread of Islam in Gowa-Makassar

INTRODUCTION
Sheikh Yūsuf (1036-1110H/1626-1699) is a ṣūfī Islamic scholar and a National hero of two countries, Indonesia and South Africa. He was born by the marriage of ‘Abd Allāh Tuanta Manjalāwī (a Sheikh who was considered from ‘Alawī, Alawiyīn descendant (Sayyidinā Ali kw. and Fatimah bt. Muḥammad pbuh.), Ḥaḍramawt, Yemen with Aminah I Tubiani Daeng Kunjung. He grew up amongst the noble families of Gowa-Tallo Kingdoms and then he wandered to seek and to deep his Islamic knowledge from Aceh, India until the Middle East (1645-1668). When he returned to his country, he stayed in Banten for a long time becoming a war leader as a defender of human rights towards the Dutch Indies Company (VOC), then he was exiled to Ceylon (Srilanka) in 1683/1684-1693 and to the last place of exile for the rest of his life in Cape Town (1694-1699) in the age of 68 to 73 years by the Dutch Colonizers.1

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1 See and compare with Muzdalifah Sahib, Syeikh Yusuf al-Maqassary dan Pembaruannya dalam Sufisme. (Makassar, Yayasan al-Mahasin, 2016), Sahib Sultan, Allah dan Islam Mendekatkan Diri Kepada-Nya dalam Konsepsi Sheikh Yusuf. (Makassar: YAPMA, 2008); Azyumardi Azra, Jaringan Ulama Timur
Therefore, he spent much time abroad rather than in his country, it is estimated for some 38 years of his life. He taught at al-Haram Mosque between the ages of 36 till 42 years. He is a true scientist model with the greatest motivation, even though at the time there was no government scholarship, foundation grant and super-fast ship. He taught Islamic mysticism for some 37 years of his life, starting in Mecca in 1662, Banten and Makassar, Ceylon, Sri Lanka and then in the Cape, South Africa. He became a mufti in Banten, and when Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa was captured by the Dutch; then the work of Sheikh Yusuf changed to be the lead of troops in a brave to fight against the Dutch East Indian Company in the jungle of West Java lasting for a period nearly 2 years. After he was caught and charged with treason, as it was common practiced by the Dutch towards Indonesian warriors, Sheikh Yusuf was exiled to Batavia, then to Ceylon and South Africa.2

When Sheikh Yusuf taught at the al-Haram Mosque, his students consisted of many different nations, and when he was exiled to Ceylon, it was his students from Ceylon and India who come to accompany him. Sheikh Yusuf was not only an important scholar for his village, his region or this archipelago or for Indonesia today, he had even crossed the boundary continent and achieved the position as the world figure. Now, he had become a National Hero of two countries, namely Indonesia and South Africa.

Sheikh Yusuf was an idol and a model for young generation who longed for/craved and dreamed of such an exemplary figure not only in Indonesia, but also in South Africa.

In terms of Sheikh Yusuf and the international network of ‘ulamā from Indonesia to the Middle East, he is one of as, of course, who is regarded as a neo-ast or a reformer in the Islamic mystic world.3

During his period on the seventeenth century, he began to make reforms in the field of Mystic teaching. His religious and mystic ideas are mostly in Arabic which still preserved in the Leiden library (UB) and in the National Museum of Jakarta.

The next issues to be discussed are how the role and reform ideas of Sheikh Yusuf al-Maqassary in the spread of Islam in Gowa-Makassar, South Sulawesi, which of course begins with a discussion of his works and his reforms ideas in the mystical world of Islam.

LITERATURE AND THEORY
Sheikh Yusuf ’s Works Written in Banten and Ceylon

Sheikh Yusuf was a ā Islamic scholar who wandered for a long time in search of Islamic knowledge and in depth his mysticism, especially in the Arabic


2 Compare with Muzdalifah Sahib, Shaykh Yusuf al-Maqassari His life Story as a National Hero from Gowa, South Sulawesi to Cape Town, South Africa and a Reformer in the Islamic Mystic World. (Makassar: Alauddin University Press, 2014).

3 See and Compare with Azra Azyumardi, Jaringan Ulama...., p. 288 dan Sultan, Sahib, Allah....., p. 236.
peninsula, leaving many treatises in Arabic language for us as guidance for approaching God.

Muzdalifah Sahib (A PhD researcher of Leiden University and South African University) tried to collect information regarding the works of Sheikh Yusuf either from Leiden or from Indonesia, and she found that there 38 treatises and mostly preserved at Leiden University Library and the National Museum Jakarta.

By this research, it is found some of his treatises or works written in Banten and Ceylon, Srilanka; most of them are in Arabic. Amongst those are in the following:

**Sheikh Yūsuf’s Works in Arabic**

3. *Al-Fawāïîh al-Yūsufiyah fi Bayān Tahqīq al-Ṣūfīyya* or ‘the Benefits Obtained by Explaining the Accomplishments of the Ṣūfīs, according to Yūsuf’ (الفوائح اليوسفية في بيان تحقيق الصوفية) in MSKBG 108, Arabic Microfilm of UB Leiden, F Or A 13b [6]
5. *Kaiftiyat al-Nafīh wa al-Ithbāt bi al-Ḥadīth al-Qudsī* or ‘the Way of Negation and Affirmation (Dhikr) Via the Ḥadīth Qudsī.’ (كيفية النفي والآثاب بالحديث القدسي) in MSKBG 108, Arabic Microfilm of UB Leiden, F Or A 13b [7]
7. *Al-Naḥfāt al-Saylāniyyah or ‘the Breath from Ceylon’* (السيلانية) in MSKBG 101, Arabic Microfilm of UB Leiden, F Or A 13d [I]
10. *Sūrah the Picture (of Tawḥīd)’* (سورۃ الRITE I) in MSKBG 108, Arabic Microfilm of UB Leiden, F Or A 13b [24a]
Other Works of Shaykh Yūsuf

Besides all of above, there are still other works in Javanese, Buginese and Makassarese (which are as quotation or translation from Arabic by his students).

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4 Muzdalifah Sahib, Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassary …, p. 115-121
The work of Sheikh Yūsuf that has been translated in Javanese which is called as Barkah Seh Yūsuf Saking Banten (it is not known whether it is translated or written directly in the language, or even who translated it, but it is clear from its name that it is Sheikh Yūsuf’s treatise). While in Buginese is called Tajeng Patiroangete Lao ri Laleng Malempue by Ahmad Sālih and in Makassares is called Riwayatna Tuanta Salamaka Sehe Yūsufu by Nuruddin Dg. Magassing.

THE REFORM IDEAS OF SYEIKH YŪSUF AL-MAQASSARY

Sheikh Yūsuf al-Makassary was primarily a ṣūfī. With respect to his career and teaching, undoubtedly he was one of the most important mujaddids or reformers of mysticism in the history of Islam in the archipelago. His life experiences make it clear that his ṣūfīsm did not keep him away from worldly affairs; even he was a ā, Allāh’s saint who could fight in the middle of society, reflecting scriptures and praying tahajjud at night, performing act of charity and holding a sharp bamboo cane at noon. Therefore Hamka called him a big ṣūfī and mujāhid or a warrior. Unlike earlier ṣūfīs who exhibited strong tendencies to shun worldly life, the whole expression of Sheikh Yūsuf’s teaching and practices shows a full range of activism.

Like al-Raniri and Abd. Rauf Al-Sinkili in the Sultanate of Aceh, Sheikh Yūsuf played an important role in Bantanese politics. Not only that, he also stepped to the forefront of the wars against the Dutch, moreover after the capture of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa. However, like most scholars in the international networks of scholars in the seventeenth century, Sheikh Yūsuf did not employ the ṭarīqah organization to mobilize the masses, especially for the purpose of war.

His long sojourn in the Middle East had enabled Sheikh Yūsuf to write his works in perfect Arabic. Almost all his known works deal with taṣawwuf, especially in its relations with kalām science (tawhīd). Like al-Raniri and Abd. Rauf al-Sinkili, Sheikh Yūsuf in developing his teaching also frequently cites such scholars as Al-Gazali, Imam Shafi‘ī, Junayd al-Baghdadī, Ibn ‘Arabī, Zū al-Nūn, Abū Zaid al-Kharrāz, al-Jilli, Ibn ‘Ata’ Allāh and other authorities.

The following discussion only gives a brief description about his reform ideas in his treatises and especially his reform ideas instilled by Sheikh Yusuf in the spread of Islam in Gowa-Makassar, South Sulawesi.

A. Sheikh Yūsuf’s Reform Ideas in Some of His Works

Some concepts or teaching of Sheikh Yūsuf considered as his reform in the Islamic mystic world, taken from his works amongst some of his works, based on the result of the research of my friends in the Universiteit bibliotheek Leiden and

7 Nuruddin Dg. Magassing, Riwayatna Tuanta Salamaka Sehe Yúsufu. (Makassar: Volksdrukkerij, 1933)

The main concept of religious and mystic Sheikh Yūsuf is the purification of belief (‘aqīdah) in the Oneness of Allāh or in the Unity of God (tawḥīd). This is his attempt to explain God’s transcendence (Ilāh) over His creation. Citing al-Ikhlas verse (QS. 112:1-4) and another verse of Al-Qur’an in al-Shura verse which states that nothing is comparable unto Him (QS. 42: 11), Sheikh Yūsuf emphasized that the Oneness of Allāh is unlimited and absolute. Tawḥīd is the essential component in Islam; a man who does not have tawḥīd is an infidel. More deeply, he illustrates pure tawḥīd or the immaculate tawḥīd as a tree with its branch and its leaves; maʿrīfah knowledge is like its branch and its leaves; while prayer is like its fruit. Furthermore he said that if you got the tree, you will get its branches and leaves, and if you got them, even you look for fruit of the tree. If you do not get its branches and leaves, it is impossible to get its fruit. This is a majāzī or a metaphor sample that we said, in order that you can understand real nature (actually). A man who does not know maʿrīfah knowledge is stupid (jāhil) and a man who does not practice ‘ibādah or prayer is a sinful man (fāsiq). Therefore, tawḥīd without maʿrīfah is like a tree without branches and leaves, and it is impossible to get its fruit, except if the branches and leaves of the tree grew up again, then its fruit can be hoped. In other words, only a man, who has tawḥīd with maʿrīfah, could perform devotional service well to God.

Sheikh Yūsuf, even clings to God’s transcendence, but he still believes that God encompasses everything (al-aḥāta) and exists everywhere (al-maʿīyya) over His creation. However, he was very careful not to bind himself with the doctrine of pantheism by saying, even though God appears himself in His creation, it does not necessarily mean that His creation is God himself; all creation is only an allegorical or metaphorical being (al-mawjūd al-majāzī), not a real being (al-mawjūd al-ḥaqiqī). Thus, likes al-Sinkili, he believes that the creation is only a shadow of God. According to Sheikh Yūsuf, the word God in His creation does not mean the presence of God Himself in their selves.

In the concept (al-aḥāta) and (al-maʿīyya), the Lord descends (tānazzul), while the man or servant ascends (taraqqi), a spiritual process which brings them closer. It should be noted and remembered, according to Sheikh Yūsuf, the process will not take shape in the final unity between the servant and the Lord, while both are more closely linked together; in the end the servant remains the servant and God remains God (al-ʿabdū ʿabdun wa al-Rab Rabbn). With this, Sheikh Yūsuf appears to reject the subtle concept of Wahdat al-Wujūd (Unity of Being or Ontological Monism) Ibn ʿArabi and the concept of al-Ḥulūl (Divine
Incarnation) Abū Manṣūr al-Hallāj. In his opinion God cannot be compared with anything (layṣa kamithliḥī syay‘). Instead he tends to take the concept of Wahdat al-Shuhūd (Unity Consciousness or Monism Phenomenologist) of al-Ghazali.\(^\text{15}\)

Thus, while he carefully estranges himself from the controversial doctrine of Wahdat al-Wujūd (Unity of Being or Ontological Monism) Ibn 'Arabi and al-Ḥulūl (Divine Incarnation) Abū Manṣūr al-Hallāj, Sheikh Yūṣuf took the doctrine of Wahdat al-Shuhūd of al-Ghazali which is developed by Ahmad al-Sinkili and Shah Wali Allāh, then later developed by him into the doctrine of Wahdat al-Ṣamād (Unity of dependence all) on the basis of the verse of al-Ikhlas (QS. 112: 1-4).\(^\text{16}\)

A prominent feature of the theology of Sheikh Yūṣuf, the Oneness of God is that he tried to unify and reconcile all the attributes or the qualities of God, which according to the Islamic belief, God has attributes that seem contradict one another. God, for example, is believed to be the Beginning (al-Awwal) and the Last (al-Ākhir); the Outward (al-Zāhir) and the Inner or Inward (al-Bāṭin); the One who gives guide (Al-Hadi), but also the One who leaves human Lost (al-Muḍīl). According to him, all the attributes of God that seem to contradict each other should be understood according to the Oneness of God Himself. If you emphasize certain attributes and then ignore the others, this leads to the wrong belief and practices. The reality or nature of God is the unity of pairs of conflicting Attributes, and no one who knows His secret, except those who have been given knowledge by God Himself.\(^\text{17}\)

Maʿrīfah therefore, according to Sheikh Yūṣuf is that you know your beginning comes from Him and with Him you go back again, so you will return to Him that you come from. Like the ocean, if water levels come through the river, then the water will return to the sea, as its condition in the rivers. This means that water will never be changed essentially as water.\(^\text{18}\) In other words, maʿrīfah is the existence of God, Who brings together two contradictory things as mentioned above, or it can be said that he was the one God, if He is the Beginning be He the Last, then He will return as He Who early. So, He is the First, as He Who the Last and Early. That is, He will not be changed from His reality as the Essence of the One, Who has all those attributes. This case is never discussed in other scholars’ works.

The theology of Sheikh Yūṣuf is the same as Ash’ariyah theology; even he was very obedient to the doctrine of Ash’ariyya. He emphasized the full fidelity on the six pillars of faith: faith in Allāh, His angels, His Books, His Prophets, the day of resurrection and the God’s qadā and qadar. Furthermore, in conjunction with perfect faith in all these pillars of faith, he urged fellow Muslims to fully accept the ambiguous meaning of some verses of the Koran or al-‘Ayyāt al-Mutashābihūt.\(^\text{19}\) Searching or questioning the real meaning of such verses is a

\(^{15}\) Al-Maqassary, Al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyyah, p. 38-39

\(^{16}\) See Sahib Sultan, Allah and the Way …, p. 169-174


\(^{18}\) Al-Maqassary, Muʿālik al-Sālikīn, p. 7

\(^{19}\) Al-Maqassary, Al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyyah, p. 2
sign that one does not fully trust in God, only by accepting the verses as such, a wanderer or traveler in the path of God will be able to achieve God’s grace or bless.  

In addition, Sheikh Yūsuf emphasized the destiny of man based on the Will of God as well as theological views of Ash’āriyyah. For example, he repeatedly asked the Muslims to sincerely receive their fate or divine providence and divine decree (al-qāḍā wa al-qādar), whether good or bad.  

But he stressed, humans cannot just surrender to them. More importantly, people should not blame God for their bad deeds, because they should not just accept it as their fate. Instead, they must try to break away from sinful behavior and improve their humanity by thinking about the creation of God and do good deeds. By this way, Sheikh Yūsuf believes, people will be able to create a better life in this world and the hereafter.

Therefore, Sheikh Yūsuf also called on the faithful who are on the way to Allāh never to despair at the mercy of Allāh, for verily Allāh's mercy exceeds His anger, but he also emphasized that we are always afraid of him. Sheikh Yūsuf said: Anū nikannaya tappa anrong girunnai panggassenganga, naiya panggassenganga empoannai mallaka siagang manranmuanga.  

this means: Faith is the great teacher of science (the Islamic science), the Islamic science as a basis for fear and hope.

Indeed, fear that comes with expecting God’s love is only a pious attitude of the believers (of Islamic knowledge), in accordance with the words of God as in the following

“...Fear Me, if you are (true) believer.”

“...It is only those who have knowledge among His slaves that fear Allāh.”

In al-Nafāḥāt al-Saylānīyya, he told his students: it is incumbent for you to stand between khauf or fear and rajah or hope, meaning that you have to unite both of them by characterizing both. Both are required, although each within the limits of its essence. Because fear is quiet of hope, and hope is quiet from fear. Prefer one is not blessed in this matter for a Gnostic man and a perfect haqīqa expert. Truly preferring something in this case is something that will not come to its limit and will not reach the perfect place. It would just be useful if humans could characterize both.

Unlike other šūfis, who thought that the highest maqām is mahṣabba or love, and some others considered the highest level is faanā and baqā, but Sheikh Yūsuf virtually the only one who saw al-muṭlaqat al’ubudiyya (unrestricted adoration), as the highest maqām or the highest stage in sulūk on the path of Allāh. By taking the verse of al-Qur’an Surat al-Isrā’, whereby when the Prophet Muhammad created walking or journeying one night from al-Masjid al-Ḥarām to al-Masjid al-Aqṣā until he reached the seventh sky even to meet with God in

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20 Al-Maqassary, Qurrat Al-‘Ayn. Naskah Arab MSKBG 101, p. 54-55
22 Nuruddin, Daeng Magassing. Riwayatna Tuanta..., p. 106
23 Q.S. Ali-Inman [3]: 175
24 Q.S. al-Fāthir [35]: 28
25 See Al-Nafāḥāt al-Saylānīyyah dalam Tudjimah, Sheikh Yusuf ..., p. 43; bandingkan dengan Sahib Sultan, Allah and..., p. 282
**Sidrat al-Muntahā,** he was not called by the title of Prophet or my love, but he only called as My servant, since nothing glorifies more the level of the servant except the level of God especially the Creator, Allāh.\(^{26}\) Thus, how glorify the name of a servant is, its place is before God and therefore not all of his creation can be called directly as His servant, except those close to Him; and when Muhammad meet with God directly in **Sidrat al-Muntahā,** he never says the words ّشَتَاءُّ as what had been said by Abū Mansur al-Hallāj and Ibn 'Arabi unless he only said ‘I testify that there is no God but Allāh.’ Muhammad is a leader and guide, a chosen people and the most perfect human in this earth, however he never said ‘Anā al-Haq’ or I’m God, unless he simply said “I am only human like all of you”\(^{27}\) The man who has successfully reached the stage means he has reached the center of his being, and therefore he is called the perfect human (**al-Insān al-Kāmil**).\(^{28}\) According to Sheikh Yūsuf, by achieving this stage of the perfect human, a servant stripes his allegorical being (**al-maujūd al-majāzī**) and gets into his real nothingness. His nothingness is taken by God as a mirror (**mir'a**) from Himself. God further reveals Himself (**tajalli**) to that servant. In other words, the servant who has been so absorbed (**fanā**) into the existence of God will be able to identify or recognize the secrets of his Lord. Furthermore, he sees through His sight, hears with His Hearing, reaches with His hand, walks with His legs, talks with His Word and thinks with His mind.\(^{29}\)

Sheikh Yūsuf tried hard not to catch up in the long and heated controversy regarding the concept of Unity of Being between the servant and the Lord by saying that although the servant is able to enter the existence of God, however he remains human, while God remains God.\(^{30}\)

Like most other ّشُفّي, Sheikh Yūsuf obviously is a ّشُفّي who clings to the positive view of mankind as a whole. In his opinion, every person has the innate tendency to believe in God, and those closest to him are the ones who can maintain the tendency in the right way.\(^{31}\) Therefore, he urged the faithful not to criticize or look down on those who do not believe in God and the people who live a sinful life, the believers must have a good suspicion (**ḥusnu al-zann**) of all people including people who are not believers. Citing Abū Madyan al-Tilimsānī, he reminds them that the flaws of unbelievers may be better than the pitfalls of the faithful.\(^{32}\) With such a view is not surprising that none of the works of Sheikh Yūsuf-depreciating the Dutch, who bring a lot of misery upon his life, and because he accepts the fate that has been destined to him by God, then he enjoyed his life until his death in South Africa’s Cape of Hope, far from his homeland. May God always shine on his tomb and his descendants’ grandchildren, amen.

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28. Naskah Arab MSKBG 101, p. 80-81
30. Naskah Arab MSKBG 101, p. 80-81
31. Al-Maqassary, Sirr al-Asrār, 95/Or 7025 [3], p. 95
32. Al-Maqassary, Al-Naftah al-Saylānīyyah, p. 12
In accordance with the level of their trust in God, Sheikh Yusuf classifies the faithful into the four categories. The first, the people who just say the statement of faith (shahāda) without true faith, are called hypocrites (al-munāfiq). The second category is those who not only say the shahādah, but also plant it into their souls; this group is called the common faithful (al-mu’min al-awwām). The third category is the class of believers who truly realize the inward and the outward implications of the statement of faith in their lives: they are called special or elite groups (ahl al-khawās). The final class is the highest category of the faithful, who rise above the third class by intensifying their shahādah, especially by practicing taṣawwuf in order to get closer to God. They are accordingly called the select of the elite or very special groups (Khāss al-Khawās).33

Taṣawwuf of Sheikh Yusuf is classified as a neo-ṣūfī.34 He calls taṣawwuf with the name al-Ṭariqat al-Muhammadiyah (the Way of Muhammad or Mohammadan path) which constitutes the right path "al-Ṣirāt al-Mustaqīm."35 Throughout his writing he makes it clear that the mystical way can only be trod through a total commitment both outwardly and inwardly to the legal doctrine of Islam. He maintains that committing oneself simply to the shari‘ah is better than practicing taṣawwuf while ignoring Islamic legal precepts.36 He even goes so far as to classify as zindiq (freethinkers) and mulḥid (heretics) those who believe that they will be able to get closer to God without practicing such rituals as prayer and fasting.37

Sheikh Yusuf is very enthusiastic in his efforts to reconcile the divine law aspects (shari‘ah) and divine reality (haqīqa) of Islam. In this regard, he repeatedly narrates statements of unnamed authorities who assert that those who keep only the shari‘ah without the haqīqa are fāsiq (sinful men), and those who practice taṣawwuf while ignoring shari‘ah are zindiq.38 He also quoted the words of Gnostic men (al-‘Arif bi Allāh) that: "All shari‘ah (divine law) without haqīqa (divine reality) is vanity and all haqīqa (divine reality) without shari‘ah (divine law) is ‘ātīl (imperfect). Then he stated that the best thing to do is to harmonize both; as in his statement, "Let it be known, my follows, divine law or exoteric devotion without divine or esoteric reality is like a body without a soul or a spirit (rūḥ), whereas divine reality or esoteric occupation without divine law or exoteric devotion is like a spirit without a body."39 Finally, he cites the ḥadīth of the Prophet who said the Prophet was sent by God in order to bring shari‘ah and haqīqa as well.40 Thus, Sheikh Yusuf insisted that everyone who wants to take the path of God or enter the tarīqah has to practice previously all the teachings of the shari‘ah.41

34 See Azra, Azyumardi, Jaringan Ulama ...., p. 294
35 Al-Maqassary, Al-Fawāiḥ al-Yāsufiyah, p. 83; Qurrat al-‘Ayn, p. 52; Sīrr al-Asrār, p. 94/Or 7025 [3]: 89
36 Al-Maqassary, Zubdat al-Asrār, p.37
37 Al-Maqassary, Zubdat al-Asrār, p. 42
38 Al-Maqassary, Al-Fawāiḥ al-Yāsufiyah, p. 82, Al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyyah, p. 4. Taj al-Asrār, p. 73-74, Zubdat al-Asrār; dalam Lubis p. 32
39 See, Al-Maqassary, Al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyyah, p. 4; Taj al-Asrār, p. 74
40 Al-Maqassary, Sīrr al-Asrār, p. 94/Or 7025 [3], p. 89
41 Al-Maqassary, Muṭālīḥ al-Sālikīn, p. 9.
Furthermore, Sheikh Yūsuf argued for a list of ways to approach God. First by means akhyār (best people), that is by performing a lot of worship of prayers, fasting, reading the Qur’an and the hadīth of the Prophet—may Allah bless and grant him peace, struggled in the way of Allāh (al-jihād fī sabīl Allāh), and other exoteric devotion. The second way is the way of the people mujāhidāt al-ṣhaqā’ (those who struggle against adversity or hardship) by way of rigorous training to break away from bad habits and purify the mind and soul. The last is the way of people of dhikr (ahl al-dhikr), that is, people who love God, both outwardly and inwardly; they take very special care of the two kinds of devotion.\(^{42}\)

However, Sheikh Yūsuf prevents the traveler on God’s path (sālik) from treading his own way in searching for the truth; this would only be misleading because the devil or Satan will be his master or teacher. Therefore, he should look for a trusted and experienced sūfī sheikh or sūfī master, even if he, as a consequence, must travel to distant places, leaving family and homeland. But there is no other way; only with the guidance of a trusted sūfī master (sheikh) will he be able to get closer to God; because the master or sheikh will show him the right and the surest way to achieve spiritual progress.\(^{43}\) Moreover, the sūfī sheikh is a successor of the Prophet: he is his representative, both outwardly and inwardly.\(^{44}\)

Sheikh Yūsuf differentiates himself from most other prominent scholars by having a high position as well as awards granted to him. Unlike Ahmad Al-Qushashi who encourages a sālik to leave his master if the master disobeys sharī’ah, Sheikh Yūsuf adheres to earlier notion of the position of the sūfī of his students or disciples. Thus, for Sheikh Yūsuf, once a sālik pledges his allegiance (bay’ā) to a certain ā master, he must totally obey him even if the Sheikh does something which does not necessarily lead to a closer communion with God or does something contrary to the teachings of the sharī’ah. The reason is that the sheikh is not infallible and evens some of the Prophets made mistakes.\(^{45}\) However if the sheikh makes mistakes by transgressing rules of the sharī’ah, Sheikh Yūsuf reminds the student to keep up his good deeds and not follow his master’s transgression.\(^{46}\)

Sheikh Yūsuf also discussed at length several special worship and steps toward spiritual progress which should be undertaken by the travelers in God’s fate. He put special emphasis on the dhikr. His dhikr was primarily the vocal dhikr (jahr) such as Lā ilāha illā Allāh, Allāh-Allāh and Huwa-Huwa, as taught by both ‘Ibrahim al-Kurānī and Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Naqṣabandī.\(^{47}\) In

\(^{42}\) Al-Maqassary, Al-Na‘fūṭ al-Saylániyyah, p. 23-24
\(^{43}\) Al-Maqassary, Al-Na‘fūṭ al-Saylániyyah, p. 2
\(^{44}\) Al-Maqassary, Al-Na‘fūṭ al-Saylániyyah, p. 24-25
\(^{46}\) See, al-Maqassary, Ḥabl al-Warīd Li Sa‘ādat al-Murīd in Tudjimah, Syekh Yusuf ..., p. 114
\(^{47}\) For a more detailed explanation of worship relating to dhikr, see al-Maqassary, Fath Kaffiyat al-Dhikr, Naskah Arab MSKBG 101, p. 78-80 Compare al-Maqassary, in Qurrat al-Ayn, p.2 with Sahib Sultan, Syekh Yusuf Tuanta Salamaka, Ulama Sufi, Pejuang Abad ke 17 dan Pahlawan Nasional Dua Negara. Ed. Muhammad Amin Sahib, (Makassar, YAPMA: 2006), h. 82
accordance with the concept of purification of faith, according to Sheikh Yūsuf, the essence of dhikr is full recognition to the Oneness of God. At the preparatory level (al-mubtadi') for awwām people, people who do dhikr in his faith affirms that no one should be worshipped but Allāh as the meaning of dhikr الله لا اس الله also called dhikr of the tongue. At the next level (al-mutawassith) among ahl al-khawās (special people), he recognizes that he seeks and loves nothing but Allāh, and that is what intendent by dhikr - or also called liver or heart dhikr. At the last level (al-muntahī) for the ahl al-Nihaya among ahl akhās al-khawās (very special people), he fully believes that no other beings except God are what is intendent by the dhikr هو هو or secret dhikr.

B. Sheikh Yūsuf’s Reform Ideas in the Spread of Islam in Gowa-Makassar

In the early of the seventeenth century, Gowa and Tallo Kingdom had become an Islamic Kingdom, and of course the Muslim population had been increased day by day, but they still had bad habits, customs and traditions such as they still liked to give services to some idol places, did gambling, drank ‘tuak’/wine/alcoholic drinking and did cock fighting. Those became their habits although they had converted into Islam.

Here, the role of Muḥammad Yūsuf as a candidate ā from Gowa-Makassar to give spiritual enlightenment begins from the King of Gowa himself and then spreads to his society. Then after he became a great ā, he then tried to make a reform by instilling his teaching through some of his disciples to purify the believes or aqidah of Muslim in Gowa-Makassar, South Sulawesi. In this case, he tried to purify the Islamic pratice in the middle of his community by trying to reconcile sharī‘ah and haqīqah.48

As far as I am concerned that in the seventeenth century, some Muslims in Gowa-Makassar still worshipped or provided services toward idol places such as anjak, sau kang, pantasak and sallerang.49 Whatever the names of the places were, those remained idol places which are forbidden to be worshipped or given services when one had converted to Islam. In addition to it, the society of Gowa-Makassar still liked to drink alcoholic beverages or tuak, and did gambling and cockfighting in the crowded place especially among the Bajeng people. Nevertheless, those the act sins can be a big danger to his birth land; according to him that the collapse of an empire due to the weakness of the faith of the people, and so did the Islamic law or sharī‘ah become weak by the weakening of the empire and the destruction of the rule of power. The robust of an empire ensure the enforcement of sharī‘ah and the rules of Islam. Therefore, the ruler who

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48 Compare with Muzdalifah Sahib, Sheikh Yusuf al-Maqassary, His Religious....., p. 25
49 Anjak (small beds which are put in the upstairs of the house that are considered as the resting place of their ancestor’s soul, who can help or disturb if he was not worshipped or given ritual offerings.). Saukang (the houses which are built in the middle of the jungle or at the edge of the village, near to the big trees, as a place for giving ritual offerings to their ancestor). Pantasak and sallerang (both of them are the same place of sacrifices with anjak. They are only different in forms, Pantasak forms as small houses and sallerang forms as a quadrangle net that was made of yellow bamboo). (Lihat, Sahib Sultan Penilaian dan Penghargaan Masyarakat Gowa terhadap Sheikh Yūsuf. Sebuah Skripsi, (Ujungpandang, IAIN Alauddīn: 1982).
enforces religious doctrine can ensure the implementation of *shari‘ah*\(^{50}\)

No matter how delicious alcoholic beverages maybe to drink, it is nevertheless forbidden because the effect is very bad for humans. Especially when someone is in a drunken state, he can do the worst things in his life, which will bring remorse. Although the drink is said to be able to strengthen an army for battle, in the end the drink itself that would defeat the army and cause him to collapse. In other words its harm is much greater than its benefit.

As for gambling and cockfighting, both are forbidden for a Muslim, because in the end, both will bring harm. Loss of time and loss of materials can even bring disaster such as the great fights and quarrels, ultimately debts happened and piled up between the two parties, both winners and losers, because the actual benefit is for the bookie of gambling or cockfighting himself and not for the participants of gambling/cockfighting. Each time the participant of gambling/cockfighting win, he still want to try it over and over until he lose everything, even losing his own life without realizing it.

Seeing everything that was bad rampant among Muslims in Gowa, Muḥammad Yūsuf as a candidate *ṣūfī* at the time then felt sad and very disappointed when the King of Gowa did not crack down on his people, including the royal family of Gowa, until the sparked of words out of the mouth of Muḥammad Yūsuf that "Gowa will be destroyed like the destruction of lime in a betel pot,” which ultimately makes the King afraid off and conscious his mistakes but he still not had brevity to do something for changing the condition of his people. Then he left Gowa in 1644 for wandering in search Islamic knowledge began from Banten, Aceh, India till to the Middle East and returned to his country in the early of 1668 with his students ‘Abd al-.Busūr al-Ḍarīr.

When Shaykh Yūsuf returned to his country, he still heard about the bad rampant in the middle of Muslims communities in Gowa-Macassar, and then he gave his disciples a mandate to assist the King of Gowa in combating the acts of sins and especially to his student ‘Abd al-Busūr al-Ḍarīr to spread his *Khalwatiyyah* or *Yūsufiyyah ṭarīqah* in South Sulawesi.

Therefore, at the time in the seventeenth century, on the name of Shaykh Yūsuf, his students I Kare Nyampa and I Daeng Mallongang had succeeded in conducting a mop-up operation to all places of idols, wine (alcoholic) drinking, except sweet wine or ‘*tuak manis*’ (sweet wine or non-alcoholic beverages), gambling or cockfighting over permits of the King of Gowa. Because the King aware of what Shaykh Yūsuf said several years ago for what will be happened on his kingdom, if all of them cannot be released.

Sheikh Yūsuf as a great *ṣūfī* who has a great charisma, for simply his preaching from far, can influence the King of Gowa to do something that is good for his people, and by his charismatic preaching he can cause Muslims in Gowa to be better at the time, where he had changed the habits and cultural roots of Gowa society to be better than ever before.

\(^{50}\) Compare with al-Maqqassary, in *Qurrat al-‘Āyn*, p. 2 and Sahib Sultan, *Sheikh Yūsuf Tuanta Salāmaka the Ṣūfī Islamic Scholar, the Warrior of the Seventeenth Century and the National Hero of Two Countries*, Translated and Edited by Muzdalifah Sahib (Makassar, YAPMA: 2006), p. 82

\(^{51}\) Compare with Muzdalifah Sahib, *Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqqassarī His life Story.....*, p. 50-51
Furthermore, his spiritual enlightenment completed by the spreading of his Ṭařīqah Khalwatiyyah (Khalwatiyyah Ṣūfī Path) in South Sulawesi by his Ṣūfī student 'Abd al-BAṣir al-RAffānī, a blind Ṣūfī, but his Ṣūfī knowledge was very high and then developed by one of his offspring Muḥammad Sulṭān Baitullāh with Yūsufiyyah Ṣūfī Path in Macassar and surrounding areas (died 1648).52

Even though Sheikh Yūsuf ’s treatises may be limited to mysticism, this does not hide his main concern, namely the renewal of confidence and practice of Islam in the archipelago and in South Africa through the teaching of āsm which is more oriented to the sharī‘ah (divine law) which he tried hard to reconcile between sharī‘ah (divine law) and ḥaqīqah (divine reality). He quoted the words of Gnostic men (al-Arīf billah) that: "All sharī‘ah (divine law) without ḥaqīqah (divine reality) is vanity, and all ḥaqīqah (divine reality) without sharī‘ah (divine law) is ‘atil (imperfect). He also states the words of the Messenger of Allāh that: “Whoever doing fiqh (sharī‘ah ) but has no mysticism, he is fasiq (a sinful man); and whoever has mysticism but no fiqh (sharī‘ah), he is zindiq. Who collect both (fiqh and mysticism), so he gets ḥaqīqah .53 The words of Prophet: “Truly, I am delegated with sharī‘ah (divine law) and ḥaqīqah (divine reality), while all Prophets are only delegated with sharī‘ah (divine law).54 and others.

Therefore, his main priority in reforming his mystic teaching for the Muslim believers especially in Gowa-Macassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia is by way of implementing a teaching of āsm which is more oriented to the sharī‘ah , where he tried hard to reconcile sharī‘ah and ḥaqīqah . Among the various kinds of thariqahs affiliated with him, Ṭařīqat al-Khalwatiyyah is the famous one, later popular with Khalwatiyyah Yūsufiyyah which finds fertile land especially in South Sulawesi which was spread out by one of his students, Abd. Bashir al- Raffānī and then by one of his offspring Sheikh Muhammad Sulṭān Baitullah (died 1948) and then by his son Sahib Sultān until now. So, if the people of South Sulawesi, and also of Banten West Java, have been known generally the fervent Muslims in the archipelago, one can hardly underestimate the role of Sheikh Yūsuf in developing that identity. He must even be given an appreciation as high as possible.

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion above, some conclusions can be made as follows:

Sheikh Yūsuf was not only a brave man in fighting against the colonizer as a defender of human rights, but also in wandering to seek and deepen his Islamic knowledge from Aceh, India to the middle East and then became a great ā who taught Islamic mysticism starting from Mecca in 1662 till the rest of his life in Cape town 1699, and he is considered even as a National Hero of two countries, Indonesia and South Africa and as a reformer in the Islamic mystic world or a neo Ṣūfīsm.

The main concept of religious and mystic Sheikh Yūsuf is the purification of

53 Nabilah Lubis, Syekh Yūsuf al-Ṭaj …., p. 32
54 Nabilah Lubis, Syekh Yūsuf al-Ṭaj …., p. 93
belief (‘aqidah) in the Oneness of Allāh or in the Unity of God (tawḥīd). This is his attempt to explain God’s transcendence (Ilāh) over His creation. Citing al-Ikhlas verse (QS. 112:1-4) and another verse of Al-Qur’an in al-Shura’ verse which states that nothing is comparable unto Him (QS. 42: 11), Sheikh Yūsuf emphasized that the Oneness of Allāh is unlimited and absolute. Tawḥīd is the essential component in Islam; a man who does not have tawḥīd is an infidel. More deeply, he illustrates pure tawḥīd or the immaculate tawḥīd as a tree with its branch and its leaves; ma’rīfah knowledge is like its branch and its leaves; while prayer is like its fruit. Furthermore he said that if you got the tree, you will get its branches and leaves, and if you got them, even you look for fruit of the tree. If you do not get its branches and leaves, it is impossible to get its fruit. This is a ‘majazi’ or a metaphor sample that we said, in order that you can understand real nature (actually). A man who does not know ma’rīfah knowledge is stupid (jāhil) and a man who does not practice ‘ibādah or prayer is a sinful man (fāsiq). Therefore, tawḥīd without ma’rīfah is like a tree without branches and leaves, and it is impossible to get its fruit, except if the branches and leaves of the tree grew up again, then its fruit can be hoped. In other words, only a man, who has tawḥīd with ma’rīfah, could perform devotional service well to God. This teaching was used as the basic reform ideas in the spread of Islam in Gowa-Macassar, South Sulawesi and then brought a big changing to the cultural of his society and then made Muslim in Gowa-Makassar to be a more fervent Muslim.

Therefore, one of the reform movements in his homeland was that he tried to pull out and then to release the people of Gowa-Makassar from the bad habits such as activities in serving idols / idols places, alcoholic beverages, cockfighting and gambling in crowded places. Because those can be a great danger to his native land; he said that the collapse of an empire because of the weakness of the faith of its people. On the other hand, the strength of an empire can ensure the enforcement of sharī‘ah. But it also depends on the leader. A good leader / ruler is one who able to enforce the Islamic law or sharī‘ah in the middle of his society. Thus the main priority in the renewal of his mystical teachings for Muslims believers especially in Gowa Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia is the purification of confidence by implementing ṣūfīsm which is more oriented to the sharī‘ah; where he tried hard to reconcile sharī‘ah and ḥaqīqah. Among the various types of Ṣūfī Paths affiliated with him, Ṭarīqah Khalwatiyyah as the famous one, which is later more popular with Khalwatiyyah Yūsufiyah that has found fertile land especially in South Sulawesi. Thus, his role in the spread of Islam in Gowa-Makassar that must obtain an appreciation as high as possible. May Allāh always illuminate his tomb until the end period, amen.

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