

AL-MAKASSARĪ'S (1626 – 1699) THOUGHT ON
AL-INSĀN AL-KĀMIL IN 17TH CENTURY

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To my parents

Ali and Salimah

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ABSTRACT

This study deals with the idea of *al-Insān al-Kāmil* (the Perfect Man) in the thought of Shaykh Yusuf al-Makassarī (1626 – 1699), a celebrated Muslim scholar in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago in the seventeenth century. There have been a number of studies devoted to al-Makassarī's life works, and thought; however, very little attention has been given to his thought on *al-Insān al-Kāmil* (the perfect man). Therefore, this study demonstrates the significance of the notion of the perfect man (*al-Insān al-Kāmil*) in al-Makassarī's thought. In this study, we explore al-Makassarī's works such as *Zubdah al-Asrār fī Tahqīq ba'd Mashārib al-Akhyār*, *Tāj al-Asrār fī Tahqīq Mashrab al-'Ārifīn*, *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* and other treatises written by him to present his understanding and his explanation on the perfect man (*al-Insān al-Kāmil*). This research utilizes the qualitative method of study which relies on textual analysis. Drawing mainly from al-Makassarī's selected works, it is found that Al-Makassarī - as a Ṣūfī Shaykh who was initiated into several Ṣūfī orders, such as *Khalwaṭīyah*, *Shatarīyah*, *Naqshabandīyah*, *Qadirīyah*, and *Bā 'Alawīyah* - followed the Ṣūfīs like Al-Junayd, Ibn 'Arabī, 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī and other Ṣūfīs before him in defining *al-Insān al-Kāmil* (the Perfect Man). *Al-Insān al-Kāmil* is a man who has entered fully the stage of annihilation in God (*fanā' fī Allah*) and gained subsistence with God (*baqā' bi Allah*). He is a saint (*al-walī*), a gnostic (*al-'ārif bi Allah*), and a vicegerent (*khālīfah*) of God. In other word, the Perfect Men are the messengers of God, the Prophets, the saints, and the gnostics; and the most perfect among them is Prophet Muhammad.

ABSTRAK

Kajian ini berkaitan dengan konsep *al-Insān al-Kāmil* (insan sempurna) dalam pemikiran Syeikh Yusuf al-Makassarī (1626M - 1699M), seorang ulama Islam terkemuka di Kepulauan Melayu-Indonesia pada kurun ketujuh belas. Terdapat beberapa kajian ditumpukan kepada kehidupan, karya dan pemikiran al-Makassarī, namun sangat sedikit perhatian yang telah diberikan kepada pemikiran beliau mengenai *al-Insan al-Kamil* (insan sempurna). Oleh itu, dalam kajian ini, kami ingin menunjukkan kepentingan konsep insan sempurna (*al-Insan al-Kamil*) dalam pemikiran al-Makassarī. Dalam kajian ini, kami mengkaji beberapa karya al-Makassarī seperti *Zubdat al-Asrār Fī taḥqīq ba‘d Mashārib al-Akhyār*, *Tāj al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Mashrab al-‘Ārifīn*, *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* dan karya-karya beliau yang lainnya untuk mengemukakan kefahaman dan penjelasan beliau mengenai *al-Insan al-Kamil* (insan sempurna). Kajian ini menggunakan kaedah kualitatif yang bertumpu kepada analisis teks. Berdasarkan karya-karya terpilih al-Makassarī tersebut, didapati bahawa Al-Makassarī - sebagai Syaikh Sufi yang berhubung dengan beberapa tariqat, seperti *Khalwaṭīyah*, *Shatarīyah*, *Naqshabandīyah*, *Qadirīyah* dan *Bā‘Alawīyah* – mengikuti para sufi seperti al-Junayd, Ibn Arabi, ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī dan para ahli Sufi lain sebelum beliau dalam mendefinisikan *al-Insān al-kāmil* (insan sempurna). *Al-Insān al-kāmil* adalah ia yang telah sampai pada peringkat *fanā’* dalam Tuhan (*fana ‘fi Allah*) dan *baqā’* dengan-Nya (*baqā’ bihi*). Ia adalah seorang wali (*al-walī*), orang yang mengenal Allah (*al-‘ārif bi Allah*), dan seorang *khalifah* Allah. Dengan kata lain, mereka adalah para Rasul Allah, para Nabi, para *awliyā’*, dan *‘ārif*; dan yang paling sempurna di antara mereka adalah Nabi Muhammad.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Treatises of al-Makassarī:

Barakah	- Al-Barakah al-Sailānīyah
Fawāid	- Al-Fawāid Allatī mā lā Buddha Min Al-‘Aqā’id
Fawā’ih	- Al-Fawāih al- Yūsūfiyyah fī Bayāni Tahqīq al-Sūfiyyah
Ghāyat	- Risālah Ghāyat al-Ikhtiṣār wa Nihāyah al-Intizār
Kaifiyyāt	- Kaifiyyāt al-Nafy wa al-Itbāt bi al-Hadīth al-Qudsī.
Maṭālib	- Maṭālib al-Sālikin
Nafḥah	- Al-Nafḥah al-Sailānīyah
Tāj al-Asrār	- Tāj al- Asrār fī Tahqīq Mashrab al- ‘Ārifin
Tahṣīl al-Ināyah	- Tahṣīl Al-Ināyat wa al-Hidayāh
Zubdat	- Zubdat al-Asrār fī Tahqīq Baḍ Mashārib al-Akhyār

Other References:

Commentary	- A Commentary on the Hujjat al-Siddiq of Nur al-Din al-Raniri
Dakwah Syekh Yusuf	- Dakwah Sufisme Syekh Yusuf al-Makassary
Directions	- Directions for Travellers on the Mystic Path
Educational Philosophy	- The Educational Philosophy and Practice of Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas: An Exposition of the Original Concept of Islamization

- Emerald - Emerald Hills of the Heart: Key Concepts in the Practice of Sufism
- Ethical Philosophy - The Ethical Philosophy of al-Ghazzālī
- Fath al-Raḥmān - Fath al-Raḥmān bi Sharh Risālah al-Walī Raslān
- Fuṣūṣ - Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam
- Handlist - Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts
- Ibn ‘Arabī’s Theory - Ibn ‘Arabī’s Theory of the Perfect Man and its Place in the History of Islamic Thought
- Iḥyā’ - Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn
- Islamic Mysticism - Studies in Islamic Mysticism
- Islamization - Islamization of Contemporary Knowledge and the Role of the University in the Context of De-westernization and Decolonization
- Islamic Scientific Tradition - Islamic Scientific Tradition in History
- Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfīyah - Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Ṣūfīyah
- Ithāf al-Dhakī - Ithāf al-Dhakī; Tafsir Wahdatul Wujud bagi Muslim Nusantara
- Jejak Pemikiran Sufisme - Jejak Pemikiran Sufisme Indonesia: Konsep Wujud dalam Tasawuf Shekh Yusuf al-Makassari
- K I - Al-Insān al Kāmil fī Ma’rifat al-Awākhir wa al-Awā’il Vol. I
- K II - Al-Insān al Kāmil fī Ma’rifat al-Awākhir wa al-Awā’il Vol. II
- Khulāṣah al-Āthar - Khulāṣah al-Āthar fī A’yān al-Qarn al-Ḥādī ‘Ashr
- Kesusasteraan Klasik - Kesusasteraan Klasik Melayu Sepanjang Abad
- Kitab Kuning - Kitab Kuning, Pesantren and Tarekat, Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia
- Latā’if al-Asrār - Latā’if al-Asrār li Ahl Allah al-Atyār of Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī: An Annotated Trasliteration together with a Translation and Introduction of his Exposition on the Fundamental Aspects of Ṣūfī Doctrines

- The Life of al-Junayd - The Life, Personality and Writing of al-Junayd: A Study of Ninth Century Mystic with an Addition and Translation of his Writings.
- Lontaraq Gowa - Syekh Yusuf dalam Perspektif Lontaraq Gowa
- Maqṣad - Al-Maqṣad al-Asnā Sharḥ al-Asmā' Allah al-Ḥusnā
- Mysticism of Ḥamzah - The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri
- Mystical Philosophy - The Mystical Philosophy of Muḥyiddīn Ibnul Arabī
- The Origin - The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia, Networks of Malay Indonesian and Middle Eastern Ulama in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries
- The Ocean - The Ocean of Unity: *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* in Persian, Turkish and Malay poetry
- The Precious Pearl - The Precious Pearl; al-Jāmi's al-Durrah al-Fākhirah with the Commentary of 'Abd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī
- Pathway - Muhammed; the Pathway to the Garden based on Riwayas as Practiced by Sheikh Yusuf of Macassar
- Pemikiran Tasawuf - Pemikiran Tasawuf Syeikh Yusuf al-Taj
- Penyebaran Thariqat - Penyebaran Thariqat-Thariqat Shufiyah Mu'tabarah Dunia Melayu
- Peristiwa Bersejarah - Peristiwa Tahun-tahun Bersejarah Daerah Sulawesi Selatan Abad ke XIV s/d XIX
- Perbendaharaan Lama - Dari Perbendaharaan Lama
- Preliminary Statement - Preliminary Statement on General Theory of The Islamization On The Malay Indonesian Archipelago
- Prolegomena - Prolegomena to the Metaphysics of Islam: an exposition of the fundamental elements of the Worldview of Islam.
- Propagation - The Propagation of Islam in the Indonesian-Malay Archipelago

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
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| The Gift | - The Gift Addressed to The Spirit of The Prophet. |
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The idea of *al-Insān al-Kāmil* (The Perfect Man or The Universal Man) has been discussed broadly in Islamic thought by the Muslim scholars. In the language of philosophers and some of theologians, *al-Insān al-Kāmil* is the first intellect, the comprehensive word, and the divine mystery. In the language of Sūfīs, he is the guide, the one leading to trust, the perfect scholar, the perfecting one and the greatest cure.¹ *Al-Insān al-Kāmil* indicates simply the highest type of human being, personified in Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him!, whose moral standards and behavior correspond with the Qur'anic notion of perfection. This research studies the concept of *al-Insān al-Kāmil* in the thought of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Makassarī (1626-1699), a celebrated Muslim scholar in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago in the seventeenth century.

There are two reasons for undertaking this important study. First, al-Makassarī discussed the concept of *al-Insān al-Kāmil* in some of his treatises, and there have been a number of studies devoted to al-Makassarī's life, works and thought; however, only very little attention has been given to his thought on *al-Insān al-Kāmil*. Second, we endeavour to bring out the significance of the notion of *al-Insān al-Kāmil* in al-Makassarī's thought. Because the purpose of education in Islam is to form the Man of Adab and *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, according to al-Makassarī, is the

¹ M. Fethullah Gulen, *Emerald Hills of the Heart, Key Concepts in the Practice of Sufism*, Vol II, (New Jersey: Tughra Books, 2004), p. 289. Hereafter cited as Emerald.

model that should be followed by Muslims in all aspects of their lives, the study of the concept of *al-Insān al-Kāmil* in his thought becomes very important.

Based on the reasons mentioned above, the research explores three of Shaykh Yusuf al-Makassarī's works, namely: *Zubdat al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq ba'd Mashārib al-Akhyār* (The Essence of the Secrets in the Verification of the Goblets of the Excellent Ones),² *Tāj al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Mashrab al-Ārifīn* (The Secret Crown in the Verification of the Goblet of the Gnostics),³ and *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* (The Wish of the Traveler on the Path of God)⁴ to demonstrate his understanding and his explanation on matters related to the concept of *al-Insān al-Kāmil*. Other treatises written by al-Makassarī have been also referred to in this research.

1.2 The Objectives of the Study and Research Questions

The main objectives of this study are (1) to elucidate al-Makassarī's views on *al-Insān al-Kāmil*; and (2) to find out the Muslim scholars who exerted their views on al-Makassarī's thought, especially on *al-Insān al-Kāmil*. Therefore, this research attempt to investigate and answer two questions, namely (1) What are al-Makassarī's main views on *al-Insān al-Kāmil*?; (2) Who were the Muslim scholars who influenced his thought on Sufism, especially on *al-Insān al-Kāmil*?

1.3 Significance of the Study

This study is important because it investigates the Malay-Indonesian scholar's thought in seventeenth century and one of the great Sufi masters and disseminators of *Taṣawwuf*, especially the *Khalwatiyyah* Order in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, Sri Lanka and South Africa. It is also important, because it

² Al-Makassarī, "Zubdat al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq ba'd Mashārib al-Akhyār." *MS A101* (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia), p. 30-49.

³ Al-Makassarī, "Tāj al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Mashrab al-Ārifīn," *MS A101*, (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia), p.68-77.

⁴ Al-Makassarī, "Maṭālib al-Sālikīn," *MS A101*, (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia), p. 81-4.

can help the Muslims, especially Muslims in Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, to understand the concept of *al-Insān al-Kāmil* by referring to works and intellectual legacy written by their predecessors.

1.4 Scope of the Study

This study mainly investigates the idea of *al-Insān al-Kāmil* that has been presented and elaborated by al-Makassarī in some of his particular works on Sufism that are *Zubdat al-Asrār fī Tahqīq ba‘ḍ Mashārib al-Akhyār*, *Tāj al-Asrār fī Tahqīq Mashrab al-‘Ārifīn*, *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, and Others works will be referred in order to make the study more comprehensive.

1.5 Literature Review

The literature review was selected from relevant writing on accounts of al-Makassarī’s life and his thought that are related on the subject under discussion. There are a number of works discussing the life and thought of al-Makassarī. However, majority of the works written by the authors were described al-Makassarī’s thought in Sufism in general and they do not go deeply to analyze the view and the thought of al-Makassarī on *al-Insān al-Kāmil*; for that purpose this research will contribute to works analyzing his thought on *al-Insān al-Kāmil* to fill the gap.

The first study was book written by Suleman Essop Dangor, *Syaikh Yusuf*.⁵ In this book, the author concentrated on giving an account on al-Makassarī’s life and the role played by him during his life in Makassar, Haramayn, Banten Sultanate,

⁵ Suleman Essop Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf*, (Durban: Iqra’ Research Committee MSA of South Africa, 1982), hereafter cited as *Shaykh Yusuf*.

Ceylon (Sri Lanka), and South Africa. Another important work by the same author is the translation of *Sirr al-Asrar* (Secret of The Secrets).⁶

The second study was made by Tudjimah and is titled *Sheikh Yusuf Makasar, Riwayat dan Ajarannya* (Shaykh Yusuf of Makassar, His Life and His Teaching).⁷ Pertaining to al-Makassarī's teaching on Sufism, Tujimah has done a good work by translating al-Makassarī's treaties. This study gives a brief history of Sheikh Yusuf and contains translations of 21 of al-Makassarī's treaties in Indonesian.

The third study was done by Abu Hamid, *Syeikh Yusuf, Seorang Ulama, Sufi dan Pejuang*, (Shaikh Yusuf as a Muslim Scholar, a Sufi and a Hero).⁸ This study emphasizes an historical and anthropological perspective, and contains translations of Sheikh Yusuf's three works, namely: *al-Nafḥat al-Saylanīyah*, *Zubdat al-Asrār* and *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*. In addition, the author, in this book, gave a brief explanation about *al-Insān al-Kāmil*.⁹

The fourth study also was done by Nabilah Lubis, *Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia Karangan Syekh Yusuf al-Taj al-Makasari*.¹⁰ It was a philological study on *Zubdat al-Asrār*, one of al-Makassarī's treaties. This book contains the brief biography of al-Makassarī, explanations of his works, and the text of *Zubdat al-Asrār*, its explanation, note, translation in Indonesian. In addition, this book contains the transliteration of the translation of the manuscript in Javanese. The author, in this book, also gave a short explanation about *al-Insān al-Kāmil*.¹¹

The fifth study is contained in Azyumardi Azra's book, *The Origins of Islamic Reform in Southeast Asia, Networks of Malay Indonesian and Middle*

⁶ Suleman Essop Dangor, *Sirr al-Asrār*, (South Africa: Centre for Research in Islamic Studies, University of Durban Westville, 1995).

⁷ Tudjimah, *Sheikh Yusuf Makasar, Riwayat dan Ajarannya* (Jakarta: UI Press, 1997), hereafter cited as *Yusuf Makassar*.

⁸ Abu Hamid, *Syeikh Yusuf seorang Ulama, Sufi dan Pejuang*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1994), hereafter cited as *Sufi dan Pejuang*.

⁹ Ibid, pp. 198-204.

¹⁰ Nabilah Lubis, *Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia Karangan Syekh Yusuf al-Taj al-Makasari*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1996), hereafter cited as *Yusuf al-Tāj*.

¹¹ Nabilah Lubis, Ibid., p. 57.

Eastern Ulama in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.¹² A global network and contribution of al-Makassarī was clearly explained by Azumardi Azra in this book. The author showed evidence about the religious and intellectual connections between scholars in the Middle East and The Malay-Indonesian Archipelago during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At that time, some people from Malay-Indonesia Archipelago went to the Middle East, such as Mecca, Medina, Yemen, and several others regions in an effort to seek knowledge, and one of them was al-Makassarī.

The sixth study is a thesis done by Lukmanul Hakim Darusman, *Jihad in Two Faces of Shariah: Sufism and Islamic Jurisprudence (Fiqh) and The Revival of The Islamic Movement in The Malay World, Case Studies of Yusuf al-Maqassary and Dawud al-Fatani*.¹³ In this thesis, the author discussed the brief biography of al-Makassarī and his conception of *jihād*, *Sharī'ah*, and *Haqīqah*. In addition, the author discussed the influence of al-Makassarī in the development of Islam in various areas, including South Sulawesi, Java, Banten, as well as Cave Town.

The seventh study is done by Syamsul Bahri Andi Galigo, *Pemikiran Tasawuf Syeikh Abu Mahasin Yusuf al-Taj*.¹⁴ In this book, the author discusses the life of al-Makassarī, from Makassar to South Africa, his thought on *Taşawwuf*, and the *Khalwatiyyah* order in South Sulawesi. And also, this book contains the translation of *al-Nafḥah al-Saylanīyah*, one of al-Makassarī's treatises.

The eighth works is done by Aksin Wijaya and Abu Bakar Yamani, *Jejak Pemikiran Sufisme Indonesia; Konsep Wujud dalam Tasawuf Shekh Yusuf al-Makassari*.¹⁵ It gives an account of al-Makassarī's life and social background. The

¹² Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformis in Southeast Asia, Networks of Malay Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulamā in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century*, (Australia and Honolulu: Asian Studies Association of Australian: Allen and Unwin and University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 2004), hereafter cited as *The Origin*.

¹³ Lukmanul Hakim Darusman, *Jihād in Two Faces of Sharī'ah: Sufism and Islamic Jurisprudence (Fiqh) and The Revival of The Islamic Movement in The Malay World, Case Studies of Yusuf al-Maqassary and Dawud al-Fatani*, (Canberra: The Australian National University Canberra, 2008).

¹⁴ Syamsul Bahri Andi Galigo, *Pemikiran Tasawuf Syeikh Abu Mahasin al-Taj*, (Kuala Lumpur: Unit Penerbitan KUIM, 2004).

¹⁵ Aksin Wijaya and Abu Bakar Yamani, *Jejak Pemikiran Sufisme Indonesia: Konsep Wujud dalam Tasawuf Shekh Yusuf al-Makassari*. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Ilmu, 2012), hereafter cited as *Jejak Pemikiran Tasawuf*.

authors also, analyzed al-Makassarī's thought, especially his conception of *Wujūd* based on two of his treatises, *Tuhfat al-Abrār* and *Tāj al-Asrār*.

These are some of the literatures that are relevant to this study. It is important to note that in the light of all previous studies reviewed, to the best of my knowledge, no research or study has been done and devoted specially to al-Makassarī's thought on *al-Insān al-Kāmil*. This makes this research a very important contribution to the field of academic.

1.6 Methodology

This research utilizes the qualitative method of study which relies on textual analysis. Since it is based on library research, materials are derived from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources are the three treatises written by al-Makassarī, namely: *Zubdat al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq ba'd Mashārib al-Akhyār* (The Essence of the Secrets in the Verification of the Goblets of the Excellent Ones),¹⁶ *Tāj al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Mashrab al- 'Ārifīn* (The Secret Crown in the Verification of the Goblet of the Gnostics),¹⁷ and *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* (The Wish of the Traveler on the Path of God)¹⁸; and other treatises written by himself, such as *al-Nafḥah al-Saylānīyah*,¹⁹ and *Shurūt al- 'Ārif al-Muḥaqqiq*,²⁰ *Ghāyat*,²¹ *Taḥṣīl al- 'Ināyah wa al-*

¹⁶ Al-Makassarī, "Zubdat al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq ba'd Mashārib al-Akhyār." *MS A101* (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia), p. 30-49. The study on this treatise is done by Nabilah Lubis, entitled *Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia Karangannya Syekh Yusuf al-Taj al-Makassarī* (1996). This treatise is mentioned by Voorhoeve as the work of al-Makassarī. Or. 7025 (2). Microfilm copy from MS. KGB 101 Arab. F. Or. A 13d (2). There is also a shorter version with interlinear translation in Javanese. In this version, the author's name is not mentioned. P. Voorhoeve. *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts*, (The Hague/Boston/London: Leiden University Press, 1980), p. 408. Hereafter cited as *Handlist*.

¹⁷ Al-Makassarī, "Tāj al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Mashrab al- 'Ārifīn," *MS A101*, (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia), p.68-77. Hereafter cited as *Tāj al-Asrār*. This treatise was translated in Indonesian by Aksin Wijaya and Abu Bakar Yamani in *Jejak Pemikiran Sufisme*, p. 115 – 123. This treatise also mentioned by Voorhoeve as the work of Yūsuf al-Tāj. Microfilm copy of MS. KGB 101 Arab, p. 30-49. Or. A 13d (5). Voorhoeve. *Handlist*, p. 354

¹⁸ Al-Makassarī, "Maṭālib al-Sālikīn," *MS A101*, (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia), p. 81-4. Hereafter cited as *Maṭālib*. This treatise mentioned by Voorhoeve in his *Handlist*. Microfilm copy of MS. KGB 101 Arab, p. 8-89. Or. A 13d (7) and MS. KGB 108, Or. A 13b (3). Voorhoeve. *Handlist*, p. 203

¹⁹ Al-Makassarī, "Al-Nafḥah al-Saylānīyah fī al-Minḥat al-Raḥmānīyah," *MS A 101* (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia), p. 25. Hereafter cited as *al-Nafḥah al-Saylānīyah*. This treatise mentioned by Voorhoeve in His *Handlist*. Microfilm copy of MS. KGB 101 Arab, p.

Hidāyah.²² All of these treatises are in MS A101 and A108 that we obtained from Perpustakaan Nasional Jakarta. The secondary sources include various works of early and contemporary scholars which discussed on *al-Insān al-Kāmil*. We also compare the writings of the early and contemporary scholars to highlight the similarities and differences between them. In addition, we translate some part of the treatises that need to be quoted in this thesis.

1.7 Organization of the Study

The study is divided into five chapters. The first chapter is the Introduction. It presents some background information and an account of the career of al-Makassarī which the historical background is examined in order to clarify the intellectual manner and significance of his thought within Islamic discourse. The second chapter introduces some Ṣūfī scholars's thought on *al-Insān al-Kāmil*. The third chapter discusses some main concepts in al-Makassarī's treatises. Al-Makassarī's thought on

1-29. Or. A 13d (1). Voorhoeve, *Handlist*, p. 246. A study on this manuscript done by Syamsul bahri Andi Galigo entitled, *Pemikiran Tasawuf Syekh Abu Mahasin Yusuf al-Taj* (2004) and *Jalan Menuju Allah: Bingkisan Syekh Yusuf al-Taj al-Khalwaty di Ceylon* (2012). Hereafter cited as Al-Nafḥah al-Saylānīyah.

²⁰ Al-Makassarī, “Shurūṭ al-‘Ārif al-Muḥaqqiq,” *MS A 101* (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia), p. 64. This treatise is written to answer the question of ‘Abd Jalīl, a student of ‘Abd Muḥyī (1650-1730) on the meaning of the ḥadīth “*Qalb al-mu'min 'arsh Allah*” and “*Man 'arafa nafsahu fa qad 'arafa rabbahu*”. ‘Abd Muḥyī who is known as Haji Karang was a student of ‘Abd Rauf al-Sinkilī. The Author's name is not mentioned; however Abu Hamid included it as a works of al-Makassarī. Abu Hamid, *Sufi dan Pejuang*, p. 145. There is also an undergraduate thesis on this treatise by Subhan Hariadi Putra, entitled *Syurūt al-Ārif al-Muhaqqiq Karya Syekh Yusuf al-Makassari; Suntingan Naskah dan Analisis Isi*. Subhan Hariadi Putra, *Syurūt al-Ārif al-Muhaqqiq Karya Syekh Yusuf al-Makassari; Suntingan Naskah dan Analisis Isi*,” (Depok: Universitas Indonesia, 2009). Hereafter cited as Shurūt.

²¹ Al-Makassarī, “Risālah Ghāyat al-Ikhtiṣār wa Nihāyah al-Intizār,” *MS A108* (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia), p.118-124. This treatise is on the permanent archetypes (*al-a'yān al-thābitah*). The author's name in this treatise is not mentioned. It was written in the Ceylon based on the request of some friends, students, and pilgrims. Based on the place this treatise was written and its way of writing, Tujimah assumes that it was written by al-Makassarī. Tujimah, *Yusuf Makassar*, p. 99. Nabilah also included it as the work of al-Makassarī. Nabilah, *Yusuf al-Tāj*, p. 39. Hereafter cited as Ghāyat.

²² Al-Makassarī, “Taḥsīl al-Ināyah wa al-Hidāyah,” *MS A108* (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia), p. 112-7. The name of the author in this manuscript is not written, however Tujimah, Abu Hamid, and Nabilah included it as his works. Tujimah, *Yusuf Makassar*, p. 93; Abu Hamid, *Sufi dan Pejuang*, p. 146; Nabilah, *Yusuf al-Tāj*, p. 30. This treatise is mentioned by Voorhoeve. Or. A13b (8). Microfilm copy of MS. KBG 108 Arab. Voorhoeve. *Handlist*, p. 358. Hereafter cited as Taḥsīl.

the concept *al-Insān al-Kāmil* is discussed in the fourth chapter. Finally, the last chapter comes with the concluding results of this study.

1.8 An Account on al-Makassarī's Life

1.8.1 Islam in Makassar

Islam made its entry in South Sulawesi without violence. It was brought there at the beginning of the 17th century by the three preachers known as *Dato' Tellua* (the three Dato'). They are 'Abd al-Ma'mūr (Dato' ri Bandang or Khatib Tunggal), Sulayman (Dato' ri Pa'timang or Khatib Sulung), and 'Abd al-Jawād (Dato' ri Tiro or Khatib Bungsu). Originally, they are from Kota Tengah in Minangkabau, Sumatera.²³ These three Dato' went first to Luwu and converted the ruler of Luwu, Pattiwere Daeng Parabung, on 15th or 16th of Ramaḍān 1013 H (4 or 5 February 1605 M), and named as Sulṭān Muhammad.²⁴ They then went to the twin kingdom Gowa and Tallo, known as Makassar, which was the most powerful kingdom in South Sulawesi. Due to their teaching, Karaeng Matoaya (the Old Prince) I Mallingkaang Daeng Manyonri Karaeng Katangka, the King of Tallo and *Pabiccara Butta* (the speaker of the Land) of Gowa, with several member of his family, converted to Islam. They uttered the *shahādah* on 9 Jumadā al-Awwāl (22 September 1605 M).²⁵ After his conversion, Karaeng Mattoaya was known as Sultan 'Abdullah ('Abdullah Awwal al-Islām). Under his influence, the young king of Gowa, I Manga'rangi Daeng Manrabbia, who was his nephew and pupil, became a Muslim.²⁶ Nineteen months later, on Friday, 19 Rajab 1016 H (9 November 1607 M), the first Jum'at prayer was held at the newly-build Tallo Masjid.²⁷ Since that time Gowa and Tallo, had officially become a Muslim kingdom.²⁸

²³ Sagimun, *Sultan Hasanuddin*, p. 30; Cristian Perlas, "Religion, Tradition, and the Dynamics of Islamization in South Sulawesi" in *The Propagation of Islam in the Indonesian-Malay Archipelago*, Ed. Alijah Gordon (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Sociological Institute, 2001), p. 212. Hereafter cited as *Religion*.

²⁴ Perlas, *Religion*, p. 212

²⁵ Sagimun, *Sultan Hasanuddin*, p. 30; Abu Hamid, *Sufi dan Pejuang*, p. 58; 73;

²⁶ Religion, p. 212; Abu Hamid, *Sufi dan Pejuang*, p. 10

²⁷ Sagimun, *Sultan Hasanuddin*, p. 30; Perlas, *Religion*, p. 213

²⁸ Perlas, *Religion*, p. 213

The next step of Sultan 'Abdullah (Karaeng Matoa) was to invite the other South Sulawesi rulers to convert to Islam. When they refused, he waged several wars to force them to embrace Islam. These wars are known in Buginese as *musu' selling* (the Islamic Wars). As a result, some small kingdoms in South Sulawesi, such as Bone (1606), Soppeng (1609), Wajo (1610), and also in other Islands, such as Bima (in three campaigns: 1616, 1618, 1626), Sumbawa (in two expeditions: 1618 and 1626), Dompu (in the Island of Sumbawa, 1626) and Tambora (1626), were Islamized. Buton that was already Muslim was conquered in 1626. The man who achieved all of this was a wise ruler, a smart merchant, and a great warrior who was known, after his death, as *Tumenanga ri Agamanna* (the departed in the faith).²⁹ It was not only Buton, but also almost all of Sulawesi, the Sula Island and the east coast of Borneo were conquered by him.³⁰

It is important to note that, even though officially, the Makassarese and the Buginese converted to Islam in the beginning of 17th century, but Islam had, in fact, been introduced to South Sulawesi long before that. There is some information about the coming of Islam in South Sulawesi. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn, known as Shaykh Mawlānā Jumadil Kubra, for example, left Kelantan in 1448 and; after stayed for four years in Java, he went to Wajo, where he died in 1453 M.³¹ Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn, according to al-Attas, was the ancestor of the great missionaries of Sumatera, Java, Sulu and Mindanao.³² The Malay traders first arrived and settled in Siang (this area now is known Pangkajene) in 15th century. When the Portuguese arrived in Siang in 1542 M, they were told that the Malay Muslim traders from Patani, Pahang and Ujung Tanah living there had been established in Siang for about sixty years (about 1480).³³ In the reign of Tunipallangga (about 1546-65 M), a group of Muslim, Patani, Champa, Pahang, Minangkabau, and Johor, came and settled in Makassar. The head of this group was known as Nahkoda Bonang. The king of Gowa gave them a number of privileges.³⁴ Later on, his successor, I Manngorai Daeng Mammata Karaeng Bontolangkasa' or Tunijallo (about 1565-90 M) build a

²⁹ R.A. Kern, *The Propagation of Islam in the Indonesian-Malay Archipelago*, Ed. Alijah Gordon (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Sociological Institute, 2001), p. 78. Hereafter cited as *Propagation*.

³⁰ Kern, *Propagation*, p. 79.

³¹ Perlas, "Religion" in *Propagation*, p. 214

³² Al-Attas, *Historical Fact and Fiction* (Kuala Lumpur: UTM Press, 2011), p. 90, hereafter cited as *Historical Fact*.

³³ Perlas, "Religion" in *Propagation*, p. 214

³⁴ Sagimun, *Sultan Hasanuddin*, p. 81-2; Perlas, "Religion" in *Propagation*, p. 213

Masjid for the Muslim community in Makassar.³⁵ He also established relationship to some kingdoms, such as Mataram (Java), Johor, Pahang, Blambangan, and well as Maluku.³⁶ Around 1580 M, Sultan Bāb Allah, the sultan of Ternate, paid a visit to Tunijallo in Gowa.³⁷

It is important to note that the head of the Muslim community in Makassar who came in time of Tunipallangga was known as Nahkoda Bonang. It is likely that he was familiar with the teaching of Ibrahim or Sunan Bonang, a son of Aḥmad Raḥmat Allah or Sunan Ampel which both were the walīs of Java, for Bonang was one of the central of Islamic education in Java at that time. Sunan Bonang was a great grandson of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn, known as Shaykh Mawlānā Jumadil Kubra, who passed away in Wajo.³⁸ In his teachings, Sunan Bonang referred to the works of the prominent Sūfī scholars, such as Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (Qūt al-Qulūb), al-Ghazzālī (Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn), and Abū Shakūr al-Sālīmī (Tamḥīd fī Bayān al-Tawḥīd). He is also, according to al-Attas, familiar with the works of Ibn ‘Arabī, Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, Dāwūd al-Antakī, Ibrāhīm al-‘Iraqī, and ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī.³⁹

Around 1560 M, Raja ‘Abd al-Jalī Putra, a son of sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ri’āyat Shāh al-Qahhār (1537-71 M) of Johor and a brother of sultan ‘Alī Ri’āyat Shāh (1571-79 M) of Aceh is said to have travelled to South Sulawesi in company with a preacher (*muballigh*) of Pidie. Raja ‘Abd al-Jalī later on married a Bugis wife. One of their sons, Daeng Mansur (known as Tengku di Bugeh by the Achenese) went back to Aceh and married a daughter of an ‘ulamā’ of Ribee. The daughter of Daeng Mansur, Sitti Sani, later on became the wife of sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-36 M) and the ancestress of the ‘Bugis Dynasty’ in Aceh.⁴⁰

This shows that the Islamization in Sout Sulawesi began with a long process of familiarization of more than 100 years before the official acceptance of its rulers. In other word, the South Sulawesi people (the Makassarrese and the Buginese) had

³⁵ Perlas, “Religion” in *Propagation*, p. 213; Sagimun, *Sultan Hasanuddin*, p. 86

³⁶ Sagimun, *Sultan Hasanuddin*, p. 85

³⁷ Perlas, “Religion” in *Propagation*, p. 213; Sagimun, *Sultan Hasanuddin*, p. 86

³⁸ Al-Attas, *Historical Fact*, p. 90

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 133

⁴⁰ Perlas, “Religion” in *Propagation*, p. 215

been familiar with Islam before the ruler of Luwu, Gowa and Tallo decided to become Muslims. This familiarization was thorough their contact with Muslim traders and preacher. In addition, some of South Sulawesi people have converted to Islam.

In 1630 M or four years after al-Makassarī's birth, the *sharī'ah* (Islamic law) began to be implemented in Gowa-Tallo and all of South Sulawesi kingdoms.⁴¹ Initially, there was a Masjid in every kingdom. There were also *imām*, *khatīb*, *bilāl*, and *Qāḍī* which called as *parewa sara* (the instrument of the *sharī'ah*). The *sharī'ah* become incorporated in the body of custom which known in Makassarese as *Pangadakkang* and in Buginese as *Pangaderreng*.⁴²

1.8.2 His Birth, Family, Education and Travel

Shaykh Yusuf ibn 'Abd Allah Abū al-Mahāsīn al-Tāj al-Shāfi'ī al-Ash'arī al-Khalwatī al-Makassarī,⁴³ also known in Sulawesi as *Tuanta Salamaka ri Gowa* (Our Gracious Master from Gowa), was a prominent Sufi scholar in The Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. Born on the 8th of Shawwal 1036/3rd of July 1626⁴⁴ in Gowa (South of Sulawesi), al-Makassarī came from a noble Gowa and Tallo family.⁴⁵ His father, 'Abd Allah, was the Gallarang of Moncong Loe, a town in Tallo.⁴⁶ His mother, Aminah, was the daughter of a man named Dapak Omara and she was related to the kings of Gowa.⁴⁷ His birth coincided with the rule of I Mangarangi Daeng Manra'bia or Sultan 'Alā al-Dīn (1591 to 1639 M).⁴⁸

⁴¹ Perlas, "Religion" in *Propagation*, p. 227

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ In his *Qurrat al-'Ayn*, his name is written as al-Shaykh al-Hāj Yūsuf Abū al-Mahāsīn al-Shāfi'ī al-Ash'arī al-Khalwatī. Al-Makassarī, "Qurrat al-'Ayn", *MS A101* (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia), p. 50-1

⁴⁴ Hamka, *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama*. First Edition (Selangor: Pustaka Dini, 2009), p. 51, hereafter cited as *Perbendaharaan Lama*; Abu Hamid, *Sufi dan Pejuang*, p. 79; Pusat Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Sulawesi Selatan, *Peristiwa Tahun-tahun Bersejarah Daerah Sulawesi Selatan Abad ke XIV s/d XIX*, (Ujung Pandang: Pusat Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Sulawesi Selatan, 1985), p. 46. Hereafter cited as *Peristiwa Bersejarah*.

⁴⁵ Hamka, *Perbendaharaan Lama*, p. 52

⁴⁶ Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf*, p. 1

⁴⁷ Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf*, p. 1; Abu Hamid, *Sufi dan Pejuang*, p. 85-6.

⁴⁸ I Manga'rangī Daeng Manrabbia became the king of Gowa when he was about ten years old on 1593. His father was Karaeng Tunijallo. After converted to Islam, he was known as Sultān 'Alā'u

At the time al-Makassarī was born, it was about 23 years after the King of Gowa and Tallo and their family accepted Islam.⁴⁹ 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 Qurʾān with a local teacher called Daeng Ri Tasammang. Later he studied Arabic, *fiqh*, *tawhīd* and Sufism with an Arab preacher, Sayyid Bā Alawī ibn ʿAbd Allah, known as al-ʿAllāmah al-Ṭāhir, in Bontoala,⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹

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 Said which is known as Sultan Malikussaid (1639-1653).⁵² In Somba Opu (port and capital city of Gowa), he boarded a Malay ship to Banten.⁵³

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 ʿAbd al-Qadīr (r. 1626-1651). ʿAbd 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

al-Dīn. *Peristiwa Bersejarah*, p. 32-3; Sagimun, *Sultan Hasanuddin; Ayam Jantan dari Timur*, (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1992), p. 89. Hereafter cited as *Sultan Hasanuddin*.

⁴⁹ La Pattiwarek Daeng Parembung, Payung Luwu XVI, converted to Islām after long discussion with three ʿulamāʾ from Sumatra. On 1605 M King of Tallo, I Malingkang Daeng Manyonri Karaeng Katangka, and king of Gowa, I Mangaʾrangi Daeng Manrabbia, converted to Islām. The king of Tallo later known as Sultān ʿAbd Allah Awwal al-Islām and the king of Gowa later known as Sultān Alāʾ al-Dīn. *Peristiwa Bersejarah*, p. 35-7; Abdul Muttalib, *Masjid Tua Palopo*, (Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala Sulawesi Selatan, 1987), p. 7; Mustari Mustafa, *Dakwah Sufisme Syekh Yusuf al-Makassary*, (Makassar: Pustaka Refleksi, 2010), 221-2.

⁵⁰ He was a scholar from Yaman and was a mufti in the Haramayn who came to Gowa in 1625 M. Galigo, *Pemikiran Tasawwuf*, p. 4

⁵¹ Abu Hamid, *Sufi dan Pejuang*, p. 86-7; Hamka, *Perbendaharaan Lama*, p. 52. He was a son of Sayyid Muhammad Wāḥid and Sharifah Ḥalīshah. His grandfather (from the line of his mother), Sayyid Alawīyah Jalāl al-ʿĀlam, was a son of one of Sayyid Muhājrun al-Baṣra. Perlas, “Religion” in *Propagation*, p. 217

⁵² I Manuntungi Daeng Mattola, King of Gowa XIV, was born on 11 December 1605 M. *Peristiwa Bersejarah*, p. 36-7; Sagimun, *Sultan Hasanuddin*, p. 95.

⁵³ Abu Hamid, *Sufi dan Pejuang*, p. 89.

questions.⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵

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.⁵⁶ 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*.⁵⁷ Perhaps al-Makassarī met al-Ranīrī and studied with him in Gujarat.⁵⁸ According to al-Attās, ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd Allah Bā Shaybān (d. 1656),⁵⁹ the teacher of al-Ranīrī, was also the teacher of al-Makassarī.⁶⁰ 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-Naqsabandī (d. 1664),⁶¹ Sayyid ‘Ali al-Zabīdī (d 1662), and Muhammad ibn al-Wajīh al-Sa’dī al-Yamanī.⁶² Al-Makassarī got the *ijazah* of al-Naqsabandiyya Order from Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Naqsabandī, and the *ijazah* of Bā Alawiyya order from Sayyid ‘Ali.⁶³

⁵⁴ Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), p. 248. Hereafter cited as *Kitab Kuning*.

⁵⁵ Azra, *The Origin*, p. 89.

⁵⁶ Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attās, *Al-Ranīrī and the Wujudiyyah of the 17century Aceh*, (Singapore: MBRAS, 1966), p. 15. Hereafter cited as *Ranīrī and Wujūdīyah*.

⁵⁷ In his *Safīnat al-Najāh*, al-Makassarī mentions that he received the *ijazah* of *Qadirīyah* Order from Muhammad al-Jīlān which known as Syaikh Nūr al-Dīn Hasanji ibn Muḥammad Ḥumayd al-Ursha al-Ranīrī. Al-Makassarī, “Safīnat al-Najāh”, cited in Tujimah, *Yusuf Makassar*, p. 200; Hamka, *Perbendaharaan Lama*, p. 54; and Abu Hamid, *Sufī dan Pejuang*, p. 91.

⁵⁸ Azra, *The Origin*, p. 89.

⁵⁹ He is ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr Bā Shaybān. Al-Muhibbī, *Khulāṣah al-Āthar fī A’yān al-Qarn al-Ḥādī ‘Ashr*, Vol. 3 (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyah, 2006), p. 205. Hereafter cited as *Khulāṣah al-Āthar*.

⁶⁰ Al-Attās, *Ranīrī and Wujūdīyah*, p. 13; Teuku Iskandar, *Kesusasteraan Klasik Melayu Sepanjang Abad*, (Brunei: Jabatan Kesusasteraan Melayu Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 1995), p. 408. Hereafter cited as *Kesusasteraan Klasik*.

⁶¹ Al-Makassarī, “Zubdat al-Asrār.” p. 44.

⁶² Azra, *The Origin*, p.89.

⁶³ Tujimah, *Yusuf Makassar*, p. 16-7; Abu Hamid, *Sufī dan Pejuang*, p. 92; Nabilah Lubis, *Yusuf al-Tāj*, p. 21. 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 Tujimah, *Yusuf Makassar*. p. 204. Regarding the chain (*silsilah*) of the Bā ‘Alawiyah, it is possible

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),⁶⁴ Ḥasan al-‘Ajamī (d. 1701),⁶⁵ Muhammad al-Mazrū’ (d. 1656), ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Lahūrī, and Muhammad Muraz al-Shāmī (d. 1656).⁶⁶

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.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸ It is possible that what al-Makassarī has learned from al-Kuranī was not merely about *ṭarīqah Shatarīyah*, but also other Islamic teachings. There is a good example for this, that is, al-Kuranī ordered al-Makassarī to copy *al-Durrat al-Fākhira* and *Risālat fi al-Wujūd*, the works of Nūr al-Dīn al-Jāmī (d. 898/1492); and the commentary of *al-Durrat al-Fākhira* by ‘Abd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī (d. 912/1506). It is highly possible that al-Makassarī studied these three works under al-Kuranī.⁶⁹

After studying in Haramayn, al-Makassarī continued his travel to Damascus. In Damascus he studied with Ayyūb ibn Ahmad ibn Ayyūb al-Dimashqī al-Khalwatī (994-1071/1586-1661).⁷⁰ He was a very knowledgeable in many fields such as *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, *fiqh*, *kalām* and *taṣawwuf*. He was also known for his reputation as an active writer. He wrote on *taṣawwuf*, *kalām*, *ḥadīth*, and *Khalwatīyah* rituals. In

that Sayyid ‘Ali was ‘Ali ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muṭayr, who dead in Zaydiyyah in 1084 H/1673M. Al-Muhibbī, *Khulāṣah al-Āthar*, Vol. 3, p. 185

⁶⁴ In his *Nafḥah al-Saylānīyah*, al-Makassarī mentions his name as Ibrāhīm ibn Hasan 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-Shāfi‘ī al-Naqshabandī. He was born on 1025 H and dead on 1101 H. Ismā‘īl Bāshā al-Baghdādī. *Hadiyah al-‘Arifīn*, Vol. 5 (Dār al-Fikr, 1982), p. 35.

⁶⁵ Al-Makassarī mentions his name as Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Umar ib Yahyā al-‘Ajamī al-Makkī. Al-Makassarī, “Al-Nafḥah al-Saylānīyah,” p. 25

⁶⁶ Azra, *The Orogen*, p. 90-1; al-Makassarī, “Al-Nafḥah,” p. 25

⁶⁷ Tujimah, *Yusuf Makassar*, p. 16.

⁶⁸ Teuku Iskandar, *Kesusasteraan Klasik*, p. 421

⁶⁹ Nicholas L. Heer, *The Precious Pearl: Al-Jāmī’ al-Durra al-Fākhira with the Commentary of ‘Abd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī*, (Albany: State University of Newyork Press, 1979), p. 15 ;Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, p. 289; Azra, *The Orogen*, p. 91; Nabilah, *Yusuf al-Tāj*, p. 22.

⁷⁰ Al-Makassarī, “al-Nafḥah al-Saylānīyah,” p. 25; “Safīnat al-Najāh”, cited in Tujimah, *Yusuf Makassar*, p. 201

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*.⁷¹ It was Ayyūb al-Khalwatī who awarded al-Makassarī the title of *Tāj al-Khalwatī* (the crown of Khalwatiyya Order).⁷² Later, al-Makassarī praised him in his work, *al-Nafḥah al-Saylāniyyah*,⁷³ and from Ayyūb al-Khalwatī, he got the *ijāzah* of Khalwatīyah order.⁷⁴ From Damascus, al-Makassarī continued his travel to Istanbul.⁷⁵

According to Gowa sources, as pointed out by Abu Hamid, al-Makassarī 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.⁷⁶ Later he became a *khalīfah* of *Khalwatīyah* and *Naqṣabandīyah* Order and responsible for the spreading of those ṭarīqahs in South Sulawesi.⁷⁷

1.8.3 His Life in Banten, Ceylon, and South Africa

Having acquired a great reputation of learning and piety, al-Makassarī 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 1664.⁷⁸ On the other hand, Van Bruinessen claims that he returned in 1670.⁷⁹ If this is true, it means that al-Makassarī spent 20 or 26 years travelling for seeking knowledge.

When al-Makassarī arrived at Banten, he found the ruler of Banten, Sulṭān Ageng Tirtayasa, was his old friend, Pangeran Surya, when he was in Banten before. Here he was appointed as the Mufti of Banten Sultanate and advisor and also became

⁷¹ Azra, *The Origins*, p. 92.

⁷² Hamka, *Perbendaharaan Lama*, p. 54; Abu Hamid, *Sufi dan Pejuang*, p. 93.

⁷³ Al-Makassarī, “al-Nafḥah al-Saylāniyyah,” p. 25.

⁷⁴ Abu Hamid, *Sufi dan Pejuang*, p. 93; Nabilah, *Yusuf al-Tāj*, p. 22.

⁷⁵ Hamka, *Perbendaharaan Lama*, p. 55,

⁷⁶ Abu Hamid, *Sufi dan Pejuang*, p. 94; Wan Mohd Shagir, *Penyebaran Thariqat-Thariqat Shufiyah Mu‘tabarah Dunia Melayu*, (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyyah, 2000), p. 102.

⁷⁷ Azra, *The Origin*, p. 92.

⁷⁸ Abu Hamid, *Sufi dan Pejuang*, p.95.

⁷⁹ Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, p. 291.

the son in law of Sulṭān Ageng Tirtayasa.⁸⁰ He spent many years teaching various branches of Islamic studies to the Sulṭān, his courtiers and others who came to Banten.⁸¹

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.⁸² 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.⁸³ 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.⁸⁴

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.⁸⁵ 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

⁸⁰ Hamka, *Perbendaharaan Lama*, p. 58.

⁸¹ Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf*, p. 3.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 13

⁸³ Abu Hamid, *Sufi dan Pejuang*, p. 101-3.

⁸⁴ Abu Hamid, *Sufi dan Pejuang*, p. 106-8.

⁸⁵ Azra, *The Origin*, p. 98.

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.⁸⁶ He arrived on board of 'De Voetboog' on 2nd April 1694 with 49 of his family members and followers. He passed away five years later, on 23rd May 1699.⁸⁷

1.8.4 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-Naqshabandīyah*; (2) *Safīnah al-Najāh*; (3) *Tuhfat al-Amri fī faḍīlat al-dhikri*; (4) *al-Nafhat 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-Sālikīn*; (14) *Qurrat A 'yun*; (15) *Sirr al-Asrār*; (16) *Tāj al-Asrār*; and (17) *Fath Kayfiyat al-Dhikr*.⁸⁸

While, Tujimah mentions 21 of al-Makassarī's works. They are: (1) *al-Barakah al-Saylānīyah*; (2) *Bidāyat al-Mubtadi*; (3) *al-Fawā'ih al-Yusufīyah*; (4) *Hasīyah*; (5) *Kayfiyat al-Nafy*;⁸⁹ (6) *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*; (7) *al-Nafhat al-Saylānīyah*; (8) *Qurrat al- 'Ayn*; (9) *Sirr al-Asrār*; (10) *Surah*; (11) *Tāj al-Asrār*; (12) *Zubdat al-Asrār*;⁹⁰ (13) *Fath Kayfiyat al-Dhikr*; (14) *Daf al-Balā'*; (15) *Hādhihi fawā'id*

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 99.

⁸⁷ Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf*, p. 27-32.

⁸⁸ Van Bruinessen, "Ṭarīqah Naqshabandiyah" as cited in Aksin and Abu Bakar, *Jejak Pemikiran Tasawuf*, p. 59-60.

⁸⁹ Voorhoeve mentions it as *Kaifiyat al-Munghi*, which a wrong spelling. It must be *Kayfiyat Nafyi wa al-Itsbat*.

⁹⁰ The works of al-Makassarī from no. 1 to 12 which mentioned by Tujimah are based on Voorhoeve's *Handlist of Arabic*, and the rest are added by Tujimah.

azīmah 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-Hijaiba*.⁹¹

Nabilah Lubis, listed 23 woks of Makassarī. They are: (1) *al-Barakat al-Saylaniyah* (Blessing of Ceylon); (2) *Bidāyat al-Mubtadi* (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-Yusufiyah fī Bayān Tahqīq al-Ṣūfiyah* (The Words of Yusuf in Explaining the Realization of Sufism); (6) *Hāshiyah* (Marginal Comments), in the book entitled *al-Anbāh fī i'rāb Lā ilāha illa Allah*; (7) *Ḥabl al-Warīd li Sa'adat 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-Itsbat 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-Ikhtisār 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-Waṣiyāt 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).⁹²

⁹¹ Tujimah, *Yusuf Makassar*, p. 21

⁹² Nabilah, *Yusuf al-Tāj*, p. 29-30

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. There is also a manuscript on Ṣūfīsm written in Malay (MSS 423). His name is mentioned in the beginning of the treatise.⁹³ But, perhaps it is not al-Makassarī's writing. It is seem to be a summary of his teachings on Sufism that written by a follower of *Khalwatīyah* Order.

1.2.4 His Influence and Contribution

Shaykh Yusuf Al-Makassarī's teaching in Islamic sciences was sought by the high and the low people. He taught not only the ṣultān and his courtiers in the sultanate of Banten, but also to some of his students who later became the master (*khalīfah*) of the *khalwatīyah* 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 Qāḍī 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*.⁹⁴ Some of his treatises on *aqīdah* and *ṭaṣawwuf*, i.e., *Bidāyat al-Mubtadi'*, *Zubdah al-Asrār*⁹⁵ and *Shurūṭ al-Ārif al-Muḥaqiq* for example, were written in Banten.

⁹³ MSS. 423, p. 106-123 (Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia).

⁹⁴ Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf*, p. 3

⁹⁵ Galigo, *Pemikiran Tasawwuf*, p. 11

Sixtieth and seventieth century was a new phase of Islamization in Malay-Indonesian archipelago.⁹⁶ 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.⁹⁷

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).⁹⁸ 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.⁹⁹

When the King of Gowa sent an envoy to Banten to persuade al-Makassarī to return to his homeland, Gowa, he refuted politely.¹⁰⁰ 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 Khlawāṭīyah* and the Islamization in Sulawesi. He also wrote some treatise, one of them is *Daqā'iq al-Asrār*.¹⁰¹ Al-Ḍarīrī wrote this treatise for the Sulṭān of Bone, Idrīs al-Mudarris al-Būnī.¹⁰² 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 is not close to other exiles and slaves in order to prevent him to establish contact with them. It is an

⁹⁶ Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, *Islam dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu*, (Bangi: UKM Press, 2012), p. 44

⁹⁷ Abu Hamid, *Sufi dan Pejuang*, p. 147. For the Javanese translation of al-Makassarī's *Zubdat al-Asrār*, see Nabilah Lubis, *Yusuf al-Tāj*, p. 137-64

⁹⁸ "Riwayaqa Tuanta Salamaka ri Gowa (RTSG)" in Abd Kadir Manyambeang, *Syekh Yusuf dalam Perspektif Lontaraq Gowa*, ed. Nurhayati Rahman (Makassar: Badan Perpustakaan dan Arsip Daerah Propinsi Sulawesi Selatan and Lagaligo Press, 2014), p. 167. Hereafter cited as *Lontaraq Gowa*.

⁹⁹ Manyambeang, *Lontaraq Gowa*, p. 8..

¹⁰⁰ Riwayaqa Tuanta Salamaka ri Gowa (RTSG) in *Lontaraq Gowa*, p. 299

¹⁰¹ Al-Ḍarīrī, "Daqā'iq al-Asrār," *MS A 108* (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Indonesia), p. 142-67

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 143

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.¹⁰³

Furthermore, one of the reasons why he was sent to the Cape because he still have 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.¹⁰⁴ 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.¹⁰⁵ 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

¹⁰³ Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf*, p. 29

¹⁰⁴ Azra, *The Origin*, p. 99

¹⁰⁵ Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf*, p. 29

said, “The Mohammedans are multiplying rapidly and increasing in number.”¹⁰⁶ 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 indicate clearly that the ‘illegal’ gatherings at 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.¹⁰⁷

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.¹⁰⁸

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.¹⁰⁹ 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 converts.¹¹⁰ These imams, who were the closest disciples and were deeply influenced by his teaching, later continued their master work after his death.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Jeffreys K M, “The Malay Tombs of the Holy Circle in Cape Naturalist, Vol VI, July 1939,” cited by Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf*, p. 59

¹⁰⁷ Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf*, p. 59

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 29

¹¹⁰ Azra, *The Origin*, p. 101

¹¹¹ Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf*, p. 60

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-Ghazzālī, we rely mainly on his *Maqṣad*. He did not use the term perfect man, what we find is the perfect servant. For Ibn ‘Arabi, 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*.

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