

**SHAYKH YŪSUF AL-MAQASSARĪ'S LITERARY CONTRIBUTION
WITH A SPECIAL ATTENTION TO HIS *MAṬĀLIB AL-SĀLIKĪN*
[THE QUESTS OF THE SPIRITUAL SEEKERS]**

By
MUZDALIFAH SAHIB

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

DLitt et Phil

in the subject

ISLAMIC STUDIES

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

**SUPERVISOR: PROF. YOUSUF DADOO
2019**

Acknowledgements

All praises be to Allāh Who, in His mercy, has endowed me with the ability to complete this work on Islamic Studies. Salutations and *salām* to our Prophet, Muḥammad [PBUH], his family and companions.

The Prophet Muḥammad (may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him) is reported to have said, "He who does not thank man has not thanked Allāh." With these words in mind, I am grateful to the following people.

- I thank my beloved great-great-grandfather Abū al-Maḥāsin al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Shāfiʿī al-Ashʿarī Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqassarī for his blessing and spiritual guidance that inspired me to complete this work, alḥamdulillāh. I am also grateful to my beloved grandfather and grandmother, my masters [Shaykh al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Sultān Bayt Allāh and Shaykha Ḥajja Nūr al-Ṣūfiyya] for their blessings and *duʿās* as well as spiritually inspiring me to success.
- I thank my supervisor as well as my master Professor Yousuf Dadoo for his support, guidance, and patience in guiding me to this point where I can complete my PhD degree.
- I thank the immediate members of my family, my parents [Sh. K.H. Sahib Sultan and Hj. Hatifah Makkasau Dg. Rannu] for their support and ideas that inspired me, and all my brothers and sisters [H. Muh. Nur. Sahib, S.E. & his family, H. Muh. Amin Sahib, Lc. M.Ag. & his family, Hj. Raodah Sahib, S.Ag. M.H, H. Multazam Sahib, SS & his family, Hj. Nurfaizah Sahib, S.PdI, M.Pd., Hj. Munawwarah Sahib, S.El., M.El. & her family, and H. Muh. Mahasin Sahib, Lc.], for all their support.
- I thank the Ministry of Religious Affairs of RI, the Director of Islamic Higher Education RI as well as Rector UIN Alauddin Macassar who permitted and supported me to pursue my PhD study at the University of South Africa.
- I thank the entire group of the Shaykh Yūsuf project in South Africa, Botswana and Jakarta for all their support they have given me, especially Dr M. Auwais Rafudeen, Prof. Moegamad Haron, Prof. Suleman Essop Dangor, Prof. Ismail Jaffer, Shaykh Ebrahim Moos and Prof. Dr Nabilah Lubis and others that I cannot mention individually.
- I am grateful to my teachers and colleagues both from my country Indonesia and in South Africa. Those from my country such as: Prof. Dr H. Paturungi Parawansa, MA; Prof. Dr H. Mardan M.Ag.; Prof. Dr Najamuddin; Prof. Dr H. Abd. Rasyid Masri, M.Pd, M.M; Sh. K.H. Dr Baharuddin; Dr Shaleh Syamsuri, M.Ag.; Turdjiman, MA; Drs. H. Ifitah Djafar, MA; Dra. Hj. St. Azisah, MA PhD; Dr Burhanuddin Darwis, Lc., M.Ag.; Baso Pallawagau, Lc., MA; Dr Syamsul Bahri, Lc. MA.; H. Kudaedah Ali, B.A.; Hj. Nurasih Kudaedah, S.Ag., M.Ag., Dra. Marwaty, M.Ag.; Hamzah Kibadran Lc., M.Ag.; A. Ridwan Tahir Lc., MA and others. Those from South Africa such as: Imām Adam Philander, his brothers & all his family; Sh. Sahid Esau & his family; Sh. M. Ighsaan Taliep and all his colleagues at IPSA; the members of the Muslim Judicial Council especially its president; Fatiegh Behardien, Amin Baderun, Mog. Gielmie Hartley, Moh. Kammie Kamidien, Imam Malik Johannes and Sh. Jamiel Abrahams and all their families and others.
- I am grateful to the various staff of the Leiden University Library, KITLV, the National Jakarta Library as well as to Indonesian and South African Libraries for their good support services.


- I am grateful to Ms. Wanda Roux; Mr. Vincent Moloi and all his colleagues at the Department of Bursaries; Mrs. Elmarie Meyer and her colleagues at the M & D Department of Examination as well as Dr Elijah Ngoweni Dube and all her colleagues as well as Mrs. Nasreen Cassim at the Department of Religious Studies and Arabic and others at UNISA that I cannot mention individually, for their support.
- A special thanks for all the suggestions and critical support from the external examiners that contributed to the structure and quality of this thesis.
- A special thanks to my language editor, Dr Yoesrie Toefy and his family from Stellenbosch University. He, in addition to my Supervisor and my father, is someone who has contributed much to my Thesis.

May Allāh reward you all greatly.

Muzdalifah Sahib

DECLARATION

I declare that "*Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maḡassarī's literary contribution with a special attention to his Maḡālib al-Sālikīn [The Quests of the Spiritual Seekers]*" is really my own work and that all the resources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



Muzdalifah Sahib

Date: 2 August 2019

Abstract

The importance of this research on the life of Shaykh Yūsuf's life and legacy is evident from the depth of the reports on "*Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī's literary contribution with a special attention to his Maṭālib al-Sālikīn [The Quests of the Spiritual Seekers].*" We contend that without a comprehensive knowledge of it, some of the subtleties and nuances of the Shaykh as well as his treatises will remain concealed from us.

I utilised the comprehensive religious historical and philological approaches following the methodology of Sultan, Nabilah Lubis, and Suleman Essop Dangor to complement al-Maqassarī's history, his literary contribution in general and to gain the essence of his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* through commentaries. I also used hermeneutic's theory for interpreting some of the texts.

Shaykh Yūsuf (1626-1699) is considered a national hero of Indonesia and South Africa. His movements from Gowa South Sulawesi to other countries including the Middle East were motivated by his wish to deepen his understanding of Islamic mysticism. This was supported by his local teachers and the needs of Gowa Kingdom for a qualified Islamic scholar to convert its animistic society into real and fervent Muslims. This responsibility fostered in him a sense of bravery and adventure, and he ended up wandering around the world in search of knowledge. In their purpose to rule the East Indian countries and remove his influence over his fellow citizens, the Dutch banished Shaykh Yūsuf initially to Ceylon and then to Cape of Good Hope, South Africa (1684-1699). He left behind a large body of literary contributions, many of them still preserved at UB Leiden and the National Library of Jakarta.

His *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* holds a special place among his literary contributions. It discusses three important issues that are illustrated with parables which should be understood by spiritual seekers; namely *tawḥīd*, *ma'rifa*, and *'ibāda* {Divine Knowledge, Divine Recognition and Worship}. They constitute a tree with leaves, branches, and fruit. Its practitioners are directed to the Oneness of God and to none other. These teachings have become a foundation of his reformist ideas and a basis to build his Islamic community in South Africa and finally to be implemented in his own *ṣūfī* order, *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya/Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya*.

The list of ten terms which are commonly used in my thesis

- 1) *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* (the Quests of the Spiritual Seekers)
- 2) *Tawḥīd* (Divine Knowledge)
- 3) *Ma'rifa* (Divine Recognition)
- 4) *'ibāda* (Worship)
- 5) *Shari'a* (Divine Law)
- 6) *Ḥaqīqa* (Divine Reality)
- 7) *Waḥdat al- Wujūd* (The Unity of Being)
- 8) *Al-Ḥulūl* (Divine Incarnation)
- 9) *Waḥdat al- Shuhūd* (The Unity of Witness)
- 10) *Waḥdat al-Ṣamad* (The Unity of Dependence)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
DECLARATION	v
ABSTRACT	vii
CONTENTS	ix
THE LIST OF IMAGES, MAPS, CHARTS, DIAGRAM, DESCRIPTION, INFORMATION (INVITATION) TRANSLATIONS AND SYNOPSES	xiii
GLOSSARY	xix
TRANSLITERATION	xxxv
CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION	1-22
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Rationale for the Study	8
1.3 Detailed Objectives	16
1.4 Theory and Methodology	17
1.5 Outline Chapters	21
CHAPTER TWO THE LIFE OF SHAYKH YŪSUF AL-MAQASSARĪ (A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY)	23-100
2.1 Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī	23
2.1.1 Islam before his birth in South Celebes (Sulawesi)	24
2.1.2 His parents	27
2.1.3 The Early Life and Education of Shaykh Yūsuf in 1626-1644	32
2.2 His Movements and Wanderings in Search of Islamic Knowledge	45
2.2.1 In Banten 1644-1645	45
2.2.2 In Aceh 1645	45
2.2.3 In India, around 1645/1646 to 1648	46
2.2.4 In the Middle East, around 1649 to 1667	48
2.3 Return to His Country and Influence of His Preaching in Macassar in 1668	56
2.4 His Political Struggle till His Exiles	58
2.4.2 In Banten	58
2.4.2 In Ceylon (Sri Lanka, His First Exile) in 1684	61
2.4.3 In South Africa (His Second Exile and His Last Rest) in 1694/1699	65
2.5 Shaykh Yūsuf's Impact in Indonesia and the Cape	76
2.5.1 His Impact in Indonesia	76
2.5.2 His Impact in the Cape	76
2.6 His Marriages and Offspring	78
2.7 Death and Graves of Shaykh Yūsuf	88
2.8 Shaykh Yūsuf's <i>Ṣūfism</i> , Sainthood and Heroism	91
2.9 A Summary	99

CHAPTER THREE SHAYKH YŪSUF'S LITERARY WORKS' CONTRIBUTION AND HIS INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

	101-198
3.1 Introduction.....	101
3.2 A Summary and a Brief Exposition of Shaykh Yūsuf's Literary Works in the Leiden Collections and Some Other Works	103
3.2.1 A Summary of MSKBG 101 F Or A13d, MSKBG 108 F Or A 13b Arabic Microfilms of UB Leiden or Jakarta Manuscripts A101, A 108 and Or 7025 Manuscript of UB Leiden	103
3.2.2 A Brief Explanation of MSKBG 101 F Or A13d, MSKBG 108 F Or A 13b, MSKBG 45 F Or A 14b Arabic Microfilms of UB Leiden or Jakarta Manuscripts A101, A 108, A 45 and Or 7025, Or 7446 Manuscripts of UB Leiden	140
3.2.3 A Brief Explanation of Some Other Works of Shaykh Yūsuf.....	147
3.3 His Literary Contribution in General.....	149
3.4 The Intellectual Background of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī.....	186
3.4.1 His Local Masters in Makassar (around 1632-1644)	186
3.4.2 His Principal Teachers Overseas	186
3.4.3 His Intellectual Inspirations	189
3.5 A Sumamry of this Text.....	197

CHAPTER FOUR *MAṬĀLIB AL-SĀLIKĪN TREATISES* [TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARIES]

	199-294
4.1 Introduction	199
4.1.1 Illustration of <i>Maṭālib al-Sālikīn</i> Texts	200
4.1.2 The Intellectual Inspiration for the Text.....	202
4.2 The English and the Arabic Version of <i>Maṭālib al-Sālikīn</i>	204
4.2.1 Text in MSKBG 108, F Or A 13b [3] of UB Leiden	204
4.2.2 The Text of Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 101 F Or A 13d [7]	220
4.3 Difference Categories in Both Arabic Texts	235
4.4 Commentaries	246
4.4.1 Commentaries on both Texts in Brief	246
4.4.2 Commentaries on the Text of MSKBG 108 F Or A13b [3]	248
4.5 The Similarities and the Differences between Shaykh Yūsuf's Views and Other Mystics' Views Belonging to this School.....	279
4.5.1 Ittihād.....	279
4.5.2 <i>Al-Ḥulūl</i> (Divine Incarnation)	280
4.5.3 <i>Waḥdat al-Wujūd</i>	282
4.5.4 <i>Waḥdat al-Shuhūd</i>	285
4.5.4 <i>Waḥdat al-Ṣamad</i>	287
4.6 The Contribution of <i>Maṭālib al-Sālikīn</i> [<i>The Quests of the Spiritual Seekers</i>] to the Socio-Political Context of His Time.....	290
4.7 A Summary of Some Important Points of this Treatise	291

CHAPTER FIVE MAṬĀLIB AL-SĀLIKĪN TREATISE IN THE LIGHT OF HIS REFORMIST IDEAS AND HIS KHALWATIYYAT AL-YŪSUFIIYA OR YŪSUFIIYA ŞŪFĪ ORDER	295-352
5.1 Introduction	295
5.2 His Reformist Ideas in Mysticism and <i>Maṭālib al-Sālikīn</i> Treatise	296
5.3 <i>Ṭarīqa</i> [A <i>Şūfī</i> Order]	305
5.3.1 Definition of <i>Ṭarīqa</i>	305
5.3.2 <i>Ṭarīqa</i> and its Relations with <i>Sharī'a</i> , <i>Ḥaqīqa</i> and <i>Ma'rifa</i>	307
5.3.3 <i>Maqāmāt</i> [Stations] and <i>Aḥwāl</i> [Inner States] in the <i>Şūfī</i> Path	307
5.4 <i>Ṭarīqa Khalwatiyya</i> in Indonesia	312
5.4.1 The Pioneer of <i>Ṭarīqa Khalwatiyya</i> in Indonesia	312
5.4.2 The Main Differences between the Two <i>Şūfī</i> Orders (<i>Khalwatiyya Yūsuf and Khalwatiyya Sammān</i>)	315
5.4.3 The Main Teachings of <i>Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya</i>	317
5.4.4 Rituals and Practices in <i>Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf</i>	321
5.5 His <i>Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya</i> or <i>Yūsufiyya Şūfī Order</i> and His <i>Maṭālib al-Sālikīn</i> Treatise.....	324
5.5.1 <i>An Overview of Yūsufiyya</i>	324
5.5.2 The Way for being as Close as Possible to Allāh in <i>Tarīqat al-Yūsufiyya</i> (Gowa Version)	325
5.5.3 Rituals and Practices in <i>Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya</i> (Gowa Version)	328
5.5.4 <i>Dhikr</i> in <i>Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya</i>	334
5.5.5 Some of the Chosen Verses of the <i>Qur'ān</i> and the Highly Recommended Prayers for <i>Jamā'a Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya</i>	337
5.5.6 Other Teachings in <i>Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya</i> or <i>Khalawatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya</i>	345
5.6 His followers and Admirers	348
5.7 A Summary.....	351
 CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH.....	 353-372
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 373-390
 APPENDICES	 391-470
Appendix I	391-410
Appendix II	411-430
Appendix III	431-447
Appendix IV	449-470

LIST OF IMAGES, MAPS, CHARTS, DIAGRAMS, DESCRIPTION, AND TRANSLATIONS

IMAGES		
Number of Images	The Names of Images & Appendix Code	Page Number
	THE FIGURES OR IMAGES REGARDING THE TEXT OF CHAPTER TWO	391-410
	PART A	
1a-c	Abū al-Maḥāsīn al-Shaykh al-Hājj Yūsuf al-Shāfi'ī, al-Ash'arī, Hadiyat Allāh Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Jāwī, al-Maqassarī (1626-1699) [I A]	391
2a-b	Mawang lake The place where Shaykh Yūsuf with his teacher Sri Naradireja bin 'Abd al-Makmūr, Dato <i>ri</i> Panggentungan and his colleague were fishing as well as burning their cigarettes; by showing their shrines as a proof of their depth knowledges as the blessing of their Lord [I A]	391
3	Abd al-Fattāh bin Abū al-Ma'ālī bin Abū al-Mufākhīr (Sultān Ageng Tirtayasa), the King of Banten as well as a father in law of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī [I A]	392
4a-c	Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope or Tanjung Harapan as well as the white wave on the sea as the meeting place of two oceans, the Indian and Atlantic oceans in Tanjung Harapan [I A]	392
5a-b	The Voetboog ship that brought Shaykh Yūsuf and 49 followers from Ceylon to Cape of Good Hope, South Africa in 1693 [I A]	392
6	Simon van der Stel who royally welcomed Shaykh Yūsuf and stationed him at Zandvliet [I A]	392
7a-d	Shaykh Yūsuf's Kramat, the Sammak and the Kuils River as it appeared in the end of April 2014 as well as the last remaining Date Tree which served as a beacon for scholars in search of knowledge [IA]	393
8a-l	Some Images Regarding Shaykh Yūsuf's Shrines in Cape Town [I A]	393-394
9a-k	Some Images Regarding Shaykh Yūsuf's Shrines in Macassar at Lakiung Funeral Complex [I A]	394-395
10a-o	Some Images Regarding the Kramat Festival in 2014, Faure Zandvliet, Cape Town, South Africa with Two Delegation Coming, Indonesian and American Delegation [I A]	395-396
11	A Certificate of a National Hero. Awarded to Shaykh Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī, by the President of Republic of Indonesia, Suharto, On August 7, 1995 [I A]	396
12	The Honour Certificate Adipradana Mahaputera Star. Awarded to Shaykh Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī, a National Hero of Republic of Indonesia by the President of Republic of Indonesia, Suharto, on August 7, 1995 [I A]	396

13a-b	The Former Presidents of South Africa: Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki [I A]	397
14a-b	[a] Certificate The Order of the Supreme Companions of OR. Tambo in Gold. Awarded to Shaykh Yūsuf for Exceptional Contribution to the Struggle against Colonialism, by the President of the Republic of South Africa, T M Mbeki on 27 September 2005 [I A] [b] Shaykh Yūsuf (1626-1699) The Order of the Companions of Or Tambo in Gold Awarded to Syeikh Yūsuf for Exceptional Contribution to the Struggle Against Colonialism [I A]	397
Part B		
15	A <i>Silsila</i> of the Descendants of Prophet Muḥammad SAW from [the family line of Muḥammad Jaylānī bin Muḥammad Yūsuf] which exists in South Sulawesi [in Arabic]. [I B]	399
16	A <i>Silsila</i> of the Descendants of Prophet Muḥammad SAW from [the family line of Muḥammad Jaylānī bin Muḥammad Yūsuf] which exists in South Sulawesi [English] [I B]	402
17a-c	Two Arabic Manuscripts in the Handwriting of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj by Nicholas Heer, August 2013 [Sprenger 677 in the Berlin Library and Yahuda 8872 in the Garret Collection in the Princeton University Library] [I B]	403-404
18	The End Page of <i>Tuḥfat al-Mursala</i> [I B]	404
19	The Family Trees of the Five of Shaykh Yūsuf's <i>Ṣūfī</i> Orders [Qādiriyya, Naqshabandiyya, Bā'Alawiyya, Shattariyya, and Khalwatiyya] [I B] From the Most Recent to the Earliest	405-408
SOME IMAGES REGARDING THE TEXTS OF CHAPTER THREE		
20a-h	Our Collections of the Copy of Shaykh Yusuf's Works from Universiteit of Bibliotheque Leiden as well as Jakarta Manuscripts [II A]	417-419
21a-b	The Copy of <i>Ikhtisās ul Dhikr</i> (The Specification of dhikr) of Arabic Microfilm MSKBG101 13d [16] [II B]	420
22a-b	The Copy of the first and the last pages of <i>al-Fawā'ih al-Yūsufiyya</i> (The Utterances of Yūsufiyya [based on Shaykh Yūsuf]) of MSKBG 108 F Or A13b [6] [II B]	421
23	The Copy of <i>Ṣūra Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj</i> of Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 108 F Or A13b [24a] [II B]	422
24	The Copy of <i>Bidāyat al-Mubtadī</i> by Shaykh al-Ḥajj Yūsuf al-Tāj of Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 108 F Or A13b [25] [III]	422
25a-c	The Copy of <i>Hadhihi Fawā'id 'Aẓīma</i> [II B]	423-424
26	The Copy of a part of <i>al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya</i> on page 28	424

	SOME IMAGES REGARDING THE TEXTS OF CHAPTER FOUR	575-593
27a-c	Jakarta Manuscript A 108 [3] [III]	431-432
28a-c	UB Leiden and to view the origin Microfilm in 2010 [III]	433
29a-e	The Copy of the Lined Text of Maṭālib al-Salikīn in Leiden Microfilm MSKBG 108 F Or A13b[3] [III]	434-438
30a-c	The Copy of the Unlined Text of Maṭālib al-Sālikīn [F or A 13d (7)] [III]	439-441
31	Cover of Jakarta Manuscript A 101 [III]	442
32	Image Regarding the Structure of Allāh's Saints from Top to the Button in Or 7025 of Manuscript of UB Leiden [III]	447
	SOME IMAGES REGARDING THE VARIOUS TEXTS & EVENTS OF CHAPTER FIVE	449-470
33a-b	<i>Silsila Ṭarīqat Al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf</i> and Its Branches [IV A]	449-450
34a-g	The Holders of <i>Silsila Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf</i> in South Sualwesi to Cape Town South Africa [IV A]	451
35a-o	The Copies of <i>Safīnat al-Najāh</i> & some Complementary Texts.	452-461
36a-d	<i>Dhikr in Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya</i> [IV A]	462
37a-b	<i>Dhikr Laṭāif in Ṭarīqat al-Naqshabandiyya</i> [IV A]	463
38a-g	<i>Dhikr Nafī Ithbat in Ṭarīqat al-Naqshabandiyya</i> and its methodes [IV A]	463
39a-b	<i>Masjid Nurun Nur Samata</i> (Gowa), which just being renovated [IV B]	465
40a-e	<i>Mawludan Nabī</i> Celebration in the Mosque Nurun Nur Samata, Gowa [iV B]	465
41a-d	<i>Isrā'</i> and <i>Mi'rāj</i> Celebration in the Mosque Nurun Nur Samata, Gowa [iVB]	465
42a-d	The Blessed Night (<i>Nisf al-Sha'bān Night</i>) at the Resident of <i>Murshid Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya</i> [IV B]	466
43a-d	<i>Eid al-Fitr Days</i> in Karebosi Field and another place in Macassar [IVB]	466
44a-d	SOME IMAGES REGARDING IKSYAM OF RI (Association of the Big Family of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī of Republic of Indonesia) & the 385 Year Birthday Celebration of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī in Tamalate Palace Balla Lompoe on September 7, 2011 or Shawal 8, 1432 A.H [IVB]	466
	SOME IMAGES REGARDING THE VISIT OF IKSYAM DELEGATION OF RI TO CAPETOWN IN APRIL 15 TO 25, 2017	
45a-d	IKSYAM Delegation of RI with MJC and South African Parliament [IV B]	467

46a-d	IKSYAM of RI in the Kramat of Tuan Yūsuf Macassar and in the Annual Kramat 2017 Festival Macassar, Cape Town [IV B]	467
47a-h	IKSYAM Visit Islamic Schools [IV B]	467-468
48a-b	IKSYAM Visit IPSA	468
49a-b	IKSYAM Visit UCT	468
50a-d	IKSYAM Delegation of RI in the Event ‘Sitting with the Family of Tuan Yusuf al-Makassari’ on the 19 of April 2017 Held By MJC, SA [IV B]	468
51a-d	<i>Mawludan Nabī</i> Celebration in Cape Town, SA together with IKSYAM of RI [IV B]	469
52a-e	<i>Isrā’ and Mi’rā</i> Celebration at Masjid al-Bahr, CPT, SA with IKSYAM of RI [IV B]	469
53a-c	IKSYAM of RI in Celebrating <i>Isrā’ wa al-Mi’rāj</i> in Bosmont Johannesburg in April 25 2017 [IV B]	469
54a-j & 55a-f	SOME IMAGES REGARDING OUR VISIT TO PRETORIA AS WELL AS MY FIRST MEMORY OF MY VISIT TO UNISA IN APRIL 2014 [IV B]	470
MAPS		
Number of Maps	The Names of Maps	Page Number
1	The Spread of Islam in the Archipelago	27
2	South Sulawesi	45
3	Banten	45
4	Aceh	46
5-6	Gujarat & Sūrat India	48
7	Ranir [Bazar] India near to Randir, Surat India	49
8	The Middle East	53
9	Al-Maqassari’s Itinerary I (His Wandering in Search of Islamic Knowledge from Gowa-Macassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia to the Middle East	56
10	Sri Lanka	62
11	Cape Town City Areas	68
12	South Africa	75
13	Al-Maqassari’s Itinerary II, from Banten to Cape of Good Hope, SA	91
CHARTS		
No. of Charts	The Names of Charts & Appendix Code	Page Number
DIAGRAMS		
1	The Networks al-Maqassari [in Chapter Two]	54

2	The Family Tree of the Offspring of Shaykh Yūsuf Tuanta Salamaka [I B]	408
3	The <i>Silsila</i> of Shaykh Yūsuf's Family with His 9th Wife 'Afifa, a Daughter of 'Abd Allāh Sarnadib (Ceylon) [I B]	410
Number of Diagrams	The Names of Diagrams & Appendix Code	Page Number
1	[I B] هذه سلسلة من نسب النبي ﷺ (ال محمد جيلاني بن محمد يوسف) بسولوايسى الجنوبية [I B]	400-401
2	The Image of <i>Tawhīd</i> Tree of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī [in Chapter Four]	278
DESCRIPTION		
Number of Description & Information (Invitation)	The Names of Description & Information (Invitation) & Appendix Code	Page Number
1	Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī [His Names, His Origin & His <i>Silsila</i>] [I B]	397-398
2	Explanation of the Composition of the Family Tree of Shaykh Yūsuf's offspring [I B]	409
3	THE LIST OF SHAYKH YŪSUF'S LITERARY WORKS IN SOME COLLECTIONS AS WELL AS THE PLACES THEY WERE COMPOSED [II A]	411-417
4	<i>Dhikr</i> Methods in <i>Khalwatiyya Yūsufiyya</i> or <i>Yūsufiyya</i> [IV A]	462
5	An Overview of Masjid Nurun Nur Samata Gowa and some Activities Done by the Followers of <i>Khalwatiyya/Yūsufiyya</i> Ṣūfī Order with some other Islamic Community [IV B]	464
TRANSLATIONS		
Number of Translation	The Names of Translation & Appendix Code	Page Number
1	<i>Ṣūra</i> (صُورَةٌ) or <i>An Image</i> [of <i>Tawhīd</i>]) By Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj [II B] Translated by the Author	425-426
2	This book is entitled <i>Bidāyat al-Mubtadī</i> [The first stage of Novice] By Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj [II B] Translated by the Author	427-428
3	<i>Hādhihi Fawā'id 'Aẓīma</i> [These are the Great Benefits] By Shaykh Yūsuf [II B] Translated by the Author	429-430
4	<i>Maṭālib Al-Sālikīn</i> [The Quests of the Spiritual Seekers] Translated By Prof. Suleman Essop Dangor [III]	443-446

GLOSSARY

A. Glossary of Macassarese, Buginese, Indonesian and Malay's Language	
Akkasarak	Appears
Ammuaki	Giving the dish (a ritual in the spirit-worshipping of the ancestors).
'Anjak, Saukang, Pantasak and Sallerang.	<p>All are the names of Idol places.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Anjak</i> refers to the small beds which are put in the top floor of the house and considered as the resting places of their ancestor's soul, who can help or disturb if they were not worshipped or given ritual offerings. • <i>Saukang</i> refers to the houses which are built in the middle of the jungle or at the edge of the village, near to the big trees, as places for giving ritual offerings to their ancestor. • <i>Pantasak</i> and <i>Sallerang</i>, both of them are in the same category of sacrifices as <i>Anjak</i>. They are only different in form, <i>Pantasak</i> are small houses and <i>Sallerang</i> are quadrangle nets that were made of yellow bamboo.
Ajjaga	The literal meaning is 'keeping without sleeping'. This is a title used for a party that is usually done by nobles in the Kingdom of Gowa that lasted for a full three to seven days. Occasions were, among others, graduating from the recitation of the <i>Qur'ān</i> thirty chapters, a circumcision ceremony and a wedding party.
Ballo; ballo te'ne	Strong palm wine; sweet palm wine
Bajeng	A district of Gowa Kingdom from the past until presently
Bandang, Patimang, Tiro	The names of places in South Sulawesi Bandang in Macassar, Patimang in Luwu and Tiro in Bulukumba Regencies. Those places were the key points of the spreading of Islam in South Sulawesi.
Barani nyawai	Brave
Baratu	Taxes
Batesalapanga	<p>The Nine Regions' Central Boards (<i>Dewan Batesalapanga</i>) were established when the 6th King of Gowa wished to divide his kingdom into two kingdoms for his two sons. The first kingdom, the Kingdom of Gowa, was divided into five areas and the second kingdom, the Kingdom of Tallo, was separated into four areas. Each of the nine sub-areas were governed by local rulers called Gallarang. Their function was to give advice to the King and also to elect the King of the Gowa-Tallo Kingdoms.</p> <p>The Nine Regions' Central Boards (<i>Dewan Batesalapanga</i>) includes:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gallarang Pacellekang 2. Gallarang Pattalassang 3. Gallarang Bontomanai 4. Gallarang Tombolo, and 5. Gallarang Manggasa (These five areas were the areas of Gowa Kingdom). 6. Gallarang Saumata 7. Gallarang Pannampu 8. Gallarang Moncongloe 9. Gallarang Parangloe (The last four areas are the areas of Tallo Kingdom)

Datuk (Malay Language or Malay) Dato (Makassar Language or Makassarese)	A shaykh master
Dampang	The Local Ruler such as Dampang Ko'marak
Gallarang	The Local Ruler
<i>Kalumanyyangi</i>	Rich
<i>Kaniakkanna</i>	His Existence or his born (in this world)
Karaeng/Batara/Arung/Andi/ Daeng or Dg. (Makassarese and Buginese) is the same as <i>Ṣulṭān</i> in Arabic	The title of a King/Princes/ the nobles' people. While <i>Sulṭān</i> is the title obtained by the King of Gowa from the King of Makka Saudi Arabia; such as I Mallombasi Dg. Mattawang Karaeng Bonto Mangngape Sulṭān Ḥāsan al-Dīn. However now there is a change in Macassar's culture especially for the word <i>Daeng</i> , since today this word is also used by the common people, such as a farmer and a driver of public transportation sometimes called <i>Daeng</i> .
Khaṭīb Tunggal, Khaṭīb Sulung, Khaṭīb Bungsu (Titles of Malay)	Titles for the three Datuks. <i>Khatib</i> (Malay & Indonesian) is adopted from Arabic word <i>Khaṭīb</i> (Mosque's Preacher) Khaṭīb Tunggal: Single <i>Khatib</i> Khaṭīb Sulung: the Oldest <i>Khatib</i> Khaṭīb Bungsu; the Youngest <i>Khatib</i>
<i>Kelong</i>	A song
<i>Koko</i>	A garden
<i>Madaka</i>	Opium
Mangkubumi	The High Administrator of the Kingdom
Makassar & Macassar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Makassar is the name of the Gowa & Tallo Kingdoms as well as the name of Municipality of South Sulawesi. • Macassar is the English spelling of Makassar as well as the name of a town in Cape Town that houses the Kramat of Shaykh Yūsuf.
Macassarese & Buginese	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Macassarese may refer to the people of Macassar who are Malays, Arabs and Macassarese who settle in <i>Kampung Melayu</i>; and the language of Macassar, such as the name of <i>Tuanta Salāmaka</i> which was derived from the words <i>Tuan</i> (Malay) and <i>ta</i> (Macassarese: our) and <i>Salāmaka</i> (Macassarese: Gracious). It depends on the context of each. • Buginese has the same functions as Macassarese above (it may refer to the people of Bugis or the language of Bugis).
<i>Panritai</i>	A cleric and scholar
<i>Passalak</i>	About
<i>ri</i> (Macassarese)	in, at, on, under and with, such as <i>ri</i> Sungguminasa (in Sungguminasa); <i>ri Bundu'na</i> (in his war) <i>ri Paranglakkenna</i> (at the field of his palace/house); <i>ri Passiringanna</i> (under his palace/house) <i>ri Papangbatuna</i> (on his floor stone); <i>ri Kakoasanna</i> (in his rule) <i>ri Gaukanna</i> (in the period of his reign) <i>ri Kalabbiranna</i> (with his glory).
<i>Saukanga</i>	Haunted places refer to the word <i>Saukang</i> that has been mentioned above.

<i>Sembangan</i>	It is like <i>warkah</i> or messages in the form of paper rolls [roll scripts] of certain materials (not plain papers) containing a written form of something important in this life, such as <i>silsila</i> , <i>du'as</i> and other Islamic teachings as a heirloom from one's ancestor such as <i>Sembangan</i> Shaykh Muḥammad Sultan Baitullah (d. 1948) from Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī (d. 1699).
<i>Sombanta</i> (Macassarese); <i>Paduka</i> (Malay-Indonesian)	The Honour King (of Gowa)
<i>Tuanta</i> (Macassarese)	Our Master or Sayyidinā in Arabic language.
<i>Tumenanga</i> (Macassarese); <i>Matinroe</i> (Buginese)	One who died. This word is usually used for the nobles such as: Raja Gowa <i>Tumenanga ri</i> Jakattara means the King of Gowa who died in Jakarta. Raja Bone <i>Matinroe ri</i> Mallimongan means the King of Bone who died in Mallimongan.
<i>Tumenanga ri Gaukanna</i>	One (the King) who died in the period of his reign.
<i>Tumenanga ri Tappa'na</i>	One (the King) who died with his belief.
B. Other Glossaries of Arabic, Islam and Mystic Terms, etc.	
<i>Abadi</i>	Post-Eternity
' <i>Abd</i>	A Servant
<i>Abrār</i>	The pious ones
<i>Adab</i> ; <i>Ādāb</i> [plural]	An etiquette; a courtesy
' <i>Adam</i>	Non-Existence
<i>Aḥad</i>	The One
<i>Aḥadiyya</i>	(His) Absolute Unity
<i>Ahl</i>	People, Experts
<i>Ahl al-Taḥqīq</i>	The verified people or the verified experts
<i>Ahl al-Dhikr</i>	A group of people who do remembrance.
<i>Ahl al-Sa'āda</i>	The people of happiness
' <i>Aghṣānan wa Awrāqan</i>	Branches and leaves
<i>Akhyār</i>	The chosen people
<i>Akhaṣṣ al-Khawāṣ</i>	The Elite of Elites or the Superlative Elites
' <i>Ālim</i>	One who mastered physical and spiritual sciences.
<i>A neo-ṣūfī</i>	A reformer in <i>ṣūfism</i>
<i>Anṣār</i>	The original Arab inhabitants of Madīna who embraced Islam and assisted the <i>Muhājirūn</i> in various ways to establish themselves in their city or people of Madīna who embraced Islam and invited the Prophet ﷺ and his followers to make Madīna their home.
' <i>Ārif</i> (Sing.); <i>Al-'Ārif bi Allāh</i> <i>Al-'Ārifīn</i> (plural)	A gnostic; a knower of [the exact] Truth; one who sees the Truth [Allāh] in everything. Gnostics
' <i>Aqīda</i>	Belief
' <i>Awwām</i>	The common people

<i>Azalī</i>	Everlasting
<i>Baqā bi Allāh</i>	Abiding in Allāh or abiding through Allāh's Grace or remaining subsistence with Allāh.
<i>Baqā bih</i>	Abiding in Him or abiding through His Grace or remaining subsistence with Him.
<i>al-Baṣr</i>	Sight
<i>al-Bāṭin</i>	Hidden
<i>Bay'a (Talqīn)</i>	Taking a pledge with a <i>shaykh murshid</i> of one <i>Ṭarīqa</i> .
<i>Bayān</i>	An explanation or a statement
<i>Dhākr</i>	Devotee; the one who invokes or remembers Allāh; in Sufism devotee who practices invocation as a spiritual method.
<i>Dhāt</i>	Essence
<i>Dhikr</i> pl. <i>Adhkār</i> , (the English plural form <i>Dhikrs</i> is sometimes used)	Remembrance; chanting [mentioning the names of Allāh].
<i>al-Dhikr al-Jahr</i>	Engaging in <i>dhikr</i> with lip movements and a soft voice that are not too loud.
<i>al-Dhikr al-Khafī</i>	Engaging in <i>dhikr</i> without lip movements, but by tongue or by lip movements and faint sounds.
<i>al-Dhikr al-Sirr</i>	Engaging in <i>dhikr</i> with the heart, which is also called as the heart <i>dhikr</i> .
<i>Dhikrs</i> or <i>Adhkār</i> in <i>Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya</i>	<p>These <i>dhikrs</i> are known as <i>al-Asmā' al-Sab'a</i> (The Seven [Names of God])</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) The <i>dhikr</i> لا اله الا الله <i>Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh</i> [there is no god but Allāh] is designed to correct the level of the soul called <i>al-Nafs al-Ammāra</i> (the Animal Soul). 2) The <i>dhikr</i> الله (Allāh) is connected with <i>al-Nafs al-Lawwāma</i> (the reproachful soul). 3) The <i>dhikr</i> هو (Huwa/Hū [He]) is associated with <i>al-Nafs al-Mulḥama</i> (the inspired soul). 4) The <i>dhikr</i> حق (<i>Ḥaqq</i>, the True) is connected with the level of <i>al-Nafs al-Muṭma'inna</i> (the calm soul). 5) The <i>dhikr</i> حي (<i>Ḥayy</i>, the Source of Life) is associated with <i>al-Nafs al-Rāḍiya</i> (the pleased or willing soul). 6) The <i>dhikr</i> قيوم (<i>Qayyūm</i>, the Eternal). This <i>dhikr</i> is connected with the level of the soul called <i>al-Nafs al-Marḍiyya</i> (the beloved soul). 7) The <i>dhikr</i> قهار (<i>Qahhār</i>, the Mighty) is connected with the level of the soul called <i>al-Nafs al-Kāmila</i> (the perfect soul). <p>As for the seven levels of souls mentioned above will be discussed in section <i>Nafs</i> (Soul)</p>
<i>Dhikrs</i> or <i>Adhkār</i> in <i>Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf and Yūsufiyya</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Dhikr Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh</i> (<i>dhikr nafī Isbath</i>), there is no god but Allāh. This <i>dhikr</i> is also called <i>awwām</i> (general level) or tongue <i>dhikr</i>. <i>Dhikr</i> لا اله الا الله is a reliever of <i>ammāra</i>, means it cleanses the soul of <i>ammāra</i> and takes it into <i>lawwāma</i>, 2. <i>Dhikr Allāh, Allāh</i> (<i>dhikr ismu l-jalāla</i>). "الله-الله" is called <i>khawās dhikr</i> (the elite <i>dhikr</i>) or also called as <i>qalb dhikr</i> (heart <i>dhikr</i>), the heart engages <i>dhikr</i> repeatedly. <i>Dhikr</i> الله-الله is a supporter of <i>lawwāma</i> and brings the soul from <i>lawwāma</i> to <i>muṭmai'na</i> 3. <i>Dhikr huwa, huwa</i> (<i>dhikr ismu l-ishāra</i>). "هو-هو" is also called

	<p><i>dhikr akhaṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ</i> (the elite of elites or the superlative elites) or <i>dhikr sirr</i> (<i>dhikr</i> of the innermost recess), the most soulful <i>dhikr</i>. <i>Dhikr</i> هو - هو is a supporter of <i>muṭma'inna</i>, means it adorns <i>muṭma'inna</i> with <i>rāḍiya</i> which is pleasing to Him [<i>marḍiyya</i>]; who, after death, will be called to join the congregation which has gained favour in the grave [<i>barzakh</i>], and who will finally be commanded to enter paradise.</p>
<p><i>Dhikrs</i> or <i>Adhkār</i> in <i>Ṭarīqat al-Naqshabandiyya</i></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Mukāshafa</i>, namely, by engaging <i>dhikr</i> الله-الله in the heart 5000-6000 times in one day. 2. <i>Dhikrs Laṭāif</i> (The Inner Faculties <i>Dhikrs</i>); singular <i>Laṭīfa</i>. These <i>dhikrs</i> consist of seven levels of <i>Laṭāif</i> (The Subtle Centres of Consciousness) in the human body, such as in the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Laṭīfat al-Qalbī</i>: Reciting الله-الله as much as 5000 times and it is placed under the left breast, about two fingers on the ribs. • <i>Laṭīfat al-Rūḥ</i>: Reciting الله-الله as much as 1000 times and it is placed under the right breast, about two fingers to the chest. • <i>Laṭīfat al-Sirr</i>: Reciting الله-الله as much as 1000 times and it is placed on the left chest, about two fingers on the breast • <i>Laṭīfat al-Kahfī</i>: Reciting الله-الله as much as 1000 times and it is placed on the right chest, about two fingers to the chest • <i>Laṭīfat al-Akhfā'</i>: Reciting الله-الله as much as 1000 times and it is placed on the centre of chest • <i>Laṭīfat al-Nafs al-Nāṭiqah</i>: Reciting الله-الله as much as 1000 times and it is placed above the forehead • <i>Laṭāif Kull al-Jasad</i>: Reciting الله-الله as much as 1000 times and they are placed in the whole body. So, the total number of <i>dhikr</i> is 11,000 times 3. <i>Dhikr nafi Isbath</i> لا اله الا الله (there is no god but Allāh), is done when the disciple has completed the <i>dhikr</i> 11,000 times as mentioned above (for more information regarding <i>Ṭarīqat al-Naqshabandiyya</i>, see Sjech Hadji Djalaluddin 1961 & 1964; also see Abdul Wadud Kasyful Humam 2013: 98-99).
<p><i>Fanā fi Allāh</i></p>	<p>The spiritual cessation of the ego; annihilation of the self in Allāh.</p>
<p><i>Faqīr</i></p>	<p>An ascetic or one who has taken a vow of poverty and worship, renouncing all relations and possessions.</p>
<p><i>Faqr</i> [as one maqām in the <i>Ṣūfī</i> Path]</p>	<p>Poverty: do not ask for something and do not avoid it if it is given, since Allāh is the All-Knowing. If the slave asks for something, it should only be for his right as a servant or slave. Therefore a <i>sālik</i> must be good and must have a good attitude when asking for something from Allāh. It is stated, that the Arch-Angel Gabriel AS came to Prophet Ibrāhīm Khalīl-Allāh (Allāh's Beloved), when he was to be thrown in the fire and Gabriel asked: "Would you ask for help, O Ibrāhīm?" His answered: "To you, no." Gabriel then said: "Ask your God what you wish for." Ibrāhīm answered: "His Knowledge about my condition is enough and Allāh knows more about it."</p>
<p><i>Fāsiq</i></p>	<p>A sinful man</p>
<p><i>Fawā'id</i></p>	<p>The Benefits</p>
<p><i>Fawā'ih</i></p>	<p>The Utterances</p>
<p><i>Firār</i></p>	<p>Fleeing from evil and worldly affairs that are not useful.</p>
<p><i>Ghafla</i></p>	<p>Heedlessness [of the remembrance of Allāh]; anything that distracts one from Allāh.</p>

<i>Ḥadīth; aḥādīth</i> [plural]	Prophetic's Tradition
<i>Ḥadīth Qudsī</i>	Literally "sacred <i>ḥadīth</i> ," refers to <i>aḥādīth</i> related by the Prophet ﷺ but containing the words of Allāh.
<i>Ḥāl; Aḥwāl</i> [plural]	An inner state
<i>Ḥaqīqa</i>	Divine Reality
<i>al-Ḥaqq</i>	The Real; and this is one of the attributes of Allāh.
<i>al-Ḥayā</i>	Life
<i>al-Ḥulūl</i>	Divine Incarnation; indwelling, or the Descent of the Divinity into the mystic servant. This was popularised by Ḥusayn Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj (858-922) and famous with the title Love <i>Shuhadā'</i> (The fighter who died in love). This doctrine stated that God chose a certain human body to manifest Himself in it after all the attributes of human in the body were removed. Al-Ḥallāj was one who is infamous with his blasphemous words ' <i>Anā al-Ḥaqq</i> (I am the Reality or I am the Truth) which was opposed by his own teacher, Junayd al-Baghdādī, who considered his words very dangerous among Islamic society. Al-Ḥallāj then finally received a death sentence on 26 March 922 in Iraq (A. Schimmel 1975: 78-85). The term <i>ittiḥād</i> refers to only one manifestation (manifestation of God), while <i>Ḥulūl</i> or Divine Incarnation refers to a dual-existence (the existences of God and a servant) united in one body (H. Nasution 1978: 87-91).
<i>Huwiyya</i>	Literally His Identity or His Nature and His Essence; His Supreme Self in the sense that He is He the Oneness Who has all the Perfect Attributes.
<i>'ibāda</i>	Worship is to obey His <i>Waḥdat al-Wujūd</i> [the Oneness of His existence]; that is, there is no existence but His.
<i>Ikhlāṣ;</i> <i>Ikhlāṣ</i> in <i>ṣūfī</i> path	Sincere or sincerity Utmost sincerity in facing Allāh. Worship or doing prayer and <i>dhikr</i> sincerely only for seeking Allāh's Will or pleasure.
<i>al-'Ilm</i>	Knowledge
<i>'Ilm al-Ḥaqq al-Azalī</i>	The Eternal True (Divine) Knowledge
<i>Ināba</i>	A desire to return to God.
<i>al-Insān al-Kāmil</i>	The perfect human or the universal man or a person who has reached perfection. This refers to the prototype human being, pure consciousness, in contrast with the material human who is bound by one's senses and materialism.
<i>al-Irāda</i>	The Will
<i>I'tisam</i>	Always acting as God's caliph on earth.
<i>Ittiḥād</i>	The Unity (of God and a servant, but only one existence or manifestation is seen). This was popularised by Abū Yazīd al-Bustāmī [d. 261 A.H./874–5]. The blasphemous words that are usually stated by him are " <i>Subḥānī, Subḥānī, mā a'ẓama sha'nī</i> [Glory be to Me! How great is My majesty!]; and <i>laysa fī al-Jubbatī illā Allāh</i> [Nothing in my dress except Allāh], (H. Nasution 1978: 82-86). This doctrine that influenced the doctrines of <i>al-Ḥulūl</i> of Ḥusayn ibn Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj [858 – 922], and <i>Waḥdat al-Wujūd</i> of Ibn al-'Arābī [1165 -1240].
<i>Jamāl</i> and <i>Jalāl</i>	The Divine qualities of beauty and majesty describe different aspects of the way Allāh relates to human beings and creation. The term " <i>Jamāl</i> " gives collective reference to the Divine qualities of beauty, as well as to other qualities which are, in a sense, grouped with beauty. Similarly, the

	term “ <i>Jalāl</i> ” encompasses all the Divine qualities associated with majesty.
<i>Jāhil</i>	Ignorant
<i>al-Jihād fī sabīl Allāh</i>	Those who struggled in the way of <i>Allāh</i>
<i>Kāfir</i>	A disbeliever
<i>Kashf</i>	An illumination
<i>Kayfiyya</i>	A procedure or how to [do or make]
<i>Khalifa</i>	A representative; a deputy; a <i>murid</i> authorised by his/her <i>shaykh</i> to teach <i>tasawwuf</i> , designated successor of a particular <i>shaykh</i> .
<i>Khawf</i> and <i>Rajā’</i> :	Fear and hope are the inner states of one who always fears Allāh and hopes for His blessing.
<i>Khushū’</i> (really <i>Khushū’</i>)	Utmost humility
<i>Lā Ta’ayyun wa Ta’ayyun</i>	<p>This refers to the Divine Oneness of God. Although we cannot present the full argument regarding these terms here because of its lengthy and complex nature, we urge the reader to Shaykh Yūsuf treatise, <i>Tuḥfat al-Ṭālib al-Mubtadī wa Minḥat al-Sālik al-Muhtadī</i>, p.7-37 for more information. In brief, we synthesise our argument, based on this treatise, in the following manner:</p> <p>Firstly, In principle, <i>La Ta’ayyun</i> is the Oneness of the Absolute Essence when none His creations exist, His essence is likened to the ocean without waves with His identity that cannot be identified (<i>gāib l-Huwiyya</i>). Then <i>Ta’ayyun (Waḥda)</i> is the Oneness of the Essence when He has created His creations. His essence is likened to the ocean with its waves. The process of <i>Ta’ayyun</i> is divided into two: <i>Ta’ayyun Awwal</i> or <i>Aḥadiyya</i> [The Oneness of the Essence when everything in the knowledge of God which is <i>azālī</i> (everlasting) in which there is no distinction between one and the other or between them (global)]. This emerged from <i>gāib l-Huwiyya</i> (the non-identification of His identity) and it is named <i>al-Jam’iyya</i> (general) which combines this universe globally. It is also named ‘<i>Wujūd</i>’ (Existence) and because of this characteristic, it can combine everything in the absolute condition (free without a boundary) or <i>muqayyad (within a boundary)</i> or the separator between the two (<i>mutlaq</i> and <i>muqayyad</i>).</p> <p>Then <i>Ta’ayyun Thānī</i> or <i>Waḥidiyya</i> [The Oneness of Essence when everything is clear in detail in the knowledge of God which is everlasting or <i>a’yān al-thābita</i> as the permanent or established archetypes or eternal essences]. This level of <i>Waḥda</i> is also called <i>ḥaqīqat al-Muḥammadiyya</i>. This condition can combine <i>mutlaq</i> (the absolute) and <i>muqayyad</i> (the boundary/bound), and the intermediary of both, either between <i>Wujūd (Existence)</i>, or in the knowledge, or in view or as a light. (A. Ridwan Tahir, personal communication, 06 October 2019). Another statement said that <i>Ta’ayyun</i> is a manifestation of the essential characteristics inherent in the Divine Being (M.A Rafudeen, personal communication, 10 May 2017).</p>
<i>al-Lubb</i>	The inner core
<i>Maḥabba</i>	Love. The <i>sālik</i> who is in the state of <i>maḥabba</i> always hopes for God’s love, still remains committed to <i>tawḥīd</i> , knows and does what has been ordered by God and avoids what has been forbidden by Him.
<i>Maḥjūb</i>	Literally invisible, covered, submerged or veiled
<i>Majāz</i>	A metaphor
<i>Ma’lūmāt</i>	Cognitive knowledge
<i>Maqām; Maqāmāt</i> [plural]	A station or a stage (in a <i>ṣūfī</i> path)

<i>Maqām Rububiyya</i>	Divine Station which is owned by God himself.
<p><i>Maqām al-Tanzīh wa al-Tashbīh.</i></p> <p>These terms are derived from his treatise <i>Qurrat al-'Ayn</i>, p. 54.</p>	<p>There are two interpretations of this maqām. Dadoo (2017: 5) stated that <i>al-Tanzīh</i> as pure abstraction and <i>al-Tashbīh</i> as anthropomorphism, while Tudjimah (1997) & Sultan (2008) stated that <i>al-Tanzīh</i> as purification or sanctifying the Absolute One and <i>al-Tashbīh</i> as equating or likening the Absolute One. Both interpretations are true depending on their points of view. According to Shaykh Yūsuf that: 'We also believe that Allāh should not be conceived of in purely abstract (incorporeal) or anthropomorphic terms. It should be a point where He is viewed in anthropomorphic terms from a standpoint of abstraction, or in abstract terms from a standpoint of anthropomorphism. According to well-grounded scholars, pure abstraction diffuses an odour of total incorporeality while pure anthropomorphism diffuses an odor of physical likeness. Scholars belonging to the <i>Ahl al-Sunna wa l-Jamā'a</i> advocate the presence of both these traits in Him simultaneously. The Shari'a quotes both of them in verses like "There is nothing like Him" and "He is the all-hearing, all-seeing." The first verse supports incorporeality while the second one supports anthropomorphism. Essentially, we support abstraction combined with materiality. Therefore, do not uphold either exclusively spiritual or physical views about Allāh. If you combine these views you will become one of the people of truth, perfection, happiness and sublime rank among the <i>Ahl al-Sunna wa l-Jamā'a</i> who observe the straight path,' (Dadoo 2017: 5). On the other hand, Tudjimah stated that belief in the Ḥaqq Ta'āla should be placed between sanctifying the Absolute One and equating the Absolute One. It means sanctifying Him at the place of equality and likening or equating Him in the place of sanctification. For purifying it is far from equating to the people of verification. Do you understand the Words of God: ليس كمثلہ شيء and هو وهو السميع البصير as the place or the stage of <i>al-Tanzīh</i> (inequality or sanctification) and <i>al-Tashbīh</i> (equate). The result of that placement: <i>al-Tanzīh</i> remains with <i>al-Tashbīh</i>, then he sanctifies and equates. This is the opinion of <i>Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jama'a</i> (Tudjimah 1997: 64-65).</p> <p>Obviously what Shaykh Yūsuf says above that the place of sanctification is the understanding the Words of God ("There is nothing likes unto Him"); the place of equating is the understanding of the Words of God: وهو السميع البصير ("And He is the All-Hearer, the All-Seer") and the like. So sanctifying God in the place of equality means that God hears, sees and so falls differently from man and other entities than him hear, see and so forth; while equating God in the place of sanctification, meaning God has qualities of hearing, seeing and so forth not with ears, eyes and other tools as having by human and other creatures. Because there is nothing like unto Him. Briefly, Allāh has the perfect qualities and the Most Holy of the deficient qualities (Sultan 2008: 131-132).</p>
<i>Mardūda</i>	Reverted or Rejected
<i>Ma'rifa</i>	Gnosis; Divine Recognition
<i>Maṭālib</i>	The Quest
<i>Mawjūd</i>	Exist
<i>Mithāl</i>	An example
<i>Muhājirūn</i>	Refers to the Companions of the Prophet ﷺ who migrated from Makka to Madīna in 622 AD or people of Makka who embraced Islam and migrated to Madīna with the Prophet ﷺ in 622 AD.
<i>Muḥāsaba</i>	Self-introspection

<i>Mujāhadāt al-Shaqā'</i>	Those who struggle against adversity or hardship.
<i>Muqarrabīn</i>	Those who have attained the state of divine closeness.
<i>Murāqaba</i>	Introspection
<i>Murāqabat al-qalb</i>	Introspection of the heart inculcates the fear of God, or of His punishment.
<i>Murāqabat al-rūḥ</i>	Introspection of the soul takes the fear away from God's grace or the separation from His Lord.
<i>Murāqabat al-sīr</i>	Introspection of the innermost recesses brings the <i>ma'rifa</i> that God is closer to him than his own veins. This in accordance with the words of God: "And We are nearer to him than his jugular vein (by Our Knowledge)." (Qur'ān, 50:16).
<i>Murshid</i>	A shaykh or a master in a <i>ṣūfī</i> order
<i>Al-Mushāhada</i>	Visualisation: is the inner state of one who could see Allāh by all of his expressions or by his inner eye.
<i>Muṭī'</i>	An Obedient Slave
<i>Muwaḥḥid</i>	One who sees the Divine Unite in everything or One who asserts the Unity of God.
<i>Nafs</i>	A soul. Despite the <i>ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya</i> advocating that souls exist on many levels, Shaykh Yūsuf essentially believed that <i>nafs</i> , except for the many levels of secular influences, should be perceived as a single entity. Therefore, he maintains that the soul can be either in a state of <i>ammāra</i> , <i>lawwāma</i> or <i>muṭma'inna</i> . These states are related to the teachings of God in the mundane existence of the world because humans were created for doing <i>mu'āmalat</i> (social dealings), in addition to worship and <i>ma'rifa</i> . However, <i>rāḍiya</i> is the state of <i>muṭma'inna</i> which has been sanctified by devotion, and <i>marḍiyya</i> is the gift of God to the <i>muṭma'innat al-rāḍiya</i> . Both are directly related to the afterlife on the Day of Resurrection when there is no a physical duty of worship, such as <i>ṣalāt</i> , <i>dhikr</i> , etc., (Sultan 2015: 170).
<i>al-Nafs al-Ammāra</i>	The animal soul. This soul is regarded as hedonistic and preoccupied with animalistic pleasures such as lust and anger, and always encourages the owner to commit sin.
<i>al-Nafs al-Lawwāma</i>	The reproachful soul. The soul is considered to be in the beginning phase of cleanliness. It admonishes its owner for sinning and encourages him to do good deeds.
<i>al-Nafs al-Mulḥama</i>	The inspired soul. This soul is considered to have been cleaned or purer or flawless because it actively strives towards piety and, at the same time, actively avoids evil that can pollute it.
<i>al-Nafs al-Muṭma'inna</i>	The calm soul. This soul, in addition to being spiritually clean, is also considered to be at peace in the face of all the trials of life, both joyous and sad.
<i>al-Nafs al-Rāḍiya</i>	The pleased or willing soul. This soul is getting cleaner, quieter and more satisfied with its owner's lot in life because of the realisation that everything comes from God.
<i>al-Nafs al-Marḍiyya</i>	The contented soul. Building on the previous level, the soul also gains His pleasure.
<i>al-Nafs al-Kāmila</i>	The perfect soul. This soul has reached the highest level or pinnacle of spiritual perfection and will continue to experience this during the lifetime

	of the owner.
<i>Neo-Şūfism</i> (Modern <i>Ṭaşawwuf</i>)	The teaching which combines two aspects in this life: exoteric devotion and esoteric reality or <i>sharī'a</i> and <i>ḥaqīqa</i> . This teaching also leads one to involve in social activities, but it is always under the control of <i>Qur'ān</i> and <i>sunna</i> . The term <i>Neo-Şūfism</i> according to Howel JD (2012) is popularised by Fazlur Rahman (Fazl ur Raḥmān) in 1966 to describe reform movements among <i>şūfī</i> orders (<i>ṭarāiq</i> , singular <i>ṭarīqa</i>) of the 18th and 19th centuries. In 1992, through his book entitled 'Islam,' he tried to integrate mystical consciousness with <i>sharī'a</i> and two of his prominent figures i. e. Al-Ghazālī and 'Ibn Taymiyya (Kasmuri Selamat and Ihsan Sanusi 2011 203-204).
<i>Qaḍā'</i> and <i>Qadr</i>	Divine Providence and Divine Decree
<i>Qadīm</i>	Pre-eternity without beginning
<i>al-Qudra</i>	The Power
<i>al-Qurb</i>	Proximity: is the inner state of one who feels himself together with, and is encompassed by, Allāh wherever he is or he feels as always being in Allāh's sanctity.
<i>Qutb</i>	Literally means a pole. According to <i>şūfīs</i> , <i>qutb</i> depicts a person of extremely high spiritual level who acts as an administrator in that hierarchy of the world; a human conduit of spiritual power from Allāh, through whom this power is distributed in the world.
<i>Ratīb</i> , and <i>istighātha</i>	Other kinds of remembrances. Both are a collection of <i>wirid</i> and <i>dhikr</i> .
<i>Riḍā'</i>	Willingness or pleasure. This means not to go against God's <i>qaḍā'</i> and <i>qadar</i> .
<i>Riyāḍa</i>	Practicing charity as much as possible.
<i>Şabr</i>	Patience or one who has an unshakable soul: His foundation must be strong despite the weight of the challenges that face him. Truly Allāh unites with the patient ones.
<i>al-Sam'</i>	Hearing
<i>al-Shajara</i>	The tree
<i>Sālik</i> ; <i>Sālikīn</i> (plural)	Literally a traveler; a spiritual seeker
<i>Al-Shawq</i>	Longing: is the inner state of one who is always longing for Allāh. Because of his love for Him he remembers abundantly. Allāh is always in his heart, which means that Allāh remembers him, loves him and is longing for him.
<i>Sharī'a</i> (sing), <i>Sharāi'u</i> (plural)	Divine Law, Divine Laws
<i>Shirk</i>	Attributing partnership with Allāh
<i>Shukr</i>	Thanking God. The person who thanks God is one who is sensitive towards Allāh's kindness, whatever his condition.
<i>Silsila</i>	Lit., chain; the lineage. There are two main chains or lineages here: 1) Chain or the lineage of a <i>şūfī</i> order (<i>Ṭarīqa</i>) descending from Prophet Muhammad ﷺ through `Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib or Abū Bakr (may Allāh be pleased with them). The chain of transmission includes all <i>murshids</i> [guides] of the order up to the present. 2) Chain or the lineage of family, such as the lineage of Sh. Yūsuf's family from Prophet Muḥammad PBUH and the lineage of his offspring.
<i>Simā'</i>	Concentrates all limbs and senses in following the commandments of God

	especially the sense of hearing.
<i>Sirr</i>	A mystery; a secret; an innermost recess (innermost recesses [pl.]); in <i>ṣūfī</i> symbolism is the Centre of Consciousness.
<i>Ṣūfī</i>	A Muslim Ascetic and Mystic; one who has purified himself, his heart and soul and has reach the stage <i>ma'rifat Allāh</i> , even he has experienced annihilation in God and remaining subsistence with Him [<i>fanā fī Allāh wa baqā' bih</i>).
<i>Ṣūfī Muḥaqqiqīn</i>	Probing or verifying <i>Ṣūfīs</i>
<i>Sulūk</i>	A spiritual traveling
<i>Tafakkur</i>	Contemplation on the Greatness of God
<i>Taḥayyur</i>	Bewilderment
<i>Taḥmīd</i>	Praising God, the Lord of Universe
<i>Taḥlīl</i>	Reciting <i>Lā ilāha illā Allāh</i> (There is no god but Allāh).
<i>Takbīr</i>	Glorifying the Greatness of Allāh SWT.
<i>al-Tāj</i>	The Crown
<i>Tajalli</i>	Allāh's unveiling of Himself to his creation.
<i>Tajassum</i>	Literally means incarnate. When it refers to the <i>keramat</i> of a <i>ṣūfī</i> , it refers to a miracle of a saint of Allāh who can incarnate and emerge in a multiple body as a result of His Grant and Blessing to him.
<i>Ṭarīq</i> or <i>Ṭarīqa</i> , pl. <i>Ṭuruq</i> or <i>Tarāiq</i>	A path; a <i>ṣūfī</i> order; a <i>ṣūfī</i> path, a brotherhood; an order of <i>ṣūfism</i> founded by a recognised member of a <i>silsila</i> .
<i>Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf</i>	The pioneer of this <i>ṭarīqa</i> in Indonesia was Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī in the seventeenth century. He studied this <i>ṭarīqa</i> under his master Abū al-Barakāt Ayyūb bin Aḥmad ibn Ayyūb al-Khalwatī al-Qurayshī (944-1071/1586-1661 A.H.), in Damascus Syria (1658-1661) until he obtained a certificate and a title as Hadiyat Allāh Tāj al-Khalwatī from his master. This <i>ṭarīqa</i> was then popularised by his disciple Shaykh 'Abd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīr al-Raffānī, a knowledgeable blind <i>ṣūfī</i> in South Sulawesi as well as his descendants.
<i>Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya</i>	The founder of this <i>ṭarīqa</i> in Indonesia was Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī in the seventeenth century. This <i>ṭarīqa</i> was without a special certificate, since it was a combination of all <i>ṭarāiq</i> that he had learned especially with the five <i>ṭarāiq</i> and their certificates, i.e. <i>Qādiriyya</i> , <i>Naqshabandiyya</i> , <i>Bā 'Alawiyya</i> , <i>Shattariyya</i> and <i>Khalwatiyya</i> . This <i>ṭarīqa</i> was then popularised by his disciple 'Abd Ḥamīd Krg. Karunrung until Shaykh Yūsuf's great-great descendant Shaykh K.H. Sahib Sultan al-Maḥāsīn bin Muḥammad Sultan Baitullah. In addition, this Shaykh also taught <i>Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya</i> . Therefore, he is also known as a <i>murshid</i> of <i>Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya</i> .
<i>Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Sammān</i> or <i>Sammāniyya</i>	The <i>Ṭarīqat Khalwatiyya</i> which reached the shores of Indonesia in the 18th century through Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān al-Madanī (1132-1189 A.H./1717-1775), was later renamed <i>Khalwatiyyat al-Sammān</i> . Shaykh al-Sammān also obtained a diploma from Shaykh Muṣṭafā bin Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī al-Khalwatī (1099-1163A.H./1688-1749). Both branches of <i>Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya</i> stem from the same genealogy which has branches from Shaykh Mawlānā 'Afandī 'Umar al-Khalwatī. Two of 'Umar al-Khalwatī's disciples were Yahya al-Sirwānī, who started the <i>Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya till Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf</i> and Muḥammad 'Amir Umm al-Khalwatī who started the <i>Ṭarīqat al-</i>

	<p><i>Khalwatiyya till Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyyat al-Sammān.</i></p> <p>The leader of <i>Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Sammān</i> in South Sulawesi today is al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Andi Muḥammad Hidāyat Puang Rukka.</p> <p>Those <i>ṣūfī</i> orders (<i>Yūsufiyya</i> and <i>Sammāniyya</i>) co-exist peacefully today in South Sulawesi. There are no differences in terms of principles and purposes, both have their own way or method in achieving their goals to be as close as possible to God Almighty and together with Him (Sultan 2018: 63).</p>
<i>Tashakkur.</i>	Literally thanks. Gratitude towards God by serving and praising Him.
<i>Tashbih</i>	Literally similar or like or likeness. When it refers to the remembrance meaning sanctifying God from the attributes of His creatures or praising our Lord.
<i>al-Thamra</i>	The fruit
<i>Al-Taqwā'</i>	Literal meaning is pious. This is God consciousness as the inner state of one who always observes Allāh 'Azza <i>Wajalla</i> 's orders and avoids all that He had forbidden, either in hidden ways or openly (wherever and whenever) and always hopes for His Blessing.
<i>Ṭaṣawwuf</i>	Mysticism
<i>Tawakkul</i>	Resignation means the surrender to the ' <i>qaḍā'</i> and <i>qadar</i> of Allāh after attempting the necessary remedial action.
<i>Tawḥīd</i>	Divine knowledge or Islamic monotheism
<i>Tawba</i>	Repentance
<i>Tawḥīd Waḥdat al-Wujūd</i>	<i>Tawḥīd</i> or belief to the Oneness of Being and no other and otherness.
<i>Tawḥīd Waḥdat al-Wujūd</i> [panentheism] of al-Maqassarī vs. pantheism	As for " <i>Tawḥīd Waḥdat al-Wujūd</i> [panentheism], since according to Shaykh Yūsuf that one should believe that God is greater than or beyond the universe, He is the Greatest as He is One Whose identity [<i>Huwiyya</i>] infiltrates everything [all existences] with no <i>Ḥulūl</i> [incarnation] and no <i>ittiḥād</i> [union]. He (His knowledge), Glory be to him, encompasses all things and is together with everything. He has Power above all His servants and He wins and never fails, and there is nothing comparable unto Him (<i>Qur'ān</i> , 42: 11). Therefore, his <i>Tawḥīd Waḥdat al-Wujūd</i> refers to the Transcendence and Immanence of God or a combination of both (see also his panentheism in his <i>Waḥdat al-Ṣamad</i> in the next discussion). Otherwise, <i>Tawḥīd Waḥdat al-Wujūd</i> pantheism considers that this universe is the physical manifestation of God (see also <i>Waḥdat al-Wujūd</i> pantheism of Ibn 'Arabī in the next discussion).
<i>Tawḥīd al-Ikhlāṣ</i>	The Immaculate <i>Tawḥīd</i>
<i>Tuma'nīna</i>	Tranquility: is the inner state of one who is in a peaceful condition without being anxious and afraid. Nothing can waver his feelings and thinking since he has reached the highest state for a pure soul. Regardless of the length of the journey and its strenuousness he reaches the end where he could communicate directly with Allāh Who is looked at, loved and longed for. This engenders peace.
' <i>Ubudiyya</i>	Servitude of the 'self' or individual consciousness is that by means of fulfilling its specific function and purpose of creation.
<i>al-'Ubudiyyat al-Muṭlaqa</i>	The absolute servitude of a servant as the highest station for him.
<i>al-Ulūhiyya</i>	Divinity
<i>Waḥdaniyya</i>	The Unity of Allāh

<i>al-Uns</i>	Intimacy: is the inner state of one who concentrates his full soul and expression only on Allāh.
<i>Wālī' Allāh; Awliyā' Allāh (plural)</i>	The saint of Allāh
<i>al-Wahhāb</i>	The One [Allāh] who bestows and gives unrequitedly to those He wishes, oblivious of deservedness.
<i>Waḥdat al-Ṣamad.</i> <i>This term is derived from the words Waḥdat al-Ṣamadiyya in one of his treatise, al-Nafḥat al-Saylānyya, p. 28 lines 11</i>	<p>The Unity of all Creatures' dependence (or the Unity of One who fulfils all His creatures needs) in the sense that the concentration of dependent feelings of all inner consciousness to only the Oneness of God, because He is Allāh, the One God Whom all creatures need. This was popularised by Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maḡassarī (1626-1699). In his opinion, Allāh [His knowledge] encompassed all things without fusion or interfusion and although He is within [together with] everything, nothing comparable unto Him. Allāh is <i>Wājib al-Wujūd</i> [the absolute or essential existence], while all His creations are only <i>Wujūd al-Majāzī</i> [have metaphorical existences]. Then he said that our belief in Allāh, the Exalted, must be located between the absolute affirmation of the Divine Transcendence and the absolute Immanence, meaning that we affirm His Divine Transcendence without denying His attributes and we affirm His immanence without comparing Him with anyone. We affirm His divine Transcendence in the situation of Immanence and affirm His immanence in the situation of divine Transcendence because the position of absolute divine Transcendence leads to negligence and negligence is something which does not have limits. The same applies to the position of absolute Immanence for it leads to extravagant behaviour which transgresses all boundaries (Dangor 1995: 41-43). This is one of his reforms to prevent fellow Muslims from false beliefs.</p> <p>If, on the one hand, <i>Waḥdat al-Wujūd</i> of Ibn 'Arabī refers to the Immanence of God, while on the other hand, <i>Waḥdat al-Shuhūd</i> of al-Sirhindī refers to the Transcendence of God, <i>Waḥdat al-Ṣamad</i> of Shaykh Yūsuf refers to both. However, free from the similarities and differences between <i>Waḥdat al-Wujūd</i> of Ibn 'Arabī and <i>Waḥdat al-Shuhūd</i> of al-Ghazālī and al-Sirhindī, it seems that Shaykh Yūsuf tries to mediate and to reconcile between the two views by merging both. Then to avoid a long debate between the two, he finally closed the discussion on this issue with the words that a servant is a servant, although he ascends and he is characterised by God's characters or attributes, and God is God, although He descends to His servant and is characterised by servant's characters. This is because His manifestation on one being or His unveiling on His servant is not by fusion or infusion or incarnation or union. He has no shape and limits. Therefore, although he agreed and accepted the <i>tawḥīd</i> of <i>Waḥdat al-Wujūd</i> and the <i>tawḥīd</i> of <i>Waḥdat al-Shuhūd</i>, both forms of <i>tawḥīd</i> in his <i>Waḥdat al-Ṣamad</i> refers to Panentheism and not Pantheism or Transcendentalism.</p>
<i>Waḥdat al-Shuhūd</i>	Unity of Witness was popularised by Abū Ḥamīd Muḡammad al-Ghazālī [īmām al-Ghazālī] who was born in Tunis Khurasan, Iran in 450 A.H or 1058 A.D and died in 505 A.H. or 1111 A.D. This Unity of Witness which implies the meaning of <i>fanā'</i> in <i>tawḥīd</i> is that the concentration of all the inner consciousness on the essence of the Oneness of God. So, he does not realise his existence and the existences of all beings except that of God, and then only God is witnessed and acknowledged as a single God. The inner view and consciousness in this doctrine, according to him, are just like lightning flashes. In other words, the statement that nothing exists except God is only the feeling that is experienced by the gnostic at specific times of spiritual ecstasy and not the expression of the overall

	idea about God and its relationship with the universe. This doctrine was then further developed by Ahmad al-Sirhindī and Shah Walī Allāh (Azra 1992). Nevertheless, <i>Waḥdat al-Shuhūd</i> of al-Sirhindī refers to the transcendence of God (F.H.-Shahid June 2005).
<i>Waḥdat al-Wujūd</i>	Unity of Being [Existence/Pantheism] was popularised by Ibn ‘Arabī [1165 -1240] who considers that there is a physical unity between a servant and God. He was famous with <i>Shaykh al-Akbar</i> . It seems that in this process of unification of <i>Waḥdat al-Wujūd</i> is the opposite of al-Ḥulūl; if in al-Ḥulūl the Lord descends and manifests Himself into his servant, then in this view the servant ascends to unite with God. In this doctrine has a view that in everything exists has God attributes [Ḥaqq] as well as creatures attributes [Khalq] as it is said that: “the eternal and the phenomenal are two complementary of the One, each of which is necessary to the other. The creatures are the external manifestation of the Creator. On the other hands, it is stated: The exists is only One. The many is nothing. In other words that in reality who has the existence is only one, i.e. God. Other existences rather than Him are only shadows (H. Nasution 1978: 93-95). This doctrine refers to the immanence of God (F.H.-Shahid June 2005).
<i>Walī Qutb al-Rabbānī wa al-‘Ārifīn al-Ṣamadānī</i> (another title of Shaykh Yūsuf al-maḡassarī (Dg. Magassing 1933: 53 & 79)	A great saint of Allāh (a leader of Allāh’s saints of his time who has God’s attributes), who knows Allāh; a human conduit spiritual power from Allāh as the Supreme Ruler whom all creatures need, through whom this power is distributed in the world.
<i>Warā’</i>	Avoiding bad things. This means the rejection of the world to reach Allāh, humbling oneself to Him, fearing His displeasure and hoping for His blessing.
<i>al-Wujūd</i>	The Existence
<i>al-Wujūd al-Khārijī</i>	The External Existence
<i>al-Yaqīn</i>	Certainty: This is the inner state of one who believes in Allāh or is convinced of Allāh and to sever himself from all of things except Allāh in every circumstance and condition. He has firm conviction about continuously confronting everything in his soul. He will never be tempted to run from creatures and always turn unto Allāh (in all states). In Secret of Secrets (<i>Sirr al-Asrār</i>), it is stated that there are four types of belief or confidence: first, sure knowledge (<i>‘ilm al-yaqīn</i>); then its essence (<i>‘ayn al yaqīn</i>) or to be convinced not only by knowledge, but also seeing and witnessing Him; then its truth (<i>ḥaqq al-yaqīn</i>), in this case it is not only by knowing, seeing or witnessing Him, but also feeling His truth, this confidence has reached <i>maqām ma’rifah</i> ; then its reality (<i>ḥaqīqat al-yaqīn</i>), when a servant becomes one of the elect (<i>khawwāṣṣ</i>) of the people of Allāh, the Exalted, Possessor of the Perfection and Completeness or one who has reached the station of <i>fanā’ fi Allāh wa baqā’ bih</i> (Sultan 208: 177-178, see also Dangor, 1995: 11).
<i>Yaqza</i>	An awareness of himself as a despicable creature before God Almighty
<i>al-Zubda</i>	The essence
<i>Zuhd</i>	A renouncement of worldly pleasures
C. Glossary of the Arabic Works of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maḡassarī of UB Leiden & The National Library of Jakarta	
<i>Al-A’yān al-Thābita</i>	The Permanent Archetypes or the Established Archetypes or Eternal Essences.
<i>Al-Dhikr wa al-Du‘ā</i>	Remembrance and <i>Du‘ā</i> .

<i>Asrār al-Ṣalā</i>	The Secrets of Prayer (<i>Ṣalā</i>)
<i>Baḥr al-Lāhūt</i>	Ocean of Divine Nature
<i>Al-Barkat al-Saylāniyya</i>	The Blessing from Ceylon
<i>Bidāyat al-Mubtadī</i>	The First Step of the Novice
<i>Daf'u al-Balā'</i>	Repelling Calamity.
<i>Faṭḥ Kaifiyyat al-Dhikr</i>	The Explanation concerning the Ways of Doing Dhikr or Introduction to the Method of <i>Dhikr</i>
<i>Faṭḥu al-Raḥmān</i>	The Revelation of the Merciful
<i>Al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya</i> or is called also as <i>Al-Tuḥfat al-Rabbāniyya</i>	The Divine Revelations
<i>Al-Fawā'ih al-Yūsufiyya fī Bayān Taḥqīq al-Ṣūfiyya</i>	The Utterances of Yūsufiyya [based on Shaykh Yusuf] in Explaining the Verification of the Ṣūfis.
<i>Habl al- Warid Li Sa'adat al-Murid</i>	Ray of inspiration for the happiness of the Disciple
<i>Hādhihi Fawā'id aẓīma (dhikrs)</i>	These are the Great Benefits (of <i>dhikrs</i>)
<i>Ḥaḳīqat al-Bayān</i> or <i>Bayān Allāh</i>	The Explanation of Reality or the Explanation of Allāh
<i>Ḥaḳīqat al-Rūḥ</i>	The Reality of the Soul
<i>Ikhtisāṣ al-Dhikr</i>	The Specification of Remembering God
<i>Ishrīn al-Ṣifa</i>	Twenty Attributes
<i>Kaifiyyat al-Nafī Wa al-Ithbāt bi al-Ḥadīth al-Qudsī</i>	The Way of Negation and Affirmation (<i>Dhikr</i>) via the <i>Ḥadīth Qudsī</i>
<i>Kitāb al-Anbā fī l'rāb Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh</i>	The Book of Instruction with Respect to the Declaration Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh
<i>Kitāb Inbā al-Inbā fī l'rāb Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh</i>	The Book of Annotations of Kitāb al-Inbāh fī l'rāb Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh
<i>Ma'nā Qawli lā ilāha illa Allāh</i>	The meaning of the words lā ilāha illa Allāh
<i>Ma'nā al-Wujūd</i>	The Meaning of Existence
<i>Maṭālib al-Sālikīn</i>	The Quest of the Spiritual Seekers
<i>al-Minḥat al-Saylaniyya fī al-Minḥat al-Raḥmaniyya</i>	The Gift from Ceylon regarding the Gifts of the Most Merciful
<i>Muqaddimat al-Fawā'id al-laṭī mā lā budda min al-'Aqāid</i>	Introduction to the Benefits which emanate from Beliefs.
<i>Al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya</i>	Providential Gift: a Breeze from Ceylon or the Fragrance of Ceylon
<i>Qurrat al-'Ayn</i>	Consolation for the Eyes
<i>Risāla Ghāyat al-Ikhtisār Wa nihāyat al-Intizār</i>	The Excellent Treatise in Brevity and the Ultimate Vision or the Concise Treatise on the Goal and Outcome of Wakefulness.
<i>Risāla ilā Sulṭān Wazīr Karaeng Karunrung 'Abd al-Ḥamid</i>	Shaykh Yusuf's letter to Mangkubumi/the High Administrator Karaeng Karunrung 'Abd I-Ḥamid
<i>Safinat al-Najah</i>	The Ark of Safety or the Vessel of Salvation

<i>Sirr al-Asrār</i>	The Secret of Secrets
<i>Şūra</i>	The Image (of Tawḥīd)
<i>Taḥsīl al-‘Ināya wa al-Hidāya</i>	The Implication of Help and Guidance or the Acquisition of Divine Providence and Guidance.
<i>Tāj al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Mashārib al-‘Arīfīn</i>	The Crown of Secrets in regard to Verification of the Ecstasy of the Gnostics
<i>Talkhīṣ al-Ma‘ārif</i>	The Synopsis of Divine Knowledge
<i>Tartīb al-Dhikr</i>	The Sequence of <i>Dhikr</i>
<i>Tuḥfat al-Abrār li Ahl al-Asrār</i>	The gift of the Good Ones to the People of Secrets or the Gift of the Pious to the People of Secrets
<i>Tuḥfat al-Amr fī Faḍīlat al-Dhikr</i>	The Gift of the Divine Command concerning the Virtues of <i>Dhikr</i>
<i>Tuḥfat al-Labīb billiqai al-Ḥabīb</i>	The Valuable Gift concerning the Meeting with the Beloved or The Gift of the Essence in Meeting with the Beloved
<i>Tuḥfat al-Mursala</i>	The Manifest Gift
<i>Al-Tuḥfat al-Saylāniyya</i>	A Gift from Ceylon
<i>Tuḥfat al-Ṭālib al-Muḥtadī wa Minḥat al-Sālik al-Muḥtadī</i>	The Gift of the Novice Student and the Gift of the Novice Seeker.
<i>Al-Wājib al-Wujūd</i>	The Essential, Indispensable Existence
<i>Al-Waṣīyyāt al-Munjiyyāt ‘an al-Muḍarrat al-Hijāb</i>	Advice for Protection from the Harm of Veiling or entitled it as the Saving Bequest.
<i>Zubdat al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Ba‘ḍi Mashārib al-Akhyār</i>	The Essence of Secrets in Investigating Some Drinking Places of the Chosen Ones
D. Glossary of Some Abbreviations	
AS	Peace be upon him
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Literally Royal Institute for Language, Land, and Ethnology or KITLV, but it is also known as the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies in Leiden. KITLV is usually also referred to as the Bibliotheek or KITLV Library.
MSKBG	<i>Manuscript Koninklijk Bataviaas(ch) Genootschap</i> , Jakarta. Formerly known as Bat. Gen., and Its Present name is Perpustakaan Nasional of RI, Jakarta.
QS	May Allāh sanctify the innermost recesses of him/her or them
RA	May Allāh be pleased with him/her.
SWT	Glory be to Him and Exalted.
SAW	Peace and Blessings be upon him [PBUH]
UB	Universiteitsbibliotheek or the University Library (in Leiden)

IJMES TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM FOR ARABIC, PERSIAN, AND TURKISH

CONSONANTS

A = Arabic, P = Persian, OT = Ottoman Turkish, MT = Modern Turkish

	A	P	OT	MT		A	P	OT	MT		A	P	OT	MT
ء	ʾ	ʾ	ʾ	—	ز	z	z	z	z	ك	k	k or g	k or ñ	k or n
ب	b	b	b	b or p	ژ	—	zh	j	j				or y	or y
پ	—	p	p	p	س	s	s	s	s				or ğ	or ğ
ت	t	t	t	t	ش	sh	sh	ş	ş	ك	—	g	g	g
ث	th	s	s	s	ص	ş	ş	ş	s	ل	l	l	l	l
ج	j	j	c	c	ض	ḍ	z	z	z	م	m	m	m	m
چ	—	ch	ç	ç	ط	t	t	t	t	ن	n	n	n	n
ح	h	h	h	h	ظ	z	z	z	z	ه	h	h	h ¹	h ¹
خ	kh	kh	h	h	ع	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	—	و	w	v or u	v	v
د	d	d	d	d	غ	gh	gh	g or ğ	g or ğ	ي	y	y	y	y
ذ	dh	z	z	z	ف	f	f	f	f	ة	a ²			
ر	r	r	r	r	ق	q	q	k	k	ال	a ³			

¹ When h is not final. ² In construct state: at. ³ For the article, al- and -l-.

VOWELS

	ARABIC AND PERSIAN	OTTOMAN AND MODERN TURKISH
<i>Long</i>	ا or آ ā	ā ū ī } words of Arabic and Persian origin only
	و ū	
	ي ī	
<i>Doubled</i>	آي iyy (final form ī)	iy (final form ī)
	آو uww (final form ū)	uvv
<i>Diphthongs</i>	او au or aw	ev
	اي ai or ay	ey
<i>Short</i>	ا a	a or e
	و u	u or ū / o or ö
	ي i	i or ī

For Ottoman Turkish, authors may either transliterate or use the modern Turkish orthography.

In this case, I will try to follow IJMES transliteration for Arabic

Notes:

- 1) All Arabic names, or terms used in this thesis, use this transliteration, except for the words: Islam, since it is a commonly used English word and is understandable; and directly quotes or names (such as Sahib Sultan & Muhammad Sultan Baitullah).
- 2) Despite the name Yusuf which is also commonly used, we are using the transliterated version 'Yūsuf' to differentiate it with other similar works only.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This research attempts to present the literary contribution of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣṣarī¹ (1036-1110 A.H) that will be examined by focusing on one of his sentinel works, *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, as found in the Arabic Microfilms of Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, more specifically at MSKBG 108 F Or A 13b [3]. It will also examine previously unexplored aspects of the life of the Shaykh to further our understanding of him as an influential person in the seventeenth century.

The selection of this specific literary work was motivated by the following reasons:

- 1) Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī, as the author of numerous Islamic literary works, is known as the spiritual father of the Muslim community in South Africa. He is also regarded as a national hero in both South Africa and his place of birth, Indonesia. Given this high esteem, however, there are still some unexplored areas of Shaykh Yūsuf's life and academic works which need to be examined using comprehensive religious historical and philological approaches. The study will use *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* and some of his other literary works and attempt to triangulate the data through Indonesian, Dutch and South African sources.
- 2) Shaykh Yūsuf is regarded as a great *ṣūfī* who contributed much to Islamic mystic literature and was largely seen as leading the reformation movement in the Islamic mystic world in the seventeenth century. He is regarded as a neo-*ṣūfī* (a reformer in *ṣūfism*) and some of his reformist ideas in the Islamic mystic world were expanded on, in his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, even the essence of this treatise has become the main point of his reforms, i.e. the purification of beliefs to the Oneness of God.
- 3) The *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn treatise* is a unique and special literary work that discusses three important issues in Islamic teaching, *tawḥīd* (doctrine of the Oneness of God), *ma'rifa* (knowledge) and *'ibāda* (worship). Its contents cover the theology of Islam, Islamic philosophy and Islamic mysticism. This thesis will use a unique philological perspective

¹There are some various spelling variants for the word al-Maqassarī for Shaykh Yūsuf, such as al-Maqāṣṣarī (المقاصري) by Jami' al-Dīn bin Ṭālib al-Tīmī al-Khalwatī in his book *Majmu'a min Muallafāt al-Shaykh Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqāṣṣarī* (1735), al-Makasari by Nabilah Lubis (1996) and al-Makāssarī (المكا سري) in *Kitāb al-Anbāh fī l'rāb Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh* and some other of his treatises. However, I try to take the spelling word used by Azyumardi Azra as the combination of the Arabic words (المقاصري) and (المكا سري) as well as the spelling of Macassar's people by using a short vowel when mentioning al-Ma(qa/ka)ssarī.

INTRODUCTION

when commenting on the contents of *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*. Conventional knowledge holds that if these three things can be understood and practised well by Muslims, their spiritual state will be enhanced and they will be able to live in the world peacefully.

- 4) The essence of his teachings in this treatise is the purification of belief to the Oneness of God and it is practised among his followers in South Sulawesi and the Muslim community in South Africa. This essence became the basic foundation for him to strengthen his followers in South Sulawesi and South Africa. The specific benefit of this belief to his followers in South Sulawesi, specifically, was to help avoid the animistic beliefs prevalent in the region; and to the South African Muslims, the benefit was to help avoid the influence of the Dutch missionaries who constantly encouraged them to Christian beliefs such as the belief in God's trinity.²

In addition, it remains the writer's contention that the finer nuances of the teachings of this pioneer Muslim figure in Indonesian and South African history, which is ably illustrated in his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, have remained hidden to some of his followers and admirers. It will be prudent, as a first step, to align his views within the socio-political context of his time.

This review is undertaken against the context provided by Azyumardi Azra who contends that the Malay-Indonesian version of Islam in the seventeenth century - was dominated, for the most part, by what was considered "unorthodox" Islamic mysticism, which was often mixed with local animistic beliefs (Azra 1992: n.p.). When Shaykh Yūsuf arrived in the Cape Colony, he found the influence of Dutch Christianity on the local people to be substantial. This pushed him to concentrate his teaching on the purification of beliefs and the Oneness of God by implementing the teaching of *ṣūfism* which is more oriented to the *sharī'a* [divine law] and slowly but surely he succeeded to build a solid Muslim identity there.

Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī was one of the Malay-Indonesian scholars who were part of "the network of '*ulamā*'"³ (Azra 2007: 288 and see also Sultan 2008: 236) and he introduced a set of new religious ideas and values which led to the Islamic reforms in the region (Azra 1992: 416). He was born and grew up among the noble families of the Gowa-Tallo Kingdoms⁴ and then he travelled to seek and deepen his Islamic knowledge from Aceh, India and the Middle

²According to Matt Perman (2006) that the doctrine is fundamental to the Christian faith. The doctrine of the Trinity means that there is one God who eternally exists as three distinct Persons — the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The Bible speaks of the Father as God (Philippians 1:2), Jesus as God (Titus 2:13), and the Holy Spirit as God (Acts 5:3–4). The family tree of Trinity: First Person of the Trinity—God the Father. Second Person of the Trinity—Jesus Christ. Third Person of the Trinity—Holy Spirit. For more information see it at <https://www.desiringgod.org/articles/what-is-the-doctrine-of-the-trinity>, Jan 23, 2006, see also at <https://www.thoughtco.com/god-the-father-701152> by Jack Zavada, updated December 31, 2018.

³This was an international network of '*ulamā*' from Indonesia to the Middle East, where he was considered as a *ṣūfi*, and a reformer in the Islamic mystic world.

⁴Gowa and Tallo were the twin kingdoms of Macassar.

INTRODUCTION

East [1645-1667] (Sahib Sultan 2016: 1-17). When he returned to his country, he stayed in Banten for a while and becoming a war leader and a defender of human rights against the Dutch East India Company (VOC). He was first exiled to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in 1684 by the Dutch until 1694, when they exiled him to the Cape Colony where he stayed until his death in 1699 (Sultan 2008; see also Azra 2007; and Nabilah Lubis 1996).

During the seventeenth century, Shaykh Yūsuf began to make reforms in the field of Mystic teaching. His religious and mystic ideas, which are mostly in Arabic, are still preserved in the Leiden library (UB) and in the National Museum of Jakarta. The main concept of his Islamic mysticism centred around is the purification of belief (*'aqīda*) in the Oneness of Allāh or in the Unity of God (*tawhīd*). He attempted to explain God's transcendence (*ulūhiyya*) over His creatures by quoting Chapter *al-Ikhlāṣ*, (*Qur'ān*, Ch. 112) and another verse of *al-Qur'ān* that there is nothing comparable to Him (*Qur'ān*, 42: 11).

Throughout his treatises on *fanā' fī Allāh wa baqā' bihī*, he always maintained that even though one can enter into the existence of God, the servant still remains a servant and God remains God (*al-'abd 'abd wa al-Rabb Rabb*).

Shaykh Yūsuf tried hard to reconcile *sharī'a* [divine law] with *ḥaqīqa* [divine reality] through the teaching of *ṣūfism* in both countries (Azra 1992: 458).

In one of his works, he quoted the words of gnostics (*al-'Arif bi Allāh*): "All *sharā'i'u* [Divine laws] without *ḥaqīqa* are vanity and all *ḥaqāiq* [Divine Realities] without *sharī'a* are imperfect. In addition, one of Shaykh Yūsuf's works found in the Jakarta Manuscript A 108 stated: "Whoever is practising fiqh (*sharī'a*) but has no mysticism, he is *fāsiq* [a sinful person]; and whoever has mysticism but no fiqh (*sharī'a*), he is *zindīq* [freethinker or heretics] (Azra 1992: 455). The person who collects both (*fiqh and mysticism*), gets *ḥaqīqa*" (Lubis 1996: 32). Shaykh Yūsuf also maintained that "The *Ṭarīqa* or *Sirāṭ* is not exclusively *sharī'a* without *ḥaqīqa*, nor *ḥaqīqa* without *sharī'a*, but mutually inclusive. Just as being, a human is not only with the physical body without the spirit, nor the spirit without the body, but both are needed" (S.E. Dangor 1995: 39-40). The words of Prophet (SAW): "Truly, I am delegated with *sharī'a* and *ḥaqīqa*, while all other Prophets are only delegated with *sharī'a*."⁵

Even though his teachings are limited to mysticism, they do not retract from his main concern, which was the renewal of confidence and practice of Islām in the Indonesian archipelago (Azra 1992: 458); and then later, in South Africa. Shaykh Yūsuf was declared a national hero in Indonesia on the 8th November 1995 and in South Africa on the 27th September 2005 (Sultan 2008: 103 & 110).

⁵Although described as a *ḥadīth*, this was given currently by the *ṣūfīs* (Dangor 1995: 41; see also Lubis 1996: 93).

INTRODUCTION

His works have been reproduced and published in Macassar and Bugis, South Sulawesi by his students, such as Shaykh Abū al-Faṭḥ ‘Abd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīr al-Khalwatī al-Raffānī (also known as Tuan Rappang) who wrote *Daqāiq al-Asrār* (Arabic), al-Shaykh Jami’u al-Dīn bin Ṭālib al-Tīmī al-Khalwatī al-Maqassarī who wrote the collection of Shaykh Yūsuf’s works in *al-Majmū’a min Mu’allafāt* (Arabic) and his works *al-Nūr al-Hādī* (Arabic) and *Tajeng Patinroanng Lao ri Laleng Malempu’e* written by Sulṭan Aḥmad Ṣāliḥ (Buginese). It is uncertain whether some of the Javanese works that are attributed to him, are his own or his students’ work (Sultan 2008: xi). Other Macassarese works such as *Tamparang Taenayya Sandakanna* (the Unexpected Sea) have been reproduced and taught by his sons in Macassar. Another two books that show his vast knowledge on Sufism are *Tuwang ri Takalarak*, written by Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Kabīr and *Langik Taenayya Birinna* (the Infinite Sky), written by Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh, (*Ance Daeng*) and his son Muḥammad Ḥanafī (*Tuwang ri Beba*). In the latter book, Shaykh Yūsuf’s knowledge is compared to a sky without horizons. His son Muḥyi al-Dīn, or as he was known, ‘Abd Allāh *Tuwang ri Dīma*, who was delegated to Bima, composed *Biseang Taenayya Gulinna* (the Boat without a Rudder). This book centres around Shaykh Yūsuf’s immense knowledge which can guide anyone to the correct destination. Although the names of his teachings vary, their essences remain the same, because they are inspired by the *taṣawwuf* teaching of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī (Muḥ. Bachrun Sibali 1989: 37).

Shaykh Yūsuf was an Islamic *ṣūfī* scholar with noble attributes who had always shown his positive side to everyone and had never expressed disrespect to others, not even to the Dutch occupiers who had destroyed his life (Azra 2007: 293).

The life-story of Shaykh Yūsuf’s story has been researched and narrated by many writers. However, since much of his life is shrouded in mystery, filled with myths and legends, many of them had to rely on their own perspectives to complete their narrative on Shaykh Yūsuf’s life. This resulted in factual disparities between the various writers, especially around his father, his offspring, and his graves. This researcher is attempting to investigate him through all the literature relating to him and to explore who he actually was; his literary contribution in general, his reform in the Islamic mystic world as well as to provide a brief description of his *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya*. She places an emphasis on his work, *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, as an additional perspective to understanding the life and person of Shaykh Yūsuf.

As far as we know, the only Indonesian and South African scholars who had translated Shaykh Yūsuf’s treatises in Indonesian and English by using philological approach, are Nabilah Lubis (*Zubdat al-Asrār*) and Suleman Essop Dangor (*Zubdat al-Asrār* and *Sirr al-Asrār*), while Tudjimah translated all his treatises by using a general linguistic approach without including *Qur’ānic* verses or prophetic traditions. Likewise, Sahib Sultan and Abu

INTRODUCTION

Hamid used the same linguistic approach when they translated his works such as *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya*, *Zubdat al-Asrār*, *Sirr al-Asrār*, and *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, but both mentioned *Qur'ānic* verses with some prophetic traditions, although not in their entirety.

Literature Review

We have decided to use a different research approach in this thesis than the approaches used in previous studies on Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī.

The following studies are separated into the various approaches they used to researching and understanding Shaykh Yūsuf:

- 1) **The Philological Approach:** “*Syekh Yusuf Macassar, Riwayat dan Ajarannya*” by Tudjimah (1997); “*Syeikh Yusuf al-Taj al-Maqassarī. Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia;*” by Nabilah Lubis (1996) and “*The Essence of Secrets*” and “*Secret of Secrets.*” by Suleiman Essop Dangor (1992 and 1995).
- 2) **The Historical Approach:** “*Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII. Akar Pembaruan Islam di Indonesia*” by Azyumardi Azra (2007: 259-297); and “*A Critical Biography of Shaykh Yusuf*” by Suleman Essop Dangor (1982).
- 3) **The Comprehensive Religious Historical Approach:** “*Allāh dan Jalan Mendekatkan Diri kepada-Nya dalam Konsepsi Shaykh Yusuf*” or “*Allāh and the Way for Approaching Him in Shaykh Yusuf’s Conception*” by Sahib Sultan (2008).
- 4) **The Religious Anthropological Approach:** “*Syeikh Yusuf Tajul Khalwati. Sebuah Kajian Antropologi Agama,*” by Abu Hamid (1990). This dissertation was developed into a book entitled: “*Syekh Yusuf, Seorang Ulama, Sufi dan Pejuang*” (1994/2005).

There is a special publication of the **Macassarese chronicles** (*Iontarak*) by Nuruddin Daeng Magassing (1933) “*Riwayatna Sehe Yusufu Tuanta Salāmaka.*” This is the first work about the Shaykh printed in the Macassarese chronicles (*Iontarak form*) and based on his research from *Iontarak bilang* commissioned by the King of Gowa together with some archives in the Governor’s office and writings of some scholars (Sibali 1989). This work did not focus on Shaykh Yūsuf’s teachings but rather concentrated on his biographical life.

Despite many remaining myths or legends surrounding his life in this chronicle, but proved to be very helpful in this research.

INTRODUCTION

Tudjimah's study deals with a biography of Shaykh Yūsuf and a general translation of all Shaykh Yūsuf's treatises. She is the first Indonesian woman to have successfully collected all Shaykh Yūsuf treatises in her writing.

Nabilah Lubis's analysis deals with a biography of Shaykh Yūsuf and a summary of some of his treatises. Her solid translation of *Zubdat al-Asrār* with a review of Shaykh Yūsuf's salient thoughts in the text is commendable. She was the first Indonesian woman who managed to introduce the works of Shaykh Yūsuf *Zubdat al-Asrār* using a philological approach.

Suleman Dangor from South Africa provided an account of Shaykh Yūsuf's life in Cape Town, South Africa, in "A *Critical Biography of Shaykh Yusuf*", and two of Shaykh Yūsuf's works *Zubdat al-Asrār* and *Sirr al-Asrār* translated into English using a philological approach.

Azra Azyumardi is also the first Indonesian person who acknowledged Shaykh Yūsuf's position in a network of Middle Eastern scholars and uncovered some of his works portraying him as a neo-*ṣūfī*⁶

Sahib Sultan, who is from South Sulawesi and a direct descendant of Shaykh Yūsuf and a leader of *Khalwatiyya Ṣūfī* Order in Gowa/Macassar is trying to complete the biography of Shaykh Yūsuf and is examining Shaykh Yūsuf's concepts for approaching God by comparing them with those of preceding *ṣūfīs*. He discusses what *ṭarīqa*, *maqām* and *aḥwāl* are in Shaykh Yūsuf's own thinking as well as introducing the teaching of the *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī* Order. This introduction, however, is restricted to the methods of doing *dhikr* or Divine remembrance. He also attaches three translations of Shaykh Yūsuf treatises, namely, *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya*, *Zubdat al-Asrār*, *Sirr al-Asrār* and the family trees of his offspring to his work which was first published in 1989 and revised several times up to 2008.

Hamid is the first person from South Sulawesi who studied Shaykh Yūsuf by using a religious anthropological approach. In addition to trying to complete the history of Shaykh Yūsuf, he also introduced his concepts and teachings; the full religious experiences of society according to Shaykh Yūsuf including the expansion of the *Khalwatiyya Ṣūfī* Order in South Sulawesi. He also touched on *ṣūfī* life in society, values and behaviour. He attached translations of Shaykh Yūsuf's treatises, i.e. *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya*, *Zubdat al-Asrār*, and *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* to his thesis.

This author has also, in co-operation with one of Nabilah's students, Turdjiman, translated *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* from Arabic into Indonesian in Leiden in 2010 using a philological approach.

⁶The term neo-*ṣūfīsm* according to Howell (2012) was coined by Fazl ur Raḥmān in 1966 to describe reform movements among *ṣūfī* orders (*ṭuruq*, singular *ṭarīqa*) of the 18th and 19th centuries.

INTRODUCTION

Other studies on this topic are the following:

Muh. Bachrun Sibali (1989) tried to explore Shaykh Yūsuf in more historical terms with some of his teaching.

Salam (2004) related the story of Shaykh Yūsuf in terms of a national hero, Islamic preacher and a warrior of human rights.

A Western scholar who studied Shaykh Yūsuf is B.F. Matthes in "*Boeginische en Macassarische Legeden*" in *BKI Vierde Volgreeks deel 1885*. He states that Shaykh Yusuf, known as *Tuang Salamaka* or the Gracious Master, was a saint of Allāh. But this research was only a brief description (Matthes, B.F 1885: 449; Tudjimah 1997: 4).

Another work in this genre is that of George McCall Theal L.L.D, in "*History of South Africa under the Administration of the Dutch East Indian Company*" (1652-1705). He wrote about the progress of Shaykh Yūsuf in defending Banten Kingdom against the Dutch East Indies Company who is portrayed as a tyrant or an oppressor (L.L.D. Theal, G. Mc. Call 1897: 257-259; Tudjimah 1997: 5).

Further, there are some brief accounts about Shaykh Yūsuf, such as those by G.W.J. Drewes (1926), A.A. Cense (1950), and P. Voorhoeve (1957). Although these writings shed some light on the life of Shaykh Yūsuf, we have not included them in this thesis as they do not discuss the Islamic thought or the mystical ideas of Shaykh Yūsuf.

Mustari (2009) in "*Etika Religious Syekh Yūsuf dan Relevansinya bagi Dakwah Islam di Indonesia*" presents a dissertation which focuses on the study of the religious ethics of Shaykh Yūsuf and its relevance for Islamic *Da'wa* in Indonesia based on a philosophical approach.

Darusman (2008) wrote a dissertation, "*Jihad in Two Faces of Shariah, Islamic Jurisprudence and Islamic ūfism (Fiqh and Taṣawwuf), Case Studies of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī and Shaykh Daud al-Fatani of Thailand*", which focuses on the study of the concept of *jihad* in divine law by using a comprehensive religious historical approach. The discussion on Shaykh Yūsuf embraces historical, theological, sociological, and philosophical issues and a background of the emergence of those concepts in Islamic tradition.

While this thesis benefits from many of the contributions listed above, we maintain that none of them adequately probe Shaykh Yūsuf's travels in pursuit of knowledge from India to the Middle East as well as his intellectual inspirations offered in most of his writings such as *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*. Furthermore, this work has not been analysed and commented on

INTRODUCTION

philologically; nor has it been placed within the context of Islamic teachings with a comparison drawn to previous *ṣūfīs'* views; therefore, we feel the need a certain approach to support philological approach for this research such as a comprehensive religious historical approach following Sultan (2008). This follows that the discussion on Shaykh Yūsuf embraces not only historical, but also sociological, theological, and philosophical issues.

The comprehensive religious historical approach will be employed for sketching the context and all issues in this regard and the philological approach for textual analysis along the lines of Nabilah Lubis and Suleman Essop Dangor. This thesis complements previous scholars' works regarding the pivotal role his treatises, especially *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, occupies among works on Islamic mysticism.

1.2 Rationale for the Study

Based on the statements above, the rationale for the study is encapsulated by the following cardinal points:

- 1) To understand the life of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī as an author of many impactful literary works.
- 2) To introduce the literary contribution of the shaykh with special attention to his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* treatise.
- 3) A critique of his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* and its relevance to his mystical reforms generally and to the *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī* Order in particular.

Emerging from the above are the following secondary issues:

- 1) A more comprehensive understanding of the identity of Shaykh Yūsuf as the author of *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* based on Indonesian that include Macassarese chronicles, Leiden and South African sources.
- 2) The literary contribution of the Shaykh in general.
- 3) The contribution of his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* as a mystical treatise with commentaries to aid in its understanding.

INTRODUCTION

Aims of This Study

The aims of this study are as follows:

- 1) To present a historic account of the life of the Shaykh in more accurate and comprehensive manner.
- 2) To offer an appraisal of his literary contribution in general, and the contribution of *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* in particular.
- 3) To describe the relationship of the text with his reforms in the mystical world of Islam in general and particularly through his *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Yūsufiyya* Ṣūfī Order.

Additional Remarks

The following are additional remarks regarding Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī and his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* which are based on my preliminary research and observation in Leiden, Indonesia as well as in South Africa:

- 1) Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī was a *ṣūfī* Islamic scholar and a reformer in the Islamic mystics' world, who had the same theology as an *Ash'ariyya*, a follower of *Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamā'a*. Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī was a son from the Islamic noble families in the Kingdoms of Gowa and Tallo. He was born in the Tallo Palace, Parangloe on the 3rd of July 1626/8th of *Shawwāl* 1036 A.H. and grew up in Gowa Palace. The Islamic traditions had a great influence on his future, eventually turning him into a nomad for science. He was very brave, strong and intelligent and he wandered in search of Islamic knowledge from Celebes [1636-1644], Banten [1644-1645], Aceh [1645], India [1645/1646-1648] to the Middle East [1649-1667]. He spent more than twenty-two years learning more than fifteen *ṣūfīs* or *mashā'ikhs* of *ahl al-fiqh*, *ahl al-ḥadīth* and *ahl al-tafsīr* as well as mastered eighteen *ṣūfī* orders and obtained certificates from five *ṣūfī* orders.

His mother was Āmina I Tubiani Daeng Kunjung and she died on the 13th of December 1666. His father was 'Abd Allāh Manjalāwī, or, as he was also known 'Abd Allāh Khiḍr Tuanta Manjalāwī. He had many shrines or *karāma* dedicated to him and he became a Divine secret even to the present day, because no information have been found about his time and place of death after he left his wife in Gowa Palace. There is a big possibility that he, based on his name, came from Yemen or from the 'Alawī families having a blood relationship with the Prophet Muḥammad SAW. There is also a statement from Sulṭān Alā' al-Dīn, the ruler of Gowa Kingdom, that 'Abd Allāh was the Prophet Khiḍr AS because of the similarities between his miracles and those recorded of Prophet Khiḍr AS. In the end, despite the seemingly mythical tales surrounding Shaykh Yūsuf's father,

INTRODUCTION

history shows us that he was a person very close to Allāh (*Walī Allāh*); he may even be considered a *Walī Quṭb* or a great saint of Allāh.

Shaykh Yūsuf also became a great saint of Allāh like his father and he died in Zandvliet, Tanjung Harapan or Cape of Good Hope on 23rd May, 1699 or 22nd *Dhu al-Qa'da* 1110 A.H. He was buried in the sand hills of Zandvliet in False Bay on the Indian Ocean.

- 2) There are two existing texts of *Maṭālib* al-Sālikīn and both texts are only quotations, which were written by his students. The first one is a lined text without the specific year of publication and is around 10 pages long. The other text is without lines with the year of publication mentioned, and is 5 pages long. Both texts' papers are clear, with no tears or damage. Since the unlined text is written with the year of publication of 1186 A.H./1772, we can deduce that it was written in Bone⁷ by Shaykh Yūsuf's great descendants, La Tenri Tappu, who then became the 23rd King of Bone with the title Sulṭān Aḥmad Ṣāliḥ (1775-1812). This Sulṭān was born long after Shaykh Abū al-Faḥḥ Abū Yaḥya 'Abd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīrī who died on the 5th of May 1723 in Rappang. Shaykh 'Abd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīrī was one of Shaykh Yūsuf's disciples who was a highly knowledgeable blind *ṣūfī*. This Shaykh had some disciples as well as his caliphs, and amongst his caliphs in *Khalwatiyya* was al-Shaykh Jamī'u al-Dīn bin Ṭālib al-Tīmī al-Khalwatī al-Maqassarī and 'Abd al-Qadīr Karaeng Majannang who was the High Administrator of the Gowa Kingdom (1735-1742) as well as the son of Shaykh Yūsuf, Shaykh al-'Alam Muḥammad Jaylānī and some others. However, no data is found regarding who the teacher of La Tenri Tappu was, as it may be have been his grandfather Shaykh 'Abd al-Kabīr Jalāl al-Dīn (Shaykh Yūsuf's son from Banten) or one of Shaykh 'Abd al-Baṣīr's students. He wrote or quoted many of Shaykh Yūsuf's treatises in 1186 A.H. /1772 and the last in 1221 A.H./1806 emulating al-Tīmī.

The meaning of both texts is similar despite the difference in page numbers, because the style of writing of the unlined text is much denser and the page size is bigger than that of the lined text.

The intellectual framework underpinning this text is based on the guidance of his teacher 'Abd al-Kārim al-Naqshabandī al-Lahurī mentioned in this text. He probably developed the beginning of this framework when he met with this Shaykh in Ḥaramayn around 1654-1657. Although this Shaykh comes from Lahore India, he settled and flourished in the Ḥaramayn region in the seventeenth century (Azra 1992: 424).

⁷Bone is a Buginese area in South Sulawesi which has become a Kingdom until now and similar to the Gowa Kingdom, under the umbrella of the Archipelago Kingdom which manages all Kingdoms in this Archipelago or Indonesia.

INTRODUCTION

Some of the general differences between both texts are as follows:

- The introduction of the unlined text begins with the words **وبه نستعين الحمد لله الذي** while the lined text just starts with the words **الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي**
- The less grammatical of the words in the lined text are written correctly in the unlined text, such as: **تَوْحِيدُ [التَّوْحِيدِ]** ; **ضَرَائِحُهُ [ضَرِيحُهُ]** ; **الرِّسَالَةَ [المُسَمَّاتِ]** **[المُسَمَّاءِ]**. While the less grammatical in the unlined text are corrected in the opposing text, such as:

فنسبة قيام الأشياء بالله كنسبة قيام الجسد والروح **فتسمى [فيسمى]** الإنسان.؛ فعبادة الجاهل **مردود [مردودة]** عليه؛ and الصفات الألوهية موجودة في جمع واحد، **وهي [وهو]** موجود في جميع الأشياء كما ثبت أن الأشياء قائمة به وهو قائم بذاته.

- Most of the redundancies occur in the unlined text such as:
فيقول الشيخ الحاج يوسف التاج رزقه الله كمال التوفيق وجعله من أهله **[أهل]** التحقيق؛ **[فهو]** يشاهد **[شاهد]** من حيث إنه يشاهد [٤] ذاته **بذاته** في هذه المرأة؛ لأنك ما تفعل شيئاً **باشتهاء الروح**، **لأنك ما تفعل شيئاً** **باشتهاء الروح**. ففي الظاهر أعضاؤك عابدة لذاتك. etc.
- There are some missing words or meanings in the unlined text that are completed in the lined text such as:

ومن لم يعرف بمعرفته فهو جاهل؛ ... فعبادة ... الجاهل مردود عليه؛ instead of

وَمَنْ لَمْ يَعْرِفْهُ بِمَعْرِفَتِهِ فَهُوَ جَاهِلٌ، وَمَنْ لَمْ يَعْبُدْهُ بِعِبَادَتِهِ فَهُوَ فَاسِقٌ؛ فَعِبَادَةُ الْكَافِرِ وَالْجَاهِلِ مَرْدُودَةٌ عَلَيْهِ.؛

- In some places, the two texts differ in the use of words but semantically they have the same meaning such as:

أَنْ يَقُولُوا عَلَى أَنْ لَا مَوْجُودَ فِي الْعَنِيبِ وَالشَّهَادَةِ and أَنْ يَقُولُوا عَلَى أَنْ لَا مَوْجُودَ فِي الظَّاهِرِ وَالْبَاطِنِ ; لا يَتَصَوَّرُ عَنْ كُلِّ ذِي عَقْلٍ and لا يَتَصَوَّرُ عند كل ذي عقل. etc.

INTRODUCTION

As for the etymology of *tawḥīd*, *ma'rifa* and *'ibāda*, we will be defining these three concepts below:

Tawḥīd

There are two kinds of *tawḥīd*. The first *tawḥīd*, is the unity of existence like the view of the *muḥaqqiq ṣūfīs* who had agreed to say that there is no existence in the visible and the unseen in form or in the external and internal, except the One Being and One Essence and One Reality.

The second *tawḥīd*, is *tawḥīd* that is known generally by every Muslim, in other words, "Allāh is the Greatness Unity of God, Allāh is God (The Self-Sufficient Master, whom all creatures need, He neither eats nor drinks), He begets not, nor He begotten, and there is none co-equal or comparable unto Him" (*Qur'ān*, Ch. 112).

Ma'rifa

Ma'rifa is ascertaining that you are from Him and unto Him you will return; so you return to Him in exactly the same way to how He originated you from Him; like the sea whose water flows through the river and returns to the sea. Its condition remains the same at every phase; that is, it remains water. In other words, *ma'rifa* to the Existence of God, brings together two contradictory things or states. He is the one God Who combines within Himself the beginning and the end. So, He is the First, as He is also the Last. That is, He will not change from His reality with One Essence and all those varying attributes.

'Ibāda

The act of worshipping is to obey His *Wahdat al-Wujūd* (the Oneness of His existence); that is, there is no existence but His. And He, Glory be to Him and Exalted is the One and has no partner in existence. The linguistic meaning of *'ubudiyya* is the obedience of something to something else, just as your organs or limbs are obedient to your soul in terms of all matter being linked to the desire of the soul, it is because you do not do anything (because of Allāh) except through the desire of the soul. In an apparent sense (in *ẓāhir*), your organs or limbs worship your essence and your essence is the object of devotion. The essence is the worshipper, with respect to the manifest (*ẓāhir*) and the object of worship, with respect to the hidden (*bāṭin*) because the command is from it and to it. If you annihilate your existence and the existence of things other than Allāh and you know yourself that all that and entities other than Allāh are non-existent (*ma'dūm*). You do not see anything, except Him. Nothing you witness but Him. Nothing is everlasting, except Him. Nothing is for you. Therefore, at that time, He became the worshipper (*'ābid*) in the sense that everything is from Him, and He is worshipped (*ma'būd*) in the sense that everything will return unto Him. " *Everything will be destroyed except His Face. His is the judgement, and to*

INTRODUCTION

Him you will be returned” (Qur’ān, 28: 88). “Whatsoever is on it (the earth) will perish, and the face of your Lord full of Majesty and Honour will abide forever” (Qur’ān, 55: 26, 27).

Shaykh Yūsuf tried to illustrate pure *tawḥīd* or the immaculate *tawḥīd* as a branchy and leafy tree; Gnostic knowledge (*ma’rifa*) is its branches and leaves, and devotional services (*‘ibāda*) are its fruit. Further, he said that if you got the tree, you will get its branches and leaves, and if you got them, you will even look for fruit of the tree. If you did not get its branches and leaves, it is impossible to get its fruit. This is an example of a *majāzī* or metaphor so that you may understand the sample of the real nature. If you have succeeded in reaching the *tawḥīd maqām*/station, you will succeed with the *ma’rifa maqām*/station; if you have succeeded in the *ma’rifa maqām*/station’ so you will succeed in worship. Anyone who does not believe in *tawḥīd* is an unbeliever (*kāfir*), a person who has no *ma’rifa* is ignorant (*jāhil*), and a person who does not practice *‘ibāda* is sinful (*fāsiq*). Therefore, *tawḥīd* without *ma’rifa* is like a tree without branches and leaves, and it is impossible to have its fruit, except if the branches and leaves of the tree grow up again, then its fruit can be cultivated. In other words, only a person, who has *tawḥīd* with *ma’rifa*, could perform adequate devotional service to God.

These paragraphs above are the essence of his teachings in *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* that forms part of his reform in the Islamic mystic world as well as the ways for approaching God. They also reflect the similarities and the difference of his views with other previous *ṣūfis*’ views such as Ibn ‘Arabī and Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj.

- 3) As for his other reformist ideas that are included in this text such as even though Shaykh Yūsuf believes in God’s transcendence, he believes that God encompasses everything (*al-‘ihāṭa*) and exists everywhere (*al-ma’iyya*) 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-ḥaqīqī*). Thus, according to Shaykh Yūsuf, the word God in His creation does not mean the presence of God Himself in their selves, but His knowledge (attribute) encompassing His slave, and His Identity together with His slave, not a slave together with God, because it is impossible, except for the slave who is in *dhikr* condition (only remembering Allāh) and not remembering his existence and the existences besides Allāh. According to him, the accompaniment of God with His slave is general, while the accompaniment of a slave with God is special. Why it is not like that, because only a slave who has high *ma’rifa* and always remembers God can reach Him and be together with Him inwardly, but not physically.

INTRODUCTION

In the concept (*al-iḥāṭa*) and (*al-ma'īyya*), the Lord descends (*tanazzul*), while the man or servant ascends (*taraqqī*), a spiritual process which brings them closer. It should be noted and remembered, according to Shaykh Yūsuf, that 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. He is a *ṣūfī* that throughout his treatises when he discusses *fanā' fī Allāh wa baqā' bihī*, he always says that even though one can enter the existence of God, the servant still remains the servant and God remains God (*al-'abd 'abd wa al-Rabb Rabb*) as has been mentioned above. He brought a purification of *tawḥīd*, even *ma'rifa* and worship to the Oneness of God into the archipelago, Indonesia, based on Qurān verse *al-Shūrā'* (*Qur'ān*, 42: 11) that nothing comparable unto Him and the Chapter *al-Ikhlāṣ* (*Qur'ān*, Ch. 112). He, even seems to blame the *ṣūfīs* who dared to speak the words '*shaḥāḥāts*' [blasphemous words] like (*Anā al-Ḥaqq* and *Subḥānī*), moreover when they were not in a condition of ecstasy or in normal condition. According to him, the Prophet Muḥammad (SAW) who himself was the most perfect man in this world and the closest man to God, never said the words, but he simply said: "I am only human like all of you" (Tudjimah 1997: 65).

Although Shaykh Yūsuf differed fundamentally with Ibn 'Arabī's *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* (Unity of Being or Ontological Monism) and with Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj's *al-Ḥulūl* (Divine Incarnation), he agreed with their notion that God cannot be compared with anything (*laysa kamithlihī shay'*) (Azra 1992). He also shared similar opinions with Ibn 'Arabī that this universe is only a shadow of God, he only differed in terms of the physical presence of God in His servants. In this manner, he aligned himself with *Waḥdat al-Ṣamad* (Unity of All Creatures Dependence or Unity of Dependence Direction) on the basis of the *Qur'ān*, Chapter *al-Ikhlāṣ* [*Qur'ān*, Ch. 112] (Azra 1992). This was inspired by his spiritual experiences so far and supported by the doctrine of *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd* of al-Ghazālī. Al-Ghazālī states "Only God exists or the only One God exists" is the inner view [*mushāhada*] of the gnostics of the highest level or station [*al-ṣiddiqīn*], those who have reached the stage of consciousness called *fanā'* in *tawḥīd*, namely the concentration of all one's inner consciousness in God. Ultimately they are not aware of their own existence and the existence of all creations (Al-Ghazālī 1939: 240). The inner view is likened to a "momentary lightning flash" (Al-Ghazālī 1939: 241). This doctrine was then developed by Ahmad al-Sirhindī and Shah Walī Allah (Azra 1992). According to Sirhindī regarding real *fanā'* and *baqā'* is that:

"Real fana is to forget the "not Divine," to free oneself from the love of this world, and to purify the heart from all desires and wishes as it is required of a servant. And real "baqa" is to fulfill the wishes of the Lord, to make his [*sic*]

INTRODUCTION

Will one's own, without losing one's self identity" (Farzana Hassan-Shahid June 2005)⁸.

In other words, in this instance man is man and Lord is Lord. Therefore, Azra stated that he adopts *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd* which has been developed by Ahmad al-Sirhindī (Azra 1992: 450). Nevertheless, according to F.H-Shahid (June 2005) that *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* of Ibn 'Arabī refers to the Immanence of God, while *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd* of al-Sirhindī refers to the Transcendence of God. On the other hand, *Waḥdat al-Ṣamad* of Shaykh Yūsuf refers to both. According to Shaykh Yūsuf that our belief in Allāh, the Exalted, must be located between absolute affirmation of the Divine Transcendence and absolute Immanence, meaning that we affirm His Divine Transcendence without denying His attributes and we affirm His Immanence without comparing Him with anyone. We affirm His Divine Transcendence in the situation of Immanence and affirm His Immanence in the situation of Divine Transcendence because the position of absolute Divine Transcendence leads to negligence and negligence is something which does not have limits. The same applies to the position of absolute Immanence for it leads to extravagant behaviour which transgresses all boundaries (Dangor 1995: 41-43).

Nevertheless, free from the similarities and differences between *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* of Ibn 'Arabī and *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd* of al-Ghazālī and al-Sirhindī, it seems that Shaykh Yūsuf tries to mediate and to reconcile between the two views by merging both; and then to avoid a long debate between the two, he finally closed the discussion on this issue with the words that a servant is a servant, although he ascends and he is characterised by God's characters or attributes, and God is God, although He descends to His servant and is characterised by servant's characters.

Therefore, although he agreed and accepted the *tawḥīd* of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* and the *tawḥīd* of *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd*, both forms of *tawḥīd* in his *Waḥdat al-Ṣamad* refers to Panentheism and not Pantheism or Transcendentalism.

Shaykh Yūsuf made reforms in *ṣūfism* in the seventeenth century by trying to reconcile *sharī'a* and *ḥaqīqa* in his mysticism teaching, since one cannot enter the real *taṣawwuf* and *ṭarīqa* without understanding and performing *sharī'a*.

He also contended that the ways of approaching God are for a sālik to follow some *maqāmāt* and *aḥwāl* and follow the way of Prophet Muḥammad SAW (*ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*) to obtain the ultimate happiness.

⁸For more information refers to "IBNU ARABI AND SIRHINDI-IRFI [Islamic Research Foundation International, Inc.]. Available on https://www.irfi.org/articles3/articles_4801_4900/ibn_arabi_and... or http://familyofheart.com/05/June0505/Farzana_Hassan.htm. This will be discussed in more details in Chapter Four.

INTRODUCTION

As for the relationship between the *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* and his *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* is expressed directly in the meaning of its *dhikr* or is implied through it. This *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī* Order has flourished in South Sulawesi and surrounding areas. It is governed by a system that has been inherited from generation to generation and has developed dynamically, and not by influencing or forcing others. His followers in South Sulawesi are estimated to be more than twenty thousand up to the present day. Its *dhikr* is mostly done in a quiet place with little movement and no loud sounds (this is probably the special characteristic of this *ṭarīqa* which made it different from another *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya* in South Sulawesi). Furthermore, all members of this *ṭarīqa* are called followers or *tumminawana karaenga* and not students, because the Shaykh also is only a follower of the Prophet Muḥammad SAW. Today, this *ṭarīqa* is also practised in Cape Town and led by the Imām Adam Philander.

Significance of the Research

This research will provide significant new contributions to the repertoire of knowledge surrounding Shaykh Yūsuf by employing comprehensive religious historical and philological approaches. The more comprehensive and analytical historical account of his life, combined with his intellectual legacy – particularly as evident from his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, will be road-markers for attaining these objectives. They will make a significant contribution to Indonesian (UIN Alauddin Macassar), South African and Leiden literature databases and libraries dealing with Shaykh Yūsuf.

1.3 Detailed Objectives

They may be enumerated as follows:

- 1) To present more accurate and comprehensive data about the life of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī, his journey from Gowa, South Sulawesi to Cape of Good Hope, South Africa and his literary contribution with special attention to his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* treatise. For this purpose, Indonesian including the Macassarese chronicles, Leiden and South African sources will be consulted to complement previous research data.
- 2) To verify the contribution of his literary works in general as well as his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* as a mystical treatise which specifically discusses three important issues in Islam, i.e. *tawḥīd*, *maʿrifa* and *ʿibāda*; through a close reading of its two existing versions and the commentaries on them. In addition, to verify the contribution of it on the socio-political context at his time by linking it with his historical life.

INTRODUCTION

- 3) To determine the essence of his religious mystic ideas in this text. Commentaries on it as a compliment in this philological research will reflect similarities and differences between his views and those of previous Muslim *ṣūfīs*.
- 4) To present the relationship of the *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* text with his reforms in the mystical world of Islam in general as well as the *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Yūsufiyya Ṣūfi* Order in particular.

1.4 Theory and Methodology

This research utilises a qualitative research methodology that will be done by means of desk research with minor additional field research.

1.4.1 Sources of Data

The sources of data of this study are as follows:

Desk Research

This research will include some literature from:

- 1) Indonesian literature including the Macassar's chronicles and other books, articles and manuscripts that will be translated into English;
- 2) South African and Leiden literature.

In this research, data from Indonesian and South African literature sources will be compared to one another to generate more accurate and comprehensive data, and even to find more novel information about Shaykh Yūsuf including his biography, his educational experiences, his works and his religious and mystical ideas.

Some summaries as well as brief explanations of his literary works including some copies of the original texts and translations and his intellectual inspirations of most his texts will be presented as his contribution.

Two versions of *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* will be presented. The first version, found in MSKBG 108 F or A 13b [3], will be translated and commented on. To detect the essence of the text, the commentaries will use a philological approach. The second version, found in MSKBG 101, F Or A13d [7], will be used as a comparative text with the first version to examine the general differences between the two texts.

Field Research

Although most of this research is confined to library material, additional field research was done through photographing mosques, places and graves relating to the Shaykh, as well as some information about him and his societies.

1.4.2 Approach and Method of Analysis

This study will use both a comprehensive religious historical approach to follow the work of Sultan (2008) and a philological approach following the works of Lubis (1996) and Dangor (1995). In addition, it will also use hermeneutics in interpreting some texts in this research.

To clarify, we will be defining and explaining a comprehensive religious historical and philological approaches as well as hermeneutics below:

A comprehensive religious historical study refers to an approach that examines the historical life of Shaykh Yūsuf, covering completely his religious and mystical ideas or covering everything or all-important points or issues regarding him. It will be used for sketching the context and milieu in which he lived as well as for identifying and clarifying his *ṣūfism* including his theology and philosophy in comparison with the previous *ṣūfī's* views. It will use the philological approach for textual analysis. A synthesis of historical, cultural and mystical aspects will result in the *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* being foregrounded.

Religious study is inseparable from the aspects of the language of philology because humans are basically linguistic beings, so religious doctrines are understood, lived and socialised through language. Likewise, history is an important part of the journey of a people, nation, state, and individual. The existence of history is part of the process of life itself. So, without knowing history, the life process will not be known. Nevertheless, a mere historical study cannot adequately describe the depth of one's level of *ṣūfism* (theology and philosophy). It needs a tool such as a comprehensive religious historical study to support the philology to understand it. Therefore, both philological and comprehensive religious historical approaches will support one another and will be used in this research.

Philology is derived from the Latin word, *philologia*, which means love of learning and literature; and from greek word, *philologos*, which means fond of learning and literature. It emanates from the field of Linguistics, especially historical and comparative linguistics, and is a vehicle to look human speech as the vehicle of literature and as a field of study that sheds light on cultural history (Meriam Webster 1983: 883). It is also the study of written records or accounts, especially literary texts such as *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* texts, in order to determine their authenticity as well as to gain their essential meaning.

INTRODUCTION

According to Bodi (2014), there are two types of philology to consider: the first one, being critical philology and the second is new philology. Critical philology is the study of texts and their history which includes elements of textual criticism, which tries to reconstruct an author's original text based on variant copies of manuscripts. This critical approach which provided a reconstructed text accompanied by a critical apparatus, i.e., footnotes or endnotes that listed the various manuscript variants available, enables scholars to gain insight into the entire manuscript tradition and then debate the variants.

A related study method is known as higher criticism, which studies the authorship, date, and provenance of text to place such text in a historical context; as these philological issues are often inseparable from issues of interpretation, and there is no clear-cut boundary between philology and hermeneutics (see below).

When the text has a significant political or religious influence (such as the reconstruction of Biblical texts), scholars have difficulty to reach objective conclusions. On the other hand, where it is important to study the actual recorded materials, some scholars avoid all critical methods of textual philology, especially in historical linguistics. The movement is known as new philology and has rejected textual criticism because it injects editorial interpretations into the text and destroys the integrity of the individual manuscript, hence damaging the reliability of the data. Supporters of new philology insist on a strict diplomatic philological approach, which is a faithful rendering of the text exactly as found in the manuscript, without emendations (Bodi 2014: 17-26).

To gain a better interpretation, hermeneutics, which is the study of the methodological principles of interpretation (Meriam Webster 1983: 566), is needed, especially in interpreting *Qur'ānic* verses in his treatises. Hermeneutics is the art and science of interpreting especially authoritative writings; mainly in application to sacred scripture, and nearly equivalent to exegesis. Therefore, it is possible to use a hermeneutic lens to interpret the understanding of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī of *Qur'ānic* verses based on his mystic teachings or views. For the purpose of this thesis, however, we are interpreting the *Qur'ān* as the Divine words through mystical *Qur'ānic* exegesis (*tafsīr ṣūfī*) to gain the nature of understanding of the text.

This study will involve a close reading of relevant data occurring in the source material we will be employing a close reading methodology. This means as readers, we will be required to observe facts and details in *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* like structural elements and cultural references. Thereafter, we shall use inductive reasoning to move from particular facts to broader conclusions or interpretations based on these facts. In the process, we will identify the key words, important issues and anything that raises questions in it.

INTRODUCTION

Finally, we will search for and identify patterns in the text such as repetitions, contradictions and similarities.

In order to minimise subjectivity and inaccuracy in my analysis, I will constantly engage in reading the whole text in relation to other texts of the author (inter-textual reading) and explore possible alternative readings through a hermeneutic lens. In this instance, this research follows Lubis (1996) and Dangor (1995), although Dangor tends to use new philology and Lubis critical philology, both have contributed significantly to the approach of this thesis. This research will be done in the following way:

- 1) It will present the life of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī in a similar vein as Sultan (2008), Lubis (1996), and Dangor (1995) but in more comprehensive manner.
- 2) It will present the literary contribution of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī. It is similar to what Lubis and Dangor's did in their respective works, although Lubis expanded more than Dangor in her work by presenting the list of Jakarta Manuscripts A 101, A108 and some summaries and a synopsis about the Essence of Secrets. Nevertheless, this research will add to these works by presenting the list of all literary works of al-Maqassarī either published at the Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden and at the National Library Jakarta or in private collections such as his other works that have been reproduced by his disciples and his descendants. We will also expand on the places where they were composed as well as some copy of the Arabic texts in our appendixes). In addition, it will also present some summaries of the translation texts from a variety of co-authors include the author's own translations, as well as a brief explanation for some other his works. It will conclude by presenting the intellectual inspirations of most his literary works.
- 3) The comparative methodology of Lubis (1996) who presented the two texts of the Essence of Secrets as well as their colophons in her research, will be emulated in this thesis by presenting the text of MSKBG 108 F Or A13b[3] and the text of of MSKBG 101 F Or A13d[7] with their colophons of the *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*. Then the thesis will provide commentaries on both texts in a succinct manner, followed with special commentaries on the text MSKBG 108 F Or A13b[3] as the main text to gain its understanding. In addition, it is also using the hermeneutic's theory in interpreting some texts or verses of the *Qur'ān* by using *Ṣūfī Qur'ānic Exegesis*.
- 4) Furthermore, Sultan's approach in his research has also influenced this research where it also provides a description on the similarities and the differences between his views and the previous *ṣūfīs'* views belonging to this school. This will help to clarify the concepts of: *Ittihād* of Abū Yāzid al-Bistāmī, *al-Ḥulūl* (Divine incarnation),

INTRODUCTION

Waḥdat al-Wujūd of Ibn ‘Arabī, *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd* of al-Ghazālī and Aḥmad al-Sirhindī as well as *Waḥdat al-Ṣamād* of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī. Not only that, this research also put this text in the socio-political context of his time

- 5) This research will present Maṭālib al-Sālikīn in the light of his reformist ideas and his *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūṣūfiyya* or *Yūṣūfiyya Ṣūfī* Order and some others as have been mentioned above that have been omitted from the works of Lubis and Danggor as well as Sultan.

1.5 Outline of Chapters

This study is divided into six chapters including the Introduction and Conclusion. Within each chapter, several topics will be explored and a summary will be given at the close of each chapter. In addition, all technical or conceptual words regarding the main discussion will be placed in a glossary; while all figures or images regarding the texts will be added in the appendixes.

Chapter One presents the introduction of the thesis and outlines all the preliminary issues relating to the thesis.

Chapter Two provides a critical insight into the life of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī. It is divided into several sections, the first covers the historic and social conditions of Islam in South Sulawesi before his birth, his parents, and his early years until his adolescence as well as his local education. It then covers his movements and wanderings in search of Islamic knowledge from South Celebes to the Middle East and then his return to his country and his profound influence on his homeland. It deals with his political struggle and campaign for human rights which will clarify Shaykh Yūsuf’s contribution in Banten, Java and in Ceylon as well as to the formation of an Islamic community in the Cape; especially in the area of Zandvliet. The chapter will explore Shaykh Yūsuf’s impact on his homeland as well as on the Cape. The final sections look at Shaykh Yūsuf’s descendants, his death and burial as well as his shrines and finally, Shaykh Yūsuf’s *ṣūfism*, sainthood, and heroism in Indonesia and South Africa, following by a summary of the text.

Chapter Three examines the contribution of Shaykh Yūsuf’s literary works in light of his intellectual development. The first section briefly discusses the introduction of his literary works. The second section deals with a summary and a brief explanation of Shaykh Yūsuf’s literary works especially in the Leiden collections, and a brief exposition of his other works. The third section deal with the contribution of most his literary works in general, by summarising some important points of them to gain an understanding of their essences. The last describes all of the noteworthy teachers of Shaykh Yūsuf from the time he was living in

INTRODUCTION

Macassar to his travels in the Middle East, and how each of them contributed to his intellectual development, following by a summary as a conclusion to the preceding discussion.

Chapter Four constitutes a discussion of the content of the *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* treatise of Shaykh Yūsuf through commentaries. The first section of this chapter begins with the introduction of '*Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*', and the intellectual inspiration behind the text. The second section contains the Arabic and the English versions of *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* text of F Or A13b [3] and its comparison, with textual notes in both Arabic and English, while the third section compares the two texts with each other. The fourth section presents brief commentaries on the two texts and special commentaries on the translated text of F Or A13b [3]. The next section provides some insight into Shaykh Yūsuf's reformist and mystical views enunciated in this text and other texts by comparing them to views held by other mystics belonging to this school. The last section is *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn's* contribution in the socio-political context at his time, following by a summary of some important points in this text.

Chapter Five provides the discussion about the influence of this treatise on Shaykh Yūsuf's reformist ideas as well as its influence on his *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūṣūfiyya* or *Yūṣūfiyya Ṣūfī* Order. It begins with a discussion of his reforms as a neo-ṣūfī through the text of *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*. The second section will briefly review *ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya* in Indonesia, especially *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūṣūfiyya* or *Yūṣūfiyya Ṣūfī* Order and the contribution of *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* treatise in this *ṭarīqa* and vice versa. Those will give a new nuance of him as well as his teaching, following by a summary of this text.

The last chapter contains a conclusion which constitutes a retrospective view of the entire thesis as well as suggestions for the future research.

Then the bibliography and appendices follow.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LIFE OF SHAYKH YŪSUF AL-MAQASSARĪ (A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY)

The main focus of this chapter is taking a more comprehensive look at al-Maqassarī's life from Gowa, South Sulawesi to Cape of Good Hope. It starts by discussing the state of Islam in South Sulawesi at the time of his birth and who his parents were. It sheds light on his childhood and adolescence as well as his local education from 1626 to 1644. It examines how this platform motivated him to embark on a lifetime quest in search of Islamic knowledge, starting from Banten, Aceh, India until he reached the intellectual hubs of the Middle East. It chronicles his return to his country and what profound impact this had on his homeland, Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and the former Cape of Good Hope. It examines his political struggle and exile, his marriages and progeny; and his death and tombs. The chapter concludes with a discussion on his ṣūfism, sainthood, and heroism, following by a summary of the text.

2.1 Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī

People of Indonesia, Ceylon and South Africa have known and admired Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī as a *ṣūfī* shaykh (master) coming from Gowa-Macassar, South Sulawesi Indonesia. In the absence of photography in that period, we do not have any reliable images of him. Some people had attempted to portray his face to his followers in Indonesia and South Africa, and this especially occurred in later generations, and those who wished to imagine his face when they are engaging the *dhikr* of the *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya*.⁹

Muḥammad Yūsuf is the given name for Shaykh Yūsuf. His name in the Arabic tradition is Abū al-Maḥāsīn, al-Shafī'ī, al-Ash'arī al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf, Hadiyat Allāh Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Jāwī, al-Maqāṣṣarī. Among the local people of Makassar, however, he is usually called *Tuanta* (*Karaengta*) *Salāmaka ri* Gowa which means our Gracious Master from Gowa.

The title *Tuanta Salāmaka* is derived from the words *Tuan* (Malay) and *ta* (Macassarese: our) and *Salāmaka* (Macassarese: Gracious). In Arabic it means *Sayyidinā al-Salāma* or سيدنا السلامة.

With regards to the name *Tuanta Salāmaka*, Sultan (1982) reported that the masters (sayyidīn) of Cikoang (an Arab camp) Takalar, South Sulawesi, recorded the intellect and

⁹See images of Shaykh Yūsuf Nos. 1a-c in Appendix I part A.

mental capabilities of Yūsuf (15) when he studied Islamic studies there. Twenty-seven years later, Yūsuf (42) returned to his homeland in 1668 with the title of shaykh (sayyid). Not only that, Yūsuf also brought peace and blessings of God to the Gowa community. These were the reasons why the 19th King of Gowa Sulṭān ‘Abd al-Jālil (1677-1709) named Shaykh Yūsuf *Tuan-ta Salāmaka*. The King asked all his people to address Shaykh Yūsuf by this title whenever they wished to visit his grave in *Ko’banga*, Lakiung, Gowa.

In South Sulawesi, people address Shaykh Yūsuf using different titles such as *Tuanta* or *Karaengta Salāmaka* [Macassar]; *Tuanta Saāmae* [Bugis] and *Panrita To Maupeē* [Masenreng Pulu] (Hamka 1959/ 1960: 248).

In Cape Town, South Africa, people simply call him Tuan Yūsuf or Tuan Yūsuf of Macassar. Another of his popular names there is ‘Abidin Tadjia Tjoesoef. His shrine, situated in Macassar, is normally referred to as *Krāmat* of Macassar (كرامة المقسري).

It is hard to put Shaykh Yūsuf’s biography in a good chronological order because he is always depicted in such mythical events concerning his birth, his father, his *kramats*, and even his graves.¹⁰ A.A. Cense, in his work on finding the historical facts from other sources such as narratives, tales or manuscripts, argues as follows:

“How fast the historical background of a tale told; where illusion can play freely, is found in the story of Shaykh Yūsuf, who was originally a Macassar *ṣūfī* of the 17th century. The story of this holy person has been told among the locals long before was published in book form” (Cense 1972: 51).

However, this research tried to reveal the life of Shaykh Yūsuf in a clear manner and reduce all the myths or legends surrounding him, except his *kramats* since *kramat* is a part of *ṣūfī*’s life that exist and accepted in Islam.

2.1.1 Islam before his birth in South Celebes (Sulawesi)

Islam had reached South Celebes (Sulawesi) long before Yūsuf’s birth in the sixteenth century and became an official religion in the region in the early seventeenth century. The spread of Islam in this area was facilitated by the King of Tallo as the highest administration (*Mangkubumi*) of the Gowa Kingdom.

¹⁰See the discussion in the next section regarding his graves and the legend around his grave in Cape Town

Approximately in 1591, *Karaeng* Matoayya I Mallinggaang *Daeng* Manyonri discussed various issues of God with Arung Mattowa Wajo, La Mungkace, such as: "Is God One or many; and does God have a mother and a father or not?" ..., and so on. These questions were difficult to answer. Finally *Karaeng* *Matoayya* intended to ask these questions to the teacher of Islamic religion who could possibly provide satisfactory answers. However, before the King of Tallo could pose these questions to the Islamic teacher, he was convinced about converting to Islam.¹¹ Nevertheless, he became a Muslim in the early seventeenth century (Sibali 1989:7).

In 1603,¹² the King of Tallo I Mallinggaang *Daeng* Manyonri *Karaeng* Katangka embraced Islam and were given the title *Sulṭān* 'Abd Allāh Awwal al-Islam. Shortly after that, the King of Gowa I Mangnga'rangi *Daeng* Manrabbia or *Sulṭān* Alā' al-Dīn followed him to embrace Islam too and he built al-Hilal Mosque in Katangka. Then on Friday, 19 of Rajab 1014 A.H. (November 9, 1605), (some scholars say that in 19 of Rajab 1016 A.H. or in November 9, 1607) at the newly built Tallo mosque (*Masjid Jami' Nūrul Mu'minīn*), the first congregational in public (*ṣalāt al-jumu'a*) was held; when Macassar Kingdom officially became a Muslim state (Perlas 1985:109).

¹¹Here follows the complete story of the origin of Macassar:

Mattulada (1976) and Sultan (1982) reported that a mythical story even emerged amongst Gowa society that the reason for the kingdom of Gowa-Tallo being called Macassar Kingdom was because once upon a time when the King of Tallo heard about the coming of Datuk (Dato) 'Abd al-Makmūr Khaṭīb Tunggal from Pagaruyung Central City of Minangkabau who wished to teach Islam. The King happily went to welcome him, but suddenly on the way to the beach, he met a man wearing a turban with a shining face who greeted him, "*Assalamu 'Alaykum wa al-Raḥmat Allāh wa Barakātuh!* O' king, where are you going today my son?" The King answered "I wish to meet Datuk 'Abd al-Makmūr Khaṭīb Tunggal, since I need to convert to Islam." The man then congratulated him by shaking his hands. After that the man disappeared from sight; and when the King opened his hands, *Lā ilāha illā Allāh, Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh* were inscribed on the right hand and *al-Fātiha* on the left hand. Another version stated that the word "Allāh" was inscribed on his right hand and the word "Muḥammad" on his left hand.

When the King met Datuk 'Abd al-Makmūr Khaṭīb Tunggal, he recounted his recent experience. Datuk 'Abd al-Makmūr Khaṭīb Tunggal said that "The King has been converted to Islam, because he had just met with the Prophet Muḥammad SAW." Nevertheless, to complete it and to make the King of Tallo a real Muslim, he should utter *shahāda* by saying *ashhadu al-Lā ilāha illā Allāh wa ashadu anna Muḥammad al-Rasūl Allāh*. Then he uttered *shahāda* by following the utterance of the Datuk.

Because the Prophet SAW appeared (*akkasaraki Nabbita* SAW in local language) in his homeland, it made the king of Tallo and later his people in the area to call the land 'Makassar' (Macassar). The king with his people derived this word from the word *akkasaraki* (appeared), (Mattulada 1976 and Sultan 1982).

¹² Some scholars said that the King of Tallo and Gowa converted to Islam in 1603 such as Hamka (1959/1960), Paka, Abu Bakar (1980), and Sultan (1982). It is proved with the mosque built in Katangka in 1603 and it still exists until now. Likewise, the coming of the three Datuk from Pagaruyung Central Minangkabau, West Sumatera to teach Islam in Gowa and South Sulawesi, according to them was also in 1603. However both Perlas (1985) and Noorduynd (1975) said that those occurred in 1605. , the different views exist up to today, the important one is that Islam has come to Gowa-Macassar, South Sulawesi since the 16th century, and the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo as the Islamic empire of Macassar had converted to Islam officially in the early 17th century.

Furthermore, Sulṭān ‘Abd Allāh and Sulṭān ‘Alā’ al-Dīn invited the other South Sulawesi rulers to convert to Islam. On their refusal, they decided to resort to violence and launched several successive campaigns known in Buginese as *mūsu selleng* (the Islamic wars). In 1608, Sawitto, Bacukiki, Suppa’ and Mandar on the west coast, Akkotengeng and Sakkoli on the east coast defeated and their people converted to Islam. In 1609, came the turn of Sidenreng Rappang and Soppeng, and the surrender of Wajo occurred in 1610; in 1611, with the final submission of Bone, the entire South Sulawesi accepted Islam except for the Toraja highland (Perlas 1985: 109). Therefore, Macassar Kingdom (Gowa and Tallo), has an important role in the spread of Islam in South Sulawesi.

The spread of Islam in South Sulawesi was facilitated by the three Islamic scholars who came from Minangkabau, West Sumatera. They were called *Datuk*, a Malay term for Shaykh Master, or *Dato* which was a local or Macassarese spelling. They are: first, Datuk ‘Abd al-Makmūr Khaṭīb¹³ Tunggal (an Independent/a Qualified Khaṭīb) who taught *fiqh* or Islamic jurisprudence in Gowa and Tallo or in Macassar Kingdom, while he also built an Islamic school in Bandang Macassar. He lived and died in Bandang Macassar and the people of Macassar buried him there. Therefore, since that time he has become more popular with the name Datuk *ri*¹⁴ Bandang. The second was Datuk Sulaiman Khaṭīb Sulung (the Oldest Khaṭīb) who taught *kalam* or *tawḥīd* science in Luwu Kingdom and its surrounding areas. He lived and passed away in Patimang Luwu. He has become more popular with the name Datuk *ri* Patimang. The third was Datuk ‘Abd al-Jawād Khaṭīb Bungsu (the Youngest Khaṭīb, who taught mystic science in Bulukumba, especially in Tiro. He lived and passed away in Tiro Bulukumba. Nowadays, he has become more familiar with the name Datuk *ri* Tiro). The graves of all Datuks still exist up to the present in the areas (Bandang, Patimang and Tiro).

Although Macassar Kingdom had become an Islamic Kingdom, his people still have animistics beliefs. This is a problem that faced Shaykh Yūsuf after his birth until his adolescence and it is a problem he attempted to address. This will be discussed in the next section.

¹³The word *Khaṭīb* (Malay’s language) comes from the Arabic word *Khaṭīb* (خطيب) means mosque preacher. However, the words Khaṭīb Tunggal (an Independent/a Qualified *Khaṭīb*), Khaṭīb Sulung (the Oldest *Khaṭīb*) and Khaṭīb Bungsu (The Youngest *Khaṭīb*) are only degrees for the three Datuks who came from Pagaruyung, Kota Tengah (the Central City) Minangkabau West Sumatera. They are not brothers to each other, but they came from the same town/city where the King of Aceh Sulṭān Sidi Mukammil delegated them based on the request of the King of Gowa to teach Islam in South Sulawesi (Sultan 2016: 9).

¹⁴*ri* lit. in the place of

Map 1
The Spread of Islam in the Archipelago including South South Sulawesi



2.1.2 His Parents

Muḥammad Yūsuf was a member of the nobility from Macassar, Gowa and Tallo. He was born in Tallo Palace, Parangloe on the 3rd of July 1626 or the 8th of Shawal 1036 A.H., (Ligtvoet, 1877: 8). Thus, Muḥammad Yūsuf was born around 23 or 21 years after the King of Tallo and Gowa¹⁵ embraced Islam in 1603/1605 (Hamka 1959/1960; Paka 1980; Sultan 1982; see also Perlas 1985 and Noorduyn 1975). No problem about the different year, but the important fact was that Shaykh Yūsuf was born among the Islamic nobles and grew up in the Islamic environment.

Despite, many myths and legends surrounding the life of the shaykh especially regarding his father,¹⁶ but today we can acknowledge his parents well.

He was a son of a couple Āmina I Tubiani Daeng Kunjung and ‘Abd Allāh Khiḍr Manjalāwī. With regard to his mother, it is clear that Āmina I Tubiani Daeng Kunjung, died on the 13th of December 1666 (A.A. Cense 1950: 52).

His mother, Āmina I Tubiani Daeng Kunjung, was a daughter of the couple Aḥmad

¹⁵The King of Tallo Sultan ‘Abd Allāh Awwal al-Islām who was the first one embraced Islam and then followed by the King of Gowa I Mangngarangi Dg. Manrabbia Sultan ‘Alā al-Dīn in the same year.

¹⁶See the Chronicle of Macassar (Lontarak book) by Nuruddin Dg. Magassing (1933).

Daeng Leo Daengta ‘Gallarang’ (the term refers to the local ruler) Moncong Loe with Sangalow (a Portuguese’s Lady), in Macassar, people called her Kerana Daeng Singara (Macassar’s name). This Daengta Gallarang Moncong Loe was a cousin of I Mangnga’rangi Daeng Manrabbia Sultān Alā’ al-Dīn, the 14th King of Gowa [1591-1636] (Sultan 2008: 8-26 Dangor 1982:1-3). Another version mentions that both Sultān and Gallarang Moncong Loe were brothers of the same biological father, but different in biological mothers (Hamid, 2005: 85). Gallarang Moncong Loe was also a cousin of I Bulusalangga Daeng Makkulau Daengta Dampang Ko’marak in the paternal line (Dg. Magassing 1933: 11). His mother died on the 13th of December 1666 (A.A. Cense 1950: 52). Then she was buried in Sinassara Tallo, Macassar.

As for Shaykh Yūsuf’s father ‘Abd Allāh Khiḍr Manjalāwī, he was a Yemenī *ṣūfī* saint who had travel to Indonesia through India and arrived in Java in around 1624 and then travelled to the Eastern part of Indonesia, South Celebes (Sulawesi) in 1625. He was a great saint of Allāh or a *walī quṭb* who had many shrines (*krāmats*). Therefore, his coming mysteriously in the garden of *Dampang* Ko’mara (a local rule of Ko’marak) in the form of a bright light was considered a miracle of Allāh on His servant as His saint.

Some of the old Sayyidīn in Cikoang, South Celebes (Sulawesi) asked questions, such as who his father was, and whether he was Sayyid Koko or Tuan Koko” (*Sayyid al-Bustān* = سيد البستان or the Master guard of Garden). These inquiries pointed to the identity of Shaykh Yūsuf’s father as a sayyid (*tuan*).

To prove that his father was a Yemenī *ṣūfī* saint, we can start from his title. The title Manjalāwī of ‘Abd Allāh Khiḍr has become an issue of debate. One states that Manjalāwī is a territory south of Gowa or Ko’mara. The other version states that Manjalāwī means, the north part of territories of Gowa (Cense 1979: 179). Another perspective is that Manjalāwī is the same as ‘*Alawī* or ‘*Alawiyiyīn*. In other words, according to the last perspective mentioned, Muḥammad Yūsuf’s father, Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh Khiḍr Tuanta Manjalāwī or Sayyidinā ‘Alawī, an Arabic *walī Allāh* who had lived in Ko’mara several months before he moved to Moncong Loe (Sultan 2016: 2).

The writer agrees with the last perspective because the word Manjalāwī is the Macassar spelling of ‘Alawī in Arabic (as the transition word from Arabic into

Macassarese language).¹⁷ In other words, ‘Abd Allāh Khiḍr Manjalāwī was an ‘*Alawī* of the *Bā ‘Alawī Sāda* (‘*Alawiyyīn*) from Yemen (Ḥaḍramawt) and one of the Prophet’s descendants. This statement is different to the views that Manjalāwī was Ko’mara or Moncong Loe, although it cannot be denied that he had lived in both areas. Due to the mysterious emergence of his father-in Ko’mara and his departure from Gowa Palace as quick as lightening, it was possible for a *walī* Allāh who possessed *kramats* (extraordinary events that sometimes happened on one as a gift from Allāh to him) to attain this feat. As for his father’s *kramats* have already been mentioned apparently made the King of Gowa consider him to be the Prophet Khiḍr AS, but in reality they indicated that he was a man of saintly disposition.

In addition, Shaykh Yūsuf was also a holder of a certificate of the family tree of *Bā ‘Alawiyya Ṣūfī* Order. From the beginning of this order until al-Maqassarī’s period, it seems that this certificate was not given to one who had no blood relationship with the Prophet Muḥammad SAW or the Sayyid’s groups. This will be found in the family tree of *Bā ‘Alawiyya Ṣūfī* Order which will be discussed in the next chapter. In addition, Shaykh Yūsuf had married two Arab women, i.e. a daughter of an Imām Shāfi’ī (of a Shāfi’ī school) in Makka and a daughter of Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh Judda in Jedda (Sultan 2015: 68).

The *Ṭarīqat al-Bā ‘Alawiyya* is attributed to its founder Imām ‘Alawī ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Muḥājir, the grandson of Imām Aḥmad ibn ‘Īsā ‘Alawī, as the ancestor of the *Bā ‘Alawī sāda* or ‘*Alawiyyīn*. His complete name was Aḥmad ibn ‘Īsā ibn Muḥammad al-Naqīb ibn ‘Alī ibn Urayḍ ibn Ja’far al-Ṣādiq ibn Muḥammad al-Baqīr ibn ‘Alī Zaynal ‘Ābidīn ibn Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī bin Abī Ṭālib. As the founder and pioneer of this *ṣūfī* order he then gave the certificate of a *murshid* to his son before he died. It then passed on to successive generations until Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī.¹⁸

Totok Jumantoro and Samsul Munir Amin (2005: 9), the authors of *Kamus Ilmu Taṣawwuf* or *Dictionary of Mystic Science* reported also that ‘*Alawiyya Ṣūfī* Order is the oldest *ṣūfī* order in Indonesia. Imām Aḥmad *ibn* Isa al-Muḥājir was one of the pioneers

¹⁷The word transition from Arabic into Macassarese language has been usually found especially in the first Islamic period in South Sulawesi and until now its influence still exists, such as: the word ‘Abdun or ‘Abdu for the people of Macassar call/ spell it I Baddu, Nabi Khiḍr becomes Nabbi Khillere, Ibrahim becomes I Bora, Ishāq becomes I Sakka, Ismā’īl becomes I Maele; Qāḍī Ammānī becomes *Kaliya ri Ammānī* and Qāḍī Gowa becomes *Kaliya ri Gowa*; *Bā ‘Alawī* becomes *battua ri Manjalāwī*, means from ‘*Alawiyyīn* (a descendant from ‘Ālī bin ‘Abī Ṭālib, K.W.) (Sultan 2016: 3).

¹⁸For more information see Sultan 2015: 119-137; and al-Tīmī 1735; also see A. Aziz Masyhuri 2011: 49-56; Abdul Wadud Kasyful Hamam 2013; 58-73.

of this *ṣūfī* order. Most of his descendants included Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī and Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī (the followers of this *ṣūfī* order) succeeded in continuing the teaching of this *ṭarīqa*. This *ṭarīqa* has become quite popular in Ḥaḍramawt (Yemen) where Shaykh Yūsuf received this order from Shaykh Sayyid ‘Alī al-Zabīdī (d. 1048/1673).

Today, it is clear that ‘Abd Allāh Khiḍr Manjalāwī, Shaykh Yūsuf’s father was an Arab (sayyid) from ‘Alawī Ḥaḍramawt country (Yemen). As for the word Khiḍr at the end of his father’s name, it does not mean that he was Prophet Khiḍr AS Shaykh Yūsuf himself, only mentioned his father's name ‘Abd Allāh Khiḍr Manjalāwī among many of his works. In one of his treatises, namely *Tuḥfat al-Mursala*, he wrote his name: al-Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj Abū al-Ḥarkānī Manjalāwī (Al-Maqassarī in Cod. Or 7326, n.d).

Therefore, today we can ignore all previous views in South Sulawesi claiming that Shaykh Yūsuf’s father was the Prophet Khiḍr AS or his father was the King of Gowa; or he was a common man; or he was a man descended from *khayangan*/heaven. However, we can safely say that Shaykh Yūsuf’s father was a great saint or a *walī qutb* of Allāh.

Last but not least, I maintain that Shaykh Yūsuf’s father came from Yemen or from ‘Alawī families, who had blood ties with the Prophet Muḥammad SAW; through the descendant line of Sayyid Ḥasan bin ‘Alī R.A. (may Allāh be pleased with him). Therefore, one could call him Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh Khiḍr bin Abī al-Khayr bin ‘Alawī al-Ḥaḍramī (Sultan 2015: 266).

This opinion is supported by:

- 1) The statement in one source (an old book of Ḥābib Luṭfi bin Yaḥya, n.d.) as well as the report of Ḥābib ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Al-Sagāf that the *walī’ Allāh* Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh from Ḥaḍramawt came via Gujarat, India, to Banten, and in 1622 went to the Eastern part of the country (Macassar). In 1625, he married the beautiful lady whose name was Āminah binti Aḥmad or I Tubiani *Daeng* Kunjung (Sultan 2015: 266).
- 2) Shaykh Yūsuf’s father’s name and origin only became prominent when he married the daughter of Gallarang Moncong Loe. His name is included in the *silsila* (the family tree) of Shaykh Yūsuf that began from the Prophet Muḥammad (SAW) and

runs through my father (as the heir) from his father Shaykh Muḥammad Sulṭān Bayt Allāh (Arabic spelling) called ‘*Sembangan*’¹⁹ (Muḥammad Sultan Baitullah n.d.).

- 3) The current statement of Habib Muh Luthfi bin Ali bin Yahya²⁰ about the name of Shaykh Yūsuf’s father as ‘Abd Allāh Khiḍr bin Abī al-Khayr Yaḥya bin ‘Alawī is valid,²¹ since he is also included in the *silsila* of Sayyid Yaḥya (of *banū* Aḥmad bin Yaḥya).
- 4) The written hands of Shaykh Yūsuf manuscripts found at Berlin Library and at Princeton University Library (Nicholas Heer 2013: 1-3). These manuscripts state the name of Shaykh Yūsuf’s as well as his father as: Yūsuf bin al-Marḥūm Abū al-Jalāl ‘Abd Allāh al-Jāwī and Yūsuf al-Tāj bin ‘Abd Allāh bin Abī al-Khayr al-Jāwī al-Maqāṣṣarī al-Manjalāwī.

If this is correct, then the complete name of Shaykh Yūsuf in Arabic is Abū al-Maḥāsin al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Shāfi‘ī, al-Ash‘arī, Hadiyyat Allāh Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Jāwī al-Maqassarī bin walī Allāh Abī al-Jalāl ‘Abd Allāh al-Khiḍr bin Abī al-Khayr Yaḥya bin ‘Alawī al-Ḥaḍramī.²² This name with some his titles are indicative of his personality and which leaves no doubt than to acknowledge Shaykh Yūsuf as one of *ahl al-Bayt* (a descendant of our Prophet Muḥammad SAW).

In addition, Shaykh Yūsuf and his father were both highly knowledgeable *ṣūfīs* and possessed *karāmāt* (كرامات). They supported the aphorism that: “The fruits do not fall not far from the tree.”

The origin of Shaykh Yūsuf’s father is fairly well known today. Nevertheless, no data or news are found about the date of his father’s death and grave; except the graves of his

¹⁹This *sembangan* (the owner of Sh. Sahib Sultan as the heir of his father) is similar to the *Warkat al-Syeikh al-Hajj Yūsuf al-Tāj* bin ‘Abd Allāh bin ‘Abī al-Khayri (the owners are H. Hasbullah Dg.Kulle and H.Jamaluddin Paramma Dg. Jaga). It contains the five *silsila* of his *ṣūfī* orders with certificates as well as the *silsila* of Shaykh Yūsuf from Our Prophet Muḥammad SAW, and some *du‘ās* and other his teachings. This *sembangan* was kept by his mother Hj. Nūr al-Ṣūfiyya (Nūr al-Ṣūfi) or in Macassar called as Hj. Nurung Dg. Singara until she gave it to him before she died in July 1st 2017. Following this, Sh. K.H. Sahib Sultan knew the origin of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī, but he continued his research until he found some other sources which supported it. That is why we can reveal the true origin of the Shaykh after long deliberations.

²⁰His complete name in Arabic is Ḥabīb Muḥammad Luṭfi bin Alī bin Ḥashīm bin ‘Umar bin Ṭoḥa bin Ḥasan bin Ṭoḥa bin Yahya [or just called as Habib Luthfi bin Yahya in Indonesia] is Ra‘is ‘Ām JATMAN of RI [Ra‘is ‘Ām Jam‘iyya *ahl al-Ṭarīqat al-Muktabara an-Nahdliyya* of RI].

²¹This is based on personal communication in Pekalongan, 18 January 2018 with Ḥabīb Luṭfi bin Yaḥya, Ḥabīb ‘Abd. Raḥīm Jamāl al-Ḍīn al-Saqāf and Shaykh K.H. Sahib Sultan,; see also the old notebook of Ḥabīb Luṭfi (n.d.)

²²For more information see Appendix I Part B No. 1-4 (See also the Diagram and all images in this regard).

mother and his grandfather and grandmother from the maternal line as well as the grave of I Bulu Salangga Daeng Makkulau Daengta Dampang Ko'marak (the cousin of his grandfather and the owner of the garden where the first miraculous appearance of Shaykh Yūsuf's father occurred as well as the one who had brought his proposal to marry Āmina I Tubiani Daeng Kujung.

2.1.3 The Early Life and Education of Shaykh Yūsuf in 1626-1644

Shortly after Yūsuf's birth in the Tallo Palace, he was directly moved to Gowa Palace with his mother as has been previously mentioned in the chronicle of Macassar. He became a stepson of Sulṭān Alā' al-Dīn who also had a daughter at that time namely I Sitti Daeng Nisanga.

Yūsuf's education and his adolescence experiences in Gowa Palace have been researched and described by Sultan in his book, "*Syeikh Yūsuf al-Maqassariy Riwayat Hidup, Karya dan Ajarannya*" (2015: 17-25) and other scholars such as Sibali (1989) and Abd. Razak Daeng Patunru (1989).

It is known that when Yūsuf was born, the Kingdom of Gowa and its people had embraced Islam as the official religion for more than twenty years. However, most of its people still adhered to the old customs and beliefs, especially in rural areas. They were Muslims officially, but in practice, they still remained animist.²³ This situation in the Kingdom of Gowa required a much needed scholar to motivate its people to become real and fervent Muslims.

From his childhood until his adolescence, Muḥammad Yūsuf proved himself as an intelligent young man who qualified to become a candidate-scholar. Yūsuf studied under the guidance of his tutor called I Daeng Ritasammeng. She was a teacher of religion for the royal family. She was also one of the students of Datuk *ri* Bandang.

Religious studies during this period were normally taught at a *langgar worship* or at teacher's home. At that time in South Sulawesi, there was no boarding school (*pesantren*) system as was found in Java, where the students usually gathered in the house of the teacher for lessons. The first lesson was learning the elementary reading of the Qurān, starting with the introduction of the Arabic alphabet. The students learnt to read by following the teacher. Only after the student was able to read fluently would he continue to recitation.

²³Animism is a belief that all objects (trees, stones, winds etc.) have souls (AS Hornby: 1977: 31).

The teaching system used was based on an individual rather than a class. A typical lesson would have each student come forward individually in front of the teacher to listen to how the teacher read and recited the *Qur'ān*, and then other students would take their turn with the teacher. Each student would complete his/her task based on his/her persistence and intelligence. To finish the reading of thirty chapters of the *Qur'ān* took several months even up to more than a year.

After completing the reading of the thirty chapters of the *Qur'ān*, a graduation ceremony of the *Qur'ān* was held which was usually coupled with a circumcision ceremony, so it would be a party. In the customs of the Macassarese such a party was called *ajjāga*.

For ordinary children, graduating from the recitation of the *Qur'ān* thirty chapters was sufficient, and then they could become teachers; but for Muḥammad Yūsuf, this level was not enough. He then continued his studies where he learned Arabic with science of *naḥwu* and *ṣarf*, as tools to be able to translate as well as to interpret the *Qur'ān* and *ḥadīth*. Subsequently he studied *tawḥīd*, Islamic jurisprudence, *taṣawwuf*, and the science of logic as well as Malay language. This language, at that time, became the language used in trading and diplomacy, as well as the language of instruction in the spread of Islam in the Archipelago.

One of childhood friends and schoolmates of Yūsuf was Sitti Daeng Nisanga, the daughter of Sulṭān 'Alā al-Dīn and Queen I Mainung Daeng Nicini Karaeng *ri* Bontoa. She was one month younger than Yūsuf and was also considered very beautiful and intelligent. Yūsuf, however, was considered a star among his friends and after he continued his studies and mastered the books on the intricacies of Islam, people admired his intelligence. Sulṭān 'Alā al-Dīn was proud of the success of Yūsuf and Sitti.

Since Sitti Daeng Nisanga and Yūsuf graduated in reciting the *Qur'ān*, the King of Gowa held a *ajjāga* party. The chronicle of Macassar reported as follows:

The King of Gowa prepared a ritual circumcision together with the princess (Sitti Dg. Nisanga), and enlivened it with dances consisting of twelve groups. Furthermore, the king sat in *Baruga*²⁴ and partied for a week, ate and drank happily, gave charity on behalf of his daughter and Yūsuf to the poor, and circumcised Yūsuf in the presence of the Tribal Council of Gowa Kingdom.

²⁴a party building

The King of Gowa treated them as his own son and daughter. Despite them were treated as brother and sister in the palace, eventually this association and interaction slowly made Yūsuf and Sitti Daeng Nisanga fall in love. Their love grew by the day.

The beloved King Sulṭān 'Alā al-Dīn died on June 15, 1639 with the title *Tumenanga ri Gaukanna*.²⁵ This incident affected not only the kingdom but also the future relationship between Yūsuf and Sitti Daeng Nisanga.

After Sulṭān 'Alā al-Dīn died, the Nine Regions' Central Board²⁶ of the kingdom elected and inducted his son I Mannuntungi Muḥammad Sa'id Daeng Mattola Karaeng Ujung, also known as Karaeng Lakiung, as his successor to be the 15th King of Gowa with a title Sulṭān Mālik al-Sa'id.

The High Administrator or *Mangkubumi* of the Gowa Kingdom was the King of Tallo, I Mangngadacinna Daeng Sitaba Karaeng Patingalloang, the son of Karaeng Matowaya, Sulṭān 'Abd Allāh Awwal al-Islam. This Mangkubumi was famous as an intelligent man, who mastered some foreign languages such as Portuguese, Spanish, French, English and Arabic. He had also written books about the state, the company's problems, and shipping law (Daeng Patunru 1989: 30-34).

After the Nine Regions' Central Board in the kingdom inducted the new King of Gowa, some changes occurred in the kingdom such as the replacement of some officials and change in the way of life in the palace. Distance and boundaries began emerging in the relationship between Siti and Yūsuf. They were no longer free to meet and converse as before.

Yūsuf began to contemplate his fate and future, including his relationship with Sitti Daeng Nisanga. The changes made him realise who he was. During the time he lived in the palace with Sulṭān 'Alā al-Dīn, he was loved and treated like a son. His mother, however, was a descendant of Gallarrang (a ruler of local area) who was not included as a member of the Nine Regions' Central Board of the Kingdom. As Siti was the daughter of the late king, a great social distance has opened up between them. In the period of Sulṭān 'Alā al-Dīn, the distance was not apparent because everyone treated him as the son of the king. After his protector (Sulṭān 'Alā al-Dīn) died, however,

²⁵One who died in the period of his reign.

²⁶The Nine Regions' Central Boards (*Dewan Batesalapanga*) were established when the 6th King of Gowa wished to divide his kingdom into two kingdoms for his two sons. The first kingdom, the Kingdom of Gowa, was divided into five areas and the second kingdom, the Kingdom of Tallo, was separated into four areas. Each of the nine sub-areas were governed by local rulers called Gallarang. Their function was to give advice to the King and also to elect the King of the Gowa-Tallo Kingdoms (Mattulada 1982: 17-18).

according to the new rules dictating the interaction of the royal family with non-royals, Yūsuf was not free anymore to meet Sitti Daeng Nisanga on a social basis.

Sitti herself had a different perspective. The differences in descendency and status were not important to her. She loved Yūsuf and, to her, Yūsuf seemed to love her too. Although Yūsuf was only a descendant of Gallarang through his maternal lineage and his father, whilst he was unknown to the general public at the time as a saint, the people knew and considered Yūsuf as a *tupanrita*, an Islamic cleric and scholar. Her late father, Sulṭān 'Alā al-Dīn, knew Yūsuf's father as an extraordinary man (a Holy person) who had *ladunnī* knowledge.²⁷ The king considered his father as the Prophet Khiḍr AS, so he treated Yūsuf as his own son. History also shows that the maternal grandfather of Yūsuf, Ahmad Daeng Leo Daengta Gallarang Moncongloe was a cousin of Sulṭān 'Alā al-Dīn.²⁸ From the conduct of Yūsuf and Sitti towards each other, it was clear that these two teenagers just kept their feelings hidden. Nevertheless Sitti was still in doubt. She wanted to get a confession of love from Yūsuf himself. For this purpose, Sitti waited for the right time, looking for an opportunity to be able to meet Yūsuf and speak to him directly.

One afternoon, Sitti was successful in intercepting Yūsuf in front of the door of the palace. She used this opportunity to declare her love to Yūsuf openly. Softly but clearly, Sitti Daeng Nisanga said: "O brother Yūsuf, You are one I am waiting for here. Please take heed to what I am saying. I expect your love and I wish to become your wife." Yūsuf replied: "O sister Sitti, it is impossible. Three things have become obstacles. First, you are a noble princess, and I am only an ordinary citizen. Second, our late father, the King of Gowa made us brother and sister. Third, I am only an escort or attendant of your brother who rules Gowa now. I am scared and apprehensive of our fellow human beings and above all, of Allāh." Sitti Daeng Nisanga answered: "You are a *tupanrita*²⁹, the perfect man, and I know that your father was a Holy man, a highly knowledgeable and a versed person; you are the fruit that falls not far from the tree. You do not need to be afraid." The courage and determination of Sitti Daeng Nisanga in depicting her love awed Yūsuf. Aware of his weakness, Yūsuf said: "Even so, I am still afraid." Hearing the answer, Sitti Daeng Nisanga lost her temper and stood up. Then she said: "if you will not marry me, I will demand justice from you in the Hereafter. I will make you a riding horse in the day of resurrection." Yūsuf was surprised at the

²⁷Knowledge that is beyond the capabilities of ordinary people.

²⁸Another version stated that both of them were brothers with the same biological father, but different in biological mothers as has been previously mentioned in chapter two (Hamid 2005: 8).

²⁹an Islamic cleric and scholar

harsh statement of Sitti Daeng Nisanga and he kept quiet and did not know what to say. Sitti Daeng Nisanga had given her final word on the matter. Yūsuf seemed to give in to this pressure, he nodded weakly, and then they parted.

The demand of Sitti Daeng Nisanga unsettled the mind of Yūsuf. He worried about attracting slander towards the two of them. He was no longer treated as a prince, but as an escort of the new king. He knew that when issues about him would arise, no one would defend him. After he completed his duty as an escort of the king, Yūsuf pleaded to the king to continue his studies.

How Yūsuf fulfilled his promise to Sitti Daeng Nisanga will be discussed in the next section. Now, the discussion will focus on his education in Macassar.

Since his childhood, Muḥammad Yūsuf used to live according to Islamic norms and traditions. As mentioned earlier, Yūsuf initially learned to read the *Qur'ān* and even memorised it, whilst he learned other subjects such as Arabic grammar (*qawā'id*), Islamic theology (*'ilmul-kalam/tawḥīd*), Islamic jurisprudence [*fiqh/sharī'a*] (Daeng Magassing 1933:17). After this initial period, he became interested in learning mysticism (*taṣawwuf*) To this end, he went to Bandang, Macassar, to meet Dato or Datuk Sri Naradireja, who was later famously known as Datuk *ri* Panggentungan. Yūsuf took lessons from him with his friend 'Abd Allāh Lo'mok *ri* Antang. Datuk Sri Naradireja was a son of Datuk 'Abd al-Makmūr or Datuk *ri* Bandang from Pagaruruyung Minangkabau, who settled in Bandang Macassar, after his father passed away, and built an Islamic school specialising in the field of mysticism in Kaluku Bodoa in 1634 (Daeng Magassing 1933: 19).

In 1641, when he was 15 years old, he visited a famous Islamic scholar in Cikoang, Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Aidit from Aceh³⁰ who built an Islamic school in 1640 (A. Muawiyah Ramli 2006: 74). Some researchers such as A. Muawiyah Ramli and Solichin Salam, even Azra believed that Yūsuf learnt Islamic guidance from Sayyid Bā'lawī bin 'Abd Allāh al-'Allāma al-Ṭahīr in Bontoala in 1634. However, the important fact is that Sayyid Bā'lawī was a son-in-law of Sulṭān "Abd al-Jalīl Karaeng Sanro Bone, the 19th King of Gowa (1667-1709). He arrived in Gowa in 1683 and then married with his daughter Fāṭima binti 'Abd al-Jalīl (Sultan 2016; see also the *silsila* Shaykh Muḥammad Rijāl al-Saqāf Puang Ngawing (n.d), as one of Sayyid Bā'lawī's Offspring). Therefore, it seems that it was impossible for Shaykh Yūsuf to learn from this Shaykh, since at the time, he was fighting as a military leader against the Dutch in

³⁰The Indonesian province is located at the northern end of Sumatra.

Java, especially in Banten.

In 1642, Datuk Sri Naradireja moved to Gowa to fulfil the request of the Gowa King, Sulṭān Mālik al-Sa'īd (1639-1653) and settled in Panggentungan. Shortly thereafter, he and his friend 'Abd Allāh Lo'mok *ri* Antang together with his teacher Sri Naradireja Datuk *ri* Panggentungan bin 'Abd al-Makmūr roamed through the countryside and explored the mountain areas as far as Latimojong, Bulusaraung and Bawakaraeng. At the top of Bawakaraeng Mountain, they met a holy man and they proceeded to learn from him (Sultan 2008: 28; see also Dg. Magassing 1933: 19). The cronicle of Macassar mentioned that this teacher considered his lessons to have finished when he told Yūsuf: "O' Yūsuf, you have reached the limit of your knowledge in this Macassar city. So, please listen to me when I tell you that you have to continue your studies in the Holy land of Makka, to broaden your knowledge and deepen your understanding about Islam." Shortly after they returned from seeking the mystic knowledge of the saint (*walī*) of Allāh at Bawakaraeng Mountain, they were suddenly able to perform miracles when they were fishing in Mawang Lake in the Eastern part of Sungguminasa near to Panggentungan. When they wanted to smoke, they encountered a problem because they did not have a match or any source of fire, so each of them showed their capacity to perform miracles. Sri Naradireja ignited his cigarette from the rain; 'Abd Allāh Lokmok *ri* Antang ignited his cigarette from lightning, and Muḥammad Yūsuf ignited his cigarette by dipping it into the water of Mawang lake (Dg. Magassing 1933: 20-23).³¹

Abdul Razak Daeng Patunru (1967: 151) reported that the Gowa Kingdom needed a qualified scholar in the field of Islamic religion for the future of the Gowa Kingdom to expand and to strengthen the teachings of Islam in the Kingdom. It was necessary to have groups of scholars who were knowledgeable and skillful in the task of preaching. The value of an Islamic kingdom was insignificant if the ways of life of its people strayed far from Islamic guidance. At the beginning of the rise of Islam in South Sulawesi, the Muslim missionaries and preachers, who were generally ethnic Malays from Minangkabau, played an important role. In the next period, South Sulawesi needed local scholars, who could communicate easily with the people and could move to remote areas. Therefore, some of the officials of the kingdom also suggested Muḥammad Yūsuf to further his knowledge in other countries, such as the Holy land of Makka etc. For them, Muḥammad Yūsuf was a good candidate for this task.

However, before he left Macassar, he tried to provide his views for the security of

³¹To view Mawang Lake see images nos. 2a-b.

Macassar Kingdom (Gowa and Tallo) and its people. He also tried to fulfil his promise to the Princess of Gowa, I Sitti Daeng Nisanga, who had fallen in love with him.

Efforts to Provide Views

Living outside the palace and mingling with ordinary people, Yūsuf eventually saw the weaknesses in society. People strayed from the guidance of Islam, especially the nobility. Idolatry, worshipping haunted places and customs based on the animistic belief still had strong influence. Furthermore, the habits of cockfighting, gambling, drinking wine, smoking opium were widespread. As a young Muslim scholar, this was the challenge he set himself to overcome. He intended to do something to stem the collapse of the moral fibre in society which would eventually lead to the state's collapse.

After much contemplation, Yūsuf decided to propose his plan for a moral revival to the council of the kingdom, because according to him, the changes in society should start from the nobles and community leaders (Sibali 1989: 15-17).

On one occasion, Yūsuf, at 17 years of age, met the King of Gowa and suggested the following five things that contribute to the collapse in society. He urged the king to pay close attention to them:

First: *gaukanga* (refers to the great objects of the kingdom);³²

Second: *saukanga* (idol-worshipping in haunted places);

Third: smoking opium in society, especially by the members of *Batesalapanga* or the Nine Regions' Central Board of the kingdom;

Fourth: gambling in each market; and

Fifth: strong palm wine (*tuak/ballo*) drinking by the people of Bajeng.

³²The Great Objects of the Gowa Kingdom that Yūsuf referred to, were: 1) *Salokoa* or the Crown of Gowa Kingdom which has been used to inaugurate the King of Gowa since 1320; 2) Some items of royal gold jewelry such as four *Ponto Janga-Jangayya* (dragon bracelets), six *Rante Kalompoanga* (the greatness necklaces) were the attributes of the Ruling King of Gowa at the time which are made from 24 carat gold and called the *Tobo Kaluku* with the total weight 2,182 grams, four *Subang* (ear studs), and *Cincin Gaukang* (*Gaukang* ring); 3) *Sudanga* is a sacred sword with 72cm long, and 4cm wide; and *Lasippo* (a long chopping knife 62cm long and 6cm wide) All these objects have existed since the first King of Gowa, Tumanurung Baineyya with his wife Karaeng Bayo in 1320 until the present. 4) *Tatarapang* (a kind of dagger made from ancient iron with gold sarong and it is used at the ceremony events of the Kingdom by the King. The weight of the dagger is 986,5 grams and it is 51cm long and 13cm wide. This was a gift from Raden Fatah, the King of Demak in the 16th century as a sign for friendship between the two countries; and *Rante Manila* (*Manila* necklace) given as a gift from the King of Sulu (Manila) in the 16th century. This is only brief information about these pieces, so please visit the Museum Balla Lompoa in Sungguminasa for more details.

Yūsuf then suggested that the collapse of society can be prevented by eradicating these items through a royal order from the Honourable King. This would also change the attitudes of the people to treat the great objects of the Kingdom as sacred idols³³ (Sibali 1989: 15).

Yūsuf's statements hit like a thunderstorm, as everyone was devastated. The proposal was incredibly brave of Yūsuf to make because at that time, the Kingdom of Gowa was the most advanced and respected kingdom in the archipelago, especially in the Eastern part of Indonesia. The King received the title of *mufti* in Makka as al-Mālik al-Sa'īd for being instrumental in expanding the Islamic religion.

For a long time, the royal princes and scholars had studied and examined the elements that could jeopardise the integrity and continuity of the royal state. They always strove to identify and remove such the elements in their infancy.

However, what Yūsuf said was beyond their expectations. According to the popular belief at the time, the five things that Yūsuf mentioned were the elements that strengthen the establishment of the state. Paying homage to the *gaukanga* or the great objects of the kingdom was an established custom originating in the era before Islam. At certain times, the royal families had to officiate over ceremonies for them. Likewise, *saukanga* is the worship of haunted places, where the spirits of ancestors were worshipped through *ammuakki* (the giving of the dish) and then asking for something of the spirits of ancestors. This practice was still widely practised in the territory of the Kingdom of Gowa. Both are idolatrous deeds and forbidden for Muslims. The foreigners deliberately spread opium in the Gowa Kingdom to weaken the spiritual and physical power of its people. Opium had become a popular drug in the royal circles. It was a shame that it had influenced members of the Nine Regions' Central Board as they were representatives of respectable people. Gambling was very prevalent in crowded places, in markets, and in the party venues. *Ballo'* (strong palm wine) made the people drunk and even crazy, especially the people of Bajeng who were the main troops of Gowa Kingdom. Yūsuf concluded that these five things led to the weakness of society and the state so that the Kingdom of Gowa could collapse from the inside before the outside enemy attacked them.

³³It is important to know that Yūsuf had no problem with the Great Objects of the Kingdom themselves, but he did not like how the nobles of the Gowa Kingdom and their people treated or worshipped these objects as sacred idols, as if they, by themselves, could bring harm or benefit for the Kingdom and its people. We know that Yūsuf only believed in the Oneness of God and for him, only God could bring harm and benefit to His creation, not others or objects. Therefore, as the first strategy to prevent the collapse of the Kingdom, he suggested that the royal families and the people keep and appreciate these royal objects, with the stipulation that these things were only objects and not sacred.

To respond to Yūsuf's assertions, the High Administrator of the Kingdom, *Mangkubumi* Karaeng Pattingalloang came forward to respond to the proposal of Yūsuf. He rejected the proposal on the following grounds: The practice of *gaukanga* was an attribute of the kingdom, a symbol of their honour, a symbol of unity of the people and their nationality. *Saukanga*, a strengthening element of society, had the equivalence of *kramat* spiritual value. Opium among the nobility and the members of *Batesalapanga* was an assistance to the mind in formulating state policy. One could not eliminate gambling because of the *baratu* (tax) on it had become a source of the state revenue at the time. In addition, gambling places were places of gathering that served to announce and disseminate the King's commands and proclamations. The people of Gowa Kingdom, especially the people of Bajeng drank *Ballo* or strong palm wine to stimulate their courage. Therefore, he concluded, that one cannot remove these five things, as they existed for the sake of the progress of the Kingdom of Gowa and its community. This was the response of the government to the Yūsuf's proposal.

One could imagine how disappointed Yūsuf was after hearing the answer of the *Mangkubumi* or the High Administrator of the Kingdom. This disappointment was brought into his prayer and *dhikr* every time he finished his prayer. Yūsuf had withdrawn from society and spent more of his time in worship. Apparently he could not do much for his beloved people and country at the time. He then remembered the suggestion of his teacher to go and further his knowledge in the Holy land.

In a meeting at the residence of Datuk in Panggentungang, the Datuk urged Yūsuf to perform the pilgrimage to Makka and to continue his studies there. Datuk, said: "This is in accordance with the recommendations of our teacher, a *wali' Allāh* in Bawakaraeng, to you. Know that the seeds of science exist in Macassar, but the legitimate and the perfect seeds lie in the Holy land of Makka" (Sibali 1989: 17).

The teacher's recommendation was similar and supported his own intention. However, a sticking point to Yūsuf was his personal relationship with Sitti Daeng Nisanga. Before Yūsuf left the land of Macassar, he wanted to show his seriousness and sincerity to Sitti Daeng Nisanga, that he was a man who never broke his promise.

Efforts to Fulfil Promise

Sibali (1989: 17-19) narrates that it took a long time for Yūsuf to propose marriage to Sitti Daeng Nisanga. He was hesitant because he thought that the king will reject his marriage proposal. However, the thought of withdrawing before trying was cowardice, and he did not want Sitti to accuse him of infidelity. Yūsuf finally decided to propose for marriage with the Princess Lady of Gowa.

To represent Yūsuf in his submission of his proposal to the Honourable King of Gowa, he asked the help of two people who belonged to the Nine Regions' Central Board of Gowa Kingdom. They were *Gallarrang Mangngasa* and *Gallarrang Tombolok*. In the presence of both Yūsuf said: "What this servant wants to convey to you is a slave petition, presumably both of you can face *Sri Paduka Raja* (the Honourable King) to convey the desire of this servant's heart to the Princess Lady Sitti Daeng Nisanga. It will remain a spiritual burden for me as a servant if you cannot convey it to the King and see precisely how the Honourable King would accept my good intention" (Sibali 1989: 18).

Both *gallarrang* agreed to act on Yūsuf's behalf to the best of their abilities. They hoped that their good intention would be sufficient to achieve their purpose. Both also deliberated on a suitable time and manner that was deemed appropriate to discuss such a marriage proposal with the King.

After doing the necessary preparation, *Gallarrang Mangngasa* and *Gallarrang Tombolok* went to face the King of Gowa. More than an hour they chatted amicably with the king which pleased the king. Once a suitable amount of time passed, *Gallarrang Mangngasa* conveyed the actual purpose of their visit. He said that the purpose of both of them facing *Paduka* was to convey the heart's desire of their sponsor Yūsuf, who wished to marry the Princess Lady Sitti Daeng Nisanga (Sibali, 1989: 18).

Hearing the marriage proposal, the king paused and thought for a while. Then the king finally provided an answer to them:

"O *Gallarrang Mangngasa*, Yūsuf's intention is good and not wrong toward my sister. Nevertheless, just consider that a slave remains a slave, a king remains a king. Thus I have made my decision" (Sibali 1989: 18).

The point was clearly made that the king refused the marriage proposal because he considered Yūsuf of a lower status than that of his sister. When the king decided to raise the incompatibility issue, the negotiations could not continue and both *gallarrangs* excused themselves. This indicated that the assumption of Sultān Mālik al-Sa'īd about the incompatibility between the stations of Yūsuf and Sitti Daeng was contradictory to the view held by his late father (Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn). His father never regarded Yūsuf as a slave, he even considered him as his own son because he knew the origin of Yūsuf's father and mother well (Sultan 2015: 30).

Yūsuf accepted the decision of the king to be in conformity to the Will of God, as he assumed that the king would outright reject his marriage proposal. He thanked both gallarrang and told them that those were the words of the King, and it meant that he was free of sin because he tried to fulfil his promise to Sitti Daeng, but unfortunately his proposal was rejected by the king himself.

After this incident, Yūsuf made up his mind to go sailing and leave his homeland behind to fulfil the wish of his master. The situation in Gowa at the time made it difficult for him to change his plan and renew the society in accordance with Islamic teachings after his marriage proposal to Sitti Daeng Nisanga had been also rejected.

One day he went to attend a ritual ceremony at the palace. After the official ceremony finished, and after Yūsuf excused himself from the audience of the king. He went down the stairs of the palace together with *Gallarrang Mangngasa* and *Gallarrang Tombolok*. In the front stairs of the palace he turned to the right facing *Gallarrang Mangngasa* and said: "Witness me!", and turned to the left facing the *Gallarrang Tombolok*, Yūsuf stamped his foot three times and said: "Witness me! Witness what I say. Once I go down the stairs of the palace of the King of Gowa today, I have no intention to return again. I am determined to leave the land of Macassar and I will not return before perfecting my *ṣuffī* knowledge." Then he exited the palace to *Kampong Beru* or New Village (it is located near the Losari Beach or around China Town, Macassar today). There Yūsuf waited for the boat while making the necessary preparations to leave.

Since the above events occurred, Yūsuf never returned again to the palace. After a while, the King noticed Yūsuf's absence and enquired about him. Gallarrang Mangngasa told the King that Yūsuf was in the *Kampong Beru* waiting for the ship because he intended to go travelling abroad. Hearing the news, the king was somewhat surprised because Yūsuf was the student scholar of his late father who would teach and lead the Muslims in the Kingdom of Gowa. The king then thought of how to prevent Yūsuf from leaving Macassar.

The king asked the opinion of his advisers, especially in the light of the relationship between Yūsuf and Sitti Daeng Nisanga. The *Lontarak* book was opened to seek guidance and then Gallarrang Mangngasa read it. This book spoke about three things that could elevate the dignity of a person, the first is being a Muslim cleric and a scholar, the second is being brave, and the third is wealth and one who could provide sustenance for the people of this region (Sibali 1989: 18).

Based on this guidance, it was clear that Yūsuf had fulfilled two of the three requirements as a dignified person: He was a Muslim cleric and a scholar who had extensive Islamic knowledge and he was considered a brave man as well.

The king therefore ordered one of the members of the Nine Regions' Central Board of the kingdom to bring Yūsuf (18) to the palace to marry Sitti Daeng Nisanga who was 18 years old at the time. The king's delegation had attempted to persuade Yūsuf to come to the palace on three occasions, but he had already vowed not to return to the palace of the King of Gowa whatever happens. Finally the king said: "If Yūsuf cannot come here, take Sitti Daeng Nisanga to *Kampung Beru* and then marry them!" Yūsuf subsequently married Sitti Daeng Nisanga. Their dream had been fulfilled to live together as husband and wife.

The royal families, the members of *Batesalapanga* (the Nine Regions' Central Board of Gowa Kingdom), and the wider community welcomed this marriage warmly. People thought that through this marriage Yūsuf would cancel his intention to leave. It was similar to the expectation of the king who felt that he would be successful in forcing Yūsuf to remain in Macassar after his sister's marriage to him.

However, all these estimations were wrong because Yūsuf had already vowed to travel for the purpose of developing his Islamic knowledge and enhancing his *ṣūfism*. As a consequence, life as husband and wife lasted just for a few months. Sitti Daeng Nisanga returned to the palace while Yūsuf continued his intention to leave the land of Macassar in search of Islamic knowledge.

Thus, neither the king nor the lady could deflect Yūsuf's decision. Once he made a decision, his determination was firmly strengthened; and nothing could hinder it. This was reflected in a Macassaerese *kelong* (a song of Macassar) as follows:

Takunjunga bangung turut, Takuguncirik gulingku, Kualleanna tallanga natowalia [I will not be prevented from sailing upwind, I will not turn the wheel, I will willingly sink to the ocean rather than turn back to the base before reaching the dream beach] (Sibali 1989: 19).

At the same time, Gowa Kingdom needed a qualified scholar in the field of Islamic religion for the future. This was why some of the officials of the kingdom suggested Yūsuf to broaden his knowledge in other countries, such as the Holy lands, Makka etc. At the time, he was 18 years old, and just married to his close friend, the daughter of Sulṭān 'Alā al-Dīn. Based on the advice of his teacher, Yūsuf left his beloved wife and his birthland, Macassar. He departed from Tallo Harbour on the 22nd of September

1644 and went to Banten (Ligtvoet,1877: 90). He left Macassar with the blessing of his beloved wife, Sitti Daeng Nisanga, at the boat of a Portuguese merchant bound for Banten. With the miraculous nature of Yūsuf, even when he left his wife, they were never far away from each other. Indeed, they always shared a spiritual connection. They met each other in dreams where she received gifts of spiritual sustenance from her husband. When Yūsuf left, Gowa was under the rule of his brother in law Sulṭān Mālik al-Saʿīd who reigned from 1639-1653 (Daeng Patunru 1967: 151).

Leaving Macassar for Continuing His Study

Yūsuf left Macassar with a clear purpose. He performed his *ḥājj* (pilgrimage), developed Islamic knowledge and enhanced his *ṣūfism* in the Holy land. At this time, pilgrimage was a long odyssey. Pilgrims left their homeland not directly to Makka, but first stopped in other countries waiting for various ships and preparing themselves. Pilgrims from Macassar, for instance, first sailed to Batavia or to Banten, from there they sailed to Malacca and Aceh, and then to the region next to India and Yemen from where they would reach the Holy land (Makka and Madīna) The average duration of a round trip, barring no obstacles, would be about two years (Sultan 2015: 34).

**Map 2
South Sulawesi**



2.2 His Movements and Wanderings in Search of Islamic Knowledge

2.2.1 In Banten 1644-1645

When Yūsuf arrived in Banten, the King of Banten was Sulṭān Abū al- Mufākhir ‘Abd al-Qadir (1596-1651) Sulṭān ‘Abd al-Qādir happily welcomed Yūsuf who was friendly and handsome and who had Islamic knowledge about ‘*aqīda*, *sharī‘a*, *akhlāq* (morals) and Arabic grammar. Yūsuf then befriended his grandson and crown prince, ‘Abd al-Fattāh bin Abū al-Ma’ālī bin Abū al-Mufākhir, who later became a king of Banten and was called Sulṭān Ageng Tirtayasa. This meeting developed into a friendship which would influence the life of Yūsuf in later years (Dg. Patunru 1967: 5-7).

**Map 3
Banten Area**



2.2.2 In Aceh 1645

Yūsuf arrived in Aceh around 1645. At the time Aceh was under the rule of Sulṭānah Tāj al-‘Alam Safiat al-Dīn Shah (1641-1675), a daughter of Sulṭān Iskandar Muda, a widow of Sulṭān Iskandar Thānī. He left Banten and travelled to Aceh specifically to meet one particular shaykh of the *Qādiriyya Ṣūfī* Order, Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī. Unfortunately this did not happen. Sultan (2016: 11) reported that Shaykh Yūsuf left Macassar for Banten at the same time that Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī went back to his birthland Randīr (Rander, Surat), India in 1644 Nevertheless, he later studied mystic knowledge from this Shaykh, who then awarded him a certificate of *al-Qādiriyya Ṣūfī* Order as he mentioned in his work *Safīnat al-Najā*:

“As for the chine of initiation of the khalīfah of al-Qādiriyyah, I take it from my Shaykh and prop (*sandaran*), the learned and prominent, the

wise and unmatched, the possessor of the sciences of *sharī'ah* and *ḥaqīqah*, exploring *ma'rifah* and *ṭarīqah*, my master and teacher (*guru*), Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn b. Ḥasanjī b. Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Qurayshī al-Rānīrī; may God purify his spirit and illuminate his tomb” (Azra 1992: 420).

**Map 4
Aceh Area**



2.2.3 In India, around 1645/1646 to 1648

Shaykh Yūsuf likely followed al-Rānīrī (d. 1068 A.H./ 1658) to India to learn the *Qādiriyya Ṣūfī* Order and obtain the certificate. He also studied with ‘Umar bin ‘Abd Allāh Bā Shaybān (d. 1066 A.H./ 1656), al-Rānīrī’s teacher. Al-Rānīrī introduced him to his master Bā Shaybān in the Gujarat region, as Bā Shaybān never travelled to the Malay-Indonesian lands. Afterwards, Shaykh Yūsuf continued his travel to the Middle East from the Gujarat coast (Azra 1992: 420).

Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī may be associated with Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh bin Shaykh al-Aydrus (died 1041A.H./1631)³⁴ indirectly through Bā’ Shaybān. He was a teacher and one of the family members of Bā’ Shaybān. Before migrating to Gujarat in 1025/1616, Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh bin Shaykh al-Aydrus studied in Yemen and the Haramayn, where he was initiated into a number of *ṣūfī* orders including the *Aydrūsiyya*, *Qādiriyya*, *Shadhiliyya* and

³⁴There is an ambiguity about the date, since Azra mentioned two conflicting dates in both his thesis (1992) and in his book (2017), firstly when he illustrated the brief history of Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh al-Aydarūs who was born in Tarim and stated that the Shaykh died in 1041 A.H./1631 (1992: 357; see also 2017: 208) and the secondly, in other pages he alluded that the networks of al-Rānīrī as well as al-Maqassarī mentioned that he died in 1073 A.H./1667(1992: 358 & 428; see also 2017: 209 & 270) However, I tend to use the first version, since the networks seemed to show that Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh al-Aydarūs only had one student that was Bā’ Shaybān.

Suhrawardiyya. He was also known as a *Muḥaddith* (Azra 1992: 357 & 428). Bā' Shaybān himself was initiated with the *Rifa'iyya*, and *Aydrūsiyya*, but it did not mean that he never learned *Shadhiliyya* and *Suhrawardiyya* from his master. If this is so, there was a possibility for Yūsuf to have learned the *Rifa'iyya*, *Aydrūsiyya*, *Shadhiliyya* and *Suhrawardiyya* *Ṣūfī* Orders from Bā' Shaybān; although it was possible he initially learned the *Rifa'iyya* *Ṣūfī* Orders alongside the *Qādiriyya* *Ṣūfī* Order from Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī who was also appointed as a caliph of the *Rifa'iyya* *Ṣūfī* Order. He then still continued his studies with the master of his teacher, Bā Shaybān (Azra 1992: 355).

He stayed in India for three years, from around 1645/1646 to 1648 (in the end part of 1645 or in the early part of 1646 to the end of 1648), because obtaining a certificate from a *ṣūfī* order needs at least more than a single year. Therefore, it is estimated that he received the certificate of *al-Qādiriyya* from Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī around the end of 1647. He then continued his study in Gujarat with Shaykh Umar bin 'Abd Allāh Bā Shaybān, who was al-Rānīrī's teacher (died 1066/1656).

Actually, two opinions emerged regarding the year of his travel from India to the Middle East. The first stated that he left India in 1648 (Hamka 1959/1960: 237) and the second stated that it was in 1649 (Hamid 2005: 92). Perhaps Yūsuf left India in 1648 (around September/October 1648 or some months before the end of 1648) and arrived in Yemen in the early part of 1649.

Map 5 and 6
Gujarat & Surat India



THE LIFE OF SHAYKH YŪSUF AL-MAQASSARĪ (A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY)



Map 7
Ranir India



Although I cannot copy the image of the map of Rander, Surat, India, the location of Ranir Bazar is close to it.

2.2.4 In the Middle East, around 1649 to 1667

Yemen, around early 1649 until 1653

In 1648, when Shaykh Yūsuf went to the Middle East, his first destination was Yemen where he arrived in early 1649. He met al-Shaykh Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Bāqī, who taught him mystic knowledge, which was probably between 1649 and 1651.

He received a certificate of *Naqshabandiya Ṣūfī* Order from al-Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Bāqī, probably around 1651. He even took lessons from the master of Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Bāqī, i.e. Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Malkib al-‘Arifīn ibn Zakariyya bin Sulṭān Uthmān al-Naqshabandī [Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad Zakariyyā al-‘Uthmānī al-Naqshabandī] who is mentioned in his *risālat al-Naqshabandiyya*. However, if this Shaykh is the same person as Azra referred to as Tāj al-Dīn al-Hindī who died in 1052 A.H/1642, (Azra, 1992: 428), it can only be possible for Yūsuf to have met his spirit in a metaphorical sense through his contemplation of his teachings and his incorporation of his lessons into his treatise. This shaykh was born in Sambhal, India and he migrated to Makka when he failed to reach the highest position in *Ṭarīqat al-Naqshabandiyya* in India after Muḥammad Bāqī bi Allāh died in 1012 A.H./1603 (Azra 2007: 100). Then he studied *Sādat al-Bā ‘Alawiyya Ṣūfī* Order from al-Shaykh Sayyid ‘Alī probably between 1651 and 1653, and obtained a certificate of this *ṣūfī* order from this Shaykh in around 1653.

His other masters in Yemen were, among others, Shaykh Muḥammad bin al-Wājīyya al-Sa’dī al-Yamanī; (Al-Maqasssarī in *al-Nafḥāt al-Saylānīyya*, 1116c. A.H.:25; see also Azra 1992: 421) and Sayyid Abū Bākar ibn Salīm Al-Irāqī, who was famous in Haḍramawt as has been recorded in *Zubdat al-Asrār* [Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 101 or Jakarta Manuscript A 101].

In addition, both Sultan (2015) and Shafiq Morton (2017) seem to have the same views that Shaykh Yūsuf had learned Islamic mysticism from ‘Abd Allāh ‘Alawī al-Ḥaddad. Morton stated that it was in Yemen that he crossed paths with Imām ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alawī al-Ḥaddād, the great saint of the Haḍramawt and author of the *Ratib ul-Ḥaddād*. According to the late Maulana Yūsuf Karaan, Shaykh Yūsuf met Imam ‘Abd Allāh in the city of Ta’iz. In a treatise Imam al-Ḥaddād describes a man of the fraternity of knowledge and Yemeni Ṣūfīhood, Yūsuf from Java...³⁵.

Sultan himself (2015: 136-140) considers *Ratib ul-Ḥaddād* as one *ratib* which is practised in *Bā ‘Alawiyya Ṣūfī* Order, besides *wīrid al-Iaṭīf* in Shaykh Yūsuf’s teaching.

In this manner, within seven years, he had acquired three certificates and took lessons from eight Shuyookh masters or senior *ṣūfī* teachers overseas.

³⁵“...rajal min ahlul ‘ilm wa sufi Yamani Yusuf Jawi” (available on [http:// surfingbehindthewall.blogspot.co.za/2017/03/shaikh-yusuf-of-makasar-17th-century.html](http://surfingbehindthewall.blogspot.co.za/2017/03/shaikh-yusuf-of-makasar-17th-century.html)).

In Makka and Madīna, around 1653/1654 until 1657 and in 1662-1667

Shaykh Yūsuf went to Makka to perform his pilgrimage and visit the grave of Prophet Muḥammad (SAW) in Madīna at the end of 1653. After completing his pilgrimage in 1654, he moved and stayed in Madīna, where he met one Shaykh of the *Shattariyya Ṣūfī* Order, al-Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn al-Mulla bin Shaykh Ibrāhīm Ḥasan bin Shihāb al-Dīn al-Kūrānī al-Madanī and learnt this *ṣūfī* order from him. He then received a certificate of the *Shattariyya Ṣūfī* Order from this shaykh, probably around 1657. According to Azra, Yūsuf had a close relationship with al-Kūrānī. It is known that he was entrusted by al-Kūrānī to copy *al-Durrat al-Fākhira*, and *Risāla fī al-Wujūd*, both works of Nūr al-Dīn al-Jāmī (d. 898/1492), and the commentary on the first work by ‘Abd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī (d. 912/1506). Al-Kūrānī himself later wrote a commentary on *al-Durrat al-Fākhira* called *al-Taḥrīrāt al-Bāhira lī Mabāḥith al-Durrat al-Fākhira*. All of these works attempted to reconcile opposing positions between the Muslim theologians and philosophers on several mystic-philosophical issues concerning God. It has been suggested that Yūsuf studied these three works under al-Kūrānī when he was copying them (Azra 1992: 423-424). These three works had been copied by Yūsuf al-Tāj in 1066 A.H./1656 and in 1075 A.H./1664 in Madīna (Nicholas Heer 2013: 1-3).³⁶

Other masters of Shaykh Yūsuf were Shaykh ‘Abd al-Kārim al-Hindī al-Naqshabandī al-Lahūrī was from Lahore, India, and who had settled in the Ḥāramayn and Muḥammad Muraz al-Shāmī or Muḥammad Mirza al-Dimasqī. According to Azra both of them lived in the seventeenth century, but he did not mention the date of ‘Abd al-Kārim, except Muḥammad Mirza [d.1066A.H./1656] (Azra 1992: 424-425). Our subject met them somewhere in the Middle East or in the Ḥāramayn, especially in Madīna, which was known as the city of science, around 1654 to 1657. Yūsuf then wrote and expanded the lesson he obtained from Shaykh ‘Abd al-Kārim into a book entitled *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, and from Muḥammad Mirza into a part of his book entitled *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya* with other lessons from some of his other masters. Muḥammad Mirza was also a disciple of Tāj al-Dīn al-Hindī similar to Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Bāqī, who had stayed in Madīna for forty years after he left Damascus and then eventually died in Makka in 1066 A.H./1656 (Azra 1992: 425).

In Madīna he also learned from other mystics besides *Shattariyya* Order from Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qusāshī (the master of Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī) and Ḥasan al-‘Ajāmī together with ‘Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili (Azra 1992: 428).

Yooga Adiana Attarmizi and Muḥammad Yajid Kalam (2002: 16) in their book entitled

³⁶ To view the copy of these texts by Nicholas Heer (August 2013: 1-3), see Appendix I Part B.

Kamus Sufi [*Şūfī Dictionary*] stated that Aḥmad al-Qushāshī was one of the prominent figures in the *Shattariyya* and the *Naqshabandiyya Şūfī* Orders, as well as a follower of *Kubrawiyya Şūfī* Order. Therefore, Yūsuf probably learned the *Kubrawiyya Şūfī* Order from this Shaykh, besides *Shattariyya*. Aḥmad al-Qushāshī was also a close friend of Ayyūb al-Khalwatī (Azra 1992: 424). Therefore, it was also possible that he encouraged Yūsuf to go to Damascuss and study with one of the leading scholars, Ayyūb bin Aḥmad bin Ayyūb al-Dimashqī al-Khalwatī [994-1071A.H./1586-1661] (Azra 1992: 426).

In Damascus Shām (Syria), between 1658 and 1661

Shortly after he received the certificate of *Shattariyyah Şūfī* Order Shaykh Yūsuf went to Damascus, Shām (Syria) There, he succeeded in finding one familiar Shaykh, al-Shaykh Abū al-Barakāt Ayyūb bin Aḥmad bin Ayyūb al-Khalwatī al-Qurayshī who at the time was a leader of communal congregation prayer of ibn ‘Arābī Mosque in Damascus. Yūsuf then obtained the title of *Hadīyat Allāh Tāj al-Khalwatī* under this Shaykh and a certificate of *Khalwatiyya* Order of mystic (around 1660/1661 or at least before his teacher died in 1661); because he had been successful in spiritual training based on *Khalwatiyya* ideology (Dg. Patunru 1967: 5-8). It seems that while Yūsuf was taking lessons from al-Shaykh Abū al-Barakāt Ayyūb bin Aḥmad bin Ayyūb al-Khalwatī al-Qurayshī, he also took lessons from Shaykh Raslān al-Dimashqī or Shaykh Karīm al-Raslānī Abū Yaḥyā Zakarīyyā al Anṣārī. His name was found in the treatises *Fath al-Raḥmān* and *Ma’nā al-Wujūd*. There are no more data found regarding this Shaykh, nor where he stayed nor when Shaykh Yūsuf met him. We decided to place him in this section as his name is al-Dimashqī, although he probably stayed in Madīna or in Yemen. After that, he wished to visit the King of Istanbul, Turkey, but his intention was cancelled for the following reasons:

In the chronicle of Macassar, it is stated that when al-Maqassarī want to visit the King of Turkey, he met with the spirit of Prophet Moses AS and based on the Will of God, the Prophet appeared in front of Yūsuf and said to him:

"You do not need to go to Rom/Rong (Macassarese spelling) to meet the King of Turkey, since if you go there, you will probably stay for ever in Turkey. If the King of Turkey meets you, the king will love you and you will love him, and this will make your heart feel heavy to leave the country, moreover the fact that all the people there who admire and appreciate you very much, will hold you back there" (Dg. Magassing 1933: 68).

In addition, his knowledge was considered sufficient when he was later ordered to return to his country to visit Banten (Dg. Magassing 1933: 71). Therefore, he

returned to the Ḥāramayn and became a teacher of Islamic mysticism at the Ḥāram Mosque in 1662. In 1664, he completed the copying of his master's works in Maḍīna and then returned to Makka in the same year to continue his teaching until he returned to his country in the early part of 1668.

Interestingly, the story of Shaykh Yūsuf above was similar to the story of Shaykh 'Abd Qādir al-Jaylānī in the book of Muḥammad b. Yaḥya al-Tadafi, translated by A.Kasyful Anwar (2003: 2) where it is stated that Shaykh 'Abd Qādir al-Jaylānī was in the care of his parents until he was 18 years old. Then he went to Bagdad under the reign of Sulṭān al-Mustadhir bi Allāh Abū 'Abbās Aḥmad the son of al-Muqtaḍī the son of Amru-Allāh. When he needed to enter the city of Bagdad, he suddenly met with Prophet Khidr AS who was standing in front of the gate of the city and forbade the Shaykh from entering the city of Bagdad for seven years. Shaykh 'Abd Qādir al-Jaylānī eventually lived on the edge of Bagdad and lived from the left-over food or alms of noble people during seven years. Thereafter, he was allowed to enter the city of Bagdad.

Map 8 The Middle East



Al-Tīmī (a second-generation student of Shaykh Yūsuf) reported that besides the five *ṣūfī* orders;³⁷ Shaykh Yūsuf also learned several familiar *ṣūfī* orders during his stay overseas in India and the Middle East or at least before he became an eminent teacher at the Ḥāram Mosque, These were: 1) *Dasūqiyya*, 2) *Shādhiliyya*, 3) *Ḥashtiyya*, 4) *Rifā'iyya*, 5) *Aydrūsīyya*, 6) *Aḥmadiyya*, 7) *Suhrawardiyya*, 8) *Mawlawiyya*, 9) *Kubrawiyya*, 10)

³⁷As for the family tree of each *ṭarīqa* from the five certificates of *ṣūfī* orders that he obtained during the period 1646 until 1661, see Appendix I part B.

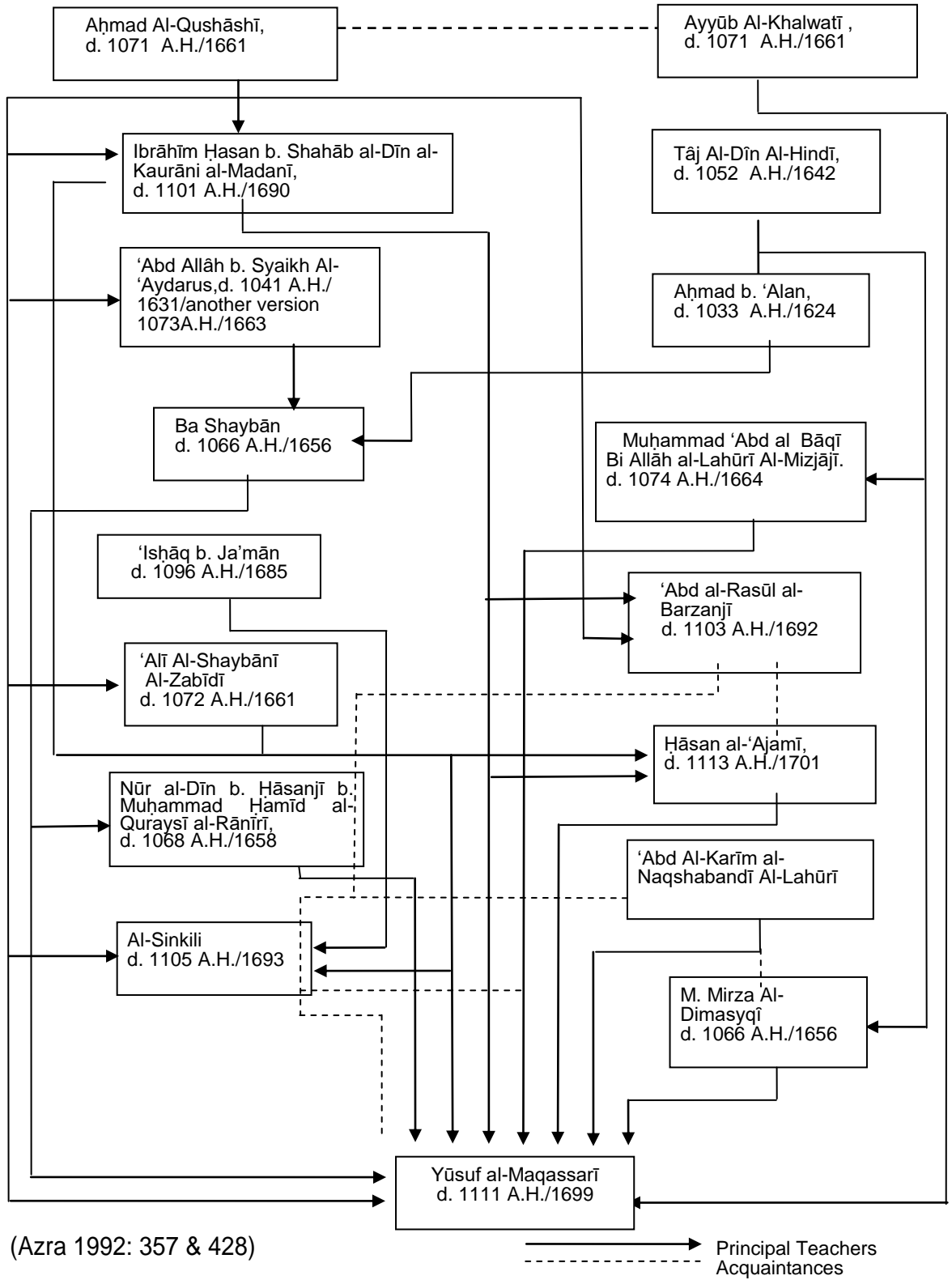
Madariyya, 11) *Makhdumiyya*, 12) *Madyaniyya*, and 13) *Kawābiyya*. Therefore, Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqassarī had learned eighteenth *ṣūfī* orders (al-Tīmī 1735: 123-130).

Based on the explanation above, in terms of other *ṣūfī* orders that Shaykh Yūsuf learned, we could identify five of them with the possible shaykhs where he took the lesson from:

- *Rifa‘iyya* with Shaykh al-Rānīrī and Umar bin ‘Abd Allāh Bā Shaybān, al-Rānīris’s teacher.
- *Aydrūsiyya*, *Shādhiliyya*, and *Suhrawardiyya* with Shaykh Umar bin ‘Abd Allāh Bā Shaybān.
- *Kubrawiyya* with Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī in Madīna.
- Regarding the other eight *ṣūfī* orders that he learned, no clear data is found, and he probably gained them from other teachers since he had more than twelve or around fifteen principal teachers overseas. To find data regarding the *ṣūfī* orders is not an easy work for Indonesian scholars since not all the *ṭuruq* or *ṣūfī* orders exist and develop in Indonesia, but it seems that they have links each other.

Although not all Yūsuf’s matters mentioned by Azra in the networks of al-Maqassarī, but his work must be appreciated since it has an important role in completing this research. Here is the networks of al-Maqassarī based on the work of Azra:

Chart 1
The Networks of Al-Maqassarī



Thus, Shaykh Yūsuf spent around twenty-one years overseas (1646-1667) in his eagerness to learn several kinds of Islamic knowledge, especially *ṣūfī* orders and mysticism from Aceh to India, Yemen, Hijāz, and Damascus; as well as for his teaching at the Ḥāram Mosque in Makka. He returned to his homeland and arrived in Banten in early 1668 (Sulṭān 2006: 9).

When he was in Damascus, Syria and in Ḥaramayn, he never forgot his homeland, the condition of his society when he left them for seeking knowledge, till he brought it into his pray every time. At the time in around 1659-1667, Macassar Kingdom as his homeland became a great Islamic empire³⁸ even greater than Islamic Kingdom of Demak,³⁹ under the rule of I Mallombasi Dg. Mattawang Karaeng Bonto Mangngape Sulṭān Ḥāsan al-Dīn (the 16th King of Gowa) ruled in 1659-1670. He was a grand son of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn, a nephew of Yūsuf's wife and now has become a national hero of Indonesia and called as the Rooster from the East or de Haav van de Oesten.⁴⁰ Despite this fame, it did not last long, since there were still animistic's beliefs, gamblings, and cockfighting as well as strong palm wine drinking rampant in this Islamic empire. As soon as he returned to his country, the Shaykh and his students actively preached against these evils as we will discuss in the next section.

³⁸Along the history of the archipelago, just three big kingdoms, which had vast territories and influences of power beyond the limits of the country, even once played an important role in the stage of history. The three big kingdoms are as follows:

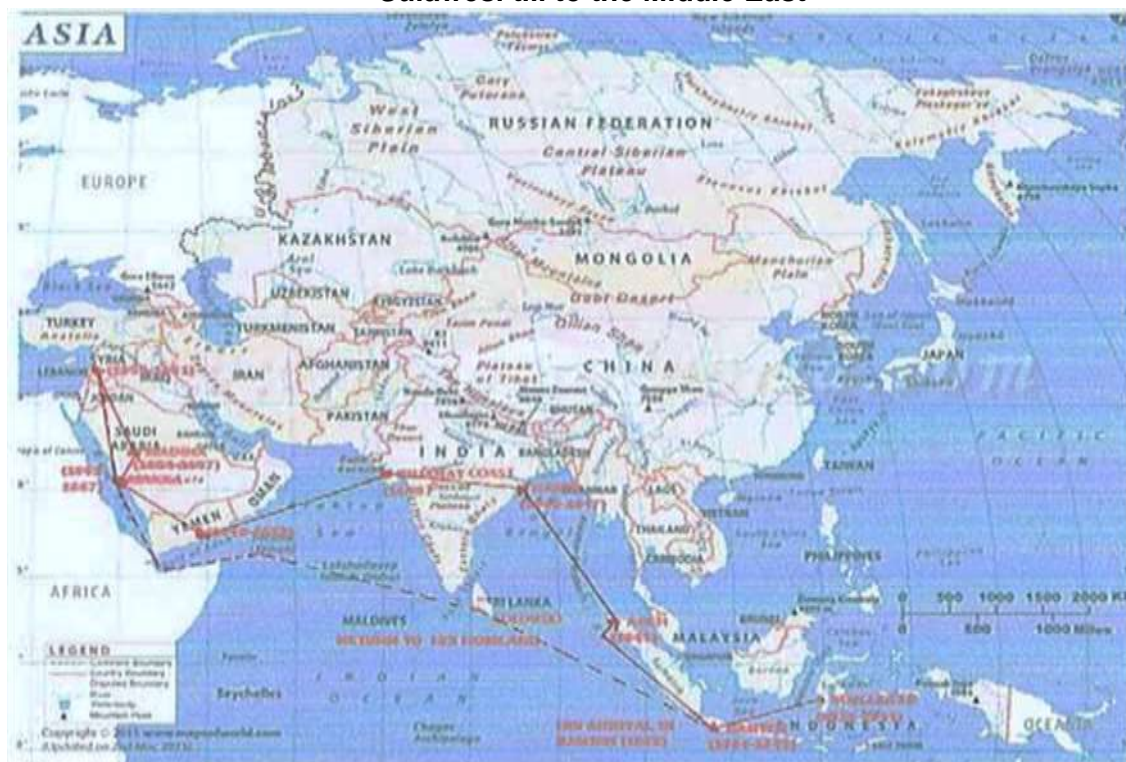
- 1) The Kingdom of Sriwijaya
- 2) The Kingdom of Majapahit
- 3) The Kingdom of Gowa after it became an Islamic Kingdom, (Solichin 2004: 10).

Islamic Kingdom of Gowa stretched over the entire territories of Sulawesi, Moluccas, East Kalimantan (including the Eastern Sabah Malaysia), Lombok, Flores, Sumbawa, Timor Island (including East Timor) and Northern Australia (Aborigines I). Even in 1659, the Sulṭān of Gowa (I Mallombasi Dg. Mattawang Karaeng Bonto Mangngape Sulṭān Ḥāsan al-Dīn, the 16th King of Gowa ruled in 1659-1670, was recognised as the protector of Muslims in Moluccas (Solichin 2004: 12).

³⁹Demak was a part of Majapahit Kingdom, along with the collapse of the Majapahit Kingdom; Demak became a great Islamic empire in Java as well as a centre of the spread of Islam in Java. Raden Fatah (a son of Majapahit with a Lady of Campa) built the Islamic Kingdom of Demak and became the first King in 1478, based on the blessing and support of Walī Songo. This kingdom had reached its glorious time under the reign of Sultan Treggana (1521-1546), and after the King died, the Kingdom of Demak became collapse under the reign of Sunan Prawoto (1546-1549). Then Demak was replaced to Pajang. For more Information about Demak Kingdom, see Rachmat Abdullah (2015).

⁴⁰The Rooster from the East (de Haav van de Oesten) is a title or a nickname given by the Dutch for Sulṭān Ḥāsan al-Dīn due to his bravery or courage against the Dutch colonialist, and this name has become a symbol on the top of his tomb, even a symbol on the logo of Hasanuddin University.

Map 9
Al-Maqassarī's Itinerary I
His Wandering in Search of Islamic Knowledge from Gowa-Macassar, South Sulawesi till to the Middle East



2.3 Return to His Country and Influence of his preaching in Macassar in 1668

After travelling to several countries in his effort to seek Islamic knowledge, especially mysticism, Yūsuf eventually returned to his country in early 1668 with his students 'Abd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīr (Sultan 2016: 19 & 25). Two versions emerged regarding his return to his country after 21 years:

According to the opinion of some scholars, such as A. Makkarausu Amansyah (1975), and Hamka (1959/1960), Shaykh Yūsuf returned to his birth place Macassar after completing his mystical studies in the Middle East in 1668 or 1669. This event was in line with Yūsuf's intention to only return to the land of Macassar when he had perfected his *ṣūfī* knowledge.

In the Lontarak version or the chronicle of Macassar, Daeng Magassing (1933: 20) stated that Shaykh Yūsuf came directly to Banten with his student 'Abd al-Baṣīr al-Raffānī. He did not return to Gowa, and he did not witness directly the moral crisis and sinfulness that were widespread and pervasive among the Gowa societies at the time. This pervasiveness took

hold especially after the Bungaya treaty,⁴¹ and under the reign of Sulṭān Amīr Ḥamzah, 1669-1674. However, he just saw this evil from a distance, and he made sure that the effect of his preaching (*da'wa*) reached Gowa. As in the previous discussion in chapter two, and according to Lontarak (a chronicle of Macassar), I Kare Nyampa Daeng Ritasammeng and I Daeng Mallolongang, were sent to Banten as a Gowa delegation to ask Shaykh Yūsuf to return to Gowa. They failed; instead they brought messages and a mandate of Shaykh Yūsuf back to Gowa to continue his previous *da'wa*. This mandate was about the necessity to abolish sinful deeds and to crush the idols such as *saukang*, *pantasak*, *anjak* and *sallerang* completely, and to eradicate the things that could undermine faith. Therefore, I Kare Nyampa Daeng Ritasammeng and I Daeng Mallongan conducted this mandate well in Gowa on behalf of Shaykh Yūsuf. In addition, when they came back from Banten, one of Shaykh Yūsuf's students accompanied them; namely, Shaykh 'Abd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīr al-Khalwatī, who was a highly knowledgeable blind *ṣūfī*. He was more popularly known as Tuan Rappang or Sehetta I Wodi, or the Shaykh from Wodi (a town in Rappang) 'Abd al-Baṣīr or I-Wodi was an Arab who learned mysticism from Shaykh Yūsuf and accompanied him to Banten, who then continued and spread Shaykh Yūsuf's teaching (*Khalwatiyya Yūsuf*) in Macassar and Bugis until he died in Rappang. Then Shaykh Muḥammad Sulṭān Bayt Allāh, one of Shaykh Yūsuf's offspring (died in 1948), continued the teaching of this *ṣūfī* order as well as *Yūsufiyya* which is inherited from his great-great grand father Muḥammad Jaylānī bin Yūsuf al-Maqassarī, and became the most famous teacher of *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī* Orders in Gowa (Mattulada, 1983: 83 and Mulyati, 2004: 128-129).

Azra, who was a historian, stated that the spread of Shaykh Yūsuf's teachings and works in South Sulawesi did not necessarily require his physical presence in the region. All his students who are reported to have studied with him either in the Ḥāramayn or in Banten continued to spread his teaching. Furthermore, from the Middle of the seventeenth century, Muslims from South Sulawesi came to Banten in large numbers. They also played an important role in spreading his teachings and works when they returned to their own regions.

⁴¹The Bungaya treaty is a peace treaty signed by the 16th King of Gowa, I Mallombasi Dg. Mattawang Karaeng Bonto Mangngape Sulṭān Ḥasan al-Dīn (1659-1670) and Speelman on the side of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) on 18 November 1667 after the defeat of the Gowa forces by the Dutch. The main clauses of the treaty were: 1) Macassar would pay all financial losses suffered by Dutch ships which ran aground and all saboteurs and their agents would be punished in front of the officers of VOC.; 2) the Dutch Company would have the trading monopoly in the region; 3) British and Portuguese ships were forbidden from trading in Macassar; 4) the British who have goods in Macassar must be surrendered to the Dutch; 5) VOC ships and goods will be exempt from the harbour tax; 6) The money of VOC will be currency of trade in Macassar 7) All forts and palaces will be destroyed except two: One for the Dutch (Ujung Pandang Port) and one for Sultan (Somba Opu port); 8) VOC will be compensated for their financial loss amounting 250,000.00,- Ringgit; 9) An additional fine which consisted of 1000 healthy young adult men and women, or their monetary equivalent; 10) the King would surrender all his rights on Sumbawa, Buton and all countries around Celebes (Sulawesi) where the King had authority.

It is more plausible, therefore, to state that Shaykh Yūsuf returned to Banten rather than to Gowa after his wandering in search of Islamic knowledge (Azra 2005: 10).

Nonetheless, whether Shaykh Yūsuf returned to Gowa or not or he directly went to Banten, the important thing was that he had become a good and arguably the best Islamic speaker (*dāī*) of his time. This is proven by his success in spreading his *da'wa* through his students, to abolish sinful deeds (gambling, cockfighting, alcoholic drinking especially *arak/ballo* or strong palm wine) and to crush idols such as *saukang*, *pantasak*, *anjak* and *sallerang*⁴²

In addition, Shaykh Yūsuf was not only conducting oral preaching (*da'wa bi al-lisān*), but also *da'wa* by action (*da'wa al-fi'l*) and *da'wa* by writing (*da'wa bi al-qalam*) through his many works that spread in Indonesia and most of them are still preserved to the present day in the Leiden Library and in the National Museum or the National Library of Jakarta.

If Muslims in South Sulawesi, and also in Banten West Java, have been famous for their religious fervour, one could hardly underestimate Shaykh Yūsuf's role in developing that identity. Therefore, the highest appreciation even should be accorded to him.

2.4. His Political Struggle till His Exiles

2.4.1 In Banten

While Shaykh Yūsuf lived in Banten (1668-1683), he played an important role, not only as an author of important treatises on guiding the Muslim community at the time; but also as a defender of human rights on behalf of Sultān Ageng Tirtayasa the King of Banten [1651-1682]⁴³ (Hamka 1959/1960: 240).

Sultān Ageng Tirtayasa respected Shaykh Yūsuf highly as he also favoured mystical knowledge. Shaykh Yūsuf met some religious persons in Banten again who had become his students when he was in Hijāz. Sultān Ageng Tirtayasa admired the religious knowledge of Shaykh Yūsuf so much that the Sultān consented to the marriage of his daughter to Shaykh Yūsuf who was 45 years old at the time (Hamka 1959/1960: 242).

Through this marriage, the position of Shaykh Yūsuf became stronger, since he was

⁴²*Anjak* (small beds which are put in the top floor 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 category of sacrifices with *Anjak*. They are only different in forms, *Pantasak* are small houses and *Sallerang* is a quadrangle net that was made of yellow bamboo (Sultan 1982: 37).

⁴³To view the portrayed of this Sultān Ageng, see image no. 3.

included in the ruling family and the nobles of Banten. Thereafter, many problems concerning government affairs were discussed with Shaykh Yūsuf. The Sulṭān also formally appointed him as a mufti (an adviser on religious law) in the Banten Kingdom and as an adviser to the king in conducting government administration. The Sulṭān and his companions further asked him to record his teachings as instruction and guidance for the Banten inhabitants. In response, he wrote essays such as *Bidāyat al-Mubtadī*, *Muqaddimat al-Fawā'id*, and *Zubdat al-Asrār* (Tudjimah 1997: 15).

In 1602, the Dutch established the Dutch East India Company. This company made its headquarters in Batavia (Java) in 1619. Gradually, the Dutch succeeded in acquiring the monopoly over the spice trade in the East Indies. At the same time, however, Bantam's trade flourished under the rule of Sulṭān Ageng Tirtayasa who managed to break the company's monopoly in the area.

Dutch forces invaded Banten in 1680. Sulṭān Agung (Ageng) and his followers (including Shaykh Yūsuf) rallied around him and bravely fought against the invading troops but were defeated. This resulted in the forced abdication of Sulṭān Ageng and the Dutch replaced him with his son Sulṭān Ḥāji⁴⁴ on the throne (Dangor 1994: 2). Despite Sulṭān Ageng Tirtayasa surrendering in 1683 (probably in the early part of 1683), Shaykh Yūsuf still continued his struggle as a defender of human rights, beginning from Karawang on the 7th of February 1683, Cisarua on the 11th of February 1683, Cianten on the 21st of February 1683, Daya Luhur, Banyumas on the 25th of September 1683, until the Karan village.⁴⁵ In his position as an Islamic scholar, he taught and educated the people to become pious and believe in only one God, and to love their nation and homeland. In this area, he was more known as Maulānā Yūsuf prince. His influence had spread speedily among the populace of Banten, Cirebon in the West of Java and Jepara in the Central of Java. His followers increased rapidly, they were faithful and ready to continue his struggle against the enemy for violating their human rights (Sultan 2008: 47-51).

When the Dutch East India Company heard news about a religious man in Karan

⁴⁴According to Hamka (1959/1960: 243), there is a belief that the person who claimed to be Sulṭān Ḥāji, the son of Sulṭān Agung/Ageng Tirtayasa who fought against his father, was a different person than the real Sulṭān Ḥāji. The claim states that the real son of Sulṭān Ageng Tirtayasa, 'Abd al-Kahhar Sulṭān Ḥāji, died while in Makka. While the person who claimed himself to be Sulṭān Ḥāji, was a Dutch man with black eyes and a similar face to that of Sulṭān Banten's son. Therefore, the elders of Banten believed strongly that the person, who fought against Sulṭān Banten, was not his son. There is no evidence to support this claim and although it might not be true, some Banten elders firmly believe it (Shaykh K.H. Sahib Sultan with the historical figure of Banten, Tubagus Syukron Makmun, personal communication, 16 October 2014 in Banten. See further information of Pangeran 'Abd al-Kahhar Sulṭān Ḥāji in TG. Hafidz Rafiuddin (2006: 86-90).

⁴⁵Karawang, Cisarua and Cianten are the regents in the West of Java, while Banyumas Regency and Karan village are areas in the centre of Java.

village whose influence was growing fast, they were certain that this person was Shaykh Yūsuf. To avoid the rise of a new resistance, the Dutch East India Company tried to prevent Macassarese and Buginese from reaching the village. Macassarese and Buginese who lived around Cirebon and Jepara became fugitives from justice, because if the Dutch caught them; they would exile them to other places. The Dutch East India Company considered Macassarese and Buginese as dangerous instigators (Sultan 2008: 51).

To arrest Shaykh Yūsuf, the Dutch East India Company sent for Lieutenant-General Maurist van Happel who could speak Malay and Arabic. He came disguised as a Dutch prisoner and he claimed to be of Arab descent who wished to learn Islamic knowledge from a learned Shaykh in the area. Van Happel brought the daughter of Shaykh Yūsuf Asma to meet her father. The girl had written a letter which was previously sent to Shaykh Yūsuf; in which she stated about her desire to meet her father. Shaykh Yūsuf was touched when reading his daughter's letter because he had not seen her for a long time. At that time Van Happel and his armies had surrounded Shaykh Yūsuf and caught him when he was teaching in a house without any guards. Being worried about his daughter's ultimate fate he surrendered to the troops (Sultan 2008: 52; see also Dangor 1982: 30). Shaykh Yūsuf was captured in a small village, Mandala near Sukapura in December 1683 (Lubis 1996: 27).

The Dutch brought Shaykh Yūsuf and his family to Batavia through Cirebon while shipping the rest of the Shaykh's troops which consisted of Macassarese from Cirebon to Macassar. In Batavia, the Dutch placed Shaykh Yūsuf in a big jail which was located in a fortress where his father-in law, Sulṭān Ageng (Surya) Tirtayasa was previously imprisoned (Uka Chandra Sasmita 1976: 43). Shortly after that, he was exiled to Ceylon in 1684. Today, we could only see the remains of the Surosowan Palace of Banten, *Masjid Agung Banten* as well as the graves of some Sulṭāns and their Princes as Banten's Historical Heritage.

The leadership of the Dutch East India Company in Batavia decided to sentence Shaykh Yūsuf to death for his crimes against the company. The warriors of Banten spread the news of his death sentence to the people of Batavia. The Dutch East India Company faced a ground swell of opposition from the Batavian and Banten population who highly respected Shaykh Yūsuf as a Holy person who possessed supernatural qualities (*kramats*) The Batavian people reacted by noisily demonstrating everywhere. This situation forced the Dutch East India Company to reconsider their decision.

Protests against the death sentence of Shaykh Yūsuf also came from overseas, such as from the King Aurangzeb Alamgir (the King of India who ruled from 1659-1707). Through the branch office of Dutch East India Company in Mansulipatan, India, he asked the Dutch East India Company to treat Shaykh Yūsuf well. The Gowa King, Sulṭān ‘Abd al-Jalīl (1677-1709) reacted the same way. To respond to the protests and reactions that came from local and overseas sources, the Dutch East India Company was forced to annul the death sentence of Shaykh Yūsuf (Hamka 1976: 311).

However, the difficulty that faced the Dutch was how to limit Shaykh Yūsuf’s influence on the local people, as it would always threaten the position of the Dutch East India Company in the region. The Dutch East India Company finally decided to exile Shaykh Yūsuf from Batavia.

2.4.2 In Ceylon (Sri Lanka, His First Exile) in 1684

On March 22nd 1684, the Dutch exiled Shaykh Yūsuf, who was 58 years old at the time, with the members of his family (except his father-in law) and his followers to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) Sulṭān ‘Abd al-Jalīl, the King of Gowa, delegated Karaeng Bontonompo to petition the government of the Dutch East India Company in Batavia to return Shaykh Yūsuf to Macassar (Gowa), but the Dutch East India Company refused (Sultan 2008: 53-54). Similar recollections are made in the book *Pages from Cape Muslims History* (Costa and Davids 1994).

In his new location, Shaykh Yūsuf abandoned his political activities that had dominated almost half of his life in Banten and had caused him to lose everything, especially his beloved Sulṭān Ageng Tirtayasa. The Shaykh had always respected the Sulṭān because of his commitment towards Islam. So he returned to dedicating his life to mysticism and following his *ṣūfī* order.

Since Shaykh Yūsuf was a highly knowledgeable *ṣūfī* shaykh, his name soon became popular with his admirers in Sri Lanka. Muslims in this country were Hindustani immigrants. In India, there had been a well known Islamic kingdom, called the Mughal Kingdom, which reached its glorious pinnacle under the reign of Jalāl al-Dīn Akbar Khān (who ruled in 1556-1605). He was the son of Ḥumayyūn, one of Mughal Kings who was also glorious and successful in his own right. Then, another King of Mughal was Aurangzeb Alamgir (who ruled in 1658-1707), the son Shah Jahan (1628-1658) as one of the Kings of Mughal who admired Shaykh Yūsuf so much.

Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ma‘ān, Ibrāhīm Ibn Mukhan, an Islamic scholar of mysticism and one of the Hindustani Muslims who had lived in Sri Lanka for a long time, became a close

companion of Shaykh Yūsuf. He asked Shaykh Yūsuf to write a book which consists of guidance and etiquette for someone who wished to venture on the way of mysticism and for someone who was searching for a shaykh (*murshid*). In his book *Safīnat al-Najā*, Shaykh Yūsuf admired and respected Shaykh Ibrāhīm and called him a wise *‘ālim*, who collated physical and spiritual sciences extremely well as well as having a good character (*akhlāq*) The book also contains the instructions about the force of humility (*tawāḍu*), the procedure (*kayfiyya*) of *ṣūfism*, the path (*ṣūfī* order) that did not deviate, as well as the way to find a teacher (shaykh or *murshid*), (Sultan 2008: 55; see also Lubis 1996: 27).

It seemed that the King of the Mughals Aurangzeb Alamgir had known the name of Shaykh Yūsuf through his students who were in contact with him in Hijāz and other countries, and from Hindustan pilgrims returning via Colombo. Perhaps, some papers or essays of the *ṣūfī* shaykh fell in Aurangzeb Alamgir’s hands, so this king also learnt Islamic knowledge or mysticism through Shaykh Yūsuf. Aurangzeb Alamgir was truly a king who preferred a simple life as the way prescribed by the *ṣūfīs*. Therefore, through knowledge of Shaykh Yūsuf’s life and contact with his papers and essays, Aurangzeb Alamgir considered Shaykh Yūsuf as his master.

As a man who loved his homeland, he never forgot the archipelago. Due to his longing, Shaykh Yūsuf often sent letters, papers or essays of mysticism guidance to his students who were spread out in the archipelago, either in Macassar or in Banten. The papers or essays were sent with pilgrims of the Indonesian archipelago who stopped in Colombo after they performed their Ḥājj (Zuber Usman 15 October 1974: 40).

Map 10
Ceylon (Sri Lanka)



Either Shaykh Yūsuf's students or subsequent students spread and popularised his essays and papers in Macassar such as: 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Karaeng Karunrung⁴⁶ (the first caliph of Shaykh Yūsuf in *Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī* Order) and his student Shaykh Jami' al-Dīn bin Ṭālib al-Tīmī al-Khalwatī al-Maqassarī. Al-Tīmī was also the student of Shaykh 'Abd al-Baṣīr al-Raffānī⁴⁷ (the first caliph of Shaykh Yūsuf in *Khalwatiyya Ṣūfī* Order). In addition, in Bugis, Bone, South Sulawesi his works had been popularised by Sulṭān Aḥmad Ṣālih (1775-1844) By the skills of these students, al-Maqassarī's scientific writing on mysticism was spread throughout the archipelago. His first writings in Ceylon were sent to the Indonesian archipelago:

- 1) *Safinat al-Najā*, then followed by his other writings, i.e.:
- 2) *Tuḥfat al-Ṭālib al-Mubtadī wa Minḥat al-Sālik al-Muhtadī*
- 3) *Al-Tuḥfat al-Saylāniyya*
- 4) *Tuḥfat al-Rabbāniyya*
- 5) *Ḥabl al-Warīd li Sa'ādāt al-Murīd*
- 6) *Al-Barkat al-Saylāniyya*
- 7) *Al-Minḥat al-Saylāniyya fī al-Minḥat al-Raḥmāniyya*
- 8) *Kaifiyyat al-Nafī Wa al-Ithbāt bi al-Ḥadīth al-Qudsī*
- 9) *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*
- 10) *Al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya*
- 11) *Risāla Ghayāt al-Ikhtiṣār wa al-Niḥāyat al-Intizār*, and some others that will be discussed in the next Chapter and its appendix.

Other treatises which had been written in Banten include:

- 1) *Sūra* (Yūsuf's letter) consists of guidances and advices to his student 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Karaeng Karunrung, Mangkubumi/the high administrator of Gowa Kingdom

⁴⁶Abd al-Ḥamīd Karaeng Karunrung was a senior administrator of the Gowa Kingdom (1654-1687) as well as the father-in-law of Shaykh Yūsuf's son, Muḥammad Djaelānī (al-Shaykh al-'Alam), who married his daughter Mukarrama 'Abd Ḥamīd Dg. Bualeng. He was the first of Shaykh Yūsuf's students who had obtained *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* and appointed to be his caliph without chain of transmission formally and then to be continued by Shaykh Jami' al-Dīn bin Ṭālib al-Tīmī al-Khalwatī al-Maqassarī and Karaeng Majannang and then to his son-in-law Muḥammad Djaelānī (al-Shaykh al-'Alam) Both Karaeng Majannang and his son-in-law were holders of *Silsilat al-Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya* from Shaykh 'Abd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīrī al-Raffānī (I Wodi) (Sultan 2016: 23).

⁴⁷Shaykh 'Abd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīrī al-Raffānī (I Wodi, a knowledgeable blind *ṣūfī*) was Shaykh Yūsuf's student and a holder of *Silsilat al-Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya*, arriving in Makassar, South Sulawesi on the 2nd March 1678/7 Mūḥarram 1089A.H. He continued the teaching of Shaykh Yūsuf '*Khalwatiyya*' under the reign of Sulṭān 'Abd al-Jalīl (1677-1709) and before he went to Rappang, he appointed some his caliphs: 1) Jami' al-Dīn b. Ṭālib al-Tīmī al-Khalwatī and 2) 'Abd al-Qadīr Karaeng Majannang who then became the successor of his uncle Karaeng Bonto Sunggu to be a Mangkubumi or a High administrator of Gowa Kingdom under the reign of Sulṭān 'Abd al-Khaer (1735-1742) Shaykh 'Abd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīrī died in Rappang on the 5th of May 1723 under the reign of the 21th King of Gowa, Sulṭān Sirāj al-Dīn (1712-1724) and based on this King request, the grave of I Wodi or Tuan Rappang were moved to Lakiung Gowa besides the shrine of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī on the 25th of July 1723. Then the caliph of his *Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* moved from Karaeng Majannang to Muḥammad Djaelānī (al-Shaykh al-'Alam) the son of Shaykh Yūsuf who had obtained *Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī* Order in the past (Sultan 2016: 25).

under the government administration Sulṭān ‘Abd al-Jalīl 1677-1709.

- 2) *Bidāyat al-Mubtadī*
- 3) *Al-Fawā’ih al-Yūsufiyya fī Bayān Taḥqīq al-Ṣūfiyya*
- 4) *Khāshiyā fī Kitāb al-Anbāh fī l’rāb Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh*
- 5) *Tuḥfat al-Labīb billiqāi al-Ḥabīb*
- 6) *Qurrat al-‘Ayn*
- 7) *Sirr al-Asrār*
- 8) *Ṣūra (the Image of Tawḥīd)*
- 9) *Tāj al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Mashārib al-‘Arifīn*
- 10) *Zubdat al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Ba’ḍi Mashārib al-Akhyār*
- 11) *Fath Kaifiyyat al-Dhikr*
- 12) *Daf’u al-Balā*
- 13) *Hādhihi Fawā’id ‘Aẓīma*
- 14) *Muqaddimat al-Fawāid al latī mā lā budda min al- ‘Aqāid*
- 15) *Taḥsīl al-‘Ināya wa al-Hidāya*
- 16) *Tuḥfat al-Mursala*
- 17) *Asrār al-ṣalā*
- 18) *Tuḥfat al-Amr fī Faḍīlat al-Dhikr*
- 19) *Tuḥfat al-Abrār li Ahl al-Asrār*
- 20) *Al-Waṣiyyāt al-Munjiyyāt ‘ani al-Muḍarrat al-Ḥijāb* (Hamka 1963: 46; see also Sultan 2008: 56-57).
- 21) *Talkhīṣ al-Ma’ārif*, and some other treatises regarding him that will be completed in the next Chapter and its appendix.

A collection of letters or essays were sent to his students in Banten, but there is no verifiable data on this. However, the elders in Banten believed that there was one essay sent by Shaykh Yūsuf from Ceylon and probably that was *Safīnat al-Najā* and then preserved by his heir in Banten (Sultan 2016: 49).

According to Mufti Ali of Banten, many of his written manuscripts are held by Shaykh Yūsuf’s existing offspring. One of them is the *bumbung* script or roll script, which supposedly contains the *silsila* (genealogy) of the *Khalwatiyya Ṣūfī* Order teaching. The length of the script, according to the testimony of investigators who have seen it, is equal to the size of a badminton court. This script is preserved by one of his offspring who live in Kampung Kalapian, Pontang Village, District Pontang, Serang, Banten (Mufti Ali, personal communication, 23 September 2016).

The influence of Shaykh Yūsuf on his students who spread out in the archipelago, Hindustan and Ceylon was great. His teachings, as a way of purifying beliefs and bringing oneself closer to Allāh as well as instilling a feeling of animosity towards the colonisers, had annoyed the government of the Dutch East India Company. When the Dutch initially exiled him to Ceylon (Sri Lanka), they had hoped that his influence would be lost, but the spirit of Holy war that he flamed through his essays or works increased his number of followers.

Furthermore, he had succeeded in influencing some Islamic Kings in the archipelago, such as Mataram, Aceh, Kalimantan (Borneo), Minangkabau and East Sumatra to resist the Dutch colonialists. The Dutch East India Company soon realised that the cause of all these revolts was the result of the charismatic influence of Shaykh Yūsuf in Ceylon where the Dutch had exiled him.

Finally, the Dutch East India Company decided to exile Shaykh Yūsuf to an even farther place called Tanjung Harapan or the Cape of Good Hope (Usman 15 October 1974: 41).

2.4.3 In South Africa (His Second Exile and His Last Rest) in 1694/1699

Before, we discuss about Shaykh Yūsuf in South Africa, it is better to know about the arrival of Muslims there till the coming of the Shaykh. This will help us to clarify the status of the Shaykh in Cape of Good Hope.

Arrival of Muslim at the Cape until the Coming of Shaykh Yūsuf in 1664-1699

The coming of Islam in Cape, South Africa, could be marked by the arrival of the Malays in 1652, then by the arrival of first Asiatics (South-East Asians) at the Cape in 1654. Following these Muslims were the advents of the Mardykckers in 1658 and the arrival of other political exiles in 1667 or the orang Cayen as well as the arrival of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī in 1694 and later by the arrival of other Imāms.

However, Yousuf Dadoo (2014:1) reports that the precise date for the advent of Islam in South Africa remains enigmatic. Recent studies indicate that its arrival from the north may have occurred as early as the fifteenth or sixteenth century when Muslim Arab traders had reached Mozambique. For Mumisa, there exists proof that the Xhosas of the Cape in particular had contacts with Arabs long before the arrival of the Malays. Then Dadoo argued that some Muslims had come to South Africa during the pre-colonial period with the proofs by some practices of the Lemba tribe's men living in the Limpopo province adjacent to Zimbabwe that closely resemble Muslim conduct. Nevertheless, the early contact between Islam and southern African tribes did not make any significant impact on the latter" (Dadoo 2014: 1-2).

Furthermore, Zeinoul Abedien Cajee (2003: 4) stated that the history and civilisation of Islam and Muslims in South Africa spans from the 17th Century to the present 21st century; and has mapped it out in three distinct eras: colonialism (1652-1961), apartheid (1961-1994) and democracy (1994-present). Colonialism and apartheid have similarities and overlap to a large degree, while democracy is certainly a major turning point.

South Africa has experienced several eras of governance by different colonial powers as well as domination by a white racist minority until black majority rule since 1994. Prior to colonisation by the Dutch, the country was solely inhabited by its indigenous Bantu and Khoisan tribes and clans with no recorded evidence of Muslims living within the boundaries of present day South Africa. Muslim presence and growth only became evident after 1652 in the 17th century (Cajee 2003: 5).

The First Arrival of Muslims, 1652

J S Mayson, in describing Islamic life in the 19th century Cape Town, in *The Malays of Cape Town*, writes that in 1652, the Dutch brought a few Malays of Batavia into the Residency, and subsequent settlement of the Cape of Good Hope. It is possible that these "Malays of Batavia" were the first Muslims to come to this country (Mayson, 1875: 7). In addition, it is the statement of Zeinoul Abedien Cajee that Islam first reached the shores of the Cape, South Africa, on 6 April 1652 when Eastern servants accompanied Jan van Riebeeck in making the Cape his refreshing station for the Dutch East India Company. Dangor records that Ibrahim of Batavia was the first Muslim to arrive at the Cape with Jan van Riebeeck (Cajee 2003: 5).

In around 1654, the Dutch East India Company established the Cape as a transit house or port of call for its ships travelling between Holland and the East Indies. It was also to serve as a penal settlement for convicts and political exiles from the East.

Hassim Seedat (1982) stated that the High Court of Justice in Batavia had sentenced four "Asiatics" to banishment and hard labour for life. Their crime: preaching insurrection in Batavia against Dutch rule. The High Court of Justice sent three of them in the *Haaselt* to Mauritius and brought another one to the Cape of Good Hope. This political prisoner was probably among the first recorded Muslims to land on South African soil, two years after the white settlement in the country.

Furthermore, the first recorded arrival of free Muslims known as *Mardyckers* was in 1658.

Mardycka or *Maredhika* implies freedom. The Mardyckers were people from Amboyna [an Indonesian island] in the southern Moluccas. First the Portuguese and later the Dutch, brought them to the Cape in order to defend the newly established settlement against the indigenous people, and also to provide labour in the same way that they had employed them at home, in Amboyna. Jan van Riebeeck had requested to send the Mardyckers to the Cape as a labour force. The Dutch prohibited the Mardyckers from openly practising their religion: Islam. This was in accordance with the Statute of India [drafted by Van Dieman in 1642] which stated in one of its *placaats* [statutes]: "*No one shall trouble the Amboinese about their religion or annoy them; so long as they do not practice in public or venture to propagate it amongst Christians and heathens. Offenders to be punished with death, but should there be amongst them those who had been drawn to God to become Christians, they were not to be prevented from joining Christian churches.*" The Governor John Maetsuycker re-issued the same *Placaat* on the 23rd of August, 1657, probably in anticipation of the advent of the Mardyckers to the Cape of Good Hope. The *Placaat* governed the Cape as part of the Dutch Colonial Empire (Davids 1980: 35).

Davids (1980: 36-37) reported that the Dutch banished Muslim political exiles arrived in 1667 to the Cape. On the 24th of January 1667, the ship *Polsbroek* left Batavia and arrived at the Cape on 13th May, bringing three political exiles in chains. The Dutch banished the Malays of the West Coast of Sumatra to the Cape until further orders with the understanding that they would eventually be released. These political exiles or *Orang Cayen* were Muslim men of wealth and influence. These were the first political exiles (rulers of Sumatra) banished to the Cape from their homeland in the East because the Dutch feared them as a threat to their political and economic hegemony.

However, Davids (1980: 36-37) did not mention the name of each prisoner. To avoid misunderstanding between Tuan Matura and Hadjie Mattariem, who both died on Robben Island during their incarcerations, as Davids said, it is better to clarify the issue. Fortunately, clear information came from Shaykh Ighsaan Taliép and Safwaan Sasman in Cape Town who stated that Tuan Matura or Sayyed Abduraghman ('Abd al-Raḥmān) Motura arrived at the Cape on the *Polsbroek* on 13 May 1668 (or may be 1667 as Davids said) along with Shaykh Maḥmoed (in Islam Hill) and Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān Maṭebe Sha. The Dutch sent the latter two of them to the company forest, currently known as Constantia; whilst they sent Matura to Robben Island. He was the first prisoner incarcerated on the island to test the island's suitability as an isolation prison (I. Taliép & S. Sasman, personal communication, 12 November 2016).

From the outset the Cape authorities accommodated the exiles away from Cape Town as they feared they would escape. Shaykh Yūsuf of Macassar who came later (1694)

was the best known of the Orang Cayen, who then played an important role in establishing a Muslim community in Cape Town (Davids 1980: 37).

From 1681 onwards, the Cape of Good Hope became an official place of confinement for Eastern political prisoners of rank for the Dutch East India Company. The Dutch sentenced them for opposing their rule. At the same time Ternate and Macassarian princes arrived at the Cape. They were housed in stables at the Castle of Good Hope. The role of the political exiles in the establishment of Islam has been greatly overplayed. As former heads of state in the Indonesian archipelago, they exerted little direct influence in the establishment and development of Islam in the Cape (Davids 1980: 37).

Map 11
Cape Town City Areas



Cape of Good Hope or Tanjung Harapan in Cape Town is the meeting place of two oceans (Indian and Atlantic Oceans).⁴⁸

The Coming of Shaykh Yūsuf in Cape of Good Hope in 1694-1699

From 1693 to 1694, the Dutch exiled and moved Shaykh Yūsuf from Sri Lanka to South Africa via a ship called de Voetboog, together with 49 members of his family and his followers⁴⁹ (Tudjimah 1997: 9).

He left Ceylon on the 27th of June 1693 with an entourage of 49, consisting of:

⁴⁸To view Cape Town and Cape of Good Hope as the meeting place of two oceans, please see images nos. 4a-c.

⁴⁹See image Nos. 5a-b about the images of the Voetboog ship that brought Shaykh Yūsuf and 49 followers from Ceylon to Cape of Good Hope, South Africa in 1693.

- twelve imāms (religious scholars)
- two wives – Carecontoe and Carepane
- two slave girls – Mu'minah and Na'imah
- twelve children – Muhammad Rajah, Muhammad Hayy, Muhammad Jalani (Jaylānī), Redeeng Boerne, Roemalagh (Ramlan), 'Isa, Jahamath, Care Sangie, Sanda, Siety Caeaty, Sieto Romia, and Siety Labibah. An entry in the journals of 24 December 1683 names another daughter, Asma' and two others, Kare (Care) Mamo and Kare (Care) Mami as his son and daughters.
- Others that came with him were – Pia, Boeleengh, Care Nanangh, Abidah, Hamidah, Sari, Bibi A'ishah, Dayeengh Maniko, Qasim, Kentol Saip, Ragoena, Abu Bahar, 'Abd al-Ra'uf, and 'Abd al-Ja'far (Costa and Davids 1994: 22).

The last three names mentioned as Shaykh Yūsuf's children were included among the twelve children. The discrepancy arises because the written names in Dutch are sometimes not the same as the names in Indonesian language and Malay⁵⁰. However, the names of Care Mamo and Care Mami who spent their times in Macassar after their arrival in this area in 1705 were also mentioned in the chronicle of Macassar or in *Lontarak Bilang* (Ligtvoet 1877: 60 & 67).

On 2 April 1694, Shaykh Yūsuf arrived at the Cape of Good Hope where he was royally welcomed by the Governor of the Cape – Simon van der Stel.⁵¹ The Dutch feared his influence over the slave community at the Cape and thought it was best to seclude him far away from Cape Town. His Indonesian background necessitated that he and his entourage be settled at Zandvliet, as the area had the necessary resources to sustain him and his followers (Darries & Darries 2014: 7).⁵²

Zandvliet

The description of Zandvliet was taken from a book entitled "*Zandvliet Cape Town's Islamic Heritage*" (Faizal Darries & GT Darries 2014). Although this is an information booklet and therefore considered grey literature, we must appreciate the indigenous knowledge of the authors on the local geography and history of Zandvliet. This data source is corroborated and supported by information from other scholarly works and from the local people living around the *Kramat* as well as the author's own experience in the field.

⁵⁰As for the names of Shakh Yūsuf Offspring in Indonesian and Malay refer to Chart 2 Appendix I part B.

⁵¹See image no. 6 about the portrayed of Simon vander Stel.

⁵²See Image no. 7a: The supposed area near the mouth of the Eerste River where Shaykh Yūsuf and his retinue of 49 was banished.

Zandvliet is a farm on the False Bay coast situated fifteen kilometres from the town of Stellenbosch and 50 kilometres East of Cape Town. It is a fertile area located between the foot of the Hottentots-Holland Mountains to the East and the Indian Ocean to the south. Two rivers flow through Zandvliet namely the Eerste River and the Kuils River. It is an area which consisted of small pockets of farms which were consolidated into the farm and subsequently gained municipal status in 1843. Today the area of Zandvliet is made up of three parts namely Sandvlei, *Kramat* and Macassar. Sandvlei, being the oldest of the urban areas make up the bigger part of Zandvliet is roughly 180 hectares, comprising 80 families. It has a rural character which has been preserved in the face of pressure of developers to develop and expand the area. Sandvlei and *Kramat* were considered one area before the construction of 'the Macassar Road' in the 1960's, which snakes through the centre of Zandvliet. The name Sandvlei aptly refers to the sand roads that still characterise this picturesque place. *Kramat* takes its name from *Kramat* – the tomb of Shaykh Yūsuf. The roads in both areas are not good (no tarred roads) and until recently the roads do not have street lights like in the city of Cape Town. Macassar borrows its name from the place of origin of Shaykh Yūsuf – Macassar in Indonesia. It is an area north of *Kramat*, which has been developed into a residential area after the advent of apartheid, but sadly has lost its rural character (Darries & Darries 2014: viii).

One could imagine that one of the resources the Shaykh required was a river to provide enough water for drinking and ablution for him and his retinue. At the time, the farm Zandvliet was not yet consolidated into what it is at present. The area which the Shaykh was banished to was not owned at the time, and was considered a free zone. The area next to the homestead of Shaykh Yūsuf belonged to the Reverend Petrus Kalden, Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at the Cape. The reverend was given the task to convert the Khoi-Khoi as well as the local population in the area to Christianity, which did not happen as expected. Instead, most of the local population converted to Islam with the arrival of the Shaykh (Darries & Darries 2014: 8).

One of his strategies in Zandvliet was to attract the local people there to the belief in the Oneness of God, the only One that must be worshipped, and differentiate this belief from other belief systems such as Christianity who believes in God's trinity. He emphasised the belief in a Lord Who never differentiate between the status of people as well as their colour. With his soft spoken manner, he made the local people tend to convert to Islam rather than to Christianity.

The area that he was housed consisted of a few cottages at the mouth of the Earste

River, which was auctioned 1707 and demolished over the years. Shaykh Yūsuf was introduced to the settlers at Zandvliet, who were more hospitable and soon formed the bonds of kinship with him. Oral tradition states that despite being an aged man by then, he frequently visit the area around the Sammak in Sandvlei, where he established the first makeshift mosque. It was called the *langhaar* which was a basic structure in which Muslims performed the first *ṣalāt al-jamā'a* [congregational prayer] (Darries & Darries 2014: 8). It seems that in this period, the shaykh started to form his Islamic community in earnest.

The aged Shaykh also identified the Sammak as a place of refuge for runaway slaves, and this area was described in most literature works (and not necessarily identified by name) This was the place where Shaykh Yūsuf did his missionary work. According to the oral history, the last few years of his life were spent in between Sandvlei and *Kramat* where he died (Darries & Darries 2014: 8).

The arrival of Shaykh Yūsuf in 1694 at Zandvliet was the spark that the settlers needed for their spiritual advancement. Their understanding of the Islamic religion was strengthened and every Thursday and Sunday evening hence, Muslims would gather together for prayer meetings, which the Cape Muslims uphold today. Soon the influx of visitors grew, resulting in religious festivities being conducted for the duration for an entire weekend, starting from Friday evening until Sunday late afternoon, once a month. It is therefore from Zandvliet that Islam spread to the different corners of South Africa (Darries & Darries 2014: 9). This situation shows us his intelligent strategy in carrying out his missionary works till he succeeded there just in a short period.

Documented history tells us who he was exactly but not how he featured in the equation of the settlers at Zandvliet. Simon van de Stel arrived at the Cape in 1679 with the orders to expand the colony. Between the period of 1679 and 1699, he went on many expeditions and acquainted and befriended the settlers at Zandvliet, which was closer to his own homestead Vergelegen at the foot of the Hottentos-Holland Mountains in Stellenbosch. When Shaykh Yūsuf was welcomed by him upon his arrival, Simon immediately identified the Shaykh's requirements and saw it fit for Zandvliet to be a safe haven for Shaykh Yūsuf with his entourage (Darries & Darries 2014: 10).

The Spread of Islam at the Cape of Good Hope

At the beginning, Zandvliet or specifically, the area at the Sammak, was the stronghold of the first Islamic school in Cape of Good Hope, Cape Town. It was there that Shaykh

Yūsuf first propagated his own school. The initial intention of Shaykh Yūsuf was not to proselyse Islam to the people of the Cape, but he rather focused on forming an Islamic community at the Cape. Through this action, he attracted reputable scholars to the region, and then through these scholars, Islam then spread rapidly after his death.

During Shaykh Yūsuf's stay at Zandvliet and many years later, Zandvliet was regarded as the first school for religious and academic advancement. Most of the inhabitants are Muslims and a big majority of adherents are of the *Shafīr Madhḥab* (Darries & Darries 2014: 12).

How the Easter Exodus Originated

The local interaction with all who entered Zandvliet grew into solid relationships to such a degree that outsiders who got to know this community attended a pre-arranged get-together once a month for the duration on an entire weekend, starting Friday afternoon through to Sunday. These spiritual meetings were held at the Sammak in Zandvliet and attracted people of high repute by both invitation and otherwise. Community bonds as well as trade were further strengthened through this hive of activity which started to mushroom to great proportions (Darries & Darries 2014: 12).

With the death of Shaykh Yūsuf in 1699, the legacy still lived on, and after many years, the venue gradually shifted close to where the Shaykh was laid to rest – The *Kramat* – and currently only takes place once a year over the Easter weekend and known to be the Annual *Kramat* Festival. There are however knowledgeable people who still resort to the latter venue on the weekend before the start of Ramaḍān, most probably to gain some spiritual preparedness before the month of fasting. It is also common for pilgrims to visit the *Kramat* to pay respect before their journey to Makka. This legacy still lives on today with all its prescribed intentions (Darries & Darries 2014: 12). In other words, there are normally three events that necessitate a visit to the Karamat for the local people in the Cape, and those are 1) during the annual Karamat festival lasting pasca days (around four to five days by camping) over the Easter weekend; 2) on the weekend before the start of Ramaḍān, most probably to gain some spiritual preparedness before the month of fasting and 3) for pilgrims to visit the Karamat to pay respect before their journey to Makka. All of this information is corroborated and confirmed with information from the local people there and what the writer had seen when she visited Faure, Zandvliet, Cape of Good Hope in 2011, 2014 and in 2017.

The Sammak – The First Place of Preaching

The area at the Sammak lies in Sandvlei around the date-palm tree and it is

considered as Holy ground. It is narrated that this is the area where the fugitive slaves escaped to when fearing the Cape authorities, as well as being their rallying point. The area at the Sammak is coincidentally the location of the original settlers of Zandvliet. It might have had a different name then, but it gained its unofficial name since the arrival of Shaykh Yūsuf. It stands to assume that the residence of Shaykh Yūsuf near the mouth of the Eerste River was connected to the Sammak, being a short walk, which connects to the Kuils River (Darries & Darries 2014: 13).

The local people in Kramat, especially the families of Muḥammad Zain Philander the owner of the Voetboog house, confirmed that the place where Shaykh Yūsuf first taught in Zandvliet was Sammak.^{53 54}

According to the local people, Shaykh Yūsuf taught the people who had converted to Islam the way to recite *al-Qur'ān* by using the traditional Indonesian method. He taught them by saying *Ā* di atas ('*alif* above) A as 'A (Ā) and *!* di bawah ('*alif* below) I as 'I (!), and *Ā* di depan ('*alif* in front of) U as 'U (Ā), and so on (Muh. Zain Philander and M. A. Baderoen, personal communication, 30 April 2014).

According to Nusrah Cassiem (2004: 16) that despite its isolation, and contrary to the wishes of Calvinist authority, Shaykh Yusuf's settlement at Zandvliet became a sanctuary for fugitive slaves and Kho-Khoi. It was from here that Shaykh Yusuf spread the message of Islam and the *Qur'ān* was vigorously taught.

Many of the religious practices of the Cape Muslim community could be traced back to this first settlement of Muslims. It was from here that the *Arwaagh*, a formulation of dhikrs, recited on the departed soul, became part of the Cape tradition. To Shaykh Yusuf could also be attributed such practices as the celebration of *Maulid-dan-Nabi*, with its characteristic recitation of the *Ruwayats* and the celebration of *Mi'raj* with the recitation of the *Qiesatul Mi'raaj* as its central theme, (Nusrah Cassiem (2004); see also Moghammad Kammie Kammidien, personal communication, 21 June 2019).

⁵³To view the Sammak area, the place considered to be an area of Shaykh Yūsuf's preaching and Kuils River around the Sammak, see images nos. 7b-c.

⁵⁴On the 30th of April 2014, they took me with my mother to the Sammak; it is around 3 kms far from Kramat. Al-ḥamdu li Allāh (all praises to God Allāh), we could see it closer directly. Nevertheless, we could not take many pictures at the time because the weather became so cold and raining, moreover it was nearly the time of *Maghrib* prayer. We were thrilled to watch the place where Shaykh Yūsuf was first taught Islam in the farmland and a more secluded area, yet quiet but suitable for Islamic preaching although once done secretly or quietly, because the Dutch policy applicable at the time. We were thrilled to imagine how Shaykh Yūsuf, our forefathers could do this missionary work well in Zandvliet, Cape of Good Hope, South Africa, so far from his homeland (My personal account).

The word Sammak refers to fish or school of fish; being located on the bank of the Kuils River, as well as a school – where education was propagated. During Shaykh Yūsuf stay at the Cape, scholars from different quarters and background in search of knowledge would congregate at this place that came to be known as the Sammak. Being the principle image in preaching, the Shaykh also came to be known as Sammak, an attribute he earned himself. This means that both the area surrounding the Shaykh's school as well as he himself came to be known as the Sammak. It was evident that the Shaykh must have been comfortable with the title (Darries & Darries: 2014: 13). Nevertheless, despite the veracity of this statement, he was rarely called *Sammak* in the Cape, and he is usually referred to as Tuan Yūsuf of Macassar or 'Ābidīn Tadjia Tyoessoef.

It was here at the Sammak that the preacher established the first '*Zawia*' (place of teaching) attached to the *Ṣāla Ghāna*, to preach and teach, predominantly the religion of Islam. Sammak, therefore relates to preaching and teaching (Adam Philander and family, personal communication, 21 April 2017).

Therefore, it is clear from the above explanation either from Darries & Darries' book, local information sources as well as some local scholars that the Sammak around the date-palm tree was the first '*Zawia*' (place of teaching) for Shaykh Yūsuf in Zandvliet; where he developed his Islamic *ṣūfism* with *ṭawḥīd* to the Oneness of God which was more oriented to the *sharī'a*.

The Date-Palm Tree ('Darel Boom')

Darries & Darries (2014: 14) reported that in the establishment of the area, portable water became the settler's top priority and it was decided to demarcate the area by placing a beacon of some sorts. Four date-palm trees were planted at strategic points near the Kuils and Eerste rivers of which only one happens to survive over the years. The area where the last date-palm tree survived is coincidentally named Sammak.

As mentioned earlier, the Sammak was the place that provided Shaykh Yūsuf and his entourage with a safe and peaceful atmosphere wherein to preach and teach, out of the watchful eye of the Cape authority.

Shaykh Yūsuf and his followers made a particularly strong impression on the people around the area of the last date-palm tree, especially in respect of their spiritual advancement. The twelve imams that accompanied him also taught issues of faith in and around the area of this tree for the benefit of all who visited. The authenticity of

oral traditions has the well known tendency to weaken through the generation for various reasons, and eventually even become completely forgotten – if not written down. However, the elders in and around Zandvliet still narrate stories handed down to them through the generations of how Shaykh Yūsuf taught at the Sammak. It is also narrated that the *mua'dhdhin* stood at the date-palm tree where he announced the call to prayer.⁵⁵

In South Africa, Shaykh Yūsuf was happy since he could live together with Islamic communities that consisted mostly of Javanese emigrants who had been exiled there by the Dutch colonialists.

Shaykh Yūsuf taught and spread Islam for five years in South Africa. In this period of time, he did not write anything. It was probably because of his busy time in teaching or his old age as well as his effort in bringing himself close to Allāh until his death.

Map 12
South Africa



⁵⁵To view the date-palm tree ('Darel Boom'), see image no. 7d.

2.5 Shaykh Yūsuf's Impact in Indonesia and the Cape

2.5.1 His Impact in Indonesia

Shaykh Yūsuf's presence in his homeland, Indonesia brought a great and positive impact such as:

- 1) As a *ṣūfī* Islamic scholar, he had changed the custom and tradition of his society who still practised animistic belief to be truly Muslims who understood and applied *sharī'a* or Islamic law well.
- 2) As a *ṣūfī* shaykh as well as a prolific writer, he left many works for his society especially his followers in this archipelago.
- 3) His high spirit in wandering in search of Islamic knowledge could motivate the next generation up to today.
- 4) His teaching especially *Khalwatiyya Yūsuf and Yūsufiyya* or *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī* Orders still exist and are practised among his followers through his disciples and descendants as his caliph or deputy in this archipelago.
- 5) His *jihād* or fighting in the cause of Allāh as a defender of human rights against the Dutch colonialist made him to be a national hero, not only for Indonesia (his homeland), but also for South Africa (his exiled place as well as his resting place).

2.5.2 His Impact in the Cape

Dangor (1994: 23) stated that Shaykh Yūsuf, even before his exile to the Cape, had embodied three of the most fundamental aspects of the Islamic perspective which were being a scholar, having strived spiritually and fighting in the cause of Allāh. It is not difficult then to understand the impact that he would have had on both Muslims and non-Muslims at the Cape during his brief stay there. This impact would have been intensified by the fact that the vast majority of the Cape populace at the time was social outcasts.

Shaykh Yūsuf became the focus of a gradually growing Muslim population. Zandvliet became the meeting place for the slaves and exiles that rallied around him, and although it was illegal for the Muslims to hold private meetings, Shaykh Yūsuf, together with the other religious scholars, conducted religious services wherever they could find a venue. They also did a considerable amount of missionary work amongst the Khoi-Khoi and slaves at the Cape. As a result the authorities eventually complained that the Muslim are multiplying rapidly and increasing in numbers (Dangor 1994: 23).

His impact was of a threefold nature. Firstly, by strengthening and encouraging the

Islam of the Muslims at the Cape he contributed to rebuilding their dignity as human beings in a society which, having enslaved and exiled them had virtually destroyed that dignity. This psychological impact was perhaps his most important contribution. Secondly, by encouraging the creation of socio-religious structures amongst the Muslims he laid the foundation for the establishment of what was possibly one of the first socially responsible Muslim communities in the country. Thirdly, by his missionary work and the winning-over of people to Islam, he gradually gave the community the numerical strength and the “fresh blood” it needed for stabilisation and growth (Dangor 1994: 23).

Until the early of 21st century or before 2012, no data was found about his disciples who became his caliphs, but it does not mean that his teaching would be ignored among the Cape communities. The truth is that the Cape communities always remembered him and practised his teachings. This was similar to what Seraaj Hendricks (2005: 182-183) said that Shaykh Yūsuf had taught the Muslim slaves the basics of Islamic law, particularly with respect to all aspects of worship (*‘ibāda*), the funerary rites, and the way to read and recite the Qurān. He would almost certainly have taught them a number of *awrād* (litanies), *adhkār* (invocations) and *mawlūds* (encomiums in praise of the Prophet SAW). These are the traditional vehicles of Islamic spirituality through which *taṣawwuf* penetrates Muslim communities. In this regard Dangor’s speculations concerning the *mawlūd* ceremony witnessed by Thunberg on the 28th June 1772 are probably correct. While it “was long after Yūsuf’s demise” Dangor observes, “it quite possibly could be a continuation of the sessions that were initiated by Shaykh Yūsuf and his disciples.” Historically the *Khalwatiyya* have been active in the promotion of *mawlūd* celebrations. In fact the first *mawlūd* in the Turkish language was composed by Suleyman Celebi (d. 1429) in 1391. He was a shaykh of the *Khalwatī* Order. There is little reason to believe that Shaykh Yūsuf would not have encouraged this practice at the Cape.

In 2012, the ninth generation of Shaykh Yūsuf and the leader of *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī* Orders, Shaykh K.H. Sahib Sultan gave a *bay‘a* or pledge to Imām Adam Philander and appointed him to become his caliph and *murshid* in Cape Town and then to be followed by his son Muḥammad Yūsuf Philander in 2014.

Along with the essentials of Islamic law and a diversity of litanies and invocations, he would also have ensured that a framework for practical ethics was in place. This would have included at least aspects of the *maqāmāt al-sab‘a* (seven stations of the soul) and certain elements of *aqīda* (Islamic belief system) Interwoven with the tenets of *‘aqīda*

and general *taṣawwuf* teachings, the idea of *taqdīr* would have featured prominently. This idea would have been regarded - though necessarily not limited to such a conception - as both a dignifying and survival mechanism.

Therefore, in South Africa Shaykh Yūsuf tried to practise his *ṣūfī* teaching which was more oriented to *shari'a* or Islamic law, in which he tried hard to reconcile between *shari'a* and *haqīqa*. Nevertheless, he never mentioned the kind of *ṣūfī* order that he practised in the Cape, either *Khalwatiyya/Qādiriyya/Naqshabandiyya/Bā 'Alawiyya* or *Shattariyya*. Although according to Azra, there were three *ṣūfī* orders which existed among Muslim in South Africa: the *Qādiriyya*, *Shattariyya* and *Rifa'iyya*. It was highly likely that Shaykh Yūsuf was responsible for introducing these three orders into the country as he was a *khalīfa* of all of them. As early as 1772, Thurnberq observed the ritual among the Malays which really constituted the *dhikr*. In the 1860s, Mayson gave us vivid accounts of the well known practices among the *Rifa'iyya* followers of being invulnerable to fire and weapons (Azra 1992: 444).

Today, most Muslims in Cape Town are *Sunnis* and adhere to the *Shafi'i* school of law. It is well known that the culture and religious practices of Cape Muslims have historically been shaped by its *ṣūfī* origins, so it would be correct to assert that the *ṣūfī* legacy of the pioneering Muslims, more or less, remains intact for the past 350 years (see also, Armien Casiem 2014: 173-174).

When I was visiting Cape Town in April 2017, I saw how the Capetonian Muslims practised *Ba'alawiyya Ṣūfī* Order. Most of them practised *Ratib ul-Ḥaddād* and *wīrid al-laṭīf* well and they believed that this version was the teaching brought by Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī. According to Shaykh Jamiel Ebrahiem from Bosmont Johannesburg, some groups practised a mix of *Qādiriyya*, *Shattariyya* and *Rifa'iyya* and others practised a mix of *Qādiriyya*, *Naqshabandiyya* and *Bā 'Alawiyya Ṣūfī* Orders (Shaykh Jamiel Ebrahiem, personal communication, 25 April 2017). As far as we know Imām Adam Philander and his family have practised the *Bā 'Alawiyya Ṣūfī* Order long before they started practising *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī* Order in 2012 under the guidance of his master Shaykh K.H. Sahib Sultan in the Cape.

2.6 His Marriages and Offspring

Because of Shaykh Yūsuf's intelligence and bravery, many kings and noble families as well as the leaders of their communities sought to attach themselves to him by marriage. This is the reason why he married several times, not because of carnal desires, but because of his desire to spread Islamic teaching in those places he visited or wherever he stayed.

The following are Shaykh Yūsuf's Marriages and his offspring (Sultān 2008: 68-77):

When he was 18 years old, he married his first wife, I Sitti Daeng Nisanga, who was the daughter of the Gowa King, Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn. From this union, he got a son named Muḥammad Mawlāna. However, this story has still remained a legend until now, and the son was called a *ṣūfī's* son, because he was born after Shaykh Yūsuf became a *ṣūfī*.

According to Lontarak, the wife of Tuanta Salāmaka, I Sitti Daeng Nisanga bore a son called Muḥammad Mawlāna, the generation of Karaeng *Tumenanga ri Tappa'na* (one who died with his belief). The grave of his son, Muḥammad Mawlāna was outside his father's grave in the Lakiung funeral complex, Gowa Regency. However, today some people in South Sulawesi consider that the grave outside Shaykh Yūsuf's grave is not the grave of Muḥammad Mawlāna, but it is the grave of his another son called Muḥammad Jaylānī (Sultan 2015: 72).

His second marriage in Makka to Khadija, daughter of an Imām of the Shafi'īs at the Ḥaram Mosque Makka, bore a daughter Zamāniyya or Puang Ammang in Lontarak.

His third marriage, in Judda prior to his return to his birth land with a daughter of al-Shaykh Abū 'Abd Allāh Judda, who was called Sayyida Jidda. She bore a son, 'Abd Allāh also called Daengta Kare Sitaba in Lontarak or (I Bauru, Macassar's calling or Redeeng Boerne). However, his second and third wives probably had died when he returned to his country.

Thereafter, Shaykh Yūsuf lived in Banten where he married his fourth wife, who was a daughter of Sultān Agung Tirtayasa and was called Sharīfa Ḥabība or Ratu Ḥabiba. Because of her beauty, she was called *Putri Ayu*. She bore a son and daughter who were called Muḥammad 'Abd al-Kabīr (Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn or probably Muhammad Rajah [Dutch spelling]) and Sitti Ḥafīfa.

After his fourth wife died, Shaykh Yūsuf married the younger sister of his wife who was Khatīja or Sharīfa Fāṭima or Ratu Fāṭima. Through this marriage, he got a son who was called Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh (Muḥammad Sa'ād or Muhammad Hayy [Dutch spelling]) and a daughter who was Ḥabība.

Shaykh Yūsuf had many children resulting from his marriages in Banten. He also married a woman from Serang in Java, then Giri or Indra Giri and Semarang, with whom he also had many sons and daughters. Later, many of his children settled in Macassar, resulting in many of his offspring living in Macassar up to now (Sultan 2015: 69).

Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Kabīr who was also called Tubāḡus Jalāl al-Dīn did not stay long in Macassar, the capital city of the twin kingdom (Gowa and Tallo) He settled in Takalar. He, therefore, was known as Tuan Daeng *ri* Takalara Tubāḡus Matoa or Old Tubāḡus (Tubāḡus is the nickname of Banten noble and Matoa is the nickname of Macassar). After he left Takalar to live in Untia, he was called Daengta *ri* Untia.

Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh who was also called Muḥammad Sa‘ād Tubāḡus Malolo or Young Tubāḡus (*Malolo* means the Youth). This Young Tubāḡus then went to Lempong and lived there, so his nick name was Daengta *ri* Lempong.

Shaykh Yūsuf’s daughter, Ḥabība (Labibah) who returned to Macassar on April 3rd, 1705 after the Shaykh’s death, married a Bugis-Macassar noble, named La Pareppa Tosappewali Karaeng Anak Moncong in 1706. Three years later Ḥabība became the consort of the king with the nick name of Karaeng Bainea, since her husband became the 20th King of Gowa with the title Sulṭān Ismā‘il (1709-1711). After her husband’s reign ended in Gowa, he was appointed as the 19th King of Bone (1718-1721) seven years later.

Ashānī was born from the marriage of Shaykh Yūsuf with a daughter of Imam/great Muslim leader in Serang, Pani who was his sixth wife. Muḥammad Tājī ‘Abd al-Mannān or Tuan Ince’ Daeng (his Macassar name) was born from his seventh marriage with Ḥafīla Johar Manikam, a daughter of Sulṭān Giri/Indra Giri in Giri/Indra Giri. Then Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh or Tuanta *ri* Dima (his Macassar name) was born of his marriage with Khafīfa (the eighth wife), a daughter of Sayyid Aḥmad in Semarang.

His last marriage in Ceylon was with a noble daughter of Serendib, who was called ‘Afīfa (the ninth wife), and who bore his son Muḥammad Jaylānī, who was then given the title of al Shaykh al-‘Alam (Dg. Magassing 1933: 90). Al-Shaykh al-‘Alam Muḥammad Jaylānī was one of his twelve children who followed him to his place of exile to South Africa. He was included as one of those who took part in taking his father’s body to Gowa. He left Cape Town, on October 2nd, 1704 and arrived at Tallo harbour on April 3rd, 1705.

Another of Shaykh Yūsuf’s daughters whose name was Zytia Sāra Mara‘ūf was probably a sister of Ashānī, married the King of Tambora who was exiled to the Cape at the time by the Dutch East India Company. He also returned to his country after the period of resistance ended in 1710 (Dangor 1982: 32). Two others siblings were Shaykh Yūsuf’s son and daughter who were given the nicknames of Care mamo (probably Aḥmad) and Care Mami (probably Shagīra or Care Sangie). Both of them may have been his son and daughter with his wife Afīfa, his ninth wife.

Care Mamo died in Macassar, on the 10th of November 1715/ 13 Dhulqa'da 1127 A.H, while Care Mami died in Macassar on the 5th of January 1714/18 Zhulhijjah 1127 A.H (Ligtvoet, p. 60,67) The death of Muḥammad Jaylānī is not mentioned in *Lontarak Bilang* by Ligtvoet, but among the people of *Yūsufiyya*, it is estimated that he died around 1761 (Sultan 2015: 72).

According to Sultan (2008), in the book of Hajee Sulaiman Shah Mahomed *Kramat Dargah* and Academic Trusts Deeds constituting, Annex C. 1913, there were some letters between the governments of Cape of Good Hope and the Dutch Government in Batavia that were taken from archives in Cape Town. One of them dated July 1st 1699 stated as follows: ...requested to the Dutch Government in order that the exile of Shaykh's followers who increased in numbers require increased living costs. A request letter also came from Daeng Nisajo (Masayo) and some officials of Macassar Kingdom, so that Shaykh Yūsuf's body and his family as well as his followers be sent back to their homeland. Therefore, based on the letter dated October 2nd 1704, Shaykh Yūsuf's wives, sons and daughters as well as servants were permitted to return to Macassar. The letter did not mention the names of those who returned, but their names were cited in another documentation of the Dutch East India Company:

His wives: 1) Care Contoe, 2) Care Pane, his servants or concubines (may be his wives also from Giri /Indra Giri and Ceylon): 1) Mu'minah, 2) Na'imah, and his children: 1) Muḥammad Rajah 2) Moḥammad Hayy, 3) Moḥammad Jailani (Jaylanī), 4) Redeengh Boerne 5) Roemalanh, 6) 'Isa 7) Jahamath (Aḥmad or Care Mamo), 8) Care Sangie (Shagira or Care Mami), 9) Sanda 10) Siety Ceaty, 11) Sieto Romia, and 12) Siety Labibah (Ḥabība) (Sultan 2016, see also Dangor Suleman, 1994: 22).

The names of Shaykh Yūsuf's wives who were also exiled and then returned to their birth land were Khatīja or Kare Kontu (Macassarese spelling), who was presumed to be a daughter of Sulṭān Ageng Tirtayasa and Kare Pane (also Macassarese spelling), who was presumed to be the daughter of al-Imam in Serang. However, the twelve children plus his daughter Zytia Sāra Mara'uf who married with the King of Tambora⁵⁶ in South Africa is assumed to be related to

⁵⁶: **Abd al-Bāsi Sulṭānia**, the Rajah of Tambora (probably Raja of Tambora means the King of Tambora) was another political exile brought to the Cape. Tambora was originally part of the Majapahit Kingdom of Java. He arrived at the Cape in chains in 1697, having been sentenced for actively opposing the Dutch East India Company in his native country. On his arrival at the Cape, he was housed in a stable at the Castle in Cape Town, but upon Shaykh Yūsuf's intervention, the Cape authorities moved him to Vergelegen in the district of Stellenbosch to live in isolation and away from other political exiles. **Robert Shell** maintains that the Voortrekker leader, **Piet Retief**, was a descendant of the Rajah (Raja) of Tambora (Davids 1980: 39-40). While living in isolation with his family at Vergelegen, wrote from memory the holy *Qur'ān* which was given as a gift to the Governor, **Simon van der Stel**. This *Qur'ān*, the first written in the Cape Colony, probably never passed out of Vergelegen (Davids 1980: 40). Furthermore, the Rajah (Raja) of Tambora had become a son in law of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī, because he married the daughter of the Shaykh, Zytia Sara Mara'uf.

his sixth wife: Pani (Kare Pane [Macassarese spelling], Serang's daughter). Therefore, Ashāni and Zytia Sara Mara'ūf (Sitti Sāra Marḥama) are probably sisters.

It is true what Tudjimah and Dangor stated that many of Shaykh Yūsuf's offspring exist in Java, Ceylon, Cape Town, Macassar and elsewhere. To illustrate this, a part of his family tree will be explained here:

- 1) The genealogical tree of Haji Raden Kamāl al-Dīn Daeng Tombong, the last of 'Qadhi Takalar:

Haji Raden Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn Daeng Tombong bin Haji Muḥammad 'Alīm al-Dīn Mattalunru Daeng Ma'nassa bin Muḥammad Kahār al-Dīn Daengta Daeng Manginruru bin Muḥammad 'Abd al-Gafūr Daengta Daeng Sijarra bin Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Daengta Daeng Ngunjung bin Muḥammad Sa'īd Daengta Daeng Nassa bin Muḥammad Sa'ād Tubagus Malolo bin Shaykh Muḥammad Yūsuf bin 'Abd Allāh (Prophet Khidr AS).

- 2) The genealogical tree of I Aba Yajid Bostan Daeng Mama'ja (the seventeenth of Galesong King):

I Aba Yajid Bostan Daeng Mama'ja whose title Karaeng Galesong bin I Mapparessa Daeng Mangunjungi whose title Karaeng Ngunjung in Galesong bin I Bela al-Wujūd Daeng Mama'ja whose title Tuan Karaeng in Galesong bin Muḥammad Ḥanāfī Daeng Boko whose title Tuan Boko in Galesong bin Muḥammad Sulaymān Daeng Maruppa whose title Tuan Beba in Beba bin Muḥammad Abd al-Mannān whose title Tuan Ince Daeng bin Shaykh Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī Qaddasa Allāhu Sirrahū Tuanta Salāmaka in Gowa.

- 3) The genealogical tree of K.H. 'Abd al-Qādir Daeng Sutte (born on the 20th of August 1911), a retired Head of Religious Affairs Takalar Regency and later Head of Muslim Judicial Council (1980-1985) Takalar regency:

K.H. 'Abd al-Qādir Daeng Sutte bin H. Musthafa Daeng Ngawing, bin Muḥammad Amīn Daeng Sutte bin Abd al-Raḥīm Daeng Mangung bin Ḥamzah Daeng Mamaro bin Muḥammad Daeng Bura'ne bin Shaykh 'Abd al-Kabīr Tubagus Matoa bin Shaykh Yūsuf bin 'Abd Allāh Khidr Manjalāwī.

- 4) The genealogical tree of H. Andi Muḥammad Alwi Arief Daeng Massikki (born on the 7th of August 1931), member of the Second Level of Regional People's Representative

Assembly (DPRD Tingkat II) and Takalar Regency period 1987-1992:

A. Muḥammad Alwi Arief Daeng Massikki, bin Shaykh Syarief H. Muḥammad Arief Billah Daeng Mangungunjungi bin Shaykh Syarief Fakharuddin Daeng Sijarra bin Shaykh Syarief Muḥammad Kaharuddin Daeng Manginruru bin Shaykh Syarief Abd Gafur Daeng Sijarra bin Shaykh Syarief Muḥammad Ibrahim Daeng Mangunjungi bin Shaykh Syarief Muḥammad Said Daeng Ma'nassa bin Shaykh Syarif Muḥammad Sa'ad Tubagus Malolo bin Shaykh Syarif Muḥammad Yūsuf bin Shaykh Sharīf 'Abd Allāh (Prophet Khidr AS).

- 5) The genealogical tree of H. Hasan Sulṭān Daeng Tājang (born on the 5th of January 1948 and this is the writer's uncle):

Ḥasan Sulṭān Daeng Tājang bin H. Muḥammad Sulṭān Bayt Allāh Daeng Bella bin Muḥammad Ramlan Daeng Ronrong bin H. Muḥammad Nūr Daeng Guru bin Muḥammad Amīn Daeng Imām bin Muḥammad Multazam Daeng Irāte bin Muḥammad Maḥāsin Daeng Ilau bin Muḥammad Imām Daeng Karaeng, bin Muḥammad Jaylānī Tuan Rilau, bin Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Maḥāsin Tuanta Salāmaka bin 'Abd Allāh Khidr Tuanta Manjalāwī.

A daughter of Shaykh Yūsuf, Ḥabība binti Shaykh Yūsuf with his wife Sharīfa Fāṭima (Khatija) from Banten married with La Pareppa Tosappewali Krg. Anak Moncong Sulṭān Isma'īl, the 20th King of Gowa (1709-1712) as well as the 19th King of Bone (1718-1721).

La Temassonge' Sulṭān 'Abd al-Razak Zayn al-Dīn the 22th of Bone King (1749-1775) married with Ḥabība (the grand daughter of Shaykh Yūsuf from his son 'Abd al-Kabīr Jalāl-al-Dīn from Banten) as well as Fatima [A'isha] (the grand daughter of Shaykh Yūsuf from his son 'Abd Allāh Tuan ri Dīma from Semarang). Another of Shaykh Yūsuf's daughter Zāra St.Mara'ūp (St. Marḥama) married with Raja of Tambora who eventually back to his country with his wife after completion of his exile period in Cape Town in 1710.

There are two versions regarding La Tenri Tappu Sulṭān Aḥmad Ṣalih Shamsu al-Dīn (the third generation of Shaykh Yūsuf, who rewrote or quoted many of his treatises, *Matinroe ri Rompegading* the 23rd of Bone King (1775-1812). One version said that he was a son of La Temassonge' Sulṭān 'Abd al-Razak Zayn al-Dīn the 22th of Bone King (1749-1775) with Ḥabība and another one said that he was a son of La Mappapening To Appaimeng with Ḥamīda Arung Timurung (the third generation from Ḥabība binti Shaykh Yūsuf with La Pareppa Tosappewali Krg. Anak Moncong Sulṭān Isma'īl). If it is like that he was the fourth generation of Shaykh Yūsuf. No problem either he was the third or the four generation of

Shaykh Yūsuf, but he was really one of Shaykh Yūsuf's descendants who had much contribution to the works of Shaykh Yūsuf.

Another of Shaykh Yūsuf's granddaughters, I Basse a daughter of Jalāl al-Dīn, married Sulṭān Sirāj al-Dīn, the 23rd King of Gowa (1729-1735).

The offspring of Shaykh Yūsuf enjoy prominent positions in the Muslim community, both in his original country and in his places of exile, Ceylon and Cape Town. As for his existing offspring in Ceylon and Cape Town today, more investigation is needed. Until now, in Cape Town, Muslims of Indonesian offspring, who are colloquially called slamaayers, mostly live in Western Cape Province.

According to Abū Hamid, an anthropologist (personal communication, 27 September 2005) that Shaykh Yūsuf's offspring are not only in Indonesia and Cape Town South Africa, but also in London, England. They were born from Shaykh Yūsuf's wife from Saudi Arabia. They use the family's name of al-Ghābī and have large business concerns in London (Sulṭān 2008: 77). This information needs further verification.

Based on the explanation above as well as data found in Sultan (2015: 201-220), I will illustrate Shaykh Yūsuf's family as follows:

1) Shaykh Yūsuf's parents:

Abū al-Jalāl 'Abd Allāh bin Abī al-Kayr Yāḥya bin 'Alawī al-Ḥaḍramī with Āmina I Tubiani Dg. Kunjung bt. Aḥmad Dg. Leo Daengta Gallarrang Moncong Loe.

2) Shaykh Yūsuf's wives:

- I Sitti Daeng Nisanga bt. Imangngaranggi Dg. Manrabbia Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn.
- Khadīja bt. Imām al-Shafī'iyya [Imām in Shafety School].
- Sayyida Jidda bt. Shaykh Abū 'Abd Allāh Judda.
- Sharīfa Ḥabība bt. Sulṭān Ageng Tirtayasa, Abd al-Fattah bin Abū al-Ma'ālī.
- Khatīja or Sharīfa Fāṭima bt. Sulṭān Ageng Tirtayasa, Abd al-Fattah bin Abū al-Ma'ālī. She accompanied her husband to Ceylon and Cape of Good Hope, South Africa as Care Contoe or Carecountoe [Dutch spelling].

- Pani bt. al-Imām in Serang. She accompanied her husband to Ceylon and Cape of Good Hope, South Africa as Care Pane or Carepane [Dutch spelling].
- Hafīla Johar Manikan bt. Sultān Giri in Giri or Indra Giri. She also probably accompanied her husband to Ceylon and Cape of Good Hope, South Africa who was considered as one of the Shaykh's concubines. This is factually incorrect, as in Islam, the concept of a concubine is prohibited, so it is impossible for the Shaykh to have had a concubine in his life. She was probably known as Mu'minah [Dutch spelling].
- Khafīfa bt. Sayyid Aḥmad Semarang.
- 'Afīfa bt. 'Abd Allāh Sarnadib (Serendib, Ceylon). This is the last of his wife who had a great chance to accompany her husband to Cape of Good Hope, South Africa, although Dutch considered her as his concubine and called her as Na'imah (Dutch spelling).

3) Shaykh Yūsuf's sons and daughters⁵⁷:

- Zamāniyya (Puang Ammang or Poetri Sammang was his daughter of his second wife in Makka whose mother died after she gave birth to her, and probably she stayed with her grandfather and grandmother in Makka until her adolescence. There is no clear information regarding when she met her father after her adolescence, either in Banten or Ceylon. Nevertheless, if the Dutch notebook is correct about the twelfth children, then she was one of his twelve children who accompanied him to the Cape from Ceylon. If she did not accompany him, then probably Zytia Sara Mara'uf (St. Zara Marḥama as one of his thirteen children who later married with Rajah of Tambora will complete the number of children who accompanied him. Today, we find some of Zamāniyya's descendants living in Galesong Gowa, South Sulawesi, according to Abd. Azis Paramma Dg. Jaga [one of the descendants of Raden Boerne or Daengta Kare Sitaba from Judda as well as the secretary of IKSAM of RI] (Abd Azis P. Dg. Jaga and Sultan, personal communication, 01 March 2017). Then, as stated earlier by Hamid (27 September 2005), some of her descendants are also living abroad.
- 'Abd Allāh [Daengta Kare Sitāba or I Bauru or Redeengh Boerne (Dutch spelling)] was his son of his third wife in Jedda [Judda].
- Muḥammad 'Abd al-Kabīr (Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn or Muhammad. Rajah [Dutch spelling], and Sitti Haffa or probably Asma or Siety Ceaty [Dutch spelling]) were his son & daughter of his fourth wife in Banten.

⁵⁷To view Shaykh Yūsuf's offspring {sons and daughters} refer to Appendix I part B.

- Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh (Muḥammad Sa’ad or Muhammad Hayy [Dutch spelling] and Ḥabība or Labibah (Dutch spelling) were his son & daughter of his fifth wife in Banten.
- Ashāni and Zytia Sara Mara’ūf (Sitti Sara Marḥama) were probably the daughters of his sixth wife in Serang.
- Muḥammad Tājī ‘Abd al-Mannān (Roemalang [Dutch spelling]) Tuan Ince Daeng was his son of his seventh wife in Giri or Indra Giri.
- Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh Tuan ri Dīma (Isa [Dutch spelling]) was his son of his eighth wife in Semarang.
- Al-Shaykh al-‘Alam, Muḥammad Djaylānī (Alī); Care Mamo (Aḥmad or Jahamath [Dutch spelling]), Care Mami (Shagīra or Care Sangie [Dutch spelling]) were his sons and daughters of his ninth wife in Serendib, Ceylon.

Despite the fact that we did not know all the Dutch equivalent names of his descendants, especially some of his daughters, the important fact is that all his sons and daughters had relevant and appropriate Islamic names in Indonesian, Malay or Arabic as have been mentioned above. The only reason for this line of inquiry is to match them with the list of Dutch names in existing historical documents such as logbooks and ship manifests. Nevertheless, this is not part of the main discussion in this thesis (see also Sultan 2015 & 2016).

4) Some of Shaykh Yūsuf’s sons in law and daughters in law:

- ‘Abd al-Basi Sulṭānia, the Rajah of Tambora arrived in the Cape of Good Hope in 1697 was a husband of Zytia Sara Marauff (Sitti Sara Marḥama) as has been previously mentioned; who then eventually returned to Tambora after he released by the Dutch.
- Gowari Dg. Sugi was a wife of ‘Abd Allāh [Daengta Kare Sitāba]. Both then had a son called Maysuri Daengta Dg. Lompo.
- Shaykh ‘Abd al-Kabīr Muḥ. Jalāl al-Dīn [Tubagus Matoa] who had composed *Tamparang Taenayya Sandakanna* (the Unexpected Sea) that signifies Shaykh Yūsuf’s vast knowledge had two wives:

His first wife was Muhājira Dg. Niratang. Both then had a son called Muḥammad Dg. Bura’ne.

His second wife was Wetenri Bangki Arung Rappeng. Both then had a daughter called Bau Ḥabība who then married with Latemassonggek Sulṭān ‘Abd al-Razak Zayn al-

Din [the 22nd King of Bone].

- I Bulang Daengta Baine ri Lempong is a wife of Muḥammad ‘Abd *Allāh* (Muḥammad Sa‘ad), Tubagus Malolo. Both then had a son called Muḥ. Said Daengta Dg. Manassa (Karaeng Takalar).
- La Pareppa Tosappewali Sultan Isma‘il (the Nineteenth King of Bone as well as the 20th King of Gowa) was the husband of St. Ḥabība bt. Muḥammad Yūsuf with his fifth wife from Banten. From this marriage, they had descendants who were Sulṭāns in South Sulawesi. Some Sulṭāns reigned in Bone (such as their grandson Latemassonggek Sulṭān ‘Abd al-Razak Zayn al-Dīn [the 22nd King of Bone]; then their great grandsons: La Tenri Tappu Sulṭān Aḥmad Ṣālih Shams al-Dīn [the 23rd King of Bone] and To Appatunru Sulṭān Isma‘il Muhtāj al-Dīn the 24th King of Bone) and some others reigned in Gowa (such as the 35th King of Gowa I Mangngimangi Dg. Matutu Krg. Bontonompo, Sulṭān Muḥ. Ṭahīr Muḥīb al-Dīn and the 36th King of Gowa, Andi Idjo Dg. Mattawang Karaengta Lalolang Sulṭān ‘Abd al-Qadīr Aidid al-Dīn) and one Sulṭāna in Barru, I Tenri Padang Sulṭāna A‘īshah, the 14th of Arung Barru).
- Muḥ. Tāji ‘Abd al-Mannān, Shaykh Yūsuf’s son with His wife from Giri had two wives:

His first wife was I Dumbeng in Batu-Batu. They had a son Muḥ. Ḥanafī Dg. Maruppa, Tuan ri Beba. Both father and son are known for having composed and popularised *Langik Taenayya Birinna* (the Infinite Sky), in which Shaykh Yūsuf knowledge is compared to a sky without horizons.

His second wife was Patta Sugi Dg. Nisanga. Both then had a son called Muh. Ali Dg. Manggago.
- Mukarrama Dg. Bulaeng bt. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Karaeng Karunrung was the wife of al-Shaykh al-‘Alam Muḥ. Jaylānī, Tuan ri Lau bin Muḥammad Yūsuf with his wife from Ceylon. Both of them then had a son called Muḥammad al-Imām bin Muḥammad Jaylānī (Sultan 2015: 201-220).

Among the thirteenth of Shaykh Yūsuf sons and daughters mentioned above, only seven of them (including some from Makka, Judda, Banten, Giri and Ceylon) have descendants who live in South Sulawesi today. Some other live in Banten, in Bima and Tambora, in Ceylon, in South Africa even in London (Sultan 2008: 77). In Indonesia, today, we have ‘Association of the Big Families of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī’ (IKSYAM), in which Prof. Dr. H. Paturungi Parawansa Krg. Tobo as the Head and Shaykh K.H. Sahib Sultan Krg. Nompo as the Vice Head.

2.7 Death and Graves of Shaykh Yūsuf

On May 23rd, 1699 or *Dhū al-Qa‘da* 22nd 1110 A.H, he died at the age of 73 years old or 74 years according to the Islamic year/Ḥijriyya. He was buried in the sand hills Faure, Zandvliet, Cape Town. His shrine is not so far from the Indian Ocean (Hamka 1959/1960: 248). Interestingly, another shrine of Shaykh Yūsuf is also found in Macassar. Both shrines⁵⁸ are visited regularly by those people wishing to pay homage to one of the most famous sons of the East Indian archipelago who was at once a mystic, scholar and freedom fighter (Dangor 1994: 3). The chronological story in this regard is as follows:

After Shaykh Yūsuf died, the government of South Africa sent a letter to the Dutch East India Company government on the 1st July 1699. In the letter, the government formally announced the news of Shaykh Yūsuf's death on the 23rd of May 1699 (Sultan 2016: 51). The arrival of Shaykh Yūsuf from Ceylon (Sri Lanka) together with 49 of his family members and his followers in 1694, caused the Cape government to spend a big amount of money for them. The government of South Africa asked the Dutch East India Company government to pay the living costs because of the increase in numbers of birth of Shaykh Yūsuf's family members and followers. In addition, Daeng Nisajo (Masayo) and some of the officials of Gowa Kingdom sent a petition letter to have the widows, children, families and servants of Shaykh Yūsuf returned to their own country. Moreover the King of Gowa Sulṭān ‘Abd al-Jalīl asked the Dutch East India Company government to take the corpse of Shaykh Yūsuf to Macassar.

The letter of the Governor General of the Dutch East India Company in Batavia to the government of South Africa on the 26th of February 1704 stated that he did not mind if the widows and the children of Shaykh Yūsuf were quietly returned to their homeland of Macassar including the rest of their property and the body of Shaykh Yūsuf. On October 2nd 1704, five years after Shaykh Yūsuf died in Cape Town, some of them or all who were still alive and probably more than that because of the increased numbers, returned to their country on the *de Liefde* and *de Spiegel* ships (Tudjimah 1997: 9). On the way to Macassar, they stopped at the harbours of Colombo (Ceylon) and Banten. The group who went with the *de Liefde* ship arrived at Batavia harbour at the end of December in 1704, and then his family directly went to Macassar. The group who went with *de Spiegel* ship with the rest of the body of Shaykh Yūsuf sailed directly from Cape Town to Gowa and arrived at Tallo harbour (Macassar) on the 5th of April 1705 (Sultan 2015: 63). On that day, the corpse of Shaykh Yūsuf arrived in Macassar, and the following day he was buried in Lakiung with the great ceremony of the Macassar Kings, Gowa and Tallo (Ligtvoet 1887: 50). Lakiung, the cemetery area of Shaykh Yūsuf, is

⁵⁸For viewing some images of the Shaykh Yūsuf's Shrines in the two areas, see images nos. 8a-l (Cape Town); and images nos. 9a-k (Macassar at Lakiung Funeral Complex).

located on the outskirts of Macassar city, around ten kms from the city centre.

The shrine of Shaykh Yūsuf is in a large dome building among some other buildings in the Lakiung funeral complex. Eleven graves exist in the dome within two rows. The first row consists of six graves, while in the second row consists of five graves.

At the left side or the end of the West from the graves in the second row, two graves which have a specific characteristic and both different from other graves; they are the graves of Shaykh Yūsuf and his wife Sitti Daeng Nisanga. These graves are fenced with iron and nearly the same as a bed, even some years ago both graves were still covered with mosquito nets, but it seems that it is not there anymore.

Even though the body of Shaykh Yūsuf was relocated to Lakiung Gowa, and the King of Gowa had erected his shrine or grave there, his grave also still exists in Faure at Zandvliet Cape Town. The grave of Shaykh Yūsuf is the most beautiful of all graves in the sandy hills of Faure. Shaykh Yūsuf's grave in Cape Town has had arched roofs formed as a dome with four white poles and a crescent moon at its top. Outside the place where Shaykh Yūsuf took his final rest, there are four graves of his followers. The grave of Shaykh Yūsuf is visited by people of all classes and ages. They leave alms such as money, meals and flowers at the grave site. The water from the Eerste River which is close to the place is bottled for medicinal purposes. Muslims, originating from the offspring of Indonesian ancestry, and who are colloquially called 'Slamaayers', thought that visiting the grave is a religious obligation, and they called the grave of Shaykh Yūsuf '*Kramat Macassar*' (Du Plessis I.D. and C.A. Lucckhoff 1953: 33-36). Then the "Annual *Kramat* Festival" is done in the precinct of his shrine to the outskirts of the Eerste River which lasts four days starting on the Pasca day. Many people, from the entire of South Africa and some others from overseas came there, most of them did camping as we had seen and experienced in 2014.⁵⁹

As we know, Shaykh Yūsuf was not only an Islamic scholar and a fighter of human rights, but he was also a prominent *ṣūfī* or Allāh's saint (*walī' Allāh*) who had idiosyncrasies distinctive from others. Even though his shrine (*Kramat*) was likely a legend, it was reported that when the coffin of Shaykh Yūsuf was opened at Gowa Macassar, after it had been transported for several months, the corpse of Shaykh Yūsuf was seen to be still in perfect condition.

In this instance there is a news from Cape of Good Hope that the Cape people only gave his hairs to be brought in 1704 to Macassar (on April 5th 1705). However, since he was a Holy

⁵⁹To view the festival Keramat in 2014, see images nos. 10a-o.

person who had *Kramat* (possessed supernatural qualities), and was highly respected as a saint of Allāh by the Gowa community, the body appeared in perfect condition when his coffin was opened.. When the King of Gowa saw his body perfectly preserved, he asked his sons and family to bury Shaykh Yūsuf ceremonially on April 6th 1705 in Lakiung Gowa, South Sulawesi (Dg. Magassing 1933: 104).

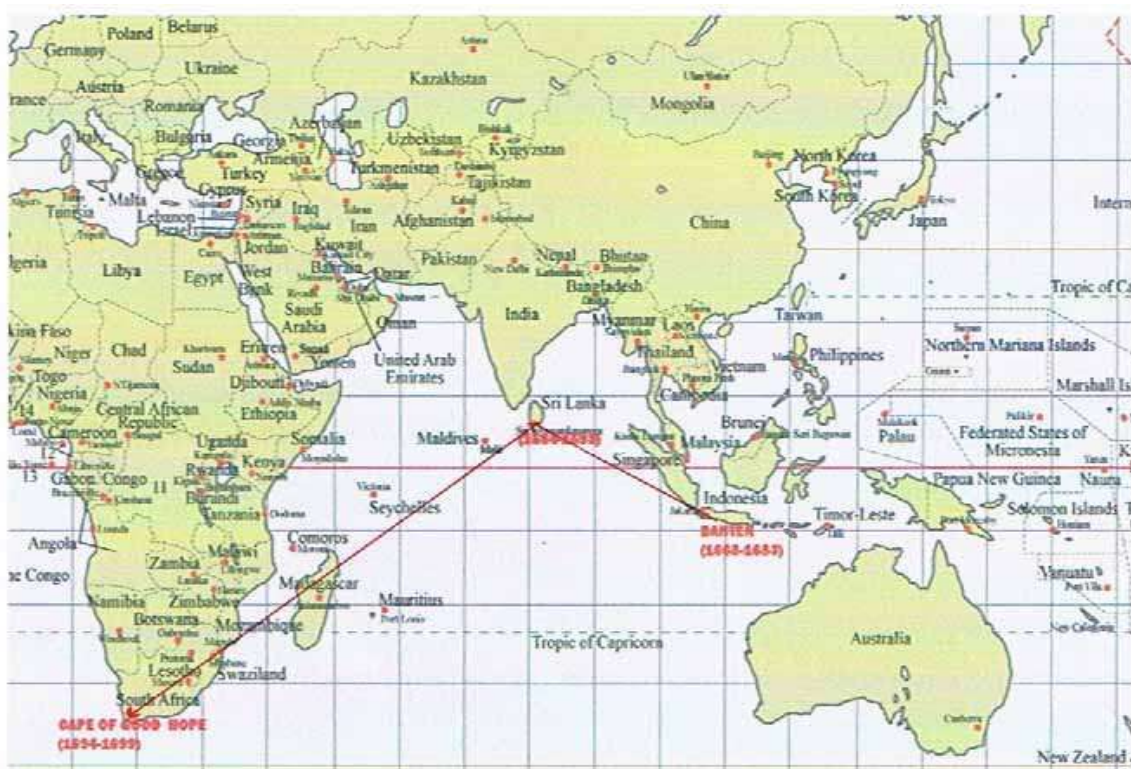
Not only that, but reports from a field survey showed that the local people in Talango Sumenep, Madura, believe that the grave of Shaykh Yūsuf also exists there (Sarah Jappie, 2006). However, this information does seem not to be supported by accurate historical data of Shaykh Yūsuf, who never went to Madura during his lifetime.

Du Plessis writes on his book on the story of how Shaykh Yūsuf's grave was rediscovered:

“The Shaykh is said to wander about the place of his burial dressed in a green robe. For a long time his grave was forgotten and afterwards could no longer be traced. One day a herd boy in the neighbourhood lost his master's sheep. Afraid to return, he found a spot in which to hide, and there had a dream in which a green robe person led him to the place where the sheep had wandered. In this way the sacred spot was re-found” (Du Plessis 1972: 5).

His shrine has been constructed in this place at Faure, Zandvliet, Cape of Good Hope (Cape Town), and it has been re-built and renewed by Sulayman Shah Mohamed in 1925 as it exists today.

Map 13
Al-Maqassarī's Itinerary II, from Banten to Cape of Good Hope, SA



2.8 Shaykh Yūsuf's *Ṣūfism*, Sainthood and Heroism

Before coming to the main discussion, Ahmad Kadir expresses his appreciation to Shaykh Yūsuf (as a *ṣūfī*, saint of *Allāh* and a national hero) in Sultan (2016: xi-xii) in the following way: Shaykh Yūsuf was a prominent Muslim scholar who received attention from various backgrounds ranging from governments, scientists and ordinary people in Indonesia and even from overseas. The attention of the stakeholders to him was based on their own interest. The governments' attention and appreciation toward Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī made him obtain the title of a national hero. This was due to his great contribution in the struggles against the colonialists. The scientists paid serious attention to his characterisation in the chain of transmission of knowledge and Islamic treasury in the archipelago. Ordinary people appreciated him as a legendary figure surrounded by myths of sainthood and one who had the title of *Tuanta Salāmaka*. Another group appreciated him because of the teachings of *ṭarīqat* that he developed. Famous leaders often have certain traits that make them famous; such as their political role or their work in the field of traditional Islamic sciences only. Other leaders probably only have a major role in the development of the doctrine of a *ṣūfī order*. Or their greatness could only be temporary. Shaykh Yūsuf shattered those barriers. He was a politician, a scientist, a Muslim scholar and a leader of *ṣūfī orders*. Then all roles above were combined in a great and strong personality to face national problems in accordance with the demands of his times. This capacity made him a cosmopolitan man who made his

battleground the entire earth of God without territorial boundaries; crossing barriers of race, ethnicity, and religion.

The influence of Shaykh Yūsuf's leadership remains up to the present and has become a source of aspiration and inspiration for the people of Indonesia in dealing with the dynamics of nation building. Furthermore, the Islamic religion that Shaykh Yūsuf fought for became the norm of this archipelago. Islam was not only friendly and polite but also firmly confronted imperialism in all aspects of life. Those characteristics of Shaykh Yūsuf could become a good model for succeeding generations.

His Ṣūfism

Shaykh Yūsuf had prepared his time since he was a teenager to talk about *shari'a* (divine law) and *ḥaqīqa* (divine truth or reality), the purity of morals and the way to clean the soul as a servant of Allāh. All his spiritual teachings were always in line with the tradition of the Prophet SAW.

Shaykh Yūsuf had an interesting personality, because even though he lived and grew up in the beautiful palace of the Gowa King, in his heart he was not overly interested in the lure of the beauty and luxury of worldly life. However, it does not mean that he did not pay attention to worldly affairs.

After he wandered to seek knowledge in other countries, his soul had been trained to experience all aspects of life which can bring happiness in this world. According to Shaykh Yūsuf, this world had never become an obstacle in Islamic teaching, and it had not become an obstacle for him to be a great *ṣūfī*, rather, it became a bridge to reach it. This world can be considered an obstacle if it is used outside of Islamic teachings. He was a *ṣūfī* who had a responsibility towards society, even though he was distanced from worldly life and in a close station to Allāh during ritual practices.

So, in order that this world could become a means to reach the correct objective, it needs effort and struggle to return it to its proper proportion. In this case Shaykh Yūsuf decreased his love and attention to this world, and paid more attention and love towards Allāh and His Messenger. He had taught his disciples how beautiful it was to love Allāh and His Messenger, so the heart became peaceful and the worship became delicious. As a *ṣūfī*, Shaykh Yūsuf held firmly to the Words of God:

“...Say: “Short is enjoyment of this world. The Hereafter is (far) better for who devotes to Allāh” (Qur’ān, 4:77).

It is now clear he was a *ṣūfī* who could fight among societies during the day, and read Holy books and conduct '*taḥajjud*' prayers at night, and work at noon using with a bamboo spear. Therefore, he was called a great *ṣūfī* or a Holy person among Allāh's saints who was also a defender of human rights. The consequences of his struggles can be seen in the four countries or areas: Macassar, Banten, Ceylon and South Africa (Hamka 15 April 1977 & 1 Mei 1977: 27). K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri also said that Shaykh Yūsuf Macassar advanced Islamic teaching in the seventeenth century (K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri 1981: 439).

His Sainthood

As a *ṣūfī* saint, he possessed supernatural qualities (*kramats*), even when he was still in his mother's womb and after his death. The story was told as has been previously mentioned in the chronicle of Macassar that when his mother was still pregnant and lived in Gowa Palace, some miracles had taken place such as light appeared from her mother's navel and "*dhikr*" *La ilāha illa Allāh Muḥammad Rasul Allāh* was heard from her stomach. Therefore, when the baby was born, Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn gave him a name Muḥammad Yūsuf (Lubis 1996: 18; see also A.Rasyid Asba 2008: 3).

Shaykh Yūsuf can be called a *wāli'* Allāh or Allāh's saint since he had many *kramats*. *Kramats* are extraordinary events which occurred after he became an adult. His *kramats* were written in his biography by Nuruddin Daeng Magassing (1933) as follows:

- 1) He burned his tip of cigarette by dipping his hand (his cigarette) into the Mawang Lake.
- 2) He made a dried fish come alive then he released it into the sea to look for the knife of a ship's crew member that had fallen into the sea.
- 3) When Shaykh Yūsuf felt that some members of the crew of the ship hated him, he made *dhikr* while he tilted his head to the right, and the ship tilted in the same manner as his head had.
- 4) During his overseas journey, Shaykh Yūsuf had been assumed dead; so the crew of the ship lowered him into the sea. However when the ship arrived at an island Shaykh Yūsuf was found there alive.
- 5) After Friday prayer at Ḥaram Mosque some people expressed desire to eat some of the delicious fruit Macassar. Shaykh Yūsuf contemplated for a second and fruit emerged from his two shirt sleeves.

- 6) Cooking by using one of his hands as a cooking pot and another hand as fire wood (fire), while both his legs became its fireplace.
- 7) Shaykh Yūsuf was found to walk on the water after he went off the ship to reach the beach that was far from the anchor place.
- 8) Shaykh Yūsuf had once in his *sulūk* (spiritual journey to Allāh) saw the sky kingdom which made him wiser and more pious. He was greeted and respected by people (Daeng Magassing 1933:22-77).

Even though the above seem mere unsubstantiated legends, in Islamic teaching the concept of *kramat* (supernatural quality) for the pious man or Allāh's saint (*walī Allāh*) really exists. So, let one believe based on his faith.

Other stories of Shaykh Yūsuf's powers (*kramats*) are still living today among the Muslims at the Cape. One of the best known has been told by Theal:

“... various traditions... have gathered about his name, and it is commonly believed by those of his creed at the Cape that he performed many miracles. Thus it is asserted by them that when he was on the passage to this country the fresh water in the ship failed, upon which he dipped his foot in the sea and told the crew to replenish their casks, when to the amazement of all in board that which they took up in buckets was perfectly good to drink” (George McCall Theal, 1909: 263).

“Interestingly and amazingly, when the ship arrived at the Cape beach, all the crews and the Dutch captain eventually embraced Islam. One of the Captain's descendants in Cape is Zubaedah Philander, the wife of imām Adam Philander” (Adam Philander, personal communication, 25 April 2017).

There are still many other extraordinary events which had occurred with Shaykh Yūsuf, but these kinds of *kramats* are enough to be a proof of his righteousness and his attributes as *walī* Allāh (Allāh's saint).

His Heroism

In Indonesia

Indonesian societies' acknowledgement of the heroism of Shaykh Yūsuf has existed for a long time. This could be proven from many statements and writings made by prominent figures, such as Buya Hamka, *The Warrior of Shaykh Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī in Muḥammadiya Almanak XX*, 1959/1960, K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri *Shaykh Yūsuf Macassar, the great Islamic*

Scholar, A Holy Person and the Hero in the Islamic Resurgence History and its Advance in Indonesia, 1979 and others.

Dr. H. Ruslan Abdulgani in his paper entitled the History of the Struggle of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī presented at Hasanuddin University Ujungpandang on April 2nd, 1994 stated that today, April 2nd, 1994 is a day for completing one that is not complete from our national history. In Ujungpandang we militancy.

Furthermore at the end of his paper, Ruslan celebrate the 300 years of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī's exile, an Islamic scholar and the warrior of freedom, who landed in South Africa as a political prisoner of today, April 2nd, 1994 is a day for completing one that is not complete from our national history. In Ujungpandang we celebrate the 300 years of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī's exile, an Islamic scholar and the warrior of freedom, who landed in South Africa as a political prisoner of Indonesia by the Dutch colonialism exactly on April 2nd 1694, or exactly 300 years before. While in South Africa itself, today, the same celebration is also conducted by Muslims there, especially those who came from the islands of the archipelago; the tri-centenary celebration of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī arrival which activated the Islamic preaching there and filled the Muslim slaves with soul, self respect and Abdulgani stated that his service would not be forgotten. Thus, we need to consider the following efforts:

- 1) Our history books in the national's grade must include his role, in line with the other previous warriors of freedom of the 17th century.
- 2) Moreover, efforts must be made to ask the government to confer on him the status of national hero.
- 3) South Sulawesi societies in general, and Hasanuddin University in particular, should continue to conduct a systematic scientific history research plan about the history of the life and Shaykh Yūsuf teaching from foreign sources, and the national sources that has still not been revealed, for example in South Sulawesi itself, in Banten, in Ceylon and South Africa.

All these must be inspired by unity of mind and nationhood as well as Indonesian patriotism, matching the ideas and characteristics of the warrior Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī.

In a one day seminar on 'The Intellectualism and the Heroism of Shaykh Yūsuf in History' in Jakarta, on April 20th 1994, they concluded that Shaykh Yūsuf was a great Indonesian son, a leader and an authority; an Islamic warrior against colonialism, who had a conception of

mysticism; and a writer whose works were spread, and needed to be preserved and used for the sake of the homeland. The history of Shaykh Yūsuf is like a national asset which has a high value and should be inherited for the sake of nation and state in the future.

In that relation, it is more proper that societies and the government of the Indonesian Republic should demonstrate appreciation of Shaykh Yūsuf by conferring on him the status of a national hero, remembering his services in the struggle against the Dutch colonialism (VOC) in the 17th century and for continuing to build freedom in the archipelago.

Also a one day seminar in the framework of celebrating the 368 years birthday of Shaykh Yūsuf which was conducted by the government of Gowa on July 4th 1994 in Sungguminasa, concluded that: “Shaykh Yūsuf Tuanta Salāmaka is an Islamic scholar and warrior, the preacher of Islamic religion and a defender of basic human rights, opponent of Dutch coloniser in the 17th century for the freedom of the archipelago. He bequeathed the warrior spirit, the service and the intellectual spirit to all of us, as the next generation. Therefore it is appropriate for this seminar forum to lead to a correct and accurate formulation and research to propose to the government of Republic of Indonesia that Shaykh Yūsuf be designated as a national hero.

On November 8th 1995, on the eve of Heroes Day, the government of the Republic of Indonesia formally conferred a certificate as well as a service medal Adipradana Mahaputera Star and title as a national hero on Shaykh Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī.⁶⁰ It is based on a Presidential Decree letter No. 071/PK/1995 that was accepted by the governor of South Sulawesi, Mr. H. Zainal Basri Palaguna at the state palace. After that, the governor handed it to regent of Gowa, Mr. Syahrul Yasin Limpo, SH, in the celebration of the 675 year birthday of Gowa, exactly on the 17th November 1995 in the ceremony field Bungaya Sungguminasa.

In South Africa

The struggle of Shaykh Yūsuf in South Africa shifted from the physical struggle as a guerrilla leader in Banten to the mental-spiritual struggle. In South Africa, he tried to strengthen the personality and attitude of the leaders (of Bantam, Gowa in particular and the archipelago in general) to fight against the invaders. Starting from Ceylon, he sent his messages, works and teachings through pilgrims who stopped over in Colombo. In addition, his influence remained on Muslims in India and Ceylon.

In South Africa, the struggle continued through the steady guidance in spirituality. In South Africa, Shaykh Yūsuf succeeded in putting the foundations of the struggle and foster the

⁶⁰See images nos. 11 & 12.

community with the breath of Islamic teachings by instilling knowledge of anti-colonialism, anti-racism and anti-tribalism.

The basic struggle of Shaykh Yūsuf mentioned above gave inspiration to the warriors of South Africa who fled from the colonisers at the Cape. This case could be seen from the acknowledgement of Nelson Mandela,⁶¹ the former president of South Africa and the leader of African National Congress (ANC), in his address on April 2nd 1994 when celebrating the 300 years of Shaykh Yūsuf arrival in South Africa. Nelson Mandela said that Shaykh Yūsuf was a warrior of anti-racism and anti-colonialism that exploited human beings.

So, Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī is considered as a hero and the founding father of South Africa through many contributions. It is not surprising if he is always remembered, admired, and highly respected. In South Africa he is more popular with the name Tuan Yūsuf Macassar and his grave is called *Kramat Macassar*.

Shaykh Yūsuf also had great respect for followers other religions, and even asked his followers to respect other people, even though they were infidels or adherents of other religions, as has been stated in his work *Zubdat al-Asrār*. In South Africa, he became a good friend with the Dutch Pastor, Dominee Petrus Calden of Cape Town (between 1694 and 1699). This was in accordance with what had been done by the Messenger of Allāh towards the infidels, Jewish and Christian in Madīna. Therefore, it is not wrong if Shaykh Yūsuf is known as one of Islamic scholars who spread the teaching of tolerance among religious followers.

As a national hero of both countries Indonesia and South Africa, the position of Shaykh Yūsuf seems to be uniquely interesting. It is difficult to find a person comparable to him. He was a *ṣūfī* saint and a warrior who raised arms against the coloniser. His great influence played an important role through his struggle in defending human rights against a segregating colonial system which differentiated between black and white people. As the previous discussion that in South Africa, Shaykh Yūsuf started to introduce Islam as a new religion to the people around him. He showed that slaves and black were not inferior to others. Islam does not differentiate between black and white people. All people are equal in front of God. Because of that teaching, many people found Islam easy and close to their soul. The honourable President Nelson Mandela, during a speech at the Easter Festival of the tri-centenary celebrations in 1994, lauded Shaykh Yūsuf and the role he played in the growth of the country (Lubis 2004: n.p.).

⁶¹To view the portrayed former of President of Nelson Mandela, see image no. 13a.

Eleven years later, exactly on September 27th 2005, his Excellency President Thabo Mbeki⁶² officially conferred on Shaykh Yūsuf the “Oliver Reginald Tambo (ORT)” Award⁶³ It acknowledged the role of Shaykh Yūsuf in fighting for human rights in the country colonised by apartheid. The President disclosed that Shaykh Yūsuf had represented the fighting spirit of the people in South Africa. According to the President, the Oliver Reginald Tambo (ORT) Award was the highest accolade in South Africa.⁶⁴

The President of South Africa gave the award ceremonially to the offspring of Shaykh Yūsuf, represented by three people. They are: 1) Sahib Sultan (the ninth generation of al-Maqassarī); 2) Andi Makmun Bau Tayang Karaeng Bonto Langkasa (a Macassarese noble and the maintainer of Macassar tradition in *Tumanurung* area, Gowa); and the last, Mallingkai Maknun (Head of the Representative Council of Gowa). The ceremony was conducted in the Presidential Palace.

Thus the heroism of Shaykh Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī has been admitted and highly respected, not only in his homeland of Indonesia, but also his place of exile, Cape Town in Africa.

Based on his story above we can find some meaningful experiences of Shaykh Yūsuf during his life, as follows:

- As a wanderer for the sake of Islamic mission from Gowa, Banten, Aceh, India until the Middle East (1644-1661).
- As a teacher at Ḥaram Mosque for several years (1662-1667).
- As a Mufti/an adviser on Religious law of the Banten Kingdom (at around 1670-1680).
- As a war leader against the coloniser in Banten (at around 1681-1683).
- As a writer of many treatises in Banten (at around 1670-1680)., and Ceylon (at around 1684-1693).
- As a warrior of anti-racial and anti-colonising systems that exploited human being in the seventeenth century (begin in 1681 until he died in 1699).

⁶²To view the portrayed of former President Thabo Mbeki, see image no. 13b.

⁶³See image no. 14a.

⁶⁴See image no. 14b.

- As a pioneer of the Muslim community at the Cape (in 1694-1699).
- As a founder of social unification and of the Muslim community of South Africa (in 1694-1699).
- As a versatile Islamic speaker to everyone wherever he was. So, until now he has many admirers as well as followers over the world especially in Indonesia and South Africa.

2.9 A Summary

Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī was one of the Malay-Indonesian scholars who was part of the cosmopolitan scholarly networks centred in Makka and Madīna and he played a substantial role in popularising Islamic reformist ideas by way of teaching and writing in the seventeenth century. He was born in the Tallo Palace, Parangloe, on the 3rd of July 1626 or the 8th of *Shawwāl* 1036 A.H. from the union of Abū al-Jalāl Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh Khiḍr bin Abī al-Khayr Yaḥya bin ‘Alawī al-Ḥaḍramī (Tuanta Manjalāwī) and Āmina I Tubiani Daeng Kunjung.

He lived and grew up in the Islamic environment of the Gowa Palace under the care of Sulṭān Alā’ al-Dīn who treated him as his own son together with his daughter, the Lady Princess Sitti Daeng Nisanga. At the time the Kingdom of Gowa needed a qualified Islamic scholar to make its animistic society become real and fervent Muslims. This condition imbibed in him bravery and adventurism to wander around the world.

He searched for a greater understanding of Islam from Macassar, Banten, Aceh, India to the Middle East including Yemen, Ḥāramayn and Damascus (1644-1661). In 1662, he became a teacher of Islamic mysticism at the *Ḥāram* Mosque. Then in 1664, he completed the copying of his master’s works, al-Kūrānī in Maḍīna and then returned to Makka in the same year to continue his teaching until 1667 and then he returned and arrived in his country in the early part of 1668.

As a great *ṣūfī* in the seventeenth century who had great charisma, he attracted the interest of a few Kings and great leaders in their society where he lived, who wished him to be their son in law. Shaykh Yūsuf, therefore, married nine times, not because of his carnal desires, but because of the *da’wa* mission to give a spiritual enlightenment to his societies in the area in which his wives lived. Moreover he did not marry nine wives simultaneously but in staggered fashion according to the Islamic teaching that allows a man to marry up to four wives at a time. Two of his wives accompanied him to Ceylon and South Africa, while another awaited him in Gowa.

Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī was a primary *ṣūfī*. With respect to his personality, he was a true hero not only in Indonesia, but also in South Africa. His life experiences make it clear that his

ṣūfism did not keep him away from worldly affairs. He was a *ṣūfī* who could fight in the midst of society; reflecting upon scriptures and offering *tahajjud* (midnight prayers) while performing acts of charity and holding a sharp bamboo cane as a weapon at noon. Therefore, he was called a great *ṣūfī* and *mujāhid* (warrior).

During his exile, his strength of character continuously inspired country, Indonesia, in terms of human rights. In South Africa, he not only built an Islamic community by the belief (*aqīda*) to the Oneness of God but also showed that slaves and black people were equal to others. Islam does not differentiate between black and white people. All people are equal before God. So many people found that Islam was easy and close to their soul. All this made them admire and respect Shaykh Yūsuf very much. One such person was the honourable President Nelson Mandela who admired Shaykh Yūsuf and highly respected him. He expressed his happiness on Shaykh Yūsuf's presence in South Africa in front of audiences.

It is clear for us that he was not a founder of Islam in South Africa, but it was no doubt that he was a Muslim pioneer and a father of Islamic community in South Africa.

The impact of Shaykh Yūsuf's teachings, especially in his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* in both countries by stressing purification of beliefs which is more oriented to the *sharī'a* made all Muslims in both areas to be fervent Muslims. In South Sulawesi, the Macassarese and Buginese more dominantly followed and practised *Khalwatiyya Yūsuf and Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya or Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī* Orders, while in the Cape, the Capetonians more predominantly followed and practised his *Bā 'Alawiyya Ṣūfī* Order. Both have the same roots viz. Tuan Yūsuf of Macassar's teaching.

As a warrior and a defender of human rights, he spent nineteen years (1680-1699) of his life; and as a great teacher of *ṣūfism* giving spiritual enlightenment to his society he devoted thirty-seven years or more than a half of his life - starting in Ḥāramayn in 1662.

Therefore, today he has become a *ṣūfī* Islamic scholar with the highest standing as a national hero of two countries, because he bequeathed the warrior and intellectual spirit, and community service to his followers and admirers around the world; especially in Indonesia and South Africa.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CONTRIBUTION OF SHAYKH YŪSUF'S LITERARY WORKS AND HIS INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

This chapter on Shaykh Yūsuf's literary works and his intellectual development is divided into three sections. The first section briefly discusses the introduction of his literary works. The second section deals with the summary of his works and a brief explanation of Shaykh Yūsuf's works especially in the Leiden collections, as well as a brief exposition of his other works. The third section deals with the contribution of his literary works, in general, by summarising some important points to gain an understanding of their essence. It concludes by describing all of the noteworthy teachers of Shaykh Yūsuf from the time he was living in Macassar to his travels in the Middle East, and how each of them contributed to his intellectual development, followed by a brief summary of this text.

3.1 Introduction

Shaykh Yūsuf was an Islamic *ṣūfī* scholar who spent a significant portion of his life in search of Islamic knowledge to deepen his exposure to mysticism, especially during the time he spent in the Arabian Peninsula, where he left us many treatises in Arabic, as a guidance for approaching God.

There are around 57 texts attributed to Shaykh Yūsuf. Of these 57 scripts, 49 are available in Leiden libraries (Universiteitsbibliotheek [UB] and KITLV⁶⁵) and around 43 in Jakarta, one at Berlin Library and three at Garret Collection at Princeton University Library, USA, while some others are located in private collections as well as in the book in the hands of Hawash Abdullah. Most of his works are in Arabic.

His works that were written in Banten between 1670 and 1680, and the rest during his exile in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) between 1684 and 1693, were estimated to be more than forty. They are mostly preserved at the Leiden University Library in the Netherlands and in the National Museum or National Library in Jakarta [all Manuscripts exist in the National Library Jakarta today are taken from the National Museum Jakarta]. Although some of these works have been mentioned in Chapter II, they will be further discussed here.

The literary works of Shaykh Yūsuf are based on the author's research, both in the Netherlands and in Indonesia. She conducted research and collected the works of Shaykh

⁶⁵Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde; literally Royal Institute for Language, Land, and Ethnology or KITLV, but it is also known as the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies in Leiden.

KITLV is usually also referred to as the Bibliotheek or KITLV Library.

Yūsuf al-Maqassarī at the Leiden University Library between 2010 until the end of 2011. Then she visited the National Museum and Library Jakarta in November 2017.

There are some Shaykh Yūsuf's works collections, In Leiden for examples: it seems there are 4 Microfilms, 3 of them are at Universiteitsbibliotheek [UB] Leiden and one another is at KITLV library Leiden. All microfilms are adopted from Jakarta manuscripts. While some others manuscripts of UB Leiden are not found at the National Museum or the National Library, Jakarta. Some others are in a private collection and at the Princeton University Library, United State of America and another one at Berlin Library. Those works were composed in Madīna, in Banten and in Ceylon.⁶⁶

Before proceeding to the next discussion, it is important to introduce the Indonesian and South African scholars who have played an important role and have contributed much to this part of the research: 1) Tudjimah, 2) Sahib Sultān 3) Nabilah Lubis 4) Turdjiman 5) A. Ridwan Tahir from Indonesia and 6) Yousuf Dadoo, 7) M. A. Rafudeen, 8) Suleman Essop Dangor, 9) Ebrahiem Moos, 10) Shaykh Hendricks and lastly M. Keraan and M. Haron from South Africa and Bostwana. The majority of them are members of our research project team on Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī,⁶⁷ located in Pretoria in which the writer has been involved.

Despite Shaykh Yūsuf's varied literary works in Islamic mysticism, the contents are similar and related, and they, on occasion, even complement each other. Therefore, we might find the same topic across different manuscripts, but presented differently and at times we find elements in one text that are absent in others. This motivated the author of this thesis to make an initial summary and brief explanation of some texts especially those exist in the Leiden collection (MSKBG 101 F Or A13d and some of MSKBG 108 F Or A 13b and the Manuscript of Or 7025 that have been translated by both Indonesian scholars and South African scholars). The important issues arising out of these brief texts will be summarised in general terms under the section of his literary contribution to gain a better understanding of them; while those summarised texts previously function as

⁶⁶To view the list of his literary works either in published collections or in private collections, his other works that have been re-produced by his students and his descendants as well as his Arabic literary works with regards to the places in which they were composed, see Appendix III part A.

⁶⁷In the early part of 2016, the author was invited to become involved in a big research project in South Africa by Prof. Yousuf Dadoo and Dr. Auwais Rafudeen. They thought she would be a suitable candidate since she has a lot of experience on research about Shaykh Yūsuf as well as being a direct descendant of his. Fortunately, she has collected all Shaykh Yūsuf's literary works in the Leiden collections and some others from the Jakarta's Manuscripts. She assisted them by providing all the literary works that she had from Leiden collections by scanning all as well as giving information regarding the texts for the team which is led by Dr Auwais Rafudeen and Prof. Yousuf Dadoo. Thus far the team has translated some of his literary works, especially MSKBG 101 F Or A13d, which will hopefully be published by UNISA as a book (in 2019). The author has also contributed on introducing the history of the texts as well as the Shaykh as the author of the texts. In addition she also has translated some texts and shared them with the members of the team, but probably will be published in the second edition.

complimentary. Some of my own translations will be presented as an appendix.

The years 1186 A.H. and 1221 A.H. are mentioned with reference to the texts cited below. It is assumed that the texts were copied by a member of the third generation of Shaykh Yūsuf's descendants, La Tenri Tappu, who became the 23rd King of Bone with the title Sultān Aḥmad Ṣāliḥ (1775-1812). This Sultān was born after Shaykh Abū al-Faḥ Abū Yaḥya 'Abd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīrī died on the 5th of May 1723 in Rappang. Shaykh 'Abd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīrī was one of Shaykh Yūsuf's disciples who was a highly knowledgeable blind *ṣūfī*. This Shaykh had some disciples as well as his caliphs, among whom in the *Khalwatīyya* was al-Shaykh Jāmi' al-Dīn bin Ṭālib al-Tīmī al-Khalwatī al-Maqassarī and 'Abd Qadīr Karaeng Majannang. The latter was the high administrator of Gowa Kingdom (1735-1742). There was also al-Shaykh al-'Alam Muḥammad Jaylānī, the son of Shaykh Yūsuf. However, no data is found about the teacher of La Tenri Tappu; either he took lessons from one of Shaykh 'Abd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīrī's students or he took lessons from his grandfather. He wrote or quoted many of Shaykh Yūsuf's treatises in 1186 A.H./1772. The last of his works in 1221 A.H./1806 described that he followed in the footsteps of al-Tīmī.

3.2 A Summary and a Brief Exposition of Shaykh Yūsuf's Literary Works in the Leiden Collections and some other works

3.2.1 A Summary of MSKBG 101 F Or A13d, MSKBG 108 F Or A 13b Arabic Microfilms of UB Leiden or Jakarta Manuscript A101, A 108 and Or 7025 Manuscripts of UB Leiden

1) *Tāj al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Mashārib al-'Arīfīn* [The Crown of Secrets with regard to the Verification of the Ecstasy of the Gnostics from among the people of Perseverance]

This treatise had been translated by Tudjimah (1987) and published as a book (1997: 73-76) and had been summarised by Lubis (1996: 44). It has now been completely translated by Dangor on the 25th of July 2017.⁶⁸ There are two texts of this treatise, one text consists of two torn pages that have missing parts, but the name of the writer, al-Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj, remains visible on it. The other text is clear and complete without any torn pages and consists of nine pages. Its content is about '*Ma'rifa*' (المعرفة), between a slave and his God. One of the texts mentioned the year 1186 A.H./1776 and was prepared in Bone.

The following is the summary of '*Tāj al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Mashārib al-'Arīfīn*,' Leiden Microfilm and Manuscript F Or A 13d [5]; and Arabic Manuscript of UB Leiden Cod. Or. 7025 [1] that is adopted from Lubis (1994: 44) and Dangor (2017):

⁶⁸For more information refers to Lubis (1994: 44) and Dangor and M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 25 July 2017 or the Book of Unisa entitled "*The Worldview of a Muslim Pioneer in South Africa: A Translation of Selected Texts by Shaykh Yusuf al-Maqassary*. Edited by Prof. Yousuf Dadoo and Dr. M. Auwais Rafudeen" (Unisa 2019).

In this treatise Shaykh Yūsuf talks about *al-ma'yya* (accompaniment) and *al-iḥāṭa* (encompassment). It is said that the accompaniment of God with His servants is like the accompaniment of the soul with the body, or the accompaniment of the doer with his deeds. Likewise, His [may He be Praised and Exalted] encompassment of the universe is like the encompassment of the attribute by its description or like the encompassment of the obligation by its necessities. It is said in relation to this encompassment that it is the encompassment of accompaniment, which the perfect gnostic also knows and understands. It is just like the encompassment of one object by two objects, which is also known to all people. Understand and reflect so that the essence of verified knowledge and epitome of accurate understanding is obtained by you. Because of the intensity of His [may He be Praised and Exalted] complete accompaniment with us, His encompassment of the universe could almost not be distinguished from us and from the universe, except through understanding, like the fire when it overpowers the wood and cannot be distinguished from it except through understanding. The wood is self-existent but the fire exists with the wood whereas, in reality, the wood is wood and the fire is fire. Likewise, it is said that the devotee is the devotee although he ascends and the Lord is the Lord although He descends. This means that the devotee remains the devotee although he becomes annihilated in Allāh [*fānā' fi Allāh*] and subsistent [*bāqā'*]⁶⁹ with Him the Exalted and he is described with some of His attributes [may He be Exalted]. The Lord is the Lord although He is manifested in the previously mentioned devotee as is His Self-unveiling [*tajallī*] and individualisation [*ta'ayyun*] in him and He is described with some of the attributes of the devotee. So understand [this] and do not err else it will lead [lit. incline] you to the Fire. May Allāh protect you from that.

When asked, "How do you know God?" Imām Abū Zaid al-Kharrāz replied, "By uniting two opposites." God is attributed with: ليس كمثل شئى "Nothing is comparable unto Him" (*Qur'ān*, 42:11).

The poet said: "The glass is clear, the wine in it is clear, then both are equal and similarly shaped, like wine only without glasses, and like glass with no wine."

Shaykh Faḍl Allāh al-Burhānpūrī said that all things are the essence of Reality [may He be Praised and Exalted] with respect to existence.

They [the gnostics] said "yes" [but] from where is otherness found here because the gnostics⁶⁹ who possess illumination [*kashf*] and magnanimity and complete

⁶⁹The active participle should have been in the nominative case العارفون.

reconciliation of vision have verified and confirmed this by saying “the meaning of لا اله الا الله is there is no existence but Allāh” because existence is one, there is no second [existence]. The word for *ghayr* [other] is not mentioned here, except if two existences come about externally, but nothing exists externally except the Reality, the Exalted. Verily the external existence with regards to reconciliation of related things is the existence that is self-subsisting, not the thing that exists through others. So understand [this].”

The existent, essentially, is a form which stands alone and that is only one (God). So the things I see are in fact the shadow of *al-Hāq Ta'ālā* and the manifestation from the absolute form. Thus, everything is a manifestation of His unveiling to His creatures or *tajallī* (For more information see, Dangor and M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 25 July 2017).

- 2) ***Wājib al-Wujūd* [The Essential and Indispensable Existence]** has been considered as one of Shaykh Yūsuf's works that had been translated by Prof. Yousuf Dadoo on the 17th of February 2017. This text consists of three pages and discusses the essential and indispensable Existence of Allāh. Here is the summary I have adopted from my co-author's work, Prof. Yousuf Dadoo (2017):

After reciting *basmalah* and saying all praise belongs to Allāh as well as salutations and blessings upon our leader and master, Muḥammad ﷺ, it is stated that: “The Divine aspirant should firstly know that the reality of all things and their hidden force is Allāh; may He be glorified. In turn, His reality is the being whose existence is indispensable. It cannot be confined by anything; meaning thereby, that its non-existence cannot be imagined by the mind. Nor can any curb upon His absoluteness be visualised; despite its capability to be constricted.

Our existence is an emanation that cannot be pictured without Divine existence. The servant's reality is corporeality and his reality is nothingness. His existence cannot be visualised by itself. So its nothingness, earmarked by physicality, can never be related to Divine existence. For this reason, He is neither spirit nor body. A gnostic has said: The Lord remains the Lord even if He physically descends; and the servant remains the servant even if he has to physically ascend.

This means the creator does not become a servant even if He was to manifest Himself with the attributes (or, features) of a servant; such as by means of a hand and other things He has claimed. Nor does the servant become a creator even if

he were to possess some of His qualities; like the ability to give life or death. Existence is therefore one without any partner in His being, attributes or names. Allāh says: "Nothing is like Him. And He is all-hearing, all-seeing" (*Qur'ān*, 42:11).

Once you know this then understand that Allāh can reveal Himself in different forms and with varying limits although He remains without shape or limit. When He so wishes, He pours out His existence to such a being.

This situation can be compared to an onlooker into a thousand mirrors with different shapes. The onlooker's image will remain the same but it will have a multiple presence in various mirrors which will reflect different traits of his.

The mirror represents the unchanging archetypal forms found in the world of nothingness. These fixed entities are the site for the appearance of the Divine being in them. As for external entities (found in this world), their effects and status continue for as long as their bestower desires. They are like a shadow in a mirror (whose effects last as long as the object remains in focus). In our case, it is analogous to the presence of the onlooker and his image (before the mirror).

Then it is stated that you must not think the slave to be different to the master in terms of presence to such an extent that it is told to you that this is the existence of the slave and that is the existence of the master. At the same time, do not imagine the slave to be the master vis-a-vis this physical body because your existence is the existence of one granted this status. This implies the existence of a real endower of such status. Moreover, you have no existence by yourself: everything results from the existence of Allāh. Do not also surmise that Allāh dwells in you in a way that you retain your separate identities, or that He merges with you. Both these states presuppose dual existence in the universe which is impossible for Allāh. As regards such duality, Allāh declares: "*Say, o prophet, that He, Allāh, is one. Allāh is independent. He neither procreated, nor was He procreated. And there is nothing equal to Him*" (*Qur'ān*, Ch. 112) "*He is the being who neither adopted a son nor does He have any partner in His sovereignty*" (*Qur'ān*, 25:2). "He is the first and the last, the manifest and the concealed.

Finally, it is stated that by his appearance, the servant becomes the master's attribute in a way similar to the appearance of the attribute for the being. Therefore, one who only recites the first half of the creedal formula up to "I testify that there is no deity besides Allāh" is wrong if he fails to combine it with "and I

testify that Muḥammad is the messenger of Allāh." The first member of creation is our Holy Prophet ﷺ according to his report: "The first thing Allāh created was my light." All praise belongs to Allāh at the beginning and the end, and may Allāh send salutations and blessings upon our master, Muḥammad ﷺ and all his family and friends (M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 17 February 2017).

- 3) ***Ikhtisāṣ al-Dhikr [the Specification of dhikr]***⁷⁰ is one of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maḥassārī's work. It had been translated by Professor Yousuf Dadoo and Dr Auwais Rafudeen on the 8th of March 2017. This is a short text and it consists of three pages only. It does not mention the author's name directly, but after viewing the contents and the language used in this text, all indications are that this text is one of Shaykh Yūsuf's works. This text discusses the types of remembrance (*dhikr*), their names and organs used for engaging *dhikr* and the meaning of worshipping Allāh until one attains certainty (death).

The following is a summary of this text I have adopted from my co-authors' work, Professor Yousuf Dadoo and Dr Auwais Rafudeen:

First, after reciting *basmalah* and Praise belongs to Allāh, the Victor, the all-Knowing, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Then salutations and blessings be upon Muḥammad, his family, and his companions.

Furthermore, it is stated that: "Oh those who love divine remembrance: Know that remembrance is of three types. The first is *Lā ilāha illā Allāh* [There is no God but Allāh], the second is *Allāh-Allāh* and the third is *Hu-Hu (Huwa-Huwa)* [He-He]."

The dhikr *Lā ilāha illā Allāh* is called *Kalimat al-Tawḥīd* - the litany of Divine Oneness. The dhikr *Allāh-Allāh* has been named *mujarrad* (to be defined below). The dhikr *Hu-Hu* is remembrance by allusion (*ishāra*).

The litany of Divine Oneness is a statement of Uniqueness (*Infirād*). *Mujarrad* is the type of remembrance that repudiates nothingness and solely asserts the being of Allāh as the reality of existence. The definition of allusion is that type of remembrance whereby any specification or type of *dhikr* alludes to the Remembered.

Then he said, there are three organs for remembrance:

⁷⁰ To view the image copy of this text, see Appendix II.

- (a) The tongue with the heart (*qalb*)
- (b) The *fu'ād* (the inner heart)
- (c) The *sarīr* (innermost essence).

Then he explained its orbits but added that people should not be dogmatic about what he has mentioned concerning these orbits (*dā'ira*). He wrote about these orbits in response to a request and to make it easy for the seekers in their understanding of this concept. In respect of what is to be written, the heart is of two types: 1) The form of this heart is a pine shaped flesh which has three sheets with three openings which Allāh has placed on the chest which is on the left side parallel to the end of the breastbone. 2) The second definition is that the heart is a favour granted by Allāh the Exalted which pours through the openings of these three sheets by the power of *sirrīya* [innermost essence] because this cannot be visualised by a person whose heart is dead (at this point the author inserts a diagram showing these orbits which is not in Arabic).

Lā ilāha illā Allāh is the remembrance of the heart (*qalb*) with its articulation by the tongue, *Allāh-Allāh* is the remembrance by the soul (*rūḥ*) and *Hu-Hu* is the remembrance by innermost essence (*sirr*).

Lā ilāha illā Allāh is the key to the heart, *Allāh-Allāh* is the key to the soul and *Hu Hu* is the key to the innermost essence. Therefore achieve the key to your heart through *Lā ilāha illā Allāh*. Attain the key to your soul with *Allāh-Allāh*. Attain the key to your innermost essence with *Hu-Hu*. This is in order that all three doors may be opened. Whoever enters into the three doors will rejoice in everything to be found in those domains. Also know that *Lā ilāha illā Allāh* is the magnet of the heart, that is, through it the heart is drawn to Allāh. *Allāh-Allāh* is the magnet of the soul, that is, through it the soul is drawn to Allāh. *Hu-Hu* is the magnet of the innermost essence by which the innermost essence is drawn to Allāh, the Glorious.

He then discussed the meaning of worship your Lord until you attain certainty by saying: "Oh aspirants: Endeavour that you reach this rank in compliance with Allāh's word: "Worship Your Lord until you attain certainty" (Quran 15:99), that is death. For one of the Gnostics death is divided into two categories. The first is physical death evident through sight. The second is metaphorical death which entails the attainment of the object by the person observing the spiritual path through great rigour (*mujāhada*), entailing the expending of his or her limbs in the path of Allāh at the intermediate level and ultimately the yielding of his or her entire

existence. This is so as to attain *baqā* (permanency), a stage that he reaches after his extinction (*fanā*).”

Then he explained the second meaning of death in relation to certainty based on the saying of the Almighty: *You did not throw when you threw but it was Allāh that threw (Qur'ān, 8:17)*. When the word “servitude” [*‘ubūdīyya*] no longer remains for the servants but instead it is replaced by *rabbānīyya* [worshipping by witnessing the divine effect] the traveler reaches a stage where he witnesses only Divine Existence, His Descriptors and in His actions, becoming drowned therein. In this absorption the traveler acquires “permanency.”

However, this “permanency” is not to be compared to the permanency ascribed to Allāh because, with regard to human “permanency”, as soon as anything changes its “permanency” is undermined. Thus grasp this means of expression [correctly] through attentive listening, careful understanding and through surrendering yourself by following the guidelines given. Thus one’s body is like a corpse before its washer that will return to life when Allāh wills. He will then be attached to the life of the Divine Being which connotes beginninglessness and permanency. Such a person will thus become ‘permanent’ through the permanency of Allāh. This is in accordance with the statement of Allāh: *Can he who was dead, to whom We gave life, and a light whereby he can walk amongst men, be like him who is in the depths of darkness, from which he can never come out? Thus to those without faith their own deeds seem pleasing (Qur'ān, 6:123)*.

Then he ended the text by saying all Praise due to Allāh and salutation and greetings to our Prophet. Allāh the Exalted knows better (M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 08 of March 2017).

- 4) ***Ma'nā al-Wujūd [the Meaning of Existence]*** had been translated by Professor Yousuf Dadoo and Dr Auwais Rafudeen on the 23rd of March 2017. This text consists of eight pages. This text mentioned the name of his master Shaykh Karīm ar Raslānī Abū Yaḥyā Zakarīyyā al Anṣārī or Shaykh Raslān al-Dimashqī (as has been mentioned in *Fath al-Raḥmān*).

Here is the summary with the special discussion I have adopted from my co-authors' work, Professor Yousuf Dadoo & A. Rafudeen (2017):

This text discusses at length the meaning of *wujūd* [existence]. Know that, from pre-eternity to post-eternity, sheer existence (*wujūd maḥḍ*) differs from sheer non-

existence (*wujūd 'adam*) to such an extent that their coming together can never be visualised intellectually, nor in terms of legislation (*shar'*), nor in terms of intuition (*kashf*). The meaning of pure, absolute existence is that whose non-existence can never be fathomed by the intellect, legislation or intuition. This existence relates to the existence of Allāh. The meaning of sheer non-existence is that whose existence can never be fathomed by the intellect, legislation or intuition. This relates to any partner with Allāh.

If we know the innate opposition between sheer existence and sheer non-existence, then we should also know that between these two categories is a barrier (*hijāb*) that is named both possible non-existence (*mumkin al-'adam*) and possible existence (*mumkin al-wujūd*) due to the occurrence of both.⁷¹ Such occurrence must have its share of pure non-existence and pure existence. As to its share of sheer non-existence, it means that the mind should not be able to conceive of its existence at all. This is the meaning of the statement: "The fragrance of existence is not exuded by it at all." Therefore understand and do not err in terms of these divisions. As to its share of sheer existence, it means that it is possible for the mind to conceive of its existence. This latter, according to the people of discernment, is called "potentialities" (*isti'dādāt*) that are receptive to existence. Scholastic theologians term it the "possible" (*jā'iz*). It is that entity whose coming into being or remaining non-being are equally possible to the mind...⁷²

The last two pages of the text contain the main points of discussion on this text:

When the traveler to Allāh desires Divine grace he should realise within himself this meaning. He has to observe such realization in terms of the famous categories of Divine Unity (*Tawhīd*) stated by Chief Judge Shaykh Karīm al-Raslānī Abū Yaḥyā Zakarīyyā al Anṣārī- may Allāh expand his life on earth and may Allāh restore to us his help in this world and the Hereafter through the blessings of Muḥammad ﷺ - in his *Sharḥ* of *Fath al-Raḥmān*. The Shaykh categorizes *Tawhīd* into three types:

- (a) *Tawhīd al-af'āl* (Divine Unity relating to actions): such as "There is no doer except Allāh."
- (b) *Tawhīd al-ṣifāt* (Divine Unity relating to attributes): such as "There is no

⁷¹That is, the occurrence of both possible non-existence and possible existence between sheer non-existence and sheer existence.

⁷²The author ended the translation prematurely here because the theme became repetitive.

Powerful or no Living one except Allāh.”

(c) *Tawḥīd al-dhāt*: (Divine Unity relating to Being): such as “There is no existent (*mawjūd*) except Allāh.”

Then he said that now contemplate whether any of these three categories are applied to existents besides Allāh or not, or if one entertains a view of any action performed by a being other than Allāh, or if one entertains the thought that another shares with Allāh a quality such as power or, worse still, if within one's self, one is entertaining the existence of an attribute that in reality is solely Allāh's and belongs to none besides Him. The latter forms the very core of associating partners with Allāh which we had negated by saying *lā ilāha*. If it never leaves him at all then in the negation it amounts to him being entreated because what is intended by the negation is actually an affirmation. When all these three categories have been asserted in favour of Allāh then naturally they relate to the non-existence of these attributes among beings. This is the essence of the meaning of “There is no god except Allāh.”

What is the rank or status of these three categories when they become attributed to beings other than Allāh? They then become categories which reveal themselves as fixed entities (*a'yān thābita*) which are actually shadows of total non-existence and which differ from the sheer existence totally.⁷³ It has become clear that everything besides Allāh are traces and subjective understandings which have emerged from the category of sheer non-existence. They are now termed possible non-existence and are, in turn, shadows of absolute existence manifested in entities, bodies, substances, accidents and acts. They also include all prohibited actions-a category also characterised by non-existence.

Thus after all these mysteries have been shown to you then grasp those categories of non-existence shown by the negation in the statement “There is no god” and grasp the unity of divine existence shown in the affirmative portion “but Allāh.” Avoid prohibited deeds through exertion because they belong to the category of non-existence which I have already mentioned. Endeavour to observe actions that have been prescribed in terms of various types of religious practices (*ibāda*) because they establish links with divine existence. That which is prohibited is linked to the lower self which in turn is linked to corporeality and corporeality entails non-existence and non-existence entails negation and negation is false and goes back to the fire of hell. As for the command (which we are ordered to carry

⁷³Literally “beginning and end”

out) it is in accord with reason, and reason is light, and light is existence, and existence is firm-one whose reality does not change-and it is the truth. And all truth returns one to Paradise. And through Allāh comes success.

He then provides the tradition of our Prophet ﷺ who said: “Safeguard your dealings with Allāh and He will safeguard you. Safeguard your dealings with Allāh and you will find Him before you.” That is, safeguard Allāh in all his decrees by obeying His commands and avoiding His prohibitions and He will safeguard you with His favour. Protect Allāh from the two types of association (manifest and hidden) and He will lift the veil for you in the Presence of His Oneness. You will lose consciousness of yourself (*fanā*) and then you will find Him in front of you. “Whoever knows his Lord forgets his self” so his attraction (*jadhbah*) will be to his Lord. This is the meaning of the formula: *Lā ilāha illā Allāh* from beginning to end.

Finally, he concludes by declaring all praise be to Allāh at the beginning and end. May Allāh send Blessings and peace upon the greatest of His creation Muḥammad and upon all his family and Companions. And upon all the Prophets and Messengers and upon their family members and Companions and those who followed them and upon all the people who obey You in the heavens and the earth and upon us with them through Your Mercy, oh Most Merciful of those who show mercy (M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 23 March 2017).

- 5) ***Ma’nā Qawl Lā ilāha illā Allāh*** [The meaning of the phrase *Lā ilāha illā Allāh* “There is no God but Allāh”]. The text had been translated by Professor Yousuf Dadoo and Dr Auwais Rafudeen on the 23rd of March 2017. This is only a short text of two pages, but it describes the meaning of the phrase *Lā ilāha illā Allāh* clearly and completely, in respect of three categories of people. The first category, the *khawāṣ* (the spiritual elite) and the *awām* (the spiritual lay-person); the second category refers to the people in the middle of these two categories, who belong to neither the *awām* nor the *khawāṣ* and the last category for the *fanā*’ people who are annihilated in Allāh. Here is the summary of it I have adopted from my co-authors’ work, Professor Yousuf Dadoo and A. Rafudeen (2017).

After reciting *basmalah*, he starts his words by: “Know that the first duty of one entrusted with responsibility (*taklīf*) is that he affirms the Oneness of Allāh by saying “There is no god but Allāh and Muḥammad is His Messenger”ﷺ. The meaning of “There is no god but Allāh” among both the spiritual elite and the spiritual laity is that there is no one rightly deserving worship in all creation except

Allāh. Allāh is the One worthy of worship by the entire creation just as He is worthy of the attribute of divinity, namely that of the Necessary Being, Who (alone) bestows profit and harm (in an absolute sense) and Who is absolutely independent of all His creation. He is worthy of the attribute of pre-eternity without beginning (*qadm*) just as he is worthy of the attribute of permanence without end (*baqā*). He is completely distinct from creation (*hawādith*) and Self-Subsistent (*al-Qayyūm*), not subsisting by virtue of anyone else. He has no creator, nor any restrictor or designator, nor does He need space. He possesses Absolute Oneness (*wahdānīyya*) and has no second and He possesses Power (*Qudra*), Will (*Irāda*), Knowledge (*'Ilm*), Life (*Ḥayāt*), Hearing (*Sam'*), Sight (*Baṣr*) and Speech (*Kalām*). When we know this Exalted Protector of ours is characterised by these last seven attributes, then it follows that He is powerful, willing, knowing, living, hearing, seeing and speaking. Thus they are ten altogether which are necessary to Allāh the Exalted. Then it is stated that for the middle category of people, who belong to neither the spiritual elite nor the rank and file, there is absolutely no one who can benefit or can harm except Allāh because profit and harm presupposes existence (*wujūd*). And, essentially, we have no existence but existence in reality belongs to Allāh. This is the meaning of "there is no God but Allāh" for people of the middle category, that is, the belief that only Allāh generates existence.

As for the person who loses his existence in Allāh, that is, one who is lost to all matters, to all his own attributes, and to own his own self, there is no existent besides Allāh, the One, Who merits this existence. As far as this entire world is concerned, prior to its creation, it was contained within the Oneness of Allāh just as the tree is contained within its seed. Likewise, all existents, after their manifestation in creation, are like trees, leaves, flower and fruit in terms of the fact that by themselves they have no existence but their being is found in the seed. Thus all things, prior to their existence to the phase following their existence are not detached from Allāh, the Exalted just as the tree is not detached from the seed. It is not possible to detach anything in creation from Allāh, be it prior to their manifestation in the external world or after their appearance therein, without their detachment being part of their inclusion within the divine being in terms of the internal world, and in terms of their appearance in the outward world they observe the manifest order. Thus, Allāh manifests Himself in the state of His Concealment in a form that is appropriate to Him and after His manifestation He adorns Himself with the forms of the creation.

Therefore, he who knows himself knows His Lord and whoever knows himself is ignorant of himself in terms of his annihilation and disappearance from himself.

This is because during the course of his annihilation of his self, only Allāh remains. Finally, he ended his words by saying: "Allāh knows best about that which is correct and to Him is the ultimate return. Blessings and Peace be upon our leader Muḥammad and upon all his Family and Companions" (M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 23 March 2017).

- 6) ***Ishrīn Şifa [Twenty attributes]*** by Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī had been translated by Yousuf Dadoo and Auwais Rafudeen on the 6th of April 2017. This text consists of five pages. This text mentioned the name of his master Shaykh Mullā Ibrāhīm bin Ḥasan Shahāb al-Dīn al-Kurdī al-Kūrānī, then Madanī, may Allāh be pleased with him. The following is a summary of the text I have adopted from the co-authors' work, Dadoo and A. Rafudeen (2017):

It starts with the words of praise be to Allāh, Lord of the worlds. Blessings and Peace be upon His Manifest Messenger, Muḥammad ﷺ, and upon all his family and companions.

Know that twenty attributes must reside with our Protector Allāh, the Exalted. They are: Existence (*wujūd*); pre-eternity without beginning (*qadm*); post-eternity without end (*baqā*); His absolute distinction to creation (*mukhālafatul ḥawādith*); His Self-Subsistence which cannot be restricted in any way and who does not exist in a particular locality (*Qiyāmuḥu bi nafsihī*); and Uniqueness (*Waḥdānīyya*), that is, he is single in his Essence, in His attributes and in His actions. The first of these is termed personal attributes, which is Existence (*wujūd*), and the next five are termed negative attributes. As for the personal attribute, it is possible to call this attribute His Essence (*dhāt*) because essence cannot be visualised without this existence. The negative attributes have been so defined because they negate that which is not appropriate for our Protector, Allāh. This means that they prohibit for the Essence what is not suitable to it, for example, such as previous non-existence. Necessary existence belongs to Allāh by virtue of His being characterised by pre-eternity. Likewise, it is inappropriate that Allāh be associated with non-existence because this Necessary Being is characterised by post-eternity. It is also inappropriate for Allāh to be compared to all creation because this Necessary Being needs to be characterised by His absolute distinction to creation. Nor is it appropriate for our Protector to subsist through someone else because the Necessary Being must subsist by Himself. And it is also inappropriate for Him to have a partner in His Being, in all His Attributes and in all His actions or to be compared to anyone else in the creation of the world or in terms of

administering it because Allāh the Exalted is characterised by Uniqueness.

And further, there are seven other attributes that are necessary for Him- attributes that are inherent in a self-subsisting being (*ṣifāt ul ma'ānī*). These attributes are power, volition, knowledge, life, hearing, vision and speech. These attributes are called "inherent" because they point to these characteristics that are inherent to the Divine being. This means that He is defined as follows based on these attributes: powerful (*Qādir*) on the basis of His power; willing (*Murīd*) on the basis His volition; knowing (*'Ālim*) on the basis of His knowledge; living (*Ḥayy*) on the basis of His life; hearing (*Samī'*) on the basis of his hearing; seeing (*Baṣīr*) on the basis of his Vision; and speaking (*Mutakallim*) on account of his Speech. If Allāh's being was not characterised by power, then we would not be able to describe His Essence as having it, and we would not be able to see any form to creation since all forms are the effect of Divine power; and so on.

These are the twenty attributes⁷⁴ which are necessary for Allāh, the Exalted. It is obligatory on the one observing the *sharī'a* and mandated with responsibility (*taklīf*)⁷⁵ to know them.

What is impossible in relation to Allāh is the opposite of these twenty attributes. They can be listed as: nothingness (*'adam*); His Being preceded by nothingness; His Being followed by nothingness; if were to be subject to events and occurrences; His not being Self-Subsistent; if He is made by someone else or if He be a second deity or a second in the creation of the universe or second in terms of administering it; inability; perplexity in His actions; ignorance; death; deafness; dumbness; and blindness. And, of course, what is opposite to the "signifying attributes" (*ṣifāt ul ma'nawīyya*) can be deduced from what is opposed to the "inherent" attributes.

The proofs indicating that Allāh is characterised by existence is the entire *Qur'ān*. Indeed, some of the clearest examples have been gleaned therefrom, such as: "*Allāh knows each and everything*" (*Qur'ān*, 33:40). The Prophet ﷺ said: "Allāh existed when nothing else besides him existed."⁷⁶ The significance of His existence having been there indicates that Allāh has to be characterised by pre-eternity and

⁷⁴That is, the one personal attribute (*ṣifatul nafsīyya*), the five negative attributes (*ṣifatul ṣalbīyya*), the seven inherent attributes (*ṣifāt ul ma'ānī*- "inherent" or "abstracted" attributes), and the corresponding seven attributes that follow on the basis of Him having these inherent attributes (termed technically the *ṣifāt ul ma'nawīyya*- "signifying" or "manifested" attributes).

⁷⁵Such a person is commonly known as *mukallaf*.

⁷⁶*Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Kitābul Tawḥīd*, Chapter: "His Throne was on the water," No. 6982.

post-eternity. That is why He says: *He is the First and the Last, the Manifest and the Concealed (Qur'ān, 57:3)*. His being "First" is proof of pre-eternity and His being "Last" is proof of post-eternity. Both these states operate in contrast to each other with the First proving pre-eternity and the Last proving post-eternity. In this way pre-eternity is put in contrast with post-eternity but the First signifies existence without beginning while Last signifies existence without end. Everything without beginning has to be without end while everything without end has to be without beginning. Further proof of post-eternity is the verse: *Everything on it will perish but the Face of your Lord, endowed with Might and Honour, will remain (Qur'ān, 55:27)*. The proof of Allāh being endowed with attributes that do not involve incidents and occurrences characteristic of creation includes the verse: *Nothing is comparable to Him and He is the All-Hearing, All-Seeing (Qur'ān, 42:11)*. The proof of Him being characterised by Self-Subsistence is *Allāh, there is no god but Him, the Living, the Self-Subsisting (Qur'ān, 2:255)*. Further proof in this regard is found in the verse: "The Most Compassionate established Himself on the Throne" (*Qur'ān, 20:5*). His Uniqueness is proven by the verse: *Had there been deities besides Allāh in the heavens and the earth, they both would have been ruined (Qur'ān, 21:22)*.

All this proves that He must be described in terms of His personal attribute and also as per negative attributes in terms of deriving benefit for knowing Him; and so on....

Before the end of this text, he mentioned the name of his master Shaykh Mullā Ibrahīm bin Ḥasan Shahāb al-Dīn al-Kurdī al-Kūrānī, then Madanī,⁷⁷ Allāh be pleased with him and may Allāh benefit us through him and through his knowledge, (M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 06 April 2017).

- 7) ***Haqīqat al-Rūḥ [the Reality of the Soul]*** is one of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī's works and it had been translated by Yousuf Dadoo and Auwais Rafudeen on the 6th of April 2017. This text consists of four folios (pages). Here is the summary I have adopted from co-authors' work, Dadoo and A. Rafudeen (2017):

This text begins with all praise belonging to Allāh who uncovered the mysterious and the hidden through the beauty of His Being and Who laid bare the dubious and the complex with the most resplendent part of His power and might. Blessings and Peace be upon our Leader, Muḥammad, the one who has made his religion prevail (over other religions) and the one who manifested his wisdom, and upon

⁷⁷Shaykh Kūrānī was the main teacher of Shaykh Yūsuf in Madīna.

his family and companions, the choicest among the majestic ones, because they manifested wisdom after Prophethood to all creation. Then it is stated that the difference between the soul and life for creation is that the soul was acquired through the breath of the Merciful Lord. This verse is pertinent in this regard: *On that Day (of Judgement) the Trumpet shall be blown and then you shall appear before Allāh in groups (Qur'ān, 78:18).*⁷⁸ It is therefore known that the soul was decreed to the creation for the purpose of providing life to it, which occurs through the Divine Breath. Therefore the life of creation occurs through the soul and the soul came into existence through blowing. This blowing is a divine action performed in the functions assigned to Isrāfīl. There Allāh told His Chosen Prophet, when the latter asked about the soul: *The soul is from the Command of the Lord and you have only been given a little knowledge about it (Qur'ān, 17:85).*

As for the quality of "life" pertaining to Allāh, it cannot be compared to the life of his creation. This is because Allāh's life is boundless and unrestricted (*muṭlaq*) without the intervention of any causes that have been mentioned. In actual fact the entire soul is brought to life by Him because life from this perspective is Allāh's light which is existent (*mawjūd*). Existence is the light of the heavens and the earth based on what Allāh has said: *Allāh is the Light of the heavens and the earth (Qur'ān, 24:35).* Do you not know that the body lives because of the soul and the soul lives because of the *sirr* (innermost recess) which in turn is one of the Divine actions, and which is ultimately linked to Allāh's existence. Therefore it has been said, in terms of the description given to life by the scholastic theologians, Allāh have mercy on them, that life is an eternal attribute (*ṣifat al-azaliyya*) which is conditional for the existence of the *ṣifāt al-ma'ānī* ("inherent attributes"). What is the merit for our life which is generated by the soul that it should be equal to the divine life? This is the essential difference between the soul and life.⁷⁹ And through Allāh comes success, (M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 06 April 2017).

8) ***Al-A'yān al-Thābita* [the Permanent Archetypes]**

It had been translated by Yousuf Dadoo and Auwais Rafudeen on the 12th of April 2017. This text consists of four folios (pages) only, and here is its summary that I have adopted from their works:

All praise be to Allāh, through Whom hardened hearts are opened by means of the key to the Muḥammadan Light of Oneness. The light of Divine Oneness is

⁷⁸Other evidence for this in the *Qur'ān* can be found in the verse: "When I have fashioned him, and I have blown into Him of My Spirit then fall down in prostration to him" (*Qur'ān*, 15:29).

⁷⁹i.e. life in essence is uncreated whereas the soul is created.

obtained with the guidance of the Most Gentle, Subtle Being worthy of worship. The hearts testify that the existing being externally is the Unique Truth. Blessings and Peace be upon our leader Muḥammad, Leader of those at the beginning and those at the end and also upon his family and companions.

Then it is stated that this is a bequest (*wasīyya*) that Allāh's Messenger ﷺ taught us: "Whoever knows his self knows his Lord." And he ﷺ has also said: "The most knowledgeable among you about his soul is the most knowledgeable about the creation." Thus we learn from these two Prophetic sayings that whoever observes himself (will also attest) that this Divine Being is His Maker, Creator as well as all powerful, Eternal and Absolute, All-Strong, Self-Sufficient, necessarily existing and Self-Subsistent. He will also attest that what is done (*maf'ūl*) has in itself no existence, nor does a thing have any attributes or acts (in itself). Thus there is no partner to Allāh in (His Essence), His Attributes or in His actions. Thus we know that whatever manifests itself in terms of existence, attributes and actions are (in reality) all from Allāh the Exalted. They are by Allāh, with Allāh and in Allāh and so forth from the beginning to the end.

But from the perspective of His encompassing all things from beginning of creation to its end, there is a distinction between His decree at internal and external levels. Allāh's encompassing of all things is in the first instance through internal decree. There is no difference between the two from the perspective of the Essence of the Exalted. However, their participation in this oneness also partakes of the state of difference according to their various categories, from fixity of the self to its extinction. For example, the form of the human being is fixed with Allāh before its manifestation in the external world. In its non-existence it will be known to none other than Allāh. The (first)⁸⁰ manifestation that occurs will be called the "permanent archetypes (*al-'ayān ul-thābita*).⁸¹"

When that human form residing moves from non-existence to existence (as a permanent archetype) and then external existence via the garment of Divine Existence—a divine effusion which enables this person as a fixed and separate entity after his initial non-existence whom none knew except Allāh, together with the Divine names appropriate to him and with which he is clothed together with his actions, then all of this attests outwardly [to]⁸² the form of Prophet Muḥammad and Prophet Adam, upon whom

⁸⁰This refers to the internal manifestation before manifestation in this world.

⁸¹That is, its first manifestation from non-existence into the interior of creation.

⁸²There appears to be an ellipsis in the text which we have substituted and interpreted via the word "to."

be peace (M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 12 April 2017).

9) ***Al-Fawā'ih al-Yūsufiyya fī Bayān Taḥqīq al-Ṣūfiyya [The Utterances of Yūsufiyya (based on Shaykh Yūsuf) in Explaining the Verification/Realisation of the Ṣūfis]***

There is no name of the writer and the year of publication is not mentioned. This text was written after there had been a request from the writer's brothers and friends. It deals with the way of doing *dhikr*, the characteristics of *ṣūfis*, the habits and the customs of *ṣūfis*. From the evidence in the title, this treatise was written by Shaykh Yūsuf (Tudjimah 1997: 27-31, No.3). This text, consists of 12 folios.

The following is a summary with special discussion regarding what candidate *ṣūfis* should do; the characteristics and habits they should have in their daily life to reach their aims. It, together with the *Qur'ānic* verses and Prophetic notes, is based on Turdjiman's Indonesian translation (2010) as well as A. Ridwan Tahir's translation (2019).⁸³

Starting with in the name of Allāh the Beneficent and the Merciful God. All praise be to Allāh Who is the Off-Forgiving, the Most Merciful, the Most known and knowing. Salutation and greetings to our Prophet Muḥammad, and his family, and his companions who have glory and majesty. Furthermore, this treatise is called *al-Fawā'ih al-Yūsufiyya fī Bayān Taḥqīq al-Ṣūfiyya* (The Utterances of Yūsufiyya [based on Shaykh Yūsuf] in Explaining the Verification/Realization of the *Ṣūfis*). In this instance, I tend to use *al-Fawā'ih* (the utterances) since it is based on the original Arabic text and not *al-Fawā'id* (the benefits), (see also A. Ridwan Tahir, personal communication, 13 May 2019).

Then he said, O seekers of the truth who are sincere and loving. Among the things that must be done by the gnostics among the scientific *sulūk* who try to reach the King of the Kings, is by doing or engaging much remembrance (*dhikr*) and without turning their hearts' attention towards enchanting things. *Qur'ānic* text (*nāṣṣ al-Qur'ān*) and Prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth Nabawī*) had emphasised that one should

⁸³The author met Turdjiman or Lalu Turdjiman, who is a fellow Indonesian, in Leiden in 2010. There they worked together for six months before he went back to Indonesia to take up a position at the State Islamic Institute (IAIN) in Banten. He is one of Lubis' students who assisted the author in translating two of Shaykh Yūsuf's works in Leiden. Unfortunately, this collaborative work, other than a synopsis, was lost at Den Hague train station in the Netherlands. Fortunately, today the author of this Thesis has translated and re-written it in collaboration with A. Ridwan Tahir Lc., MA (a Candidate PhD at Al-Azhar Cairo). Nevertheless, we cannot present the translation here, because of its length, but we have included a part of the copy image of this treatise in Appendix II. We hope that presenting this summary is enough to understand the content of this treatise.

engage in much *dhikr* to Allāh, the Exalted, and the advantage of *dhikr* is too great to count. The Messenger of Allāh SAW, has said: "If Allāh wills a servant to become a good man, the man must engage in much *dhikr* or remembrance." If this is so, the (sincere) man will not cease in his *dhikr* nor decrease it.

When they engage in *dhikr* by reciting 'Lā ilāha illā Allāh', they do so audibly. However, the words of the Prophet (SAW) state: "The best *dhikr* is a silent or quiet *dhikr*."⁸⁴ Some Islamic scholars said that is true if it is done alone, but if it is done by a group of people, audible sound appears better and more useful. This is in accordance with the words of Allāh, the Praise worthy, the Almighty, the Exalted in a *ḥadīth qudsi*: "If anyone calls or remembers me loudly, I will call or remember him in a way even better than that" (Ibn Abī Shaybah, Report No. 28). These words of Allāh follow His words: "If anyone calls or remembers *me* in his self or his heart, I will call or remember Him in My self or in My heart" (Ibn Abī Shaybah, Report No. 28).

Then he discusses the characteristic and habits of *ṣūfīs* in the following way:

- a. They are generous, glorifying and magnanimous in forgiveness.
- b. They trust in God, Who orders everything and they resign everything [*tawakku*] to Him, and are willing to accept *qaḍā'* and *qadar*.
- c. They are patient in the face of disaster and ready to accept what has been distributed or allocated by Allāh to them.
- d. They humbly practise the *sunna* and surrender all things to Allāh and thank Him. As for the ways to show thanks to Allāh such as:
 - By wearing clothes that are permitted and not those that are banned, wearing beautiful and adornful clothes without pride or arrogance, in accordance with the words of Allāh, the Exalted, *Take your adornment (by wearing your clean clothes) while praying (Qur'ān, 7:31)*. And also the words of the Prophet SAW, "Verily Allāh is beautiful, He loves beauty."²⁰ Regarding this *ḥadīth*, Shaykh al-Imām Quṭub al-Anām Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī–May

⁸⁴It is narrated by Aḥmad with slight different in wording. In *Musnad Aḥmad*, its wording is as follows: خير الذكر الخفي. In this *Musnad*, this *ḥadīth* exists in some places: *ḥadīth* No. 1477, Vol. 4, p. 3, *ḥadīth* no. 1579, Vol.4, p. 88, and *ḥadīth* no 1645, Vol. 4, p. 154.

Allāh purify his heart said, "Please make your clothes as beautiful as you can, because the clothes are an adornment for a man, and by wearing clothes he becomes handsome and gracious. But the clothes themselves cannot make you (proud) when you are a sinner. So, wearing beautiful clothes is not beyond permissibility for a man, and is easy to reconcile [with the edict that clothes should not be worn for pride]. *Allāh burdens not a person beyond his ability* (Qur'ān, 2:286).

- Truth and kindness in words, in accordance with the words of Allāh, the Exalted, "A kind word and forgiveness of faults are better than *ṣadaqa* (charity) followed by hurt (injury) (Qur'ān, 2:263). Regarding this station (*maqām*), Allāh SWT says, *By no means shall you attain al-Birr (piety, righteousness, etc.,- here it means Allāh's reward, i.e. paradise), unless you spend (in Allāh's Cause) of that which you love* (Qur'ān, 3:92) and also based on the words of the Messenger of Allāh SAW, "The belief of one is not perfect until he loves for his brother what he loves for himself" (*Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Vol. 1: 29, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī* Vol.9: 429, *Sunan al-Nasā'ī*, Vol. 15: 321).
- e. They try to avoid popularity or fame, *sum'a* (displaying the good things about oneself for the purpose of showing off), *riyā'* (boasting), *ishāra* (to be centre of attention), pride, conceit, jealousy, envy, malice and backbiting while constantly purifying their souls (of ignoble traits of evil characters) based on the words of Allāh, the Exalted: "So ascribe not purity to yourself" (Qur'ān, 53:32).
- f. They also immerse themselves in self-contemplation [*naẓar al-i'tibār*] at all times, in accordance with the words of Allāh-Praise be unto Him: *Say: Behold all that is in the heavens and in the earth* (Qur'ān, 10:101), and other words of His, so he could be called *al-insān al-kāmil* (the perfect man) and *al-'ārif al-waṣīl* (the gnostic who reaches His God). Without this level of reflection, he would not reach the highest level. This level of spirituality is only realised by the *ahl al-'ināya* (people of care) who combine divine law (*sharī'a*) and divine truth (*ḥaqīqa*) who walk in the explicit way of *sharī'a* (divine law) and the implicit way of divine truth *ḥaqīqa*. This is the man who is called *al-insān al-kāmil* (the perfect human) and *al-khalīqat al-shāmīl* (the perfect creature) and not *al-insan al-nāqīṣ* (animal with outward human form). One can only be perfect if one has explicit and implicit faith. Therefore, concentrating on the explicit form of faith alone is not useful. So, the perfect one, who can reach the God is only the one who combines both, bears them, walks with them and takes them into his heart.

Therefore a candidate *ṣūfī* should bear the *sharī'a* (divine law) and the divine truth *ḥaqīqa*. The existence of both are required in order to reach the result, namely, the highest aim and the most prime target. The words of the Prophet (SAW) say: "He follows the way of combining divine law *sharī'a* and divine truth *ḥaqīqa*." *Sharī'a* (divine law) is the explicit while *ḥaqīqa* (divine Reality) is the implicit form of divine law (*sharī'a*). Another tradition of the Prophet (SAW) states: "I am entrusted with the *sharī'a* (divine law) and *ḥaqīqa* (divine Reality)." (Narrated by Bukhari and Muslim).

- g. The candidate *ṣūfīs* should always have *tawḥīd* (to the Oneness of God) in their hearts without turning their attention towards others as the companions of the Prophet (may Allāh be pleased with them) did.
- h. Another habit or tradition of *ṣūfīs* is that they always fashion their morals according to Allāh's qualities. The words of the Prophet (SAW) state, "Imbue yourself with Divine morals."⁸⁵ Also his words, "Verily Allāh has many attributes; whoever imbues himself with one of them will enter Paradise" ('Abd al-Qādir 'Isa, 1980: 218).
- i. They always display good morals toward all creatures. The Prophet (SAW), had been asked, "Who is the closest human to you in the day of hereafter? He replied, "He who has the best character among them."⁸⁶ And also the words of the Prophet [SAW], "I am only delegated for completing good character"(Al-Bayḥaqī, Report No. 21301). They (*ṣūfīs*) RA (may Allāh be pleased with them) said, "Good morals on the whole are those that calm all creatures, give them graceful conduct without being abrupt. In this station 'Alī RA (may Allāh be pleased with him), had once been asked about the best prayer. He answered: "To bring joy to the hearts of brothers."
- j. They always cover the faults of others. They do not like to try to surpass their friends or to outperform their peers, or people who are contemporaneous with them in material issues.
- k. They always treat all beings with respect and view themselves as inferior. When looking at other people, they will say to themselves, "This person is better than me, and it could be that the person in front of me right now is the Prophet Khidr AS."

⁸⁵I have been able to trace this report.

⁸⁶Al-Ṭabarānī, Report No 13575. This is also reported by al-Nasā'ī with a slight difference in words.

- l. They leave aside propaganda, hostility and conflict with all communities of Muḥammad (SAW). They are also trustworthy, honest in word, sincere in charity, eager in knowledge, sincere or enthusiastic in *ma'rifa* and wisdom; they instill love in their descendants towards science and charity, are tender towards women, compassionate towards all beings and do not quarrel with them on any matter, especially at the present time, in accordance with the words of the Messenger of Allāh SAW: "There will come a time where the best one of you is one who does not order others to be good and does not forbid outlawed deeds"(Narrated by Muslim & Bukhari); and his words (SAW) and "If you see miserliness is institutionalised and carnal desires adopted and every one only confirms his own opinion, you should extricate yourselves and leave public affairs"(This may be just a saying, a maxim or a pearl of wisdom).
- m. They are people who help, in accordance with the words of Allāh the Exalted, ... *Help you one another in piety and God consciousness (Qur'ān, 5:2)*, and the words of the Prophet (SAW): "A believer is a mirror for his Muslim brother, and every Muslim is his brother,"⁸⁷ and the words of Allāh: *The believers are nothing else than brothers (in Islamic Religion) (Qur'ān, 49:10)*. Therefore, helping every Muslim brother is an obligation in law based on one's capability, according to the words of Allāh, "Allāh burdens not a person beyond his capability"(*Qur'ān, 2:286*).
- n. They are fair because fairness is the opposite of despotism and injustice. A despotic character is truly forbidden by divine law and divine Reality.
- o. They do not denounce a wicked man for his deeds. They also do not cut off ties with someone because they have done good things to him because all things exist in the Hand of Allāh Ta'āla. This is why the Gnostics [*al-Ārif bi Allāh*] said, "Every *sharī'a* without *ḥaqīqa* is vanity, and any *ḥaqīqa* without the *sharī'a* is *'aṭīl* (imperfect)." They RA also said, "Any man who practises divine law without mysticism becomes wicked, and one who practises mysticism without jurisprudence or divine law is a heretic." He who practises divine law and mysticism reaches the essence or divine Reality. This is the Muḥammadan path.
- Finally, he tried to clarify a sacred *hadīth* by saying: (Listen to) the words of God through the tongue of the chosen Prophet: "Whoever knows Me will look for Me; and whoever looks for Me will find Me; and whoever finds Me will love Me; and whoever loves Me, I will kill him; and whoever I have killed, I will pay his bloodwit;

⁸⁷It is narrated by Abū Dawud in *Sunan Abū Dawud*, Vol. 14: 222. In this *kitāb Sunan*, the text (*lafz*) of *ḥadīth* sounds: *الْمُؤْمِنُ مِرَاةَ الْمُؤْمِنِ وَالْمُؤْمِنُ أَخُو الْمُؤْمِنِ يَكْفُ عَلَيْهِ ضَيْعَتَهُ وَيَحْوَطُهُ مِنْ وَرَائِهِ.*

and whoever I will pay his bloodwit, I Myself becomes his bloodwit" (*Al-Ḥadīth al-Qudsī*).⁸⁸ His words "Who knows me Me will look for Me" mean whoever is convinced (with My existence), will find Me and remember My encompassing or *muḥīt*. "The words of Allāh "Who looks for Me will find Me" mean whoever remember My encompassing will see Me in something (everything). His words "Who finds Me, will love Me" mean whoever sees Me in something (everything), I remain tied to his heart." His words: "Whoever loves Me, I make him die" mean whoever puts Me in his heart, I will annihilate his inward and outward existences." His words: "Whoever I kill I will pay his bloodwit (I have a credit with him)" mean whoever I have annihilated his inward and outward existence, I will change all his existences. His words: "Whoever I will pay his bloodwit and I Myself becomes his bloodwit" mean whoever I have changed all his existences, so Our (God's) existence becomes his existence. When our existence have annihilated in Allāh, the Exalted our existence will *baqa* or remain subsistence with Him. Nothing closes our eyes and obscures our hearing. Our utterances are clear, and our soul cannot be changed again because of our remaining continuously a part of His being (A. Ridwan Tahir, personal communication, 10 May 2019).

10) ***Kaifiyyat al-Nafī Wa al-lthbāt bi al-Ḥadīth al-Qudsī* or 'the Way of Negation and Affirmation (*Dhikr*) via the *Ḥadīth Qudsī***

This treatise is an explanation about *dhikr*. It consists of 19 folios. It was written in Ceylon in response to his companions' request. The year of its writing is not mentioned. The following summary is based on the works of Tudjimah (1997: 31-38) and Lubis (1996: 35-36).

He mentions the *ḥadīth* of the Messenger of Allāh from *Umm al-Mu'minīn* or the mother of the believers, A'isha RA (May Allāh be pleased with her) that, "The Messenger of Allāh SAW used to remember Allāh at all times and in all circumstances."⁸⁹ This is what is meant by the words of Allāh:

فَأَذْكُرُونِي أَذْكُرْكُمْ

⁸⁸Narrated by Abū Nu'aym with the text من طلبني من خلقي وجدني means: whoever look for Me among my creations, he will find Me (in *Hilyat el Aulia*, vol. 10: 193). While the meaning of this *ḥadīth* is in the same breath to what has been narrated in *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*, vol.8: 105.

وَمَا تَقَرَّبَ إِلَيَّ عَبْدِي بِشَيْءٍ أَحَبَّ إِلَيَّ مِمَّا افْتَرَضْتُ عَلَيْهِ، وَمَا يَزَالُ عَبْدِي يَتَقَرَّبُ إِلَيَّ بِالنَّوَافِلِ حَتَّىٰ أَحِبَّهُ، فَإِذَا أَحْبَبْتُهُ: كُنْتُ سَمْعَهُ الَّذِي يَسْمَعُ بِهِ، وَبَصَرَهُ الَّذِي يُبْصِرُ بِهِ، وَيَدَهُ الَّتِي يَبْطِشُنَ بِهَا، وَرِجْلَهُ الَّتِي يَمْشِي بِهَا، وَإِنْ سَأَلَنِي لِأَعْطِيَنَّهُ، وَلَنْ اسْتَعَاذَنِي لِأُعِيذَنَّهُ.

Meaning: and there is no way taken by My servant to draw closer to Me that I like the most except by carrying out all My obligations to him, then My servant always draws near to Me by doing all that is *sunna*, until I love him, and if I have loved him then I have become his hearing with which he hears, I become His vision with which he sees, I become His hands with both of which he strikes, I become His feet with which he walks, and if he asks Me I will give him, and if he begs Me for protection, then surely I will protect him.

⁸⁹Narrated by Bukhari in *Al-Jami' Al-Sahih (Kitab Al-Hayd)* vol. 1: 55.

"Remember Me, I will remember you," (Qur'ān, 2:152) and other verses.

A large number of *ḥadīth* of the Messenger of Allāh and sacred or *ḥadīth qudsī* mentioned the glory of doing or engaging in *dhikr*. The words of the Messenger of Allāh SAW:

إذا اراد الله بعبد خيرا أكثر من ذكره

"If Allāh intends good for His slave, he inspires him to increase His remembrance." In a sacred *ḥadīth* it is reported: "Remembering Him collectively is better." Another report states:

لا إله إلا الله حصني فمن دخل حصني أمن من عذابي

"*Lā ilāha illā Allāh* is My fortress; whoever enters My fortress, is secure from My punishment" (Ibn Ḥājar in *Hadīth Qudsi*: 15).

Further, the various *dhikr* are discussed as well as the Real Existence. This is only the Existence of *al-Ḥaqq Ta'ala* because He is independent. Any existence besides His is called a metaphorical existence because its existence depends on others; it is not independent. It is also called *mā siwā Allāh*, meaning existences other than Allāh or God. A shadow for instance is nothing, and thus it is called a metaphorical existence or *wujūd al-majāzi*. In addition, it also discusses the states experienced by the *ṣūfīs* such as *fanā'* and *baqā'* and various sayings of the great-*ṣūfīs*.

11) *Taḥsīl al-'Ināya wa al-Ḥidāya* [The Acquisition of Divine Providence and Guidance]

This treatise was probably written by Shaykh Yūsuf or one of his students; the year of its publication is not mentioned. Its content is about the relationship between a '*walī*' or a saint of Allāh with the characteristics of Allāh and *dhikr*.

The following is a summary of *Taḥsīl al-'Ināya wa al-Ḥidāya* based on the works of Lubis (1996: 43-44) and Tudjimah (1997: 93-96):

Whoever has the intention to be one of His saints and of the people of Allāh (*ahl Allāh*), and become among the closest people to Him, should multiply the *dhikr* to Allāh. The Prophet ﷺ said that: "*Ahl al-dhikr* are *ahl Allāh* and special to Him." So glory to the people of *dhikr* since Allāh the Exalted glorifies them with the variety of sciences and secrets. Therefore, Allāh says:

فَسَلُّوا أَهْلَ الذِّكْرِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَ

So, ask the people of *dhikr* if you do not know [or ask of those who know the Scripture [learned men of *Taurāt* (Torah) and the *Injeel* (Gospel)], if you know not] (*Qur'ān*, 16:43).

If you want to remember God, choose the noblest *dhikr*, that is: *lā ilāha illā Allāh*. The glory of night *dhikr* is countless. The Prophet's advised:

عش في هذه الدنيا كأنك عابر طريق وعد نفسك من اهل القبور

"Live in the world as if you are traveler and count yourself among the grave's inhabitants."

Do not misunderstand the remark of a few people who say, "from among the followers of Muḥammad, there are only a few whose loves for the world as much as they love the hereafter." The true meaning of the words is that if the love for this world is greater than the love for the Hereafter, then he is out of the *umma* or the community of followers of Muḥammad (SAW). So, to be perfect, one should consider dying rather than living in this mortal world. The words of the Prophet, "You will not see correctly unless you have died" (Lubis 1996: 43-44).

It is related that when Luqmān al-Ḥakīm was informed that he would die, he called his son and advised him: There are eight sayings from the Prophets AS (may Allāh be pleased with them). I choose four of them: Remember two things and forget two things. The first two things are to remember Allāh and the dead. The second two things are to forget your kindness to others and the wickedness of others to you.

Among the obligations of the perfect man is repentance from all sins, either big or small, in accordance with the words of Allāh: "Turn to Allāh with sincere repentance" (*Qur'ān*, 66:8) "And all of you beg Allāh to forgive you all, O believers that you may be successful" (*Qur'ān*, 24:31). The words of our Prophet (SAW): "Repentance is an obligation before sinning."

The servant must believe in his heart that the Messenger of Allāh. is absolutely the noblest creature with the most perfect character, the most perfect in deed, in *sharī'a*, the highest in his *ḥaqq* and the highest in his degree, and so forth. The Prophet said: "I am from Allāh and nature is from me." He also said: "I am from the light of Allāh (*nūr Allāh*) and the universe is from my light." And also: "The first thing created by Allāh was my soul (*rūḥ*)." There is no doubt that the person who says and believes that the

Messenger of Allāh is God's soul is an infidel (*kāfir*). "Allāh the Exalted is far above the things they associate with Him" (*Qur'ān*, 52:43). Allāh said: "I created all things because of you and I created you because of Me" (Tudjimah 1997: 95).

12) ***Risāla Ghāyat al-Ikhtiṣār wa Niḥāyat al-Intizār* [The Excellence Treatise in Brevity and the Ultimate Vision or The Concise Treatise on the Goal and Outcome of Wakefulness]**

The year of its publication is not mentioned. This treatise consists of seven pages and its content is about the meaning and the laws of *a'yān thābita* (أعيان ثابتة) or the principles of the constant essence, its pathways, relations and names. Taking the place where this treatise was written (Ceylon), its language style and its words into consideration, we can claim that this treatise is from Shaykh Yūsuf al-Taj.

The following is a summary of *Risāla Ghāyat al-Ikhtiṣār wa Niḥāyat al-Intizār* (Leiden Microfilm, F Or A 13b [9]; Jakarta Manuscript A 108) that I have adopted from Musthapa Keraan and Mohammed Haron (2008: 109-112); see also Tudjimah (1997: 96-99):

The author says he was on the land of Ceylon, the arrival place of Adam from Heaven which is known by the name of Sarandib Island, where the rebels are exiled to. Some friends and pilgrims asked him to write a treatise on *Ghāyat al-Ikhtiṣār wa Niḥāyat al-Intizār*.

First, he begins with that which is known as *dhāt* (essence) by the gnostics of Allāh, is a form and shape which is known in accordance with the infinite and eternal knowledge of Allāh. It is infinite and eternal because knowledge is essentially infinite and eternal; and it is like the divine knowledge, which is wholly infinite in compliance with the infinity of the most sublime essence.

As for restricting it to that which is permanent, they have described the essence with it because it is permanent in the Divine knowledge; that is, it does not separate nor does it ever segregate from it, for it has no beginning nor ending. As for the meaning of "essence" here, they are specific things in the (field of) knowledge that also have names besides these in the totality of all scientific information and the reality of all things in science. Reality also has different meanings. Linguistically it means: what "the thing" is; it is as it is. And sometimes it is a technical term used by the greatest gnostics. They say that reality is that in which a thing exists. From this point of view it is said that He, the Exalted, is the Reality of all things because these things exist in Him, the Exalted, the Most High.

As regards the earlier mentioned statement, it, in truth, means that it is the same condition (i.e. the same reality) (M. Keraan and M. Haron 2008: 109-110).

Regarding the actual statement of its temporality in relation to its *khārij* (external effect), particularly from the point of view of *al-mu'aththir* (the influencing factor), it is also called the effect itself. However, regarding the statement of this world's eternity in terms of its established Reality, it is part of the Infinite and Divine knowledge. According to the people of this discipline pertaining to established evidence - as mentioned earlier - and that is based upon the section regarding the identification of the actual influence by the factor that influences it. Here is an example which may make you comprehend the problem a little better. When, according to popular understanding, a person who entered a (lion's) "lair" saw footprints of a lion in it on the ground and said: "This is a lion." He however did not really see the lion; instead, he saw its footprints. He will be correct in accordance with people's understanding, and nobody would deny his statement (M. Keraan & M. Haron 2008: 110).

We have also come across terminology used by informed people of this discipline, and some of them say that the existence of this world is necessary. And it is said so in the affirmative; however, it is the same when whatever is known (or visible) is contrasted with what is missing or absent from those words then that is in accordance with His creation. When Allāh, the Most High, located it (i. e. that which is in existence) then certainly it had to be in existence merely by the fact that Allāh, the Most High, brought it into existence (M. Keraan & M. Haron 2008: 110). Its existence then would become, with this consideration, a necessity and not a possibility. We agree that the existence of this world would have been a possibility before Divine Creation was attached to it. After that it was necessarily existing by Allāh's Grace and not by itself; meaning that it is existing through the power of creation of Allāh, the Master, the Powerful, the All-Willing, the Most Wise. As for the statement regarding its non-existence, it can only be by considering it to be manifestly non-existent. But the statement of its existence can only be real by considering the knowledge about its (non-existence). It is also true that things are known to be existing even if it be in relation (to others not existing). However if it had been non-existent from all forms of existence, then it would never have been known when it was actualised. Regarding the statement about its non-eternal or non-temporal nature, these are relative items i.e. the terminology guidelines. According to the great gnostics it is that the manifest Eternal Existence is nothing else except the Reality, the Most High, similarly the manifest temporal existence is

nothing else except the universe. So, the permanent essence is not the Reality [*al-Ḥaqq*], the Most High, but it also becomes the manifest, Eternal, existing by itself (M. Keraan & M. Haron 2008: 111; see also Tudjimah 1997: 97-98).

From the point of *wujudiyya* or existence, God merely said *Kun* or Be! And from the point of *'adamiyya* (non-existence) *al-Ḥaqq Ta'ālā* transforms something from what only existed in His Knowledge into the manifest existence.

When the question is asked: “what is the reason for mentioning this world the shade of Allāh, the Most High?” The shade of His likeness is like the picture of the object. The Reality, Glory be to Him, the Most High, has no likeness. It is said that the matter has not been understood for three reasons. The first reason is that the shade cannot exist by itself but by its possessor. Likewise the universe cannot exist by itself but by Allāh, the Most High. Secondly, the shade does not move except with the movement of its possessor. Likewise this universe does not do anything and it does not have a will except with the will of Allāh and His power, the Most High. Thirdly, the shade increases with the compounding of the reflection but the object of the shade does not increase with the compounding of its reflections and its likes. This comparison is for this reason only. So bear knowledge of this (M. Keraan & M. Haron 2008: 112; see also Tudjimah 1997: 98-99).

- 13) ***Asrār al-Ṣalā* [The Secrets of Prayer or Ṣalā]** consists of ten pages and its content is about the secrets of prayer that begins at *al-niyya* (the intention when standing for prayer) with *takbīrat al-Iḥrām* until the end of prayer (*salām*).

After praise to our Lord (Allāh) and salutation to the Prophet Muḥammad SAW, he explains the secrets of prayer beginning with the intention of prayer according to the *ṣūfī* perspective based on *ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamā'a* and the *madhhab* of Imām Shafī'ī - May Allāh be pleased with him.

There are three ways to present intention with *takbīrat al-Iḥrām*, and they are by customary habit [*'urfiyya*], distributionism [*tawziyya*], and association, embrace or inclusivity (*baṣṭiyya*).

'Urfiyya has been observed by most of the believers and this is *ṣalā* with legitimate or proper intention. It describes the one who performing *ṣalā* (prayer) with all the *arkān al-ṣalā* (postures of prayer) while reciting *takbīrat al-Iḥrām* verbally. The utterance of *Allāhu Akbar* is synchronised with the words in his heart;

that is, he performs *ṣalā* together with the *takbīr*, not before and not after the letter 'Alif' in the word of *Allāh* and completed with the letter 'r' in the word *Akbar*. This intention is retained until *salām*. Such a prayer is correct.

Tawziyya (distributionism) is considered invalid and non-conforming. Here, the intention is accompanied by mischief, contradiction and blame which reside in the heart due to anachrony. The person's intention should be verified by verbal proclamation of the *takbīr*; and at the same time with the reminder: "I pray the compulsory prayer of *Ẓuhr* or 'Aṣr."

The inclusive intention through *baṣṭiyya*, is practised by saints and prophets. There are two types: *sālikī* and *majdhūbī*. In the first type, the spiritual seeker presents his prayers from the end of his ablution until he stands at the place of prayer. They combine the substance, attributes as well as the movements of the *ṣalā* into a single act, so that it becomes worthy of Allāh's acceptance. It presents the prayer with his intention in the heart filled with the word *Anā* because all creation acknowledges itself through the Divine "I" (*Anā*) but not via the individual spirit and the heart. The Prophet said: Indeed all deeds depend on their intentions. So the spiritual seeker is able to distinguish between *Anā* (I) for himself and *Anā* (I) for His God. *Anā* in reality is Allāh, the Exalted, which is destined for His servant because they can borrow that word. Allāh said to Prophet Moses AS: "Verily, I am Allāh, the Lord of 'Alamīn (creation)!" (*Qur'ān*, 28:30).

Then he discusses *arkān al-ṣalā*. When standing in prayer, he must see his spirit in *martabat 'ālam al-asrār* (world of secrets) and see his essence in *martabat 'alam al-lāhūt* (metaphysical world). This is the nature of essence and all creations of the Creator although his body stands in *martabat ālam al-shahāda* (world of attestation). Then when he recites *takbīrat al-lḥrām* with "Allāhu Akbar" together with the intention in his to perform this prayer, he is lost (*fanā'*) in Allāh and remains (*baqā'*) with Him. Then he recites the first chapter of the *Qur'ān*, *al-Fātiḥa*, and performs *al-rukū'* (bows). In this posture, the spiritual seeker remains in *martabat ālam al-ma'ānī* (the abstract or metaphysical world) that is the root of everything. His soul resides *martabat ālam al-Asrār* while his body is in *martabat ālam al-Shahada* in accordance with the words of God "and *Irka ū* (i.e. bow down or submit yourselves with obedience to Allāh, along with *Al-Rākī'in*" (*Qur'ān*, 2: 43); and then *i'tidāl* (standing up straight), *ṭuma'nīna* (composure), *sūjud* (prostration), sitting between two *sūjuds*, *taḥīyya* and salutation to our holy Prophet, and the last *salām* in sequence. All these elements of prayer are done by

the spiritual seekers or *ṣūfīs* in special ways, but the author cannot continue this lengthy discussion due to the limited space available and it is not the main theme of this research.⁹⁰

Muqāranat al-Majdhūbiyya is the presentation of intention that is especially done by *ahl al-Jadhab* (people attracted to Him). They always present prayer in their hearts simultaneously without being limited by time.

14) ***Baḥr al-Lāhūt [Ocean of Divine Nature]***

This text consists of six pages which discuss the invisible and the visible world, especially about the light of Muḥammad as the first thing that Allāh created. A part of this text has also been discussed in his other works like *Wājib al-Wujūd* and *Taḥsīl al-ʿInāya wa al-Hidāya*. *Alḥamdulillah* today, we can complete the translation of this treatise in collaborating with A. Ridwan Tahir.

The following is the summary of this text:

All praise be to Allāh, the Exalted. Who has created the light of Muḥammad ﷺ صلى الله عليه وسلم, salutation and greetings to our leader Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ and all his people.

ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿĀrifīn wanted to explain the unseen world and the seen world, so, he wrote a book we call *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* [Ocean of Divine Nature] which means without limit and end. Whosoever understands it will be happy because it contains an explanation of the greatness of Allāh, the Exalted, Who is infinite and endless. All in this universe do not exist and all do not witness the eternal substance of Allāh, the Exalted. There is no partners for the substance of Allāh, the Exalted. This means that the essence of Allāh, the Exalted which is eternal and without beginning, is a vast illuminous essence and sacred, clear light that is eternal, without beginning and majestic.

If He does not long for His servant there is no place, time and direction because the light of Muḥammad will not exist for Him. The *'arsh* (throne), *al-kursī* (seat), seven layers of sky and earth together with all its inhabitants are created from the light of Muḥammad SAW. It is a fifty thousand year journey away. And indeed this emanates from the majesty of Muḥammad SAW, which is located in the Majesty of

⁹⁰For more information see Sultan in *Text dan Terjemahan Kitab Asrār Al-Ṣalā* (Sultan 2014: 1-16).

Allāh, the Exalted.

The first substance [created by God] (Nūr Muḥammad) is a great nature. He is a soul that relies on the substance of Allāh, the Exalted. Everything in the form of the *arsh* (throne), *al-kursī* (seat), *lawḥ* (tablet), and *qalam* [pen], heaven and earth, heaven and hell and its inhabitants, all magical forms, the sun and moon and stars, the sky and its contents like humans, animals, jinn, devils and everything else were created by Allāh [from Nūr Muḥammad]. His words in a *ḥadīth qudsi* state: "I created everything for you (Muḥammad) and I created you for Me." God created all things from the light of sainthood, and that sainthood and prophethood are the nature of Muḥammad. Implicitly it is called sainthood and explicitly it is called prophethood.

The *ṣūfī* scholar argues that the beginning of the unveiling of the light of Muḥammad (SAW) occurred to an audience of several spirits of creatures, angels, and other beings.

God created everything from the source of sainthood of the light or *nūr* of Muḥammad, according to the words of Allāh: *And Allāh will complete His Light (Qur'ān, 61:8)*.

'Abd Allāh al-Ārifīn who belonged to the *ṣūfīs* argues that the beginning of Allāh's unveiling was marked by its descent into the *qalam*, then from *qalam* to the existence of points, and from there to the light of Muḥammad.

The essence [*Dhāt*] of Allāh, the Exalted is like a clear mirror. In it, it is clearly visible all forms of objects. And the objects that appear are the essence that relies on Allāh (Nūr Muḥammad). Know that the essence that relies on Allāh (Nūr Muḥammad) is also like a clear mirror, in which the essence of the whole soul, all beings and everything with very clear and visible. From the mirror of the essence that relies on Allāh (Nūr Muḥammad), it is clear to him the form of *arash* (throne), *kursī* (seat), sky, earth, jinn, satan, animals. And everything created by Allāh the Exalted, all comes from Nūr Muḥammad SAW [peace and blessing be upon him]. The Messenger of Allāh said: "The first thing Allāh created was my light, and my light was the length of a journey of fifty thousand years, then Allāh granted His mercy once more, and my light shook because of the power of Allāh SWT, then Allāh said to my light *Am I your Lord?* (*Qur'ān, 7:172*), then my light replied: "Yes, *You are my Lord.*", Then my light prostrated to the Oneness of Allāh, the Exalted. So, my light is from the light of Allāh Glory be to Him and Exalted Who instructed

me and all my community to prayer when the time of prayer arrives.”

It is stated the words of Ahl Allāh that the longing of Allāh, the Exalted is like a clear mirror. And all things that are in the knowledge of Allāh are then clearly visible in the mirror. The mirror is named after the creature; it is also named after the soul that relies on Allāh. Because it comes from something that does not exist to be exist (tangible). While the mirror is *Qadīm*, and all forms of beings are clearly visible in the mirror, and the shape of the forms are new. There is nothing other than the Allāh's substance which is *Qadīm*, because the substance of Allāh remains eternal along with His attributes. So, what Allāh knows in His knowledge appears in the mirror, and that is the name that is missed, and that is the essence of the *iḍāfī* (which relies on and originates from Allāh or *Nūr* Muḥammad).

The Essence or Substance Allāh is like the mirror, [and that which appears in the mirror] is the soul that relies on the substance of Allāh, and it is the origin of all beings, because that being is a small part of the soul that relies on Allāh, and the soul that relies on Allāh is the spirit of Muḥammad SAW.

The knowledge of Allāh, the Exalted is *qadīm* (Eternal without beginning) and everlasting. The *ma'lūmāt* (all that come out of from Allāh's knowledge) are new, because they were born or exist after Allāh's longed. Then the knowledge of Allāh which was available before Allāh longed, is eternal without beginning and everlasting (*Qadīm* and *Azālī*).

15) **Ṣūra or An Image [of Tawḥīd]**

It is only a brief treatise of around two pages. It discusses Allāh, nature or the universe and mankind, including, the subsistence of humanity and the universe with Allāh. It also looks at *wujūb* [the obligation (the result of something) towards Allāh], *ẓill* [shadow], God as the Unifier of two incompatible things, the reality of the universe, servitude and God. It ends by looking at *al-Ḥaqq wa al-Ālam* [the Reality and the universe].” Fortunately, I had translated this text in December 2017.⁹¹ The following section is a description of this text:

Firstly, Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj, may Allāh forgive him in his tomb, [reported that] the *Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamā'a* said: “Verily, Allāh is independent while the soul subsists with Allāh, the body subsists with the soul, and outward subsists with

⁹¹To view the original translation and the copy of the Arabic text of this treatise see Appendix II.

inward; as such the universe subsists because of Allāh, not because of place and time, in accordance with the words of Allāh, the Exalted:

اللَّهُ خَالِقُ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ

Allāh is the Creator of all things (*Qur'ān*, 39:62).

Secondly, it is stated that some scholars, may Allāh, the Exalted, bless them said:

The existence is the result⁹² of Divine essence and the Divine essence is the result of Divine attribute, the Divine attribute is the result of the *al-asmā'* or Divine Names, and the Divine names are the result of *al-af'āl* or Divine deeds, *al-af'āl* or the Divine deeds are the result of *al-zāhir* or Divine external manifestation and *al-zāhir* is the result of *al-bāṭin* or Divine internal aspect and the latter is the result of something that is only known to Allāh, the One; the Most Powerful in accordance with His words:

عَالِمُ الْغَيْبِ وَالشَّهَادَةِ.

"... *the All-Knower of the unseen and the seen (open)*" (*Qur'ān*, 59:22).

Thirdly, *sirr* or the inner recesses is the shadow of existence, the soul is the shadow of the essence, the heart is a shadow of the attribute, and the body is a shadow of *asmā'* or the Divine names, and movement and inaction are the shadows of *af'āl* or Divine deeds. God said:

أَلَمْ تَرَ [إِلَى رَبِّكَ] كَيْفَ مَدَّ الظِّلَّ

"Have you not seen how the Lord⁹³ spread the shadow" (*Qur'ān*, 25:45).

Fourthly, he describes *ṣūfīs* say: "Do not taste the drink of *ahl al-Tawḥīd*, except after you submerge yourself into *Kufr* (or sea of infidelity) three or seven times." Abū Zaid al-Kharrāz asked: "How do you know God?" He said, "By His ability to unite two incompatible things. Uniting two incompatible things is that you want to say "He is not He, it is not He is He; She is not She, it is not She is She [*Huwa Lā Huwa, La Huwa Huwa, Hiya Lā Hiya, La Hiya Hiya*]."

The last, he tried to explain the Reality of universe, servitude and God as in the following way:

⁹²This word literary means obligation, but we prefer to translate the word وجوب "the result" in this context as the result of in-depth discussions on 5 December 2017 with Dr. K. H. Baharuddin, M.Ag. [The Head of the Office of the Local Area of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of South Sulawesi Province as well as the Arabic Lecturer at Master and Doctoral Program UIN Alauddin Makassar].

⁹³This verse must be read as أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى رَبِّكَ كَيْفَ مَدَّ الظِّلَّ.

The *ahl al-Sunna wa l-Jamā'a* said: "Nature or the universe is *wājib al-wujūd bi ghayrih* or whose existence is mandatory through others, not *wājib al-wujūd bi nafsih* or whose existence is mandatory by itself; the universe is *mu'aththar bi ghayrih* or influenced by others, not *mu'aththar bi nafsih* or influenced by itself." And using this analogy, if the servant turns inward, he becomes God or if God turns outwards He becomes the servant or *'abd*. But this issue should not be confused or misunderstood, because the confusion or misunderstanding becomes the action of those who are ignorant of God. Say, "Believe, that a servant remains a servant, even though he ascends [to the highest station], and God remains God even though He descends."

الْعَبْدُ عَبْدٌ وَإِنْ تَرَفَّى وَالرَّبُّ رَبٌّ وَإِنْ تَنَزَّلَ.

The Reality and the universe exist, but not both of them are independent, because although [their] weights [values] exist independently, the universe is not independent in its existence likes His existence⁹⁴, the Exalted, and His essence, and His attribute, as well as His deeds. What is prohibited is having two perfect self-subsistences with Divine Essences, the Exalted; Allāh is Supreme over all that.

16) ***Bidāyat al-Mubtadī'* [The First Step of the Novice]**

The author does not state the year of its composition but Tudjimah mentioned that it was copied in Bone in the year 1221 A.H/1806 (Tudjimah 1997: 17). It deals with *ma'rifa*, faith (belief) in Islam, *tawajjuh* (focus) and the heart of enlightenment. This treatise was written in Banten between 1670 and 1680. Fortunately, I had also translated this treatise in Leiden (2011) and then to be completed in December 2017. The following is a description of this text:

Starting with praise be to God alone, and salutation be upon the one after whom there is no prophet to be sent.

Then he discusses that knowledge (*ma'rifa*) about the reality of God, the Exalted, implies that the servant knows that Allāh has the attributes of all perfection. And that He, Glory be to Him, is the creator of all the things, their essences and their qualities, and conditions and deeds of good and evil]. And all remain under His Power and Will,

⁹⁴There is a transcription error in this text. It should be read

والعالم ليس مستقل وجوده كوجوده تعالى.....

(Dr. K. H. Baharuddin, M.Ag. [The Head of the Office of the Local Area of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of South Sulawesi Province as well as the Arabic Lecturer at Master and Doctoral Program UIN Alauddin Makassar], 05 of December 2017).

and His Ability and Judgement. It is clear that He does not enjoin evil, even if He is the creator of all things, explicitly and implicitly; and that none could provide absolute harm or benefit except Allāh the Exalted, in all circumstances.

Secondly, it is stated that belief (*'Aqīda*) in the reality of the Exalted Being entails that there is nothing like Him (*Qur'ān*, 42:11), and that He is One, without partner in His essence, His attributes and His deeds. He differs from all that comes to mind and is conceived by its antonym.⁹⁵ All beliefs (*'Aqīda*) are attributed to *Sūrat Al-Ikhlāṣ* (*Qur'ān*, Ch. 112).

Thirdly, it is stated that the slave should turn his face completely with all his heart to God, the Exalted (*tawajjuh*), in all cases and circumstances. Nothing should occupy his mind but Allāh. He sees him in all circumstances, fallibilities or weaknesses. And He [al-Ḥaqq] teaches him the true knowledge or *ma'rifa* completely and partially. And He does not hide anything at all.

The last, he describes about enlightenment of the heart is no more useful than the increase in the recitation of the phrase (لا إله إلا الله) and forgetting the creation when remembering Him. And (the servant) knows that the meaning of this phrase is that none is to be truly worshipped except Allāh. None is the object of attention, none is needed, none is loved and none exists except God, the Living, the One, the Eternal without beginning. None can bring harm and benefit except He, Glory be to Him and Exalted.

So ends the treatise entitled *Bidāyat al-Mubtadi'* written by Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj. May God, the Exalted, forgive all his sins and cover all his flaws, amen. May Allāh bless and grant peace to our Prophet Muḥammad, his family and companions.⁹⁶

17) ***Faṭḥ Kaifiyyat al-Dhikr* [the Explanation concerning the Ways of Doing *Dhikr* or Introduction to the Method of *Dhikr*]**

Its publication year is not mentioned, but the author's name is given as Al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj. It deals with the meaning of the word of *shahāda* لا إله إلا الله and the etiquette and ways of doing *dhikr*.

The following is a summary of ***Faṭḥ Kaifiyyat al-Dhikr*** (Leiden Manuscript Cod. Or. 7025 [5]):

This is a short three-page treatise. After sending greetings and salutations to the Prophet it talks about the important utterances of remembrance; especially the

⁹⁵There is an error transcription in this text. It should be read **في الخيال**.

⁹⁶To view the original translation and the copy of the Arabic text of this treatise see Appendix II.

words "*La ilāha illā Allāh*" (there is no god but Allāh); and how it should be whispered in the heart or loudly, whether alone or in groups. The important thing is for the servant to understand that, "None is worthy of worship and none is targeted or intended except Him." The servant must do *dhikr* of *Allāh-Allāh* in his heart while visualizing Him as the perfect existence Who possesses all perfect attributes. The servant must remember Him by saying *Hu, Hu* in the sense that He is in everything, and He is the First and the Last, He is the Outward and Inward; and that the main purpose of remembrance is to be close to God and be accepted in His sight.

There are twenty etiquettes of *dhikr*: five of them before doing *dhikr*, twelve when doing *dhikr* and three after doing *dhikr*.

The five etiquettes before *dhikr*:

First: Repenting from all sin. Second: Taking ablution if in a minor state of impurity and taking a bath if in a major state of impurity. Third: Keeping silent from everything except the remembrance of God. Fourth: Seeking the help of Allāh through the inspiration of his *shaykh* at the beginning of the remembrance. Fifth: He should know that drawing from his *shaykh* is in actual fact drawing from the Messenger of Allāh صلي الله عليه وسلم since the *shaykh* is the Prophet's follower and vicegerent.

The twelve etiquettes when doing *dhikr*:

First: Sitting in a clean place and sitting as if in prayer. Second: Putting palms on to the two thighs like one who performs prayer. Third: The place of *dhikr*, his body and his clothing must be clean. Fourth: Using good clothing which is acceptable or *ḥalāl*. Fifth: Choosing a quiet and preferably dark place. Sixth: Closing the eyes, because it closes them from outside influences and opens the heart. Seventh: Imagining constant eye-contact with his *Shaykh*, as if he sits down with him. Eighth: Doing *dhikr* with honesty, in order that his inward and outward feelings are in tandem.⁹⁷ Ninth: Showing sincerity to God that will enable him to arrive at a point of relationship with God, the Exalted. Tenth: Performing *dhikr* with perfect strength and imagining *al-Jalāla* (Divine might) to be written with a pen and a bright light. This light has to be clean of dirt and target his soul and heart while reflecting what he has entered into. He tips his head to the right at the beginning of incantation and to the left when its impact hits the liver. Eleventh: Bringing down the meaning of *dhikr* into the liver in varying degrees, as has been mentioned above. Twelfth: He must imagine the release of his soul from his body, in the same

⁹⁷His *dhikr* or what in his heart and what he uttered are the same.

manner as when the tree roots separate from the soil. This will increase his status, dignity and social standing in God's Eyes.

The three etiquettes after completing the *dhikr*:

First: Observing silent, motionless, humility and imagining himself to be present with Him by concentrating on the contents of the *dhikr* in order that he can benefit from the Reality. In this way, he can reach Him in a second which cannot be done through training and efforts in forty years or more.

Secondly: Committing himself to engage in *dhikr* which is the quickest way with a clean heart and pure soul. Then the veil is revealed, the whisper of self desires and satan are stopped.

Refraining from drinking water after doing *dhikr* because the latter evokes a burning feeling, a longing and a flush towards the Object of our remembrance (God), the Exalted. This is the greatest search and the loftiest objective and drinking water after doing *dhikr* extinguishes this generated light.

The *ṣūfīs*-Allāh sanctify their innermost recesses, said: "People who do remembrance or *dhikr* should connect the *dhākir* [the rememberer] to these three etiquettes and the (intended) results of the *dhikr* will surely manifest themselves after that" (Tudjimah 1997: 84-86; see also Lubis 1996: 33).

18) ***Hādhihi Fawā'id 'Aẓīma* [These are the Great Benefits]**

It deals with the great benefits of *dhikr Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh; Allāh, Allāh; and Huwa, Huwa*. It is the duty of one who utters these *dhikrs* to pay attention to the noble purport and meaning of these words. Then he details a great body of works that he acquired from some of his honourable masters. Its style confirms his authorship. Fortunately, I had also completed on the translation of the text in December 2017.⁹⁸

The following is a description of *Hādhihi Fawā'id 'Aẓīma* (Leiden Manuscript Cod. Or. 7025 [6]):

Starting with in the name of Allāh, the Beneficent and the Merciful. These are great benefits of:

⁹⁸To view the original translation and the copy of the Arabic text of this treatise see Appendix II.

First, *Dhikr Lā ilāha illā Allāh*, that it is incumbent on a person who utters [*Lā ilāha illā Allāh*], to pay attention to the purport and meaning of the phrase based on the station of the utterer; namely, that none is worshipped or none is intended or none is needed or none is loved or none exists and none harms and benefits in reality except Allāh.

Secondly, one should know that it is incumbent also for one who utters *Allāh-Allāh* to pay attention to the intent [meaning] of this Majestic [*Jalālah*] word; namely, that He has a perfect and absolute existence and possesses perfect essence and attributes. And He is not bound by the universe with His manifestation in it. How can't it be so when *ليس كمثلته شئى*, *There is nothing comparable unto Him (Qur'ān, 42:11)*. He is a Unifier of two opposite things because He is the First with no beginning point. He is also the Last without any end point. Externally, there is none beyond or above Him. Inwardly, there is none nearer than Him. Nothing is conjoined to Him, and He is now as He was in the past.

Thirdly, it is also incumbent on one who utters *Huwa-Huwa* that he should pay attention to the referent of this word. And He is One Whose identity infiltrates⁹⁹ everything [all existences] with no *Ḥulūl* [incarnation],¹⁰⁰ and *ittiḥād* [union].¹⁰¹ How it cannot be like that since He, Glory be to him, encompasses all things and is together with everything. He has power over all His servants and He wins and never fails. Despite all these things, there is nothing comparable to Him (*Qur'ān, 42:11*). Then good is from him and wickedness does not return to Him [with His Will] and all are from Him and then return to Him.¹⁰²

Then know O my brother that all beliefs are traced back to this verse (*Qur'ān, 42:11*). Take this and leave aside everything else; you will be safe in this world and the hereafter, if Allāh the Exalted wills. Know that and please contemplate since it is a valuable secret. Allāh knows the truth and to Him is the place of return.

⁹⁹There is a transcription error in this text. It should be read *سريت* means infiltrates to adjust it with the context of the text (Dr. K. H. Baharuddin, M.Ag. [The Head of the Office of the Local Area of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of South Sulawesi Province as well as the Arabic Lecturer at Master and Doctoral Program UIN Alauddin Makassar], personal communication, 05 December 2017).

¹⁰⁰*Ḥulūl* [incarnation] was popularised by Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj, as the unity of two existences (God and servant), (Ahmad Daudy 1983: 90).

¹⁰¹*Ittiḥād* [union]¹⁰¹ was popularised by Abū Yazīd al-Bustāmī, as the unity of God and servant in one manifestation [God manifestation] only (Ahmad Daudy, 1983: 90).

¹⁰²All are from Him and then return to Him. Likewise good and bad are from Him, but good will return to Him with His Will [*Riḍā*]; while the wickedness does not return to Him with His Will [*Riḍā*], but with His Wrath, because it is forbidden by God to do.

The last, he tried to illustrate a great work or *shughl al-'aẓīm* as a person's heart is like a chick of a pigeon-bird that is fed from the mother's mouth. It is like the bird's mother that suckles its chick with its mouth. So its mouth is connected to its mother's mouth and the food that it provides with its mouth is likened to the *dhikr* of the Majesty done silently and not loudly. Thus, his task at all times until he acquires his happiness in the two environments with the honour of the master of the two creations, Muḥammad SAW, and that is required in all matters. The result cannot be seen except when it is done continuously with sincere intention for Allāh. He does not do anything except for Him; neither for the world, nor for the Hereafter. And if one adheres to do these *dhikrs* with all their requirements in accordance with this great work, it is hoped that he will enter the place of saints who are the people of Allāh, the closest to Allāh and heirs of the Prophet-may Allāh sanctify [their] innermost recesses all from beginning to end. And Allāh knows the truth and to Him is the place of return.

The book has been completed with the help of Allāh, the King, the Most Beneficent Giver.¹⁰³

3.2.2 A Brief Explanation of MSKBG 101 F Or A13d, MSKBG 108 F Or A 13b, MSKBG 45 F Or A 14b Arabic Microfilms of UB Leiden or Jakarta Manuscripts A101, A 108, A 45 and Or 7025, Or 7446 Manuscripts of UB Leiden

- 1) ***Al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya fī al-Minḥat al-Raḥmāniyya*** [Providential Gift: A Breeze from Ceylon]. The author is Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī and had been translated by Professor Yousuf Dadoo on the 14th of February 2017. This text consists of 29 pages in Arabic. This text was written in Ceylon The contents deal with correcting false belief, metaphorical verses, looking for a spiritual guide, *sharī'a* and *ḥaqīqa*, fear and hope, good morals, entrusting all affairs to Allāh, Divine decree, thinking good thoughts towards all people leads to positive thoughts to Allāh, repentance, remembrance (*dhikr*) and the closest paths to Allāh. The first copy of the text was written on the early afternoon of Thursday, the first of Rabi' Al-Awwal 1116 after the prophetic migration.¹⁰⁴
- 2) ***Zubdat al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Ba'd Mashārib al-Akhyār*** [The Essence of Secrets in Investigating Some Drinking Places of the Chosen Ones]. This was written by al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf who has been given an honorific title besides his Shaykh with Abū al-Maḥāsin, who died in 110/1699. This text (of A 101) had been translated by Lubis and another text (of A45, pp. 137-361) into Indonesian (1996)

¹⁰³To view the original translation and the Arabic copy of this text see Appendix II Part B Number 3.

¹⁰⁴For more information refers to M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 14 February 2017 or the Book of Unisa entitled "*The Worldview of a Muslim Pioneer in South Africa: A Translation of Selected Texts by Shaykh Yusuf al-Maqassary*. Edited by Prof. Yousuf Dadoo and Dr. M. Auwais Rafudeen" (Unisa 2019).

and then into English with commentaries by the author (2014). This text (of A 101) consists of nineteen pages. Its content revolves around the basics of *tawhīd*, *al-ma'īyya* and *al-iḥāṭa* (His accompaniment & His encompassment); metaphorical verses; *dhikr* and its types; Allāh's Form and *al-ẓill* (shadows); to think good of all people and Allāh; stations on the *ṣūfī path*; *karāma*; *mu'jiza*, *irḥās* and *istidrāj* (black magic); *al-'ubudiyya al-muṭlaqa* (the absolute servitude); *al-Insān al-kāmil* (the perfect human); *qibla* (direction): *waḥdat al-wujūd* (the unity of being). This manuscript ended with the blessing of Allāh, the King Who All-Giver gifts, dated Saturday 26th Safar in 1087 A.H., and Allāh is the All-Knower. Another text (of Or 7025) that had been translated by Dangor (1994) consist of forty seven folios or pages and it was called "The Essence of Secrets in Explaining Some Spiritual Pleasures from which the Choice Ones Drank."¹⁰⁵

- 3) **Consolation for the Eyes** (قرة العين) is one of Shaykh Yūsuf's works, and his name has been mentioned above that in another text found in the Leiden Manuscript of Cod. Or. 7025 as Abī al-Maḥāsīn al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj al-Shafī'ī al-Ash'arī al-Khalwatī. It had been translated by Prof. Yousuf Dadoo on February 16th 2017. This work consists of thirteen pages. Its contents are: remembrance and contemplation, combination of *sharī'a* and *ḥaqīqa* for becoming a perfect man, fear and hope, *sharī'a* and *ṭarīqa*, the relationship between *sharī'a*-state and ruler, following our Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ and his straight path, the creedal formula and servitude to Allāh, the One and Universal God. This copying work was completed on 2 Rabi' al-Awwal, Wednesday, 1186 A.H. in Bone.¹⁰⁶

- 4) **Shurūṭ Al-'Ārif Al-Muḥaqqaq** [Conditions for the Verified Gnostic]
This is one of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maḥassari's works and had been translated by Prof. Dangor on the 10th of May 2017. This text consists of 5 pages and discusses that the meaning of the heart of the believer is "the throne of Allāh" and the perfect man being, as well as to interrogate what is meant by "he who knows himself knows his Lord."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵For more information refers to Lubis (1996), Muzdalifah Sahib (2014), Dangor (1994) as well as M. A. Rafudeen & Dangor personal communication, 07 September 2017.

¹⁰⁶For more information refers to M.A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 16 February 2017 or the Book of Unisa entitled "The Worldview of a Muslim Pioneer in South Africa: A Translation of Selected Texts by Shaykh Yusuf al-Maḥassary. Edited by Prof. Yousuf Dadoo and Dr. M. Auwais Rafudeen" (Unisa 2019).

¹⁰⁷For more information refers to M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 10 May, 2017 or the Book of Unisa entitled "The Worldview of a Muslim Pioneer in South Africa: A Translation of Selected Texts by Shaykh Yusuf al-Maḥassary. Edited by Prof. Yousuf Dadoo and Dr. M. Auwais Rafudeen" (Unisa 2019).

5) ***Tuḥfat al-Amr fī Faḍīlat al-Dhikr*** [the Gift of the Divine Command regarding the Virtue of Dhikr]. It is one of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī's works and had been translated by Suleiman Essop Dangor on the 23rd of May 2017. This work emanated from a question by one of the people of distinction [*a`yān*], adherents and eminent members [*akābir*] of the order from among the beloved [may Allāh the Exalted make him reach his goal and make him one of the best of His servants]. This text seems to have been re-written in 1186 A.H. by the third generation of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī in Bone. It is only a short text of three folios (pages) and discusses *dhikr* and its advantages and the meaning of some invocations. It seems that this discussion is the synopsis of remembrance in *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya* and other his works, although his works complement each other.¹⁰⁸

- ***Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*** (*the Quests of the Spiritual Seekers*)

This text will be discussed in the next chapter in more details, therefore it is not necessary to discuss on it here.

6) ***Tuḥfat al-abrār li ahl al-asrār*** or the gift of goodness to the people of innermost secrets. This is a short text of only three pages and had been translated by Ebrahiem Moos on the 13th of April 2017. Its contents seem to be a synopsis of some of his other works such as: *ʿaqīdat al-Islam*, *sharīʿa* and *ḥaqīqa* as well as remembrance, Emulating the Messenger of Allāh ﷺ inwardly and outwardly or following Muḥammadan path, having good character with all creation, having good opinion about all people and about Allāh, Fear Allāh, the Most High, be satisfied with the decree and destiny of Allāh, but not the act that has been decreed, The *qibla* or direction and some other advices that should be known to the seeker and the last is conclusion.¹⁰⁹

This writing was completed through the help of Allāh, the King, the Bestower in 1186 A.H.

7) ***Kayfiyyat al-Dhikr*** [the Method of Remembering Allāh] is one of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī's works that has been copied in Bone in 1186 A.H./1772.. It had been translated by Ebrahiem Moos on the 13th of April 2017 and it is only a short text of

¹⁰⁸For more information refers to M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 23 May 2017 or the Book of Unisa entitled "*The Worldview of a Muslim Pioneer in South Africa: A Translation of Selected Texts by Shaykh Yusuf al-Maqassary*. Edited by Prof. Yousuf Dadoo and Dr. M. Auwais Rafudeen" (Unisa 2019).

¹⁰⁹For more information refers to M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 13 April 2017 or or the Book of Unisa entitled "*The Worldview of a Muslim Pioneer in South Africa: A Translation of Selected Texts by Shaykh Yusuf al-Maqassary*. Edited by Prof. Yousuf Dadoo and Dr. M. Auwais Rafudeen" (Unisa 2019).

two folios and discusses the method of remembrance and everything being the manifestation of God.¹¹⁰

8) **Wasīyyat al-Munjīyya** [A Saving Bequest]

This is one of Shaykh Yūsuf al Maqassarī’s work. It had been translated by Ebrahiem Moos on the 13th of April 2017. This text consists of five pages. It is said that this is a counsel entitled ‘*Al-waṣīyyat al-munjīyya ‘an al-muḍarrāt al-ḥijābiyya li llāh Ta‘ālā wa li Rasūlih* ﷺ’ (The counsel that saves from the harms which veils from Allāh, the Exalted and His Messenger ﷺ). This is what is necessary for our companions and brothers for Allāh’s sake, those who have taken the path from us, may Allāh guide them towards their goals and make them from amongst His best servants and those whom He has granted happiness through His doing. It contains some advices and guidance for his followers such as: belief (*aqīda*), remembrance, salutation on our Prophet and praise to our Lord as well as reciting some Chapters of the *Qur’ān*, reciting the words of repentance and other du‘a consistently, guide for some *sunna* prayers, Having Good Thoughts about Allāh and all people and some other beneficial advices, combining the sacred law (*sharī‘a*) and the reality (*ḥaqīqa*).¹¹¹

9) **Tartīb al-Dhikr** (the Sequence of *Dhikr* [Remembering Allāh])

This is one of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī’s works. It had been translated by Professor Yousuf Dadoo and Dr Auwais Rafudeen on the 3rd of March 2017. This text consists of 9 pages and it discusses the meaning of being negligent of remembrance; the median in uttering remembrance, repentance and salutation to our Prophet ﷺ; good practices that should be done by the spiritual seeker in Allāh’s path after performing some prayers.¹¹²

10) **Ikhtisās al-Dhikr** [the Specification of *dhikr*] is one of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī’s work. It had been translated by Professor Yousuf Dadoo and Dr. Auwais Rafudeen on the 8th of March 2017. This is a short text and it consists of three pages only. It does not mention the authors’ name directly, but after viewing the contents and the language used in this text, all indications are that this text is one of Shaykh Yūsuf

¹¹⁰For more information refers to M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 13 April 2017 or or the Book of Unisa entitled “*The Worldview of a Muslim Pioneer in South Africa: A Translation of Selected Texts by Shaykh Yusuf al-Maqassary*. Edited by Prof. Yousuf Dadoo and Dr. M. Auwais Rafudeen” (Unisa 2019).

¹¹¹For more information refers to M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 13 April 2017 or or the Book of Unisa entitled “*The Worldview of a Muslim Pioneer in South Africa: A Translation of Selected Texts by Shaykh Yusuf al-Maqassary*. Edited by Prof. Yousuf Dadoo and Dr. M. Auwais Rafudeen” (Unisa 2019).

¹¹²For more information refers to M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 3 March 2017 or the Book of Unisa entitled “*The Worldview of a Muslim Pioneer in South Africa: A Translation of Selected Texts by Shaykh Yusuf al-Maqassary*. Edited by Prof. Yousuf Dadoo and Dr. M. Auwais Rafudeen” (Unisa 2019).

works. This text discusses the types of remembrance (*dhikr*), their names and organs used for engaging *dhikr* and the meaning of worshipping Allāh until one attains certainty (death).¹¹³

- 11) ***Al-Barkat al-Saylāniyya*** [the Blessing from Ceylon]. This treatise does not have the writer's name, but it is mentioned that it is taken from *al-Futuhāt al-Rabbāniyya* (الفتوحات الربانية). This indicates that the essay was written in Ceylon, when Shaykh Yūsuf was in exile between 1684 and 1693. No year of its recording is given but according to Tudjimah (1997: 17) it was copied in Bone, South Sulawesi, in 1221 A.H./1806. This text consists of twelve pages and discusses *dhikr*, its types and their meaning; *dhākir*, method of remembrance, repentance and *murāqaba* (self observation).¹¹⁴

- 12) ***Sirr al-Asrār*** [Secret of Secrets]

The year of its writing is not mentioned although the name of its writer appears on the last page (MSKBG 101 F Or A 13d [8]) as شيخ يوسف المصنّف ري. It had been translated by Sultan (1989), Tudjimah (1997) and Dangor (1995). This text consists of thirty-six pages and contains some points such as: *al-Ma'īyya* and *al-Iḥāṭa* (the Accompaniment and God's Encompassment of His slaves), constant remembrance (*dhikr*) of God, how each creature praises and remembers Allāh, viewing everything in the universe as good and beautiful, *ahl al-lbāḥa* and *ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamā'a*, Divine Law and Divine Reality (*Sharī'a* and *Ḥaqīqa*), Divine Transcendence and absolute Immanence, fear and hope, God's Attributes based on His Oneness, the great aim of Allāh's slave, attaining the Love of God by following His Prophet SAW, and repentance.¹¹⁵

- 13) ***Talkhīṣ al-Ma'ārif*** [The Synopsis of Divine Knowledge]. This text is from MSKBG 108, F Or A13b[26]. Although this treatise, consisting of only four pages, is not listed amongst the known works of Shaykh Yūsuf, two reasons could be advanced for his authorship: (a) The copier/compiler mentioned that he was trained by Shaykh Muḥammad Bāqī Al-Naqshabandī al-Yamanī.' Azra (2007) provided that he was one of Shaykh Yūsuf's esteemed teachers and he was the one who had initiated Shaykh Yūsuf into the *Naqshabandiyya ṭarīqa*. (b) A section of the treatise

¹¹³For more information refers to M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 8 March 2017 or or the Book of Unisa entitled "*The Worldview of a Muslim Pioneer in South Africa: A Translation of Selected Texts by Shaykh Yusuf al-Maḥṣariyya*. Edited by Prof. Yousuf Dadoo and Dr. M. Auwais Rafudeen" (Unisa 2019); see also the copy of the text as well as its original translation in Appendix II Part B Number 4.

¹¹⁴For more information refers to Seraj Hendricks (2005:464-473); see also Tudjimah (1997: 20-26).

¹¹⁵For more information see Dangor (1995); see also Sultan (1989) and Tudjimah (1997).

dealing with the four pathways is quoted verbatim from *Zubdat al-Asrār*, which is an established treatise attributed to Shaykh Yūsuf; the latter mentioned work was translated into English by Suleman Essop Dangor in 1990 and subsequently critically assessed in Lubis' work (1996). In addition, the treatise also alluded to another work of Shaykh Yūsuf, entitled *Daf'al-Balā*.¹⁶ Because of these facts, it does not need to be summarised. More information about the text will be found in Mustapha Keraan & Muhammed Haron (2008: 106-109).

- 14) ***Daf'al-Balā*** [Repelling Calamity]. This text is from MSKBG 108, F Or A13b[27]. The year of publication is not mentioned. In the early part of the essay, the author says that he once wrote about the same thing at length in another treatise entitled *Sirr al-Asrār*, and that it is a summary of his article entitled *Zubdat al-Asrār*. So, although there is no author's name in this text, one can be sure that the *Daf' al-Balā* was authored by Shaykh Yūsuf al-Taj. *Daf' al-Bala* does no need to be summarised (Tudjimah 1997: 86-89; Lubis 1996: 33; see also Musthapa Keraan 2008).
- 15) ***Al-Dhikr wa al-Du'ā*** [Remembrance and *Du'ā*]. It is one of Shaykh Yūsuf's works. It is only a short treatise of six pages compared with other treatises in the Arabic Manuscript of UB Leiden Cod. Or. 7025. This text is untitled, but due to its content, which is exclusively about Remembrance and *Du'ā*, the father of the author [Sahib Sultan] gave it its present title. This is probably the reason why some Indonesian scholars ignored this text and never mentioned it as one of Shaykh Yūsuf's works. It appears at the end of this manuscript.
- 16) ***Tuḥfat al-Ṭālib al-Mubtadī wa Minḥat al-Sālik al-Muhtadī*** [The Gift of the Novice Student and the Gift of the Novice Seeker]
It is from Arabic Microfilm of UB Leiden MSKBG 45 F Or A14b[1].

Sultan (2015: 88-89) stated that this work consists of an introduction and three chapters. The Introduction covers Divine Oneness of Essence, Attributes and Names (لا تعين)¹⁶; the first chapter tackles *al-Ghayb wa al-Shahāda* (الغيب والشهادة) (the invisible

¹⁶This refers to the Divine Oneness of God. Although we cannot present the full argument regarding these terms here because of its lengthy and complex nature, we urge the reader to Shaykh Yūsuf treatise, *Tuḥfat al-Ṭālib al-Mubtadī wa Minḥat al-Sālik al-Muhtadī*, p.7-37 for more information. In brief, we synthesise our argument, based on this treatise, in the following manner:

Firstly, In principle, *La Ta'ayyun* is the Oneness of the Absolute Essence when none His creations exist, His essence is likened to the ocean without waves with His identity that cannot be identified (*gāib I-Huwiyya*). Then *Ta'ayyun (Waḥda)* is the Oneness of the Essence when He has created His creations. His essence is likened to the ocean with its waves. The process of *Ta'ayyun* is divided into two: *Ta'ayyun Awwal* or *Aḥadiyya* [The Oneness of the Essence when everything in the knowledge of God which is *azalī* (everlasting) in which there is no distinction between one and the other (global)]. This emerged from *gāib I-Huwiyya* (the non-identification of

and the visible); the second chapter is about *al-ḥlāq wa al-Taḡayyud* (الإطلاق والتقييد) (The unlimited and limited); the third chapter is about *al-'Ishq wa al-Ma'shūq* (love and the beloved), and the closing was about the necessity of appearance (واجب الظهور) from the possibility appearance (The text of Jakarta A.45, Van den Berg 1987: 93; see also Leiden Microfilm F Or A 14b (1) Voorhoeve 1957: 53).

17) a. ***Kitāb al-Anbāh fī l'rāb lā ilāha illā Allāh*** [The Books of Instruction with Respect to the Declaration *Lā ilāha illā Allāh*] by Sayyidinā al-Sharīf al-'Ālim al-Muḥaqqiq al-'Ārif bi Allāh Ta'ālā al-Shaykh Yūsuf bin 'Abd Allāh al-Jāwī al-Makāssarī *Qaddasa Allāh sirrahu*. This text is from Arabic Manuscripts of UB Leiden [Cod. Or. 7446]

b. **Another text of this work.** It does not mention his name directly but mentions his master's name al-Shaykh Ibrahīm ibn Ḥasan al-Kūrānī al-Madanī. This is a brief treatise of only three pages.

The following is a brief exposition of both:

The words لا اله الا الله means there is no god - such as idols, sun, moon, stars, fire and other objects - but Allāh. According to the infidels, those things have the nature of divinity while essentially they are objects that cannot benefit or harm. The only one who can give both is Allāh (P. Voorhoeve 1957: 129; Or 7446 (6): 45-47 or 3pp., Arabic of UB Leiden; Tudjimah 1997: 31 and see also Lubis 1996: 32).

3.2.3 A Brief Explanation of Some Other Works of Shaykh Yūsuf

18) ***Al-Tuḥfat al-Saylāniyya*** [A Gift from Ceylon]. From the title point of view, this treatise was written in Ceylon between 1684 and 1693. Its content is about mysticism, seeking the shaykh and the requirement to become a student (Al-Timī 1735: 7-9, No.1; see also Sultan 2015: 89).

19) ***Ḥabl al-Warīd Li Sa'ādat al-Murīd*** [Jugular Vein for the Happiness of the Disciples]. It was written in Ceylon in 1099 H/1687M, based on his students and

His identity) and it is named *al-Jam'iyya* (general) which combines this universe globally. It is also named as *Wujūd* (Existence) and because of this characteristic, it can combine everything in the absolute condition (free without a boundary) or *muḡayyad* (within a boundary) or the separator between the two (*mutlaq* and *muḡayyad*). Then *Ta'ayyun Thānī* or *Waḥidiyya* [The Oneness of Essence when everything is clear in detail in the knowledge of God which is everlasting or *a'yān al-thābita* as the permanent or established archetypes or eternal essences. This level of *Waḥda* is also called *ḥaqīqat al-Muḡammadiyya*. This condition can combine *mutlaq* (the absolute) and *muḡayyad* (the boundary/bound), and the intermediary of both, either between *Wujūd* (Existence), or in the knowledge, or in view or as a llight (A. Ridwan Tahir, personal communication, 6 October 2019).

companions' request. It collects aphorisms of erudite Shaykhs (Al-Tīmī 1735: 29-68, No.2; see also Sultan 2015: 89).

- 20) ***Al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya*** [The Divine Revelation] also called *Al-Tuḥfat al-Rabbāniyya* [The Divine Gift]. Its place and year of writing are not mentioned. In this treatise, he mentions the name of his teacher, viz. al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Mazjājī al-Yamanī. Its content is about *kashf* (Divine disclosure) (Al-Tīmī 1735: 69-86, No.3; see also Martin van Bruinessen 1992: 39 as well as Sultan 2015: 89).
- 21) ***Tuḥfat al-Labīb bi Liqā'i al-Ḥabīb*** [The Valuable Gift concerning the Meeting with the Beloved or The Gift of the Essence in Meeting with the Beloved]. The year of its writing is not mentioned. It was produced for students who follow Allāh's path. Its content is the spiritual journey and its ultimate aim (Al-Tīmī 1735: 106-115, No.5; see also Sultan 2015: 90).
- 22) ***Risāla ilā Sulṭān Wazīr Karāeng Karunrung 'Abd al-Ḥamīd*** [Shaykh Yūsuf's letter to *Mangkubumi* the High Administrator, Karaeng Karunrung 'Abd al-Ḥamīd]. It was copied on 15 Dhu l-Hijjah, 1145 A.H./1732. Its content is: Shaykh Yūsuf asked for a gift from Mangkubumi/the High Administrator Karaeng Karunrung, which was a gold ring with a green or red emerald jewel. It was written in the beginning of 'Rajab' month 1084 H/ 1673 M. It can be concluded that this letter was written in Banten (Al-Tīmī 1735: 116-121; see also Sultan 2015: 90).
- 23) ***Safīnat al-Najāh*** [The Ark of Safety or the Vessel of Salvation]
It was written in Ceylon since he says: "... fate has brought me to Ceylon, a place of Adam's descent from heaven viz. Sarandib Island. Its content is about the many *ṣūfī* orders that had been learned by Shaykh Yūsuf including 1) *Dasūqiyya*, 2) *Shādhiliyya*, 3) *Ḥashtiyya*, 4) *Rifā'iyya*, 5) *Aydrūsiyya*, 6) *Aḥmadiyya*, 7) *Suhrawardiyya*, 8) *Mawlawiyya*, 9) *Kubrawiyya*, 10) *Madariyya*, 11) *Makhdumiyya*, 12) *Madyaniyya*, and 13) *Kawābiyya*; and five of them deal with their family trees, viz. *Qādiriyya*, *Naqshabandiyya*, *Bā' Alawiyya*, *Shaththariyya*, and *Khalwatiyya* (Al-Tīmī 1735: 122-137).
- 24) ***Al-Minḥat al-Saylāniyya fī al-Minḥat al-Raḥmāniyya*** [The Gifts of Ceylon in relation to the Gifts of the Merciful]

Sultan (2015: 91) stated that this work was written for his students and companions who were going to follow Allāh's path and especially for Abū al-Shiddiq Muḥammad Shadiq

in Ceylon. It discusses the ways to God that must be passed by *sāliks* (the spiritual seekers) to reach Allāh for getting His blessing. The stylistic form of the title indicates that this treatise was written in Ceylon by Shaykh Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī between 1684-1693 and it has been re-typed by al-Tīmī (1735: 138-147).

25) ***Al-Risālat al-Naqshabandiyya*** [The *Naqshabandiyya* Treatise]

It was written based on dictation by his teacher Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Malkib al-'Arifīn ibn Zakariyya Ibn Sulṭān 'Uthman al-Naqshabandī through his contemplation as has been previously mentioned in Chapter Two. Its place and year of writing are not mentioned. Its content is as follows:

- a. Praise be to Allāh, salutations to the Prophet and each spiritual lineage.
- b. Mystical path based on *Tarīqat al-Sādat al-Naqshabandiyya*.
- c. The famous holy words of *Ḥaḍrat al-Khawāja 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Fajuwānī*.
- d. If anxiety interferes with *dhikr*.
- e. Mystical path in the student's self.
- f. *Dhikr* etiquette (H. Abdullah 1930: 76-77, No.1; see also Bruinessen 1992: 39)

26) ***Fath al-Rahmān*** [The Revelation of the Merciful]

Its place and year of writing are not mentioned. It deals with *ṣūfī* problems in depth (H. Abdullah 1930: 77; see also Microfilm of UB Leiden MSKBG 108 F Or A13b[1]).

27) ***Tuḥfat al-Mursala*** [The Manifest Gift]

Its place and year of writing are not mentioned, but in another text of UB Leiden Manuscript the author's name is given as *الشيخ يوسف التاج ابوالحرکان المنجلاوي* Sultan (2015: 92) stated that it discusses the perfect attributes of Allāh that His servants have to know (Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts, by Christian Snouck Hurgronje, p. 1. Cor. Or. 7326 and now it is still preserved at Leiden University library).

28) ***Al-Ḥaqīqat al-Bayāniyya*** [The Explanation of Reality]

Its place and year of writing are not mentioned. This treatise is a copy since there is a work entitled *Pammoli'na* (Legacy of) Tuanta Salāmaka Shaykh Yūsuf. The copyist did not mention his name. Its content is about *sharī'a* (divine law), *ṭarīqa* (*ṣūfī* order), *ḥaqīqa* (Divine Reality) and *ma'rifa* (mystic intuitive knowledge of God). This text is kept by 'Abd al-Kāhar Daeng Tompo, Galesong (Sultan 2015: 92).

29) ***Ma'ādin al-Asrār*** [The Sources of Secrets]

Its place and year of writing are not mentioned, but the writer's name is given as al-Shaykh Yūsuf al-Khalwatī. It discusses the unveiling of God's secrets according to *ṣūfī* experts. This text is kept by KH. Abd. Qadir Daeng Sutte, Pattalassang (Sultan 2015: 92).

30) ***Al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*** [The Straight Path]

Its place and year of writing are not mentioned, but there is the name of writer al-Shaykh al-Hajj Yūsuf Taj-al-Khalwatī. Its content is reflected in its title: viz. how to obtain Divine pleasure. This text is kept by H. A. Muḥammad Alwi Arief Daeng Massikki, Takalar (Sultan 2015: 93).

3.3 His Literary Contribution in General

Some important points include *imān*, Islam and *iḥsān* as the teaching of our Prophet which being continued by Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī that have been discussed in most of the Leiden collection above will be discussed here to gain an understanding of their essence and to become his literary contribution in general.

1) ***Aqīda and tawḥīd***

First, he and all Muslim believers must declare, acknowledge, prove, believe and testify that:

"There is no god but Allāh and Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh, and I believe in Allāh, His Angels, His Books, His Messengers and the Day of Resurrection, and that the decree of good and bad are from Allāh the Exalted. "Allāh is my Lord, Muḥammad is my Prophet, and the *Qur'ān* is my *imām*," (Narrated by Muslim).¹¹⁷

As for the decree and destiny of Allāh, Shaykh Yūsuf said that being satisfied with the decree of Allāh is compulsory, but being satisfied with sin is disbelief.¹¹⁸ (Ebrahim Moos 2017).

Then he always urges his followers to hold on firm to the *Qur'ān Sūrat al-Shūra*: "*Nothing comparable unto Him*" (*Qur'ān*, 42:11) and Chapter *al-Ikhlāṣ* (*Qur'ān*, 112:1-4) with their meaning. All these directed them to the Oneness of God and no other and otherness. This is the absolute core of beliefs relating to Him. All scrupulous investigators who recognise Allāh and are counted among His saints have agreed that all beliefs, Qurānic and otherwise, stem from it and the chapter discussing His absolute monotheism (i.e.

¹¹⁷See al-Maqassarī in *Zubdat al-Azrār*; see also Lubis (1996).

¹¹⁸See al-Maqassarī *Tuḥfat al-abrār li ahl al-asrār*, see also Ebrahiem Moose (2017).

Qur'ān, Ch.112).¹¹⁹ He should thereafter also believe that Allāh, the Most High, is described with all attributes of perfection, what we know of and what we are unaware of. He is One who Exists, by Himself, everything dependent on His existence, and He is the true Deity, in contrast to [all] false deities. He must also then believe in everything that Allāh revealed to His prophet Muḥammad ﷺ and what it contains.¹²⁰

Regarding to the faith that there is no god that must be worshipped except Him. One also must belief that He is Eternal without beginning, Who subsists Alone, Who gives forms to others. He is without beginning and end and He creates all things and arranges all affairs. "But you cannot will, unless Allāh wills" (*Qur'ān*, 76:30). "What is willed by Allāh must occur, and what is not willed by Him, does not occur" (*Qur'ān*, 2:20). Know that "Certainly, Allāh has power over all things" (*Qur'ān*, 3:165).¹²¹

In accordance with the level of their trust in God, Shaykh Yūsuf classifies the faithful into four categories. The first category is the people who merely verbalise the proclamation of faith (*shahāda*) without having true faith. These people are called hypocrites (*al-munāfiq*). The second category is those who not only utter the *shahāda*, but also embed it deeply into their souls, and this group is called the common faithful (*al-mu'min al-awwām*). The third category is the class of believers who truly realise 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 *shahāda*, especially by practising ṭaṣawwuf in order to get closer to God. They are called the select of the elite or very special groups (*Khāss al-Khawās*).¹²²

As for the three kinds of *tawḥīd*, as have been mentioned previously, they are:

- (a) *Tawḥīd al-af'āl* (Divine Unity relating to actions): such as "There is no doer except Allāh."
- (b) *Tawḥīd al-ṣifāt* (Divine Unity relating to attributes): such as "There is no Powerful or no Living one except Allāh."
- (c) *Tawḥīd al-dhāt*: (Divine Unity relating to Being): such as "There is no existent (*mawjūd*) except Allāh." The latter refers to *Tawḥīd Waḥdat al Wujūd*.¹²³

¹¹⁹See al-Maqassārī in *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya* and *Zubdat al-Azrār*; see also Dadoo (2017) and Lubis (1996).

¹²⁰See al-Maqassārī in *Tuḥfat al-abrār li ahl al-asrār*, see also Ebrahiem Moose (2017).

¹²¹See al-Maqassārī in *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya* and *Zubdat al-Azrār*; see also Lubis (1996).

¹²²See al-Maqassārī in *al-Barkat al-Saylāniyya* and in *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya*, see also Azra (1992).

¹²³For more information refers to *Ma'nā al-Wujūd* [the Meaning of Existence] that had been translated by Professor Yousuf Dadoo and Dr Auwais Rafudeen on the 23rd of March 2017.

In his *Taḥsīl al-Ināya wa al-Ḥidāya* it is stated that the servant must believe in his heart that the Messenger of Allāh. is absolutely the noblest creature with the most perfect character, the most perfect in deed in *sharī'a*, the highest in his *ḥaqq* and the highest in his degree, and so forth. The Prophet said: "I am from Allāh and nature is from me." He also said: "I am from the light of Allāh (*nūr Allāh*) and the universe is from my light." And also: "The first thing created by Allāh was my soul (*rūḥ*)." There is no doubt that the person who says and believes that the Messenger of Allāh is God's soul is an infidel (*kāfir*). "*Allāh the Exalted is far above the things they associate with Him*" (*Qur'ān*, 52:43). Allāh said: "I created all things because of you and I created you because of Me" (Tudjimah 1997: 95).¹²⁴

Lastly, *imān* or faith comes down from Allāh to the heart of one, then must be uttered by his tongue and practise it through his deed or action by following our Prophet Muḥammad SAW.

2) Metaphorical Verses

We should know that we must not deny metaphorical verses in the Qurān based on the characteristics of true believers outlined by Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ. They believe in the metaphorical verses and verbally acknowledge the verification of their interpretation by him in line with the guidance given by Allāh, the all-knowing, the all-cognisant, the all-wise. This case is in accordance with the verse: "... *but none knows its hidden meanings save Allāh and those who are firmly grounded in knowledge say: "We believe in it; the whole of it (clear and unclear verses) are from our Lord."* And none receive admonition except men of understanding" (*Qur'ān*, 3:7).¹²⁵ Searching or questioning the real meaning of such verses is a sign that one does not fully trust in God, and only by accepting the verses as they were revealed, a wanderer or traveler in the path of God will be able to receive God's Grace or Blessing (Azra 1992: 451).

3) *Al-Ma'iyya and al-Iḥāṭa*

There are several times Shaykh Yūsuf discusses about the accompaniment and encompassing of God to His servat in different ways, but similar or the same purpose to guide us in correcting beliefs that a servant is a servant although he ascends and is imbued by the attributes of God and Lord is Lord although He descends to His servants and is characterised by servant characters such as in *Tāj al-Asrār*, *Sirr al-Asrār*, *Zubdat al-Asrār*, *Ṣūra* and *Wājib al-Wujūd*.

¹²⁴For more information about the light of Muḥammad and all His creations see also al-Maqassarī in *Baḥr al-Lahūt* or the Ocean of Devine Nature.

¹²⁵See al-Maqassarī in *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya* and *Zubdat al-Azrār*; see also Dadoo (2017) and Lubis (1996).

In *Tāj al-Asrār*, for example as has been explained above that it is said that the accompaniment of God with His servants is like the accompaniment of the soul with the body, or the accompaniment of the doer with his deeds. Likewise, His [may He be Praised and Exalted] encompassment of the universe is like the encompassment of the attribute by its description or like the encompassment of the obligation by its necessities. It is said in relation to this encompassment that it is the encompassment of accompaniment, which the perfect gnostic also knows and understands. Because of the intensity of His [may He be Praised and Exalted] complete accompaniment with us, His encompassment of the universe could almost not be distinguished from us and from the universe, except through understanding, like the fire when it overpowers the wood and cannot be distinguished from it except through understanding. The wood is self-existent but the fire exists with the wood whereas, in reality, the wood is wood and the fire is fire. Likewise, it is said that the devotee is the devotee although he ascends and the Lord is the Lord although He descends. This means that the devotee remains the devotee although he becomes annihilated in Allāh [*fānā' fī Allāh*] and subsistent [*bāqā'*] with Him the Exalted and he is described with some of His attributes [may He be Exalted]. The Lord is the Lord although He is manifested in the previously mentioned devotee as is His Self-unveiling [*tajallī*] and individualisation [*ta'ayyun*] in him and He is described with some of the attributes of the devotee. So, understand [this] and do not err else it will lead [lit. incline] you to the Fire. May Allāh protect you from that (Lubis 1996 and Dangor 2017).

While in *Sirr al-Asrār* (Dangor 1995), it is stated that if you consider how Allāh, may He be Glorified and Exalted, can be with us while He encompasses us at the same time and what the manner of that accompaniment (*mā'iyya*) and that encompassing are, it becomes difficult to comprehend that in our minds. Therefore, how will we accomplish the mystic intuitive knowledge (*ma'rifa*) with regard to His Reality when “*There is nothing comparable to Him*” (*Qur'ān*, 42:11). He is the One to Whom everything belongs, because Allāh has no limitation, no direction, no restriction, no equivalent, and no resemblance although He is manifested in the totality (of existence) and with the totality. It has been affirmed through their statement that He is unlike anything that the mind imagines or the understanding encompasses or that which comes to mind. We have limitations, directions, restrictions, equivalents, and resemblances. It means that in a sense we have a shortage, although our knowledge reaches the skies, we will not be able to know the nature of God's accompaniment with His slave and His Encompassing Nature towards everything except the people who have been given knowledge by God Himself.

Take the following simple example: the “accompaniment” of Allāh with us is like the accompaniment of a thing with its attributes or a noun with its adjective only, not like the

accompaniment of one thing with another as understood by most people. Likewise, His encompassing is like the encompassing of something by correlates/concomitants only, not like the encompassing of one thing by another as is also understood by most people. So know that, because one of the expressions other than the one we gave and cited as an example is very similar and in this, there is (the danger of taking) false steps. And how often and how many have fallen into believing in reincarnation¹²⁶ and heresy, as a result of the expressions and ecstatic (*shaṭaḥāt*) of the saints (*awliyā*), in as much as some of them [the misguided] take the literal meanings of the expressions and the literal meanings of their ecstatic utterances as the creed of faith. So, understand and contemplate (that) and only those who are attentive, safeguarded by the Real One, may He be Glorified and Exalted, are saved from that. O Allāh, resurrect us with them, admit us to their company, and make us among their followers and those who love them. The Prophet ﷺ said: "Man is found in the company of whom he loves"¹²⁷ (Dangor 1995).

In *Zubdat al-Asrār* (Lubis 1996), it is described that His accompaniment and encompassing with His servants by His knowledge in accordance with the words of Allāh, the Exalted: "... *And He is with you (by His Knowledge) wheresoever you may be*" (*Qur'ān*, 57:4), and His words: "... *There is no Najwa (secret counsel) of three men, but He is their fourth (with His knowledge), nor of five but He is their sixth (with His Knowledge), nor of less than that or more, but He is with them (with His Knowledge) wheresoever they may be*" (*Qur'ān*, 58:7). "... *And Allāh is ever encompassing all things,*" (*Qur'ān*, 4:126) and His words: "... *and that Allāh surrounds (comprehends) all things in (His) Knowledge*" (*Qur'ān*, 65:12), and other Qurānic verses.

Then it is said that it is also incumbent upon one to always do attentive observation, that is, he should know and recognize that Allāh the Exalted is present with him and observes him, in accordance with the words of Prophet Muḥammad SAW: "Worship Allāh as if as you can see Him, for though you cannot see Him, He certainly sees you" (Cited in Muslim, Book 65. Ḥadīth 4777). This attentive observation is called "*Murāqabat al-Iḥsāniyya*" in accordance with the text of the tradition.

A group of *al-Dhawq* people or the People of Intuitive Perceptions among the *ṣūfīs*, may Allāh purify their hearts, said that the stage of "Worshiping Allāh as if you see Him" is the stage of the common people among the spiritual travelers on the *ṣūfī* path, and the stage of "although you cannot see Him, He certainly sees you" is the stage of the elect amongst them. So, understand and contemplate, please, if Allāh the Exalted wills you will reach the truth.

¹²⁶i.e. indwelling or infusion of the divine essence into a creature

¹²⁷*Kashf Al-khafā*, vol.2, p 202; Al-Bukhārī, *Adab*, vol.4, p.153

Some knowledge [*taṣawwuf*] experts had labeled our participation or accompaniment with God as the accompaniment of encompassment [*ma'īyyat al-iḥāṭa*], in the sense that we exist in His Knowledge scope. Likewise, God's encompassment is His encompassing of accompaniment [*iḥāṭat al-ma'īyya*] with His slaves. The real meaning of accompaniment and encompassment, as well as the scope of His Knowledge is decided by Allāh. We only believe in both these phenomena; and He is Allāh the Exalted, the best Essence, Who speaks the truth (Lubis 1996: 75-76).

In this regard, he also describes in *Wājib al-Wujūd* as had been previously summarised in the following way:

Our existence is an emanation that cannot be pictured without Divine existence. The servant's reality is corporeality and his reality is nothingness. His existence cannot be visualised by itself. So its nothingness, earmarked by physicality, can never be related to Divine existence. For this reason, He is neither spirit nor body. A gnostic has said: The Lord remains the Lord even if He physically descends, and the servant remains the servant even if he has to physically ascend.

This means the creator does not become a servant even if He was to manifest Himself with the attributes (or, features) of a servant; such as by means of a hand and other things He has claimed. Nor does the servant become a creator even if he were to possess some of His qualities; like the ability to give life or death. Existence is, therefore, one without any partner in His being, attributes or names. Allāh says: "Nothing is like Him. And He is all-hearing, all-seeing."

Once you know this then understand that Allāh can reveal Himself in different forms and with varying limits although He remains without shape or limit. When He so wishes, He pours out His existence to such a being. This situation can be compared to an onlooker into a thousand mirrors with different shapes. The onlooker's image will remain the same but it will have a multiple presence in various mirrors which will reflect different traits of his.

The mirror represents the unchanging archetypal forms found in the world of nothingness. These fixed entities are the site for the appearance of the Divine being in them. As for external entities (found in this world), their effects and status continue for as long as their bestower desires. They are like a shadow in a mirror (whose effects last as long as the object remains in focus). In our case, it is analogous to the presence of the onlooker and his image (before the mirror), (Dadoo 2017).

The last in his *Ṣūra*, it is stated that the *ahl al-Sunna wa l-Jamā'a* said: "Nature or the universe has to exist for extrinsic reasons (*wājib al-wujūd bi ghayrihī*); not for intrinsic reasons (*wājib al-wujūd bi nafsihī*); the universe is influenced by others (*mu'aththar bi ghayrihi*); not influenced by itself (*mu'aththar bi nafsihī*)." And using this analogy, if the servant turns inward, he becomes God or if God turns outwards He becomes the servant or 'abd. But this issue should not be confused or misunderstood, because the confusion or misunderstanding becomes the action of those who are ignorant of God. Say, "Believe, that a servant remains a servant, even though he ascends [to the highest station], and God remains God even though He descends."

The Divine Being and the universe are existents. But (both) are not independent because Allāh's existence – with His Being, Attributes, Names, and Actions - is independent whereas the existence of the universe is not independent. Independence prevents (the existence) of two divine models (that are) self-subsisting, perfect and possessing two beings. Allāh is vastly supreme over that.

Therefore, even though he clings to God's transcendence, he believes that God encompasses everything (*al-'ihāṭa*) and exists everywhere (*al-ma'yya*) 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-ḥaqīqī*). Thus, according to Shaykh Yūsuf, the word God in His creation does not mean the presence of God Himself in their selves, but His knowledge (attribute) encompassing His slave, and His Identity together with His slave, not a slave together with God, because it is impossible, except for the slave who is in *dhikr* condition (only remembering Allāh) and not remembering his existence and the existences besides Allāh. According to him, the accompaniment of God with His slave is general, while the accompaniment of a slave with God is special. Why it is not like that, because only a slave who has high *ma'rifa* and always remembers God can reach Him and be together with Him inwardly, but not physically.

In the concept (*al-'ihāṭa*) and (*al-ma'yya*), the Lord descends (*tanazzul*), while the man or servant ascends (*taraqqī*), a spiritual process which brings them closer. It should be noted and remembered, according to Shaykh Yūsuf, that 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. He is a *ṣūfī* that throughout his treatises when he discusses *fanā' fī Allāh wa baqā' bihī*, he always says

that even though one can enter the existence of God, the servant still remains the servant and God remains God (*al-'abd 'abd wa al-Rabb Rabb*) as has been mentioned above. He brought a purification of *tawḥīd*, even *ma'rifa* and praying to the Oneness of God into the archipelago, Indonesia, based on Qurān verse *al-Shūrā'* (*Qur'ān*, 42:11) that nothing comparable unto Him and the Chapter *al-Ikhlāṣ* (*Qur'ān*, Ch. 112). This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter under the section of the similarities and the differences between his views and other mystics' views belonging to this school.

4) ***Everything is the Manifestation of God and His Shadow***

In his *Kayfiyyat al-Dhikr* (n.d.: 2), it is stated that everything is His manifestation; High and Glorified is He. “*Nothing is similar to Him whatsoever,*” (*Qur'ān*, 42:11) and as long as He is described as such, He can never have a shape, form or boundary, or anything else attached to that. This is why it is said that He can bring together two opposites and everything belongs to Him.

Al-Ṣiddīq [i.e. Abūbakr] also pointed to this meaning. The Prophet *صلي الله عليه وسلم* said about him: “*Abū Bakr is not superior to you through his prayers or fasting, but through that which manifested in his heart*”, and in another version: “*The superiority of Abū Bakr Al-Ṣiddīq, may Allāh be pleased with him, is illustrated by his words: ‘The incapability of perceiving [Allāh] is indeed perception’*” Some also added here that this statement is attributed to ‘the Imām, the door of knowledge’ when the Prophet *صلي الله عليه وسلم* said: “*I am the city of knowledge and ‘Alī is its door.*” This refers to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, may Allāh honour his countenance and be pleased with him.

Searching for the reality of that will imprison you, so understand and contemplate! (Ebrahiem Moos 2017: 2).

Then it is stated in his *Zubdat al-Asrār* that: “And anything besides Him (Allāh) is truly only a shadow and the shadow itself never exists” (Lubis 1996: 79; see also A. Afifi 1980: 27). Although this is not a *ḥadīth*, this statement is similar to (is the same breath as) the following *ḥadīth ṣaḥīḥ*:

أصدق كلمة قالها الشاعر كلمة لبيد: ألا كل شيء ما خلا الله باطل

The true words that have been sung by a poet are Labid's words: know that everything other than Allāh is *bāṭil* (non-existent or it is just like a shadow) (Narrated by Bukhāri and Muslim).¹²⁸ It is also supported by His words, the Exalted in *Qur'ān*, 28: 88:

¹²⁸This ḥadīth does not mention by Shaykh Yūsuf, but it can be found in *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhāri*, vol. 5, Dār Ṭauqin Najah, 1442 A.H., p. 42 and vol.3, Dār ibn Kathīr, Beirut, 1987, p. 1395 and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Vol 3, Dār Iḥya al-Turath al-‘Arabī, Beirut, 1954, p. 1758.

كُلُّ شَيْءٍ هَالِكٌ إِلَّا وَجْهَهُ

"Everything will perish but He [His Face]. It means that everything besides Allāh does not exist in reality except for simply a shade only (A. Ridwan Tahir, personal communication, 15 June 2019).

The shadow is something non-existent, even though it is seen or visible to the naked eye. So, understand this because (in terms of) terminology of the gnostics who know God, anyone whose existence is dependent on someone else, has to ascribe existence to that other being and not to himself. If this is so, then it is clear that *mā siwā Allāh Ta'ālā* (everything besides Allāh the Exalted) does not exist in reality. It can only be said that everything (besides Allāh) is a phenomenon or a manifestation of the form Who Stands Alone and gives forms to others. That is only the form or the existence of *al-Ḥaqq Subhānahu wa Ta'ālā* (Praise be unto Him the Exalted); so know that. A shadow does not exist by itself but it is said [that] it is a manifestation of the existence of the person whose shadow it is casting. Only the person exists in reality even if the shade is visible (Lubis 1996: 79).

Furthermore, in his *ṣūra* (the image of *tawḥīd*) p. 1-2, it is stated that *sirr* or the inner recess is the shadow of existence, the soul is the shadow of the essence, the heart is a shadow of the attribute, and the body is a shadow of *asmā'* or the Divine names, and movement and inaction are the shadows of *af'āl* or Divine deeds. God said:

:

أَلَمْ تَرَ [إِلَى رَبِّكَ] كَيْفَ مَدَّ الظِّلَّ

"Have you not seen how the Lord spread the shadow" (*Qur'ān*, 25:45).

5) ***Ahl al-Ibāḥa vs. ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamā'a: Viewing Everything as Good and Beautiful***

In *Sirr al-Asrār*, it is stated that: "Everything that occurs in the universe in form and idea is all good and beautiful; not ugly, considering that the Real Cause is Allāh, the Cause of whatever He desires. He has an effect on everything in reality according to His words (may He be Exalted): *It is He Who created all things, and ordered them in due proportions* (*Qur'ān*, 25:2) or according to His words (may He be Exalted): *He Who has made everything which He has created most good* (*Qur'ān*, 32:7), and His words: "*But Allāh has created you and your handiwork* (*Qur'ān*, 37:96), (Dangor 1995: 23).

However, there is the creed of licentiousness which can cause us to disbelieve. It is very different from the creed of *ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamā'a*. They believe and hold the opinion that all events that occur in the universe are absolutely legitimate. They argue their case on the basis of His words: *but Allāh has created you and your handiwork* (*Qur'ān*, 37:96), and His words: *He Who has made everything which He has created most good* (*Qur'ān*, 32:7), (Dangor 1995: 27-29).

For them, nothing at all in the universe is unlawful or forbidden because all affairs emanate from divine decrees and divine aspirations or all affairs emanating from God's authority and will. So everything is permissible; it can never be unlawful. Unlawful and forbidden in all matters are only based on custom and natural disposition, nothing else. So people should do and act as they please in all their affairs (Dangor 1995: 29).

Apparently, the proponents for the doctrine of licentiousness use only the verses that have been quoted, and which are considered to be in line with their thought, as they do not consider other verses. For example, the verse which talks about lawful and unlawful deeds, like: ... *whereas Allāh has permitted trading and forbidden ribā (usury) (Qur'ān, 2:275)*. So, it is clear from the point of *sharī'a* or divine law that there are lawful and unlawful deeds.

The distinction between the adherents of truth (*ahl al-ḥaqq*) among those who have achieved perfections and integration and the followers of licentiousness among the people in error and misguidance¹²⁹ is very great in theory and practice.

Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamā'a know that there are lawful and unlawful deeds in *Shāri'a* or divine law. Lawful deeds are rewarded while unlawful deeds are punished. But for the licentious, there is no lawful or unlawful since everything is permissible (*mubāḥ*).

The followers of the Truth also believe that whatever has been made unlawful in the *sharī'a* through consensus, whether explicitly or implicitly is definitely unlawful. By contrast, the followers of licentiousness believe it can never, under any circumstances, be unlawful. They have neither *shari'a* nor *ḥaqīqa*, nor do they have an outward aspect or an inward aspect of being (Dangor 1995: 31).

As for the saying of the gnostics among the people of truth that all general and specific events that occur in the universe are good and beautiful, it is only on the basis of divine fate and decree and on the basis of the Real Cause Who is the Creator of everything and the Embellisher of everything that He creates (Dangor 1995: 33). It does not mean that all is good and beautiful and not ugly in absolute terms as followers of licentiousness claim; but rather in relative terms.

¹²⁹In a sense, the true one is the way in which it is attached by the followers of *Ahl Al-ḥaq*, while the way in which it is attached by the followers of licentiousness is wrong and misleading. The followers of *ahl Al-ḥaq* (*ṣūfīs* candidates), for example, their station or *maqāmis* started from repentance, in other words, leaving the unlawful and doing the lawful.

6) *Ṭarīqa, Sharī'a and Ḥaqīqa*

"*Ṭarīqa* or *ṣirāṭ* is not only by *sharī'a* without *ḥaqīqa*, or not only by *ḥaqīqa* without *sharī'a*, but both. Just as human is not only with body without spirit, or not only with spirit without body, but both" The words of Prophet: "*Truly, I am delegated with sharī'a* (divine law) and *ḥaqīqa* (divine Reality), while all Prophets are only delegated with *sharī'a* (divine law). Then this *ṭarīqa* is called as a Muḥammadan path which combines the externals of the *sharī'a* and internals of *ḥaqīqa* (al-Maḥassārī in *Sirr al-Asrār*, see also Dangor 1995: 39-40).

Then it is stated that *sharī'a* (divine law) is an outward aspect of divine Reality; the perfection of one of them depends on the existence of the other and the defect of one of them is caused by the absence of the other. Only the man who is bound by the divine law outwardly and conforms to the divine Reality inwardly is a true follower of Prophet Muḥammad SAW. Complete success and perfection is attained only by following the Messenger of Allāh (SAW) according to His words (may He be Exalted): "*Say: 'if ye do love God, follow me: God will love you and forgive your sins...'*" (*Qur'ān*, 3:31), (Dangor 1995: 59).

7) *The Relationship between Sharī'a - State and Ruler*

In his *Qurrat al-'Ayn*, he stated that: "The Holy Prophet ﷺ said: "The sword is the brother of the *Qur'ān*."¹³⁰ Scholars have explained that the sword here is a metonymy for rulers while the *Qur'ān* is a metonymy for scholars and wise people. Ultimately, the *sharī'a* can only be implemented through the policies of wise rulers. On the other hand, matters pertaining to the running of a successful state can only be fully achieved with the guidance of scholars and sages. For this reason, most prophets in the earliest times always had advisors from the rulers' protégés while most rulers during those days always had prophets, scholars, saints and sages to complement them. In the Islamic code one is strengthened by the other (Dadoo 2017: 4).

Based on this, you should understand that it is not permitted to dismiss a ruler purely on the grounds of his violations of the *Sharī'a* as long as he works for the betterment and protection of the state and its functions. The Holy Prophet ﷺ referred to precisely this matter in his statement "The sinful person will buttress this faith" (*Al-Tirmidhī, Al-'Ilal Al-Kabīr*, Report No. 717, p. 382). Scholars have interpreted this person to mean the majority of rulers. By contrast, it is permitted to dismiss a ruler if he corrupts the functions of the state and destroys administrative structure even if he might display great personal piety. Understand my reasoning thoroughly (Dadoo 2017: 4).

We have understood from our eminent teachers, may Allāh benefit us with their guidance, that

¹³⁰I have been unable to trace its source.

when some turmoil appears that opposes the prevailing order the ruler or his deputy has to review the situation. He should then implement the Islamic ordinance by exercising his judgement since this has been mandated upon him. This will be the strategy if the judgement that he or his deputy exercises does not lead to great, pervasive turmoil in the country which affects its political affairs. Once the country is destroyed, all its administrative affairs are corrupted that had been previously confirmed by the citizens of all its regions in line with their customary conventions; provided that matters pertaining to the *sharī'a* and Islamic law are not destroyed by such decisions. So understand this clearly (Dadoo 2017: 10).

Sharī'a related matters grow weak and Islamic legislation is destroyed with the weakening of the state and destruction of authoritative law-making. The health of state authority determines the health of *sharī'a* related matters and Islamic laws because they are brothers; as previously stated. The one is strengthened and perfected by the other. In this context, the Holy Prophet ﷺ said: "A sinful person will strengthen this religion" (Al-Tirmidhī, *Al-ʿIlal Al-Kabīr*, Report No. 717, p. 382). One person commented that this mostly refers to rulers and kings. Someone else said that it refers mostly to Muslim armies among the populace (Dadoo 2017: 10).

Both these views have the same point of return. They imply each other. None of them is devoid of the other. Once we speak of a ruler we include the army, and vice versa. Each of them relies on the other for his (or, their) existence. So, understand the purport of the prophetic statement: "The sword is the brother of the *Qur'ān*" because matters of political authority are sisters of *sharī'a* matters. They rely on each other for their success or failure. This means if state authority is undermined by the ruler's execution of legislation, then he - or his deputy - should wait to determine how Divine law would operate in those conditions. Allāh might change those conditions for the better in which the ruler will be able to apply suitable laws. In this way, the objective will be met. So understand this (Dadoo 2017: 10).

However, the ruler should repent for his sins before Allāh because he is firstly unable to implement those external aspects of the *sharī'a*. After all, every servant is the site of sin. So he cannot be sinless. By seeking forgiveness and pleading, he might be included in the ambit of the Holy Prophet's saying: "The one who repents from sin is like one who has no sin" (Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 37:30, Report No. 4250). After introspection, the ruler or his deputy should ponder the following words of Allāh: "*O believers, upon you lies responsibility for yourselves. If you are guided no errant person will harm you*" (*Qur'ān*, 5:105), (Dadoo 2017: 10).

In addition, Shaykh Yūsuf also mentioned another Prophetic's tradition said: "If the ruler exercises personal judgement and errs therein, he obtains one reward. And if he is correct, he earns a double reward" (Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 98:21, Report No. 6566). If he

errs, he only earns the reward for exercising judgement. But if he is correct, he earns the reward for exercising judgement in addition to the reward for being correct. This effort cannot be made ignorantly: It is not correct and has to be done with (the requisite) knowledge (Dadoo 2017: 9).

8) **Looking for a Spiritual Guide and Taking Pledge (Bay'a)**¹³¹

In *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya* it is stated that if you are a true and sincere follower of the mystical path to Allāh, you should then attach yourself to a spiritual guide who is pious and knowledgeable. He should make you see the defects in yourself and remove you from obeying them by teaching you to treat them correctly. Even though you might journey to the most distant lands - and leave behind your family and friends – your spiritual mentor is your guide to Allāh. It has been reported that if anyone seeks the spiritual path without a specialist guide he is looking for noble objectives through contrivance. Why cannot this be so when he is the door to your success and the father of your soul who holds you by the hand en route to Allāh; both literally and figuratively. It has been said that anyone without a spiritual mentor has the devil for his mentor. Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ said: “A spiritual guide among his people is like a prophet among his people.”¹³² He also said: “Scholars of my community are like prophets among the Israelites.”¹³³ The meaning of scholars in this context, as understood by authorities, is sincere teachers who guide people to Allāh; and He knows best. Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ said: “Anyone who dies without the commitment of fealty has died the death of ignorance” (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 33:13. Reports 4786 and 4788). This is why someone has remarked that if a person remains self-opinionated and content with his own knowledge, he exposes himself to the guiles of the devil. So, understand and reflect upon this matter! (Dadoo 2017).

Once you have found a spiritual mentor, as described above, entrust your affairs to him. Become one bereft of volition in his presence, like a corpse before its washer, allowing the latter to operate on his heart as he likes. Constantly guard against harbouring any adversity to him even if you were to see him conducting himself in a manner that probably draws him away from Allāh. The great mentor, Ibn 'Arabī, said in this regard: “Even if you were to observe your spiritual mentor conducting himself against the law of Islam. No person is sinless after the prophets. Actually, sinlessness is not a prerequisite for spiritual guides or Divine gnostics.” The following is reported from the Holy Prophet ﷺ: “He who claims infallibility

¹³¹For more information see al-Maqassarī in *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya and Zubdat al-Asrār*; see also Dadoo 2017 and Lubis (1996) as well as Dangor (1994 & 2017).

¹³²The last word of this report has been wrongly transcribed as زمانه (or, his time). Ibn Ḥabbān and Al-Daylamī have declared it defective in their respective works, *Al-Majrūḥīn* (2: 39) and *Al-Firdaws bi Ma'thūr Al-Khiṭāb* (2: 373).

¹³³Al-Ṭarābulusī reports that Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Ḥajar have criticised its authenticity; see *Al-Lu'lu' Al-Marṣū*.

after me does not belong to me.”¹³⁴ Know this. If you are indeed honest in your desire, sincere in your path, and both believe and love your spiritual guide you will ultimately have a conviction that all his evils are better than your merits. This has been considered in the following utterance of the Holy Prophet ﷺ: “The sleep of a scholar is superior to the prayer of an ignorant person.”¹³⁵ A warning has been issued that opposition to a mystical guide results in a bad death. This has been witnessed by people (May Allāh protect us from it). We pray to Allāh to grant us a good death. And all success belongs to Him (Dadoo 2017).

While in his *Zubdat al-Asrār* (Lubis 1996 & Dangor 1994), it is stated that in order to be guided to the way to Allāh, a *ṣūfī* candidate or a *sālik* must do many good deeds and have a humble character. The deeds cannot be done without guidance from a spiritual mentor. Then the shaykh (the spiritual mentor) will guide him after he is considered a member of a *ṭarīqa* or *ṣūfī* path. If this is not done, there is a concern that he will err or be misled before he reaches the glorious aims stated in the first discussion, namely, *maʿrifat Allāh* or knowing Allāh. Therefore, the Messenger of Allāh SAW, said: “Whoever died without having taken the pledge¹³⁶ has died the death of ignorance.”¹³⁷

Then the *ṣūfīs*, may Allāh purify their souls said: “Whoever does not have a spiritual mentor or guide, the devil or Satan becomes his spiritual guide. If Satan were to be his spiritual guide he would be the most misguided [person] even though he may possess abundant knowledge and [good] deeds”(Lubis 1996 and dangor 1994).

Furthermore, what is meant by *shaykh* here is the *shaykh* of initiation and instruction [in *taṣawwuf*], not the *shaykh* of reading and teaching. For the *shaykh* of initiation and instruction are the *khalīfa* of Allāh (the Exalted) or shall I say the *khalīfa* of the Messenger and his representative? In fact, he is identical to him (in certain respects), not different from him; according to the text because the *khalīfa* is the image of the one who has appointed him as a caliph. Now when the Messenger of Allāh ﷺ was taking the oath of allegiance from people among the Companions, Allāh unveiled to him the Manifestation of [His] Essential being and the individualization of the Divine Oneness in such a way that the illuminated could not be distinguished from the illuminator when witnessed by the true gnostic among the people of true intuition. That act will serve as caution and instruction for the above-mentioned people who take the *bayʿa* (oath of allegiance) and will now be

¹³⁴I have not been able to trace its authenticity or source.

¹³⁵There is no Sunnī source to verify this. However, it is found in the Shīʿa work *Man Lā Yaḥḍuruḥu l-Faqīh*, 4: 352-367.

¹³⁶Arabic is *bayʿa*. This refers to the oath of allegiance taken on the hand of the *khalīfa* on his installation. While the *ḥadīth* refers to this allegiance, the *Ṣūfīs* refer it to.

¹³⁷This *ḥadīth* appears in Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* [see vol. 3, p. 1478] with a slight variation in the wording.

at the stage of the disciples learning from spiritual guides once they have given their pledges to their guides. The spiritual guides are the successors of the Messenger صلى الله عليه وسلم (Lubis 1996).

If you have understood this case, the words of Allāh, the Exalted, are: “*Verily, those who are giving bay‘a (pledge) to you (O Allāh ﷻ) they are giving bay‘a (pledge) to Allāh. The hand of Allāh is over their hands. Then whosoever breaks his pledge, breaks only to his own harm ...*” (Qur‘ān, 48:10). Therefore, it is incumbent upon the perfect disciple who has the understanding to be conscious in his heart and to imagine, at the time of initiation by his spiritual guide, that he is not giving allegiance to anyone but Allāh. That is necessary; otherwise he will not reach the stage of true initiation (Lubis 1996)

As for the benefit of the disciple’s entrance into initiation by spiritual guides, he will not know the truth of the matter except till after death.

“*Then whosoever wills, let him believe, and whosoever wills, let him disbelieve*” (Qur‘ān, 18:29).

Hearing [something] is not the same as beholding [it] with the eye. And Allāh knows best. As for the results of all these deeds and actions, they are only attained, procured and accomplished by persevering with truthfulness in all matters and sincerity (*ikhlaṣ*) of intention in pursuing them, for the sake (*wajh*) of Allāh (the Exalted) and not anyone else, and endurance (*ṣabr*) during all adversities, and serious effort in seeking the goal; is not [the case], as has been said, that he who strives earnestly finds it? So, understand and contemplate (Lubis 1996 & Dangor 1994)

In regard to this stage, it was said about Shaykh Al-Junayd,¹³⁸ the master of the [*ṣūfi*] group (may his secret be sanctified): “By what means did you arrive at this stage?” He replied, pointing with his hand to his cheek, “By placing this on the doorstep of my shaykh for forty years.” It was also said to Shaykh, Great Muslim leader, and Sulṭān of religious leaders, Muḥyi al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī al-Baghdādī,¹³⁹ may Allāh purify his heart: “By what means did you reach Allāh the Exalted?” He RA (may Allāh be pleased with

¹³⁸ Abū al-Qāsim Al-Junayd Al-Baghdādī [d 910 CE], he is regarded as the master of the *Ṣūfis* of Baghdad; representatives of various *ṣūfi* orders referred to him as their master. Also, the *silsilas* [initiation chains] of divergent *arqahs* go back to him. The major aspect of his teaching was his emphasis on *sahw* [sobriety] as contrasted to *sukr* [intoxication], (Dangor 2017).

¹³⁹ Muḥī Al-Dīn ‘Abd Al-Qādir Jīlānī [d 1166 CE] was one of the most famous *Ṣūfis*. He studied *fiqh*, philology and *taṣawwuf*. He was a great orator and through his public preaching converted many Jews, Christians to Islam. Even caliphs and viziers attended his discourses (Dangor 2017).

him) answered: "I do not reach Allāh the Exalted by means of abundant prayer or fasting, but through endurance (*ṣabr*), humility, generosity and purity or peace of heart." Thus also it was said with respect to the important or great caliph Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq RA.¹⁴⁰ (may Allāh be pleased with him): "By what means did you reach Allāh the Exalted?" Abū Bakr answered: "I do not reach Allāh the Exalted by virtue of abundance of prayer or fasting, but by something planted in my chest (heart)." This is supported by the words of the Messenger of Allāh SAW: "Whatever Allāh poured into my heart, I poured into the heart of Abū Bakr RA (may Allāh be pleased with him)" (Dangor 1994).

One the *'arif*s resolved the problem which the words of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir (may Allāh be pleased with him) and Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq RA pose with regard to their statements about the abundance of prayer and fasting by saying: "Do not think that the two spiritual guides mentioned above did not pray or fast at all, but they prayed and fasted in addition to engaging frequently in supererogatory prayers and fasting (at the same time)" (Dangor 1994)

The words of the companions of the Messenger of Allāh corroborated the following words of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (may Allāh be pleased with him) regarding *ma'rifat Allāh*: "Whatever I looked at, I only saw Allāh in front of it;" 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb (may Allāh be pleased with him) said: "Whatever I looked at, I only saw Allāh behind it;" 'Uthmān ibn Affān (may Allāh be pleased with him): "Whatever I looked at, I only saw Allāh with it;" and the words of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (may Allāh be pleased with him): "Whatever I looked at, I only saw Allāh therein."¹⁴¹ There are also stories about the experiences of famous *ṣūfī*s attached to this way, such as Abū Yāzid al-Bustāmī, al-Junayd al-Baghdādī, Ibn 'Arabī, Faḍl Allāh al-Burhampurī, Dhu al-Nūn and Nasīm al-Ḥalabī (Lubis 1996 & Dangor 1994)

It needs remembering that uttering the word *ma'rifat* is easier than reaching it. So Shaykh Yūsuf prevents the spiritual travelers (*sālikīn*) in God's path from treading their own way in search of the truth and asks them to look for a trusted and experienced *ṣūfī* shaykh or *ṣūfī* master; even if he, as a consequence, has to travel to distant places, leaving family and homeland. The one who walks alone unconsciously has the devil for his guide (Azra 1992)

¹⁴⁰The first caliph of Islam [632 CE to 634 CE], (Dangor 2017).

¹⁴¹These expressions are attributed to the first four Caliphs since in practice the *silsilas* of the four *ṭarīqas* are traced back to them. Shaykh Yūsuf's guide was a Shaykh of the *Naqshbandiyya ṭarīqa* which traces its origin to Abū Bakr. The above are actually *Ṣūfī* utterances. The last of the four expressions was uttered by Muḥammad ibn Wasī [see *Kashf Al-Mahjub*, p. 91]. Shiblī uttered "I never saw anything except Allāh" [ibid. p. 330]. Abū'l Ḥasan Khirqānī declared "I saw Truth all around and nothing besides" [*Tadhkiratul Awliya'*, p. 165].

9) ***Fear and Hope***

In *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya* it is stated that one has to occupy a position between fear and hope. Even if both these sentiments are desirable on their own, they have to be combined within the heart of a person. Fear without hope leads to inadequacy just as hope without fear leads to overstepping. Both these traits are unwelcome according to Divine Gnostics (May Allāh make them benefit us). Inadequacy causes an act to fail from reaching its goal while overstepping causes an act to exceed its limits. Such an act is not completely beneficial and will not lead to the accomplishment of the objective. Benefit lies in observing what has been mentioned already. As long as people are characterised by both of them simultaneously, they are fine (Dadoo 2017: 3).

This stage has three ranks. The first rank belongs to initiates or to the general body; the second rank belongs to the average category among special people or belongs to the virtuous ones; while the third rank is reserved for those who have achieved the end point of their journey and comprise the extra special people or who have the status of Allāh's protégés (Dadoo 2017: 3).

For instance, in the first stage they focus primarily on their own sins rather than their virtues. Therefore, their hope exceeds their fear. But people experiencing the second stage respond in the opposite way; meaning that when their sins outweigh their virtues they focus more strongly on hope. But in the contrary state they focus more strongly on fear based on the belief that the plan relating to divine obedience is hidden from them; to which very few people are privy. On the other hand, in matters of sin the plan relating to divine obedience is manifest to all. Therefore, every person following the mystical path has to acknowledge within himself that he is guilty when he commits a sin. He has to seek divine forgiveness and regret that misdemeanor. Then he quoted the words of the spiritual mentor and savant, Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh Al-Iskandarī, may Allāh sanctify his inner being, who said: Sin that generates humility and shattering of the ego is better than obedience that generates conceit. Abū Madyan al-Tilimsānī stated: Defeat resulting from sinning is better than intrepidity resulting from obedience (Dadoo 2017: 3-4).

Then those people occupying the third stage neither have hope predominating over fear or vice versa on account of excessive or deficient virtues and sins. For as long as they progress spiritually, their states of hope and fear remain equal; which corroborates the Holy Prophet ﷺ's statement: "I am more knowledgeable than you about Allāh and more fearful of Him"¹⁴² At this stage, they acquire accomplished, total servitude and highest

¹⁴²Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 67: 1, Report No. 4776. The wording quoted in the manuscript differs from the one reported here.

level of Divine proximity which comprise the highest ranks among all stages. The great lady savant, Rābi'a Al-'Adawīyya, declared: "My Lord! I am not worshipping You out of fear for Your hell-fire or desire for Your garden of paradise. I worship You to comply with Your command and out of love for You." This is how savants of Allāh are with regard to worship. They worship Allāh alone without ascribing partners to Him and without any worldly or otherworldly incentive. A Ḥadīth mentions: "The world is forbidden to people of the hereafter while the hereafter is forbidden to people of this world. And both are forbidden to people of Allāh"¹⁴³ (Dadoo 2017: 4).

In sum, Allāh is worthy of worship by all creation; as He declares: "And I have only created jinns and humans to worship Me" (*Qur'ān*, 51:56). Yet the reality is that He is not in need of worship by the creation (Dadoo 2017: 4). According to Shaykh K.H. Sultān that Allāh does not command all His creation to worship Him, but does so for His servant there is a difference between the creations and His servant. Not all human beings can be called as servants except those who could act as His servants by following our Prophet (SAW). The words of Shaykh Yūsuf's master Sri Naradireja or Datuk *ri* Panggentungan in a poem or in a song:

"Flying kites hovering. Sparrows perch on a teak tree.

*How beautiful the face of a praying person, his face is white and shining,
his heart is clean.*

*But if he does not do praying, even if he sits on a throne-like a king, he
is like an ape on a tree"* (Sultan, personal communication, 1 April 2018).

This is the difference between a servant and creation. A servant worships our Lord by practising *sharī'a* with *ḥaqīqa*, while the creation like an ape never does.

10) **Attaining Love of God by Following His Prophet SAW**

The love of Allāh is attained by following His Prophet SAW. Following His Prophet SAW constitutes the greatest joy after which there is no unhappiness. In other words, without following the Prophet SAW it is impossible to obtain the love of Allāh and His forgiveness (See also Dangor 1995: 57).

11) **Repentance**

It is stated in his *Sirr al-Asrār* that sin only harms the sinner if he does not repent and obtain forgiveness from Allāh, the Exalted. If he attained that forgiveness from Allāh, even

¹⁴³Reported by Al-Daylamī in *Al-Firdaws*. Al-Albānī regards it as scrupulous. See *Ḍa'īf Al-Jāmi'*, Report No. 3009.

without repentance, it can only happen through His favour (may He be Exalted). “*And for Allāh that is not hard or difficult (i.e very easy for Allāh)*” (Qur’ān, 14:20). If people sin and then repent; they gain Divine love: *for Allāh loves those who turn unto Him in repentance and He loves those who keep themselves pure and clean* (Qur’ān, 2:222).

There is a difference between common people and the Gnostic. The latter repents before sinning, after sinning, at the time of sinning and upon sinning. Your commission of sin cannot compare with his commission of sin. Therefore, His forgiveness for them is also different. Allāh says: *Allāh is the Lord of Grace abounding* (Qur’ān, 57:21), and: *Say (O Muḥammad ﷺ): “This is my way: I do invite unto God-on evidence clear as the seeing with one’s eyes (ie.to the Oneness of Allāh-Islamic Monotheism)-I and whoever follows me* (Qur’ān, 12:108), and: *Allāh the Exalted is far above the things they associate with Him* (Qur’ān, 52:43), (Dangor 1995: 64-65).

“Among the strangest tales relating to the time of the Children of Israel is that there was a pious, learned, devout man who used to fast throughout his life during the day and stand up in prayer at night. During his time there was also a godless man immersed in all kinds of sins. Now after some time he began to think about himself and acknowledged that he was the most sinful and miserable person. So, he approached this pious person referred to above in order that Allāh may forgive all his sins through his relationship with this pious man. But he turned away from him and did not want to associate with him because of his godlessness and his wretchedness. He evicted him from his gathering time after time because he viewed him as contemptible and wretched. Therefore the heart of that sinful man immersed in all types of sin throughout his life was broken and he was distressed. So Allāh, revealed to a prophet who lived at the time saying: “By My Might and My Majesty I will certainly forgive this obedient sinner all his sins¹⁴⁴ and He granted all the rewards for the devotion of this pious devout man to him. Then after some time both of them died and this sinner entered Paradise on account of his holding Allāh, in good estimation, while the pious man entered the Fire on account of his vanity and pride and his viewing the sinner as despicable and wretched. There is no power and no strength save in Allāh” (Dangor 1995: 65-69).

Another story cited in *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya* from *Zād al-Musāfirīn* that: “A man approached Ibrāhīm al-Adham and complained to him about his own over-indulgence. He asked for advice to stop that habit and seek Divine forgiveness. The spiritual guide cryptically told him to go ahead. He would then obtain its benefit. Thereafter, he could

¹⁴⁴I have been unable to trace this report.

work for what he wished (Dadoo 2017: 8).

In reply to the question about what those things were, he replied: "First, if you want to disobey Allāh, do not consume His sustenance." To this, the man remarked: "I swear by Allāh, that is difficult. If His sustenance is found all over in the sea or on land, on level ground and on the mountains, where will I find my own sustenance?" Ibrāhīm asked: "Is it proper for you to consume His sustenance and disobey Him?" To which he replied "No." Second, if you want to disobey Him, do not live on His earth." To this, he replied: "I swear by Allāh, this is even more difficult than the first. Where do I live?" Ibrāhīm remarked: "Is it good for you to consume His sustenance and live in His home while you disobey Him?" To which he replied "No." "Third, disobey Him where He doesn't see you." To this, he replied: "I swear by Allāh, this is more difficult than everything else. How can I do that when He knows the treachery in people's gazes and what the hearts conceal?" Ibrāhīm asked: "Is it proper for you to consume His sustenance and live in His home, yet you disobey Him while He sees you?" To this he replied "No." "Fourth, when the angel of death comes to extract your soul, tell him to grant you a reprieve until you seek pardon." To which he replied he wouldn't be granted that request. Ibrāhīm said: "If you know this, why do not you seek forgiveness? Fifth, when the two angels come to interrogate you in the grave, push them away from you." To which he replied he didn't have sufficient strength to do that. Sixth, when you stand before Allāh on the Day of Reckoning and He orders hells' angels to drag you to the fire, tell Allāh not to order them to do so." To which he replied: "I seek Allāh's forgiveness." Then his plea was accepted (Dadoo 2017: 9). This is an interesting and a valuable learning for one who wishes to repent and thanks to Allāh for all His grace.

12) ***Each Creature Praises Allāh and Does Remembrance***

It is stated in his *Sirr al-Asrār* that it is incumbent on the *‘ārīf* one that all the varieties of sounds that he hears, whatever they may be, are praises to Allāh, the Exalted, because everything has its (manner of) praise for its Lord, the Exalted, whether by words or by effect, according to His words: *There is not a thing but celebrates His praise; and yet ye understand not how they declare His glory! (Qur’ān, 17:44)*. To this extent the Prophet ﷺ said: "The sound of the waves is their praise."¹⁴⁵

He quoted the words of Imām Muḥyi al-Dīn ibn al-‘Arabī (may Allāh sanctify his inner recesses), said: "Only one who possesses a soul is capable of being a praiser." Moreover God Himself created articulate creatures: *He is the One Who giveth speech to everything*

¹⁴⁵The author has been unable to trace this report.

(*Qur'ān*, 41:21) and *He granteth laughter and tears* (*Qur'ān*, 53:43), (Dangor 1995: 19)

Therefore, "There is no doubt that laughter and weeping are (forms of) speech emanating from the person who laughs and weeps. They emanate from the Source of Speech (*Munṭiq*) or One Who can make someone speak. This is analogous to the words of Allāh, addressed to His Prophet SAW: *When thou threwest it, it was not thy act, but God's* (*Qur'ān*, 8:17). This contends that Muḥammad's throw was only metaphorical; not real. Likewise, *Allāh has created you and your handywork* (*Qur'ān*, 37:96), (Dangor 1995 19-23)

One day when Umm Muṣ'ab (the mother of al-Zubayr) died, they suddenly heard crying sounds, and al-Jabbār al-Ṭā'ī asked: "Do you hear crying?" Ibn Abbās answered: "Keep silent, O Jabbār, for Allāh creates longing and crying." This is a simple example but it can give a deeper understanding to one who applies his mind (Dangor 1995: 21-23).

13) **Remembrance and Contemplation**

It is stated in *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya* that a person on the spiritual path also has to remember Allāh abundantly. The best remembrance is the creedal formula (there is none worthy of worship except Allāh and Muḥammad is Allāh's messenger). Adherence to any remembrance formula creates eternal happiness for people. This is the way of the perfect followers among Allāh's close servants. None reaches the utmost limits of spiritual stations and degrees without the remembrance of Allāh at all times and in all states (Dadoo 2017: 11). In *Qurrat al-'Ayn* he mentioned the words of Allāh: "*Remember Allāh abundantly*" (*Qur'ān*, 33:41), "*Remember Me and I will remember you*" (*Qur'ān*, 2:152) and "*Observe what is in the heavens and the earth*" (*Qur'ān*, 10:101). The Holy Prophet reminded: "Ponder over Allāh's favours and do not ponder over His being" (Al-Ṭabrānī, *Al-Awsaṭ*, Report No. 6456). "Contemplation for an hour is better than worship for a thousand years"¹⁴⁶ (Dadoo 2017: 1-2).

The mother of the faithful, 'Ā'isha, reported that the Holy Prophet ﷺ remembered Allāh constantly. There is no deed of a human being that will guarantee greater safety against Allāh's punishment than the remembrance of Allāh. He was asked: Even more than waging war in the path of Allāh? He replied in the affirmative (ibn Abī Shaybah, *Al-Muṣannaḥ*). Remembrance of Allāh among the heedless people is like a lush tree in the midst of dry

¹⁴⁶The Egyptian scholar, Muṣṭafā Al-'Adawī, declares this report spurious. The same applies to reports assigning other numerical values to length of worship.

stalks.¹⁴⁷ And many other Prophetic traditions¹⁴⁸ (Al-Maqassarī in *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya*; see also Dadoo 2017: 11).

In his *Zubdat al-Asrār*, he mentioned three types of *dhikr* such as: “*Lā llāha illā Allāh*” which is called *awām dhikr* (*dhikr* of common people) or tongue *dhikr*; “*Allāh-Allāh*” is the *khawāṣṣ dhikr* (*dhikr* of the elect) or heart *dhikr*; and “*Huwa-Huwa*” which is called *akhāṣṣ al-khāṣṣah dhikr* (*dhikr* of the superlatively elect) or *sirr dhikr* (remembrance from the innermost recess). It is also incumbent on the servant engaged in the above-mentioned *dhikr* to understand the meaning of the phrase; that there is no object to be worshipped, nor sought, nor aspired to, nor desired, nor loved, nor beloved, nor causer, nor existing being except Allāh, and whatever exists besides Him is a shadow of His (the Exalted) (Lubis 1996: 79).

As for other meanings of the invocations above, refer to his *Hādhihi Fawā'id 'Aẓīmat (al-Dhikr)* [These are the Great Benefits (of *Dhikr*)] on previous discussions.

As for the methods and etiquettes in engaging *dhikrs* refers to his *Fath Kaifiyyat al-Dhikr* [the Explanation Concerning the Ways of Doing *Dhikr* or Introduction to the Method of *Dhikr*] in the previous discussion.

14) **Direction**

As for the direction, it has been described clearly in his treatises namely *Zubdat al-Asrār* (Lubis 1996), *Daf'u al-Balā* (M. Keraan) and *talkhīs al-Ma'ārif* (M. Keraan and M. Haroon 2008). It is stated about the four ‘*qiblās*’ (directions) that the first of these is called the *qiblat al-`amal*, meaning the *qibla* of action. The second is called the *qiblat al-`ilm*, meaning the *qibla* of knowledge. The third is called the *qiblat al-sirr*, meaning *qibla* of the innermost recesses. The fourth is called the *qiblat al-tawajjuh*, meaning the *qibla* of focus.¹⁴⁹

As for the *qibla* of action, He (Allāh) explains it in the verse: “... , *turn your face in the direction of al-Masjid al-Ḥarām (in Makka)*” (*Qur'ān*, 2:149). So the *ṣalā* will not be valid except by turning one's face towards it literally, whether the worshipper is knowledgeable or ignorant. This *qibla* is known as the *qibla* of the common people. This *qibla* could be far from the worshipper or close to him depending on his position. And it could be from a specific direction, whether from the east or west, or from the south or the north. And every one of the common people knows this *qibla*.

¹⁴⁷Al-Baihaqī, *Shu' b Al-Īmān*. Al-Albānī disputes its authenticity. Al-Ṭabarānī has quoted a modified version of this report in *Al-Mu'jam Al-Kabīr*.

¹⁴⁸Al-Maqassarī in *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya*; see also Dadoo (2017: 11).

¹⁴⁹For more information regarding these four *qiblas* refers to M. Keraan & M. Haron (2008: 107-108).

.As for the *qibla* of knowledge, the [following] verse points to it: “Wheresoever ye turn, there is the presence of Allāh” (*Qur’ān*, 2:115). This is known as *qibla* of the elect. The person when turning his face towards this transcendental *qibla* is close to it in one respect and distant from it in another respect. In fact, in another respect, he could be the *qibla* himself at the same time and in the same position. Not everyone knows the secret of this above-mentioned *qibla* except the elect.

Then as for the *qibla* of the innermost recesses, He encompasses everything, and is manifest with everything, in everything, upon everything, by everything, to everything, and everything emanates from He, and everything returns to Him. It is the essence of everything, and it is itself everything. He is the first and the last, and the evident and the hidden, and it is closest to you but you do not perceive [it]. “But We (viz. Our angels who take the soul) are nearer to him than you, but you see not” (*Qur’ān*, 56:85), His words: “...And We are nearer to Him than his jugular vein (by Our Knowledge), (*Qur’ān*, 50:16) and His words: “... And He is with you (by His Knowledge) wheresoever you may be” [*Qur’ān*, 57:4].

Since everything belongs to Him, it is one of the hidden Divine Secrets and one of the essences of Divine Gnosis. Only the people of complete providence and perfect general happiness, encompassing their outer and inner [beings], accomplish this and attain success in this due to their following the Messenger of Allāh.

As for the *qibla* of focus, it is an expression denoting the pineal heart in contrast to the true heart referred to in the tradition: “The heart of the servant is the throne of Allāh.” Some of *ṣūfīs* RA said: “The heart is invisible, *al-Ḥaqq* is invisible, and what is invisible is more suitably related to the invisible too.” However, it is incumbent on the one who turns towards this *qibla* to perceive the Real (Glory to Him, the Exalted) manifested in it with complete presence [of Allāh] always, in all his circumstances and [at all] times. This activity was what the most eminent *Shaykhs* of the *Naqshbandiyya Ṣūfī* Order (may Allāh sanctify their inner recesses) alluded to (M Keraan & M. Haron 2008: 108).

14) ***Murāqaba***

It is stated in *al-Barkat al-Saylāniyya* that there are three categories of *murāqaba*:

The first of these is the observation of the heart (*murāqabat al-qalb*).

The second is the observation of the soul (*murāqabat al-rūḥ*).

The third is the observation of the innermost recesses (*murāqabat al-sirr*).

As for the “observation of the heart,” it is to fear the punishment of Allāh, the Exalted. The

“observation of the soul” is to fear separation from Allāh, the Exalted; and the “observation of the innermost recesses” is the knowledge that Allāh, the Exalted, is nearer to one than one’s self.

The sign (*‘alāma*) indicating that the “observation of the heart” is operative is to be contented with the trials of Allāh. These accords with the Qurānic verse: *And to be firm and patient, in pain, suffering, and adversity (Qur’ān, 2:177)*. This is so for the reason that he (May the blessings and peace be upon him) has said: “If Allāh loves his slave he will test him.”

The sign that the “observation of the soul” has been established is seriousness in deeds along with sincerity. This accords with his words, the Most High: *And they have been ordered with nothing else except to worship Allāh sincerely... (Qur’ān, 88:5)*. As for the sign of the “observation of the innermost recesses”, it is to hold on and cling to the rope of Allāh. These accords with the words of Allāh: *Whoever submits his whole self to Allāh, and is a doer of good, has indeed grasped the most trustworthy hand-hold (Qur’ān, 31:22)*, (Seraj Hendricks 2005: 473; see also Tudjimah1997: 20-26).

15) **Some Advices Regarding Ṣalā and Fasting**

As for how to stand when performing Ṣalā, refers to his guidance in *Asrār al-Ṣalā* that starts from the discussions that the intention of Ṣalā should coincide with the *takbirat al-ikhrām* and continue until the *salām*.

In his *Wasīyyat al-Munjīyya* [A Saving Bequest, see Ebrahiem Moose 2017], Shaykh Yūsuf advices us, especially his followers:

- To send salutations on the Prophet ﷺ at least one hundred times during the day and during the night, and not less than that.
- Then we should also say ‘*Subḥān Allāh wa al-ḥamdu li Allāh wa lā ilāha illā Allāh wa lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi Allāh al-‘Alīyy al-‘Azīm*’ (All glory and praise belong to Allāh, there is no one worthy of worship except Allāh, there is no might or power except that which is Allāh, the Exalted, the Great), one hundred times every day and every night.
- We should not leave out the recital of *Sūrat al-ikhhlāṣ* (*Qur’ān*, Ch.112) ten times after each obligatory prayer, as well as *Sūra Yāsīn* (*Qur’ān*, Ch. 36) once after the morning prayer, *Sūrat al-Faṭḥ* (*Qur’ān*, Ch. 48) after the midday prayer, *Sūrat al-Naba’* (*Qur’ān*, Ch. 78) after the afternoon prayer and the *Ḥizb al-baḥr / The litany of the ocean* (of Shaykh Abu I-

Ḥasan Al-Shādhilī) if possible three or four times. Reciting the said litany has unlimited benefits if it is said after the afternoon prayers four times. They should also recite *Sūrat al-Sajda* (*Qur'ān*, Ch. 32) after the sunset prayer and *Sūra Yāsīn* (*Qur'ān*, Ch. 36) and *Sūrat al-Wāqī'a* (*Qur'ān*, Ch. 56) after the evening prayer.

- We should not sleep before reciting *Sūrat al-Ḍuḥā* (*Qur'ān*, Ch. 93) and all following chapters until the end of the *Qur'ān*. All of that should be done once. Then they should recite 'Subhān Allāh wa al-ḥamdu li Allāh wa lā ilāha illā Allāh wa lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi Allāh al-'Alīyy al-'Azīm' (All glory and praise belong to Allāh, there is no one worthy of worship except Allāh, there is no might or power except that which is Allāh, the Most High, the Great) once and end off with *Āyat al-Kursī* (*Qur'ān*, 2: 255). This is if they are from the literate. If they are from the laymen who are illiterate, then they should recite abundantly *'Lā ilāha illā Allāh*; nothing is more beneficial to them (and to others) than this. Even if they leave out all other litanies (Ebrahiem Moose 2017: 2-3).

In *tarīb al-Dhikr* (Dadoo and M. A. Rafudeen 2017), Shaykh Yūsuf first advise us to recite some chapters of the *Qur'ān* and to know their advantages:

- One can also recite *Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ* after every *farḍ ṣalāh* ten times. It has been, where reported in a *ḥadīth* that whoever recites " *Qul huwa Allāhu aḥad*" fifty times, Allāh forgives his sins of fifty years. This has been reported by Abu I-Ya'lā on the authority of Anas, Allāh be pleased with him. After two *raka'āt* (cycles) of the *Ḍuḥā* prayer a person recites the *Qur'ānic* chapters "The Sun" (*Sūra* 91) and "The Morning Brightness" (*Sūra* 93), one can say 10 times: "*Subḥāna Allāh wa l-ḥamdu li Allāh wa lā ilāha illā Allāh wa Allāhu Akbar wa lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi llāh al-'alīy al-'azīm adada khalq Allāh bi dawām Allāh* ["Glory be to Allāh and Praise be to Allāh and there is no God but Allāh and Allāh is the Greatest. And there is no strength nor power except through the Exalted, the Majestic – such praise being in accordance with the number of Allāh's creation and in accordance with Allāh's perpetuity"], [Cf to Muslim 4/2090] (Dadoo and M.A. Rafudeen 2017: 3).
- One can also recite *Sūrat al-Sajda* (*Sūra* 32) after the sunset (*maghrib*) prayer. If time in the evening is too short to recite *Sūra Yāsīn*, then one can restrict oneself to *Sūrat al-Sajda* and *Sūrat al-Mulk*. It is reported on the authority of Jābir, and this report is authenticated, that the Prophet ﷺ would not sleep until he recited *Sūrat al-Sajda* and *Sūrat al-Mulk*. It has been reported through an uninterrupted chain that *Sūrat al-Sajda* will appear with two wings on the Day of Judgement. It will provide shelter to its reciter and will say: "There is no objection to this person." And Ibn 'Umar reports, also through an uninterrupted chain, that whoever recites *Sūrat al-Mulk* and *Sūrat al-Sajda* between *Maghrib* and *'Ishā* is like one who has

stood for prayer during the Night of Power (*Laylat al-Qadr*). Regarding *Sūra Yāsīn* there is a report of Anas, in an uninterrupted chain, to be found in Tirmidhī and other compilers that states: "Whoever recites *Yā Sīn*, Allāh records in his favour ten full recitations of the *Qur'ān*." And another uninterrupted report of Ḥasan bin 'Aṭīyya – to be found in Bayhaqī and others – states that: "One who recites *Yāsīn* is like one who has recited the entire *Qur'ān* ten times," and other noble Prophetic traditions (Dadoo and M.A. Rafudeen 2017: 3-4).

He then guides us to glorify and praise Allāh and perform some other meritorious deeds as in the following way:

- Utter *Subḥān Allāh* [Glory be to Allāh] once, *Alḥamdu li Allāh* [All Praise be to Allāh] once and *Allāhu Akbar* [Allāh is the Greatest] once. Then recite: *Lā ilāha illā Allāh waḥdahū lā sharīka lahū lahu l-mulk wa lahu l-ḥamdu yuḥyī wa yumītu wa huwa 'alā kull shay'in qadīr* [There is no god but Allāh, He has no partner, to Him belongs the Dominion and to Him belongs all Praise, He gives life and He gives death, and He has power over all things]. Then supplicate as follows: "Oh Allāh! None can prevent what You give. And none can give what You prevent. And none can turn back what You have decided and riches cannot help a wealthy person against You. And there is no strength nor power except with Allāh, the Exalted, the Magnificent. Allāh and His Angels send Salutations upon the Prophet. O you who believe send blessings upon him and salute him with all respect!" (*Qur'ān*, 33: 56). Then send salutations upon the Prophet ﷺ and then pray for whatever you wish. Then end off with *Subḥāna rabbika rabb al-'izzati 'am mā yaṣifūn wa salāmun 'alā l-mursalīn wa al-ḥamdu li llāhi rabb al-'ālamīn* [Glory be to Allāh your Lord! The Lord of Honour high above what they describe to Him! And salutations upon the Messengers! And all Praise be to Allāh, Lord of the Worlds!], (Dadoo and M.A. Rafudeen 2017: 6).
- Then say: *Lā ilāha illā Allāh* [There is no god but Allāh] ten times after every *farḍ ṣalāh*. It is reported on the authority of 'Alī, Allāh be pleased with him, that the Prophet ﷺ said that the *Fātiḥa*, the Verse of the Throne (*Āyat al-Kursī*) and two verses from *Sūra 'Āli Imrān* beginning with *Shahida Allāhu annahū lā ilāha illā hu* (*Qur'ān*, 3:18-19) and *qul Allāhumma Mālik al-Mulk* to *tarzuqu man tashā'u bi ghayri ḥisāb* [*Qur'ān*, 26-27] are suspended to the Divine Throne and there is no barrier between them and Allāh (Dadoo and M.A. Rafudeen 2017: 6).
- It is reported in a *ḥadīth qudsī*, on the authority of ibn 'Abbās and contained in the collection of Ḥākim al-Tirmidhī, from Jibrīl, upon whom be peace, who said: "Your Lord says that whoever recites the following after every *farḍ* prayer, namely, "Oh Allāh I present this to You in the presence of every breath, moment, flash and glance of creation – the glance of all

people and all things in the heavens and the earth- whichever is and was. Oh Allāh I present this to you in their presence, all of them. Oh Allāh, concerning Whom there is no god but He, the Self-Subsistent, the Eternal to the end of the Verse of the Throne"- then in one night and day of twenty-four hours there is not an hour in which seventy million good deeds do not ascend to Me until the Trumpet is blown and the angels will become preoccupied." This has also been reported by Shaykh ibn 'Arabī in a chapter of his *Futuḥāt al Makkīya* (Dadoo and M.A. Rafudeen 2017: 7).

- And similarly, at the end of every *farḍ salā* a person can supplicate, prior to speaking to anyone else, as follows:" Oh Allāh I present this to You in the presence of every breath, moment, flash and glance of creation – the glance of all people and all things in the heavens and the earth- whichever is and was. Oh Allāh I present this to you in their presence, all of them.. Oh Allāh, concerning Whom there is no God but He, the Self-Subsistent, the Eternal to the end of the Verse of the Throne." Let the person who desires virtuous deeds be assiduous in the performance of all this. There is great reward in it. And through Allāh is success (Dadoo and M.A. Rafudeen 2017: 7).
- He quoted the words of Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb Sha'rānī in his book titled *Al-Dalāla 'ala Allāh 'an Sayyidinā Khidr, Alayhi l-salām* [Proof of Allāh as reported by our leader Khidr, upon whom be peace] that he [Sayyidinā Khidr] asked the Prophets in his company for advice about warding off the removal of faith. None of the prophets were able to answer him until the time he sat in the company of the Prophet who asked Jibrīl, upon whom be peace, who asked the Lord of Honour and He said: "Whoever is assiduous in reciting the Verse of the Throne, *Āmana l-Rasūl* to its end, *Shahida Allāhu* to the verse "Indeed the Religion with Allāh is Islam" and "*Qul Allāhumma Mālik al-Mulk to bi ghayri ḥisāb, Sūra Ikhlāṣ, the Mu'awwiḍatayn, and the Fātiḥa* after every *ṣalā* will be saved from the removal of faith," (Dadoo and M.A. Rafudeen 2017: 7).
- One should also recite *Yā 'Azīz* [The Mighty] forty-one times after the dawn prayer every day. He should also recite: "Oh Deity of deities whose splendour is Exalted" nineteen times. He should also recite :"*Yā Qayyūm*" (Oh Self Subsisting)-none escapes His knowledge nor does it tire Him" seventeen times. If there is sufficient time he should recite: *Subḥān Allāhi wa bi ḥamdihī Subḥān Allāh al-'Azīm* fifteen times (Dadoo and M.A. Rafudeen 2017: 8).
- The narration with regard to fasting in the month of patience (that is, Ramaḍān), together with three days of every month, has been authentically reported from 'Alī, ibn 'Abbās and others, Allāh be pleased with them. This removes heat from the chest and feelings of rancour, anger, and deception. Tasks that assist the seeker to empty himself from the rust of

his heart together are contained in the authentic ḥadīth above (Dadoo and M.A. Rafudeen 2017: 8).

- And if one has the strength one should fast the six days of Shawwāl and the first nine days of Dhi I-Hijja. This is what our Shaykh, his inner recesses be sanctified, reported to the extent that he did not refrain from fasting even in the last years of his life. And he died in Dhi I-Hijja 1071 AH when he was 81. He did not refrain from fasting despite the difficulty he endured due to his advanced age, infirmity and the hot climate because he was a guest of Hijāz at that time. May Allāh join his soul to those of the most eminent among those closest to Allāh and crown him. Āmin (Dadoo and M.A. Rafudeen 2017: 8).
- Jābir, Allāh be pleased with him, reports: "Whoever fasts on the Day of 'Arafa obtains the reward of fasting for two years. " This is a report by ibn al-Najjār as it appears in *Jāmi' al-Kabīr* by al-Suyūṭī. It is reported by Abū Hurayrah, Allāh be pleased with him:"There are not any days in this worldly life during which He would like to be worshipped more than the ten days of Dhi I- Hijjah. The fast of each of these days equals the fasting of a year and standing in prayer every night of these ten nights is equivalent to standing for prayer on *Laylat al-Qadr*." Bayhaqī and others have reported this. Ibn 'Abbās has reported that there are no days superior in the sight of Allāh and no deeds in them more beloved to Allāh than these ten days. So increase your *takbīr* and *tahlīl* in these days. Fasting for one day during this time equals fasting for a year and doing good works in these days is multiplied seven hundred times" (Narrated by Bayhaqī), (Dadoo and M.A. Rafudeen 2017: 8-9).
- Our Shaykh used to enjoin his followers with staying awake and observing vigil during these ten nights by reciting ten chapters of the Quran every night during these nights together with group study. And thus there was completion of the recitation every third night. And on the night preceding 'Id there would be a full recitation with full understanding (Dadoo and M.A. Rafudeen 2017: 9).
- Other beneficial days for fasting and worship is the Day of 'Āshūrā and *Niṣf* (fifteenth of) *Sha'bān*. In terms of the virtues of the month of Rajab there are a number of weak reports but practicing upon their dictates is acceptable. And if you find strength to do such worship, then act on these days in the hope of Allāh's bounty. One of the reports says that fasting on the first day of Rajab is compensation for three years and fasting on the second is compensation for two years and fasting on the third, a compensation for one year. Thereafter fasting every day of this month [would be recommended]. This has been reported by Jalāl [Suyūṭī] from ibn 'Abbās. In another narration it is stated that in the month of Rajab there is a particular day and night: anyone who fasts that day and stands in prayer that night

is like a person who has fasted for a hundred years and who has stood in prayer for a hundred years. Anyone who fasts for seven days, seven doors of hell are closed for him. Anyone who fasts for eight days, eight doors of Paradise are opened for him (Dadoo and M.A. Rafudeen 2017: 9).

- And whoever has the strength should fast " the fast of my brother Dāwūd" who used to fast one day and break fast the next day [that is, fast every alternate day] and should not flee when confronting an enemy. This is reported by Tirmidhī and others on the authority of ibn 'Umar. The point here is that every one who returns to fasting after having broken it is engaged in something like the fast of Dāwūd, upon whom be peace. It is returning to something without fleeing from it. This is in terms of *jihād* against one's self which is the most avowed enemy. Whoever practises this way does not flee when he confronts his enemy (Dadoo and M.A. Rafudeen 2017: 9), and many other his advices for his followers to do that I cannot mention in this thesis, due to our limits, but please refers to the both books mentioned above.

Finally, his good advice for us in his *Tahsīl al-Ināya wa al-Ḥidāya* is that when Luqmān al-Ḥakīm was informed that he would die, he called his son and advised him: There are eight sayings from the Prophets AS (Peace be upon them). I choose four of them: Remember two things and forget two things. The first two things are to remember Allāh and the dead. The second two things are to forget your kindness to others and the wickedness of others to you (Tudjimah 1997: 95).

16) **Good Characters**

It is stated in *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya* that the perfect one who treads to Allāh also has to possess good character to all of creation besides the Creator. A *ḥadīth* stipulates: "I have been sent to perfect noble character traits" (Mālik, *Muwatta'*, Book 47, Section 1, Report No. 8). The Holy Prophet ﷺ was asked: Who will be closest to you on the Day of Judgement? He answered: The one with the best character (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Report No. 10829). This quality is desired and mandatory for everyone; let alone seekers of Allāh. Therefore, the Holy Prophet ﷺ advised: Have good conduct and have good speech together with a good heart. And do not have bad character, bad conduct and foul mouthed.¹⁵⁰ It has also been said that good character only means possessing the traits of clemency and anger management. Someone else stated that it entails exercising clemency and anger at suitable times. If the person fails to exhibit these qualities he has no right to claim good character. Allāh knows best about the reality of matters (Dadoo 2017: 5).

¹⁵⁰I have not encountered this report, couched in internal rhyme and rhythm, in any source.

The expression *ḥusn al-khalq* (showing goodness to the creation) in his *Zubdat al-Asrār* is also implied in the following tradition:

“Treat people according to their nature”¹⁵¹ And in the *ḥadīth*

“Honour the guest, even if he is a disbeliever.”¹⁵² And the *ḥadīth*

“He who believes in Allāh and His Messenger must honour the neighbour”¹⁵³.

And in the *ḥadīth*

“Do not turn away the beggar, for he is the gift of Allāh to His creature.”¹⁵⁴

And in the *ḥadīth*

“All of mankind is the family of Allāh, so the dearest to Allāh (the Exalted) is the one who is the most beneficial among them to his family.”¹⁵⁵

There is also an indication of this in the *Ḥadīth Qudsī* (Holy tradition):

“I feel embarrassed about punishing the old people among My servants.”¹⁵⁶

In this regard, the [following] verse indicates:

“Nor repulse the petitioner [unheard] (*Qurʾān*, 93:10), and the verse:

“Kind words and the covering of faults are better than charity followed by injury” (*Qurʾān*, 2: 263).

Possessing these good characters will lead someone to have the attributes of Allāh: ‘Verily Allāh has many attributes; whoever imbues himself with one of them will enter Paradise’ (ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿIsa, 1980: 218). Therefore an essential part of any *ṣūfī*, may Allāh purify their hearts, holds that: “The starting point of mysticism is to purify one’s intention towards Allāh the Exalted, and the goal of it is be decorated or adorned by the attributes of Allāh the Exalted. It is also said: “The beginning of *tasawwuf* is learning, its middle (stage) is praxis, and its end is grace”¹⁵⁷ So know that (Lubis, 1996; see also Dangor 1994 and 2017).

While in his *Tuḥfat al-abrār li ahl al-asrār* or the gift of goodness to the people of innermost

¹⁵¹These words were reportedly addressed to the Prophet Dāwūd by Allāh [see Imam Al-Ghazali’s *Iḥyā ʿUlūm Al-Dīn*, tr. Fazlul Karim, vol. 2, p. 113.

¹⁵²This *ḥadīth* appears in Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmiʿ Al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. However, the imperative is in the singular and the words “although he is a disbeliever” do not form part of the *ḥadīth*.

¹⁵³This *ḥadīth* also appears with different wording in *Al-Jāmiʿ Al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 4, p. 118.

¹⁵⁴The author has been unable to trace this *ḥadīth*.

¹⁵⁵This report is quoted by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih in his *Al-ʿIqd Al-Farīd*, vol. 1, p. 225.

¹⁵⁶This report is cited by Al-Ṣuyūṭī in his *Al-Jāmiʿ Al-Kabīr* and by al-Ghazālī in his *Al-Durrat al-Fākhira* though it differs from the wording in the text [see Al-ʿAjlūnī, *Kashf Al-Khafāʾ wa Muzīl Al-Ilbās*, vol. 1, p. 244.

¹⁵⁷This saying is attributed to Al-Suhrawardī [see *Kitāb Ādāb Al-Muridīn*, p. 35].

secrets Shaykh Yūsuf quoted the words of *ṣūfīs*, may Allāh sanctify their souls, one of whom said: “*Sufism is a good character.*” Another said: “*The beginning of Sufism is purifying your intention for Allāh and the end of it is imbibing the character of Allāh, the Exalted.*” He also said: “*Allāh has many good attributes, whoever imbibes one of them will enter paradise*” (Ebrahiem Moos on April 13th, 2017: 2).

In this regard, he stated in another his treatise namely *Sirr al-Asrār* by Dangor (1995) that the greatest goal and foremost desire for the servant is to reach Him, the Exalted, Who bestows pleasure in this world and in the Hereafter. That is what is referred to as the greatest bliss beyond which there is no greater bliss. However, that cannot be achieved unless the servant follows the footsteps of the people who have achieved (the goal) among the *Ṣūfīs* who have mystic knowledge of Allāh, from the beginning to the end. That is, first of all, devoting oneself to the pursuit of Allāh, without turning one's attention to the creation of Allāh, in accordance with the words of the Prophet: “*Imbue yourselves with the attributes of Allāh*” (this is a popular saying attributed to the Prophet), (Dangor 1995: 45-47). Furthermore, there is another text of *hadith* that has similar meaning: “*Verily, Allāh has many attributes, whoever has even one of them will enter paradise.*”

It is incumbent for the gnostic servant not to become inattentive to Allāh, the Exalted, under any circumstances. He has to adhere to the litanies he learnt from his spiritual master and conduct (himself) well with all of mankind; in accordance with the Prophet's words: “*I was not sent but to perfect noble character*”¹⁵⁸ (Dangor 1995: 51-53).

So, to reach the main goal which is the highest level and closest to the Prophet is not only by doing remembrance and praying, but also by working, doing good deeds and having good character; and this all must be done sincerely.

Shaykh Yūsuf's prayer to Allāh was: O Allāh, make us deserving of them; that is, from among the people of *lā ilāha illā Allāh* even if only on account of love for them, and make it easy for us enjoy their company; in accordance with the words of the Prophet: “*Man is with one whom he loves*” (*Kashf al-Khafā'*, vol.2:202; al-Bukhāri, *Adab*, vol.4: 153), and “*Man will be gathered (on the Last day) with his lover*”; viz. his beloved one.”¹⁵⁹

This will suffice you in maintaining high rank through love for them even if it be only in your heart. We can only reiterate:

“I do not know anyone except You

¹⁵⁸This report with slight variation in wording appears in *Al-Muṭṭa'*, p. 651.

¹⁵⁹The author has been unable to trace the latter two reports.

So oblige me with a gift from You
 Every person has a relationship with a friend.
 My friend is none other than You" (Dangor 1995: 55-57).

17) ***Good Thoughts about all People will Lead to Good Thoughts about Allāh***

The shaykh said in *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya* that a traveler on the mystical path has to cherish good thoughts about all people because it leads to positive thoughts about Allāh (Dadoo 2017: 6). He confirms that holding good thoughts about people is compulsory. For example, if we find someone acting contrary to the Divine law, we should inwardly say: Perhaps this sinner might sincerely repent due to which he will become one of Allāh's beloved servants. "Surely Allāh loves those who repent and those who purify themselves" (*Qur'ān*, 2:222), (Dadoo 2017: 7). Furthermore, he said that one cannot guide oneself as he pleases but Allāh guides who He wishes (see *Qur'ān*, 28:56).

He also reminds us to beware of deciding about the evil status of any person as soon as he commits a sin based on previous reports and writing attached hereto. Matters pertaining to the unseen world are known to Allāh alone. Know about this too. The epistles of Al-Qushayrī reports that Sayyid Al-Ḥafīd Al-Baghdādī was once sitting in the Shuqayzīyya mosque, awaiting a funeral bier to offer prayers for it. He saw a pauper, bearing signs of piety, begging. He told himself: If this man could do some work to prevent himself from begging it would be better. He then returned home where he first recited some sacred litanies. He was overcome by sleep while he was sitting. He dreamt of that pauper bringing some meat resembling grilled mutton before him and ordering him to eat it. He had earlier maligned him inwardly. Now the entire situation was unfolded before him where he had expressed those misgivings to himself. He was told that such conduct was unseemly of him and was ordered to go and seek guidance from him. The next morning he searched for him until he saw him at a place where he was picking up dirty water dripping from the leaves of some plants. The man replied to his greeting and asked if he was returning to his suspicious ways. When he replied in the negative, he told him: Go, May Allāh forgive both you and me (Dadoo 2017: 8).

19) ***Karāma, Mu'jiza, Irḥās, and Istidrāj (black magic)***

It is obvious to the intelligent servant and to the perfect gnostic that if an extraordinary act emanates from a disbeliever and corrupt person it is called *istidrāj*,¹⁶⁰ if it emanates from a virtuous man who adheres to the externals of *sharī'a* it is called *karāma*, and if it emanates from a prophet it is called *mu'jiza*. If it occurs before his prophethood it is called *irḥās [ilhām]*. So know that.

¹⁶⁰This refers to Divine deception i.e. drawing to destruction by degrees.

Furthermore, after the above-mentioned servant has accomplished all the stages discussed above: he becomes a servant devoted to Allāh (the Exalted) alone; to the exclusion of all else apart from Him [Glory be to Him]. That is the supreme goal and foremost desire. This stage is called absolute servanthood or servitude [*‘Ubūdiyyat al-Muṭlaqa*] (Lubis 1996).

20) ***Al-‘Ubūdiyyat al-Muṭlaqa (The Absolute Servitude)***

In *Zubdat al-Asrār* by Lubis (1996), it is stated that the absolute servitude or servanthood is the highest of all the stages for the servant. Know this. This matter is so defined by Allāh, the Exalted, out of appreciation for His slave Muḥammad, may Allāh bless and grant him peace in His words: “*Glorified (and Exalted) be He (Allāh) (above all that (devil) they associate with Him) who took His slave (Muḥammad -may Allāh bless and grant him peace) for a journey by night*” (*Qur’ān*, 17:1). He [Glory be to Him] does not say, ...”with His Messenger”, nor “... with His Prophet”, nor “...with His beloved”; since there is no stage above ‘*ubūdiyya* for the servant. There is only the stage of Lordship [*rubūbiyya*] which is reserved for Allāh (the Exalted). So understand all [this], and greetings.

At this stage, also, the invoker becomes the invoked, the knower becomes the known,

the observer becomes the observed, the witnesser becomes the witnessed, the disciple becomes the object, the lover becomes the beloved, the Lord becomes the essence of the servant and the servant becomes the essence of the Lord due to his annihilation (*fanā*) in All (the Exalted), and his subsistence (*baqā*) with Him (Glory be to Him), and his absorption in the Majestic Illumination (*tajalli*) through his continuous vision of Him in a state of annihilation, self-effacement, obliteration and unconsciousness; due to his having reached the stage of Mūsā¹⁶¹. Then after restoration to consciousness, he becomes a *khalīfa* of His (Glory be to Him). He is then imbued with the attributes of his Lord after attaining the state described by the tradition:

“I become his hearing and his sight”¹⁶²

However, the servant remains a servant although he has ascended (spiritually), and the Lord remains the Lord although he has descended. That is why one of those with knowledge of Allāh (the Exalted) has said in a poem:

“The sea is the sea despite what happened during the past and the events are the waves and the rivers.”

¹⁶¹This is where the *Ṣūfī* manifests the aspect of the *sirr* i.e. the innermost core of the heart.

¹⁶²See Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Jāmi Al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol.4, p 231.

21) *Al-Insān al-Kāmil (The Perfect Human)*

In his *Zubdat al-Asrār* by Lubis (1996), it is stated that the perfect human is one who knows Allāh and reaches the level of *maqām ma'rifa*. He is not a common, imperfect human who is called an animal in his physical human form." Know this. The implication of the words of Muḥammad for such a person is that he is not neglectful in remembering Allāh, the Exalted, not even for a second. He is aware that, in all matters and affairs, he originates from Allāh and proceeds towards Allāh. He exists by the will of Allāh; he exists for the sake of Allāh, together with Allāh and alongside Allāh. If this is not true, then he is not the perfect human. Allāh, the Exalted, always exists in his heart, because he never forgets God in his heart. Thus, Allāh, Glory be unto Him and Exalted becomes his heart of hearts. When He (Allāh), Glory be unto Him, sees his servant ready for a special appearance by Himself, then He, Glory be to Him and Exalted, gives him various Attributes of His. The moral slave becomes imbued with His morality. The slave becomes His caliph, Glory be to Him and Exalted, and resembles Him since God created Adam to become His caliph on earth; because a caliph is a representation of the Entity Who appointed him as a caliph (Lubis 1996: 101). [11] So He views His servant through the eyes of the One who never sleeps and changes him into anything. Thus, it can be said he is the secret of Allāh the Exalted.

Some mystics, may Allāh give them powers and help, said: "What is intended by the *ḥadīth*: (The human is My secret), is the persistence of humans in God's Knowledge before he was born and before he existed in the world" (Al-Ghazālī 1939: 108). Because Allāh, the Exalted, always exists in the servant's heart. Therefore his heart is called '*Arsh Allāh* in accordance with the words of the Messenger of Allāh, may Allāh bless and grant him peace: 'The heart of the believer is '*Arsh Allāh* (Allāh's Throne), (Al-Ghazālī 1939: 107-108). The perfect believer is thus called *al-insān al-kāmil*, just as a mosque is called God's house. In this case, some of men who are protected by Allāh from all sins, may they be given safety, said: "Where can I meet You O God? Allāh, the Exalted, answered: "Look for Me in a poor person's heart" (Al-Ghazālī 1939: 107). In another story "Where can I meet You? Allāh answers: You can meet Me in a suffering poor heart." This case is also in accordance with a sacred *ḥadīth* that Allāh, Glory be to Him and Exalted, revealed to Prophet Dāwud AS: "O Dāwud, please empty your heart in order that I can live in it"¹⁶³ since a servant is the gate keeper of God's house, and God's house is his heart, therefore a servant who is ordered by Allāh will become the holder of the message. According to the people of truth who know Allāh, no-one enters the house of his Lord, which is also termed the Populated House, in anyway whatsoever when he understands that he is not the owner of the house (Lubis 1996)

¹⁶³The author has been unable to trace this report.

Then it can be said that the cause for the inner recesses of a servant for Allāh, the Exalted, being identical to the inner secret of Allāh, the Exalted, is confirmed by His words: “Therefore remember Me (by praying, glorifying etc.) I will remember you, (and be grateful to Me (for My countless Favours to you) and never be ungrateful to Me),” (Qur’ān, 2:152) and His words in a sacred *ḥadīth*: “If a servant remembers Me in his heart, I will remember him in My heart, and if he remembers Me in front of many people, so I will remember him in front of better men than them” (Narrated by Bukhārī, Tirmīdhī, Aḥmad and Ibn Māja).

In another treatise namely *Shurūṭ al-ʿĀrif al-Muḥaqqaq* [Conditions for the Verified Gnostic by Dangor (2017)], al-Maḥassaṁī states that *al-insān al-kāmil* is called the true servant of Allāh the Exalted and is the secret [*sirr*/ Mystery, secret; in *ṣūfī* symbolism, the centre of consciousness of the Exalted in creation just as his Lord is also the secret of this servant who is imbued with the attributes of His Lord and is called by the attribute of the Exalted.

The attribute *muʿmin* [believer] is one of the attributes of the Exalted and therefore the servant is called “*al-muʿmin*” as well as by other attributes. Understand that. It is, for this reason, Allāh the Exalted says in a *ḥadīth qudsī* “the human being is my secret and I am his secret”¹⁶⁴ And he [the Prophet ﷺ] said: “a believer is the mirror of [another] believer”¹⁶⁵ i.e. the Creator [whose attribute is *Muʿmin*] is the mirror of a created believer [*muʿmin*] and vice versa (Dangor 2017: 3-4).

It is only the true servant who will imbue himself with Divine attributes and who is known as *al-insān al-kāmil* and his *sirr* and his *khalīfa*. At this stage, He restricted him to [the epithet] “*abd*” because He attributed [the word] *ʿabd* to himself by his words “my servant [*ʿabdī*] is the believer” and other *aḥādīth*. Nothing else is possible. What is intended by the word *ʿarsh* [throne] here is the place where Allāh the Exalted, the Supreme, the Most Perfect, Most Complete manifests Himself, combining the divine manifestation of the Divine qualities of *jalāl* (majesty) and the Divine qualities of *jamāl* (beauty), (Dangor 2017: 4)

This supreme manifestation is called the man of Truth [may He be Praised and Exalted] because of the appearance of the Exalted in him with the Supreme, Perfect, Complete *tajallī* (Allāh’s unveiling of Himself to his creation) and [Allāh] the Exalted encompassed him with his *taʿayyun* (the manifestation of the essential characteristics inherent in the Divine Being). At this stage, it is said that the Manifest and the manifested are one because of encompassing him with everything, in everything, upon everything, at everything, from

¹⁶⁴Cited in Al-Jīlānī, ʿAbd Al-Qādir. *The Secret of Secrets*, interpreted by Shaykh Tosun Bayrak Al-Jerrahi Al-Halvetī, Delhi: Muslim Media, pp. 24, 83.

¹⁶⁵Cited in Al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad. *Al-Ādāb Al-Mufrad*; Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī cited in Al-Jīlānī, p. 76.

everything, to everything. The follower who reaches this stage becomes annihilated in Allāh and abiding in Allāh and the perfect heart is more extensive than the two universes which He expanded for him due to the manifestation of [Allāh] the Exalted in him as mentioned previous (Dangor 2017: 4-5).

With regard to this stage, the Greatest *Imām*, the Master of Masters and King of the Gnostics, our master Shaykh Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī¹⁶⁶ said: “the throne and whatever it encompasses [according to one narration] is the heart of the gnostics” (Dangor 2017: 5).

The leader of the *qutb* of the human race, master of verification and Art our master ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī¹⁶⁷ [may Allāh the Exalted sanctify his inner recesses] said: “[all] people do not know everything that we have enunciated, except the One who is He [*Huwa*¹⁶⁸]. We are He” (Dangor 2017: 5).

The secret of the gnostic is to be occupied with [the remembrance of] Allāh the Exalted in all his affairs, frequently reverting to the hereafter, renouncing the material world and removing the hindrance to the soul and serving the *ṣūfī* masters and engrossing in *dhikr* silently or audibly and intimacy with the people of Allāh the Exalted et cetera (Dangor 2017: 6).

When it was said to the *imām*, the *shaykh*, leader and absolute master of the group, Abū’l Qāsim al-Junayd al-Baghdādī [may Allāh sanctify his secret]: “how have you arrived at this stage?” i.e. the stage of *qutayba* (the highest station in the *ṣūfī* hierarchy of saints). He replied: “by placing this” while placing his hand on his cheek “on the threshold of my *shaykh*’s door for forty years” (Dangor 2017: 7).

Likewise, the *imām* and king of the saints and inheritor of the prophets master *Shaykh* ‘Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī [May Allāh sanctify his spirit and may we benefit from him] was asked: “How have you reached Allāh the Exalted?” He replied by stating [lit. in his words] “I did not reach Allāh the Exalted through abundance of prayer and fasting but through humility and generosity of spirit and soundness of heart and fulfilment of promises” (Cited in al-Ghawth, Abū Madyan Shu‘ayb al-Maghribī. *Ādāb al-Ṭarīq*), (Dangor 2017: 7).

¹⁶⁶Abū Yazīd Ṭayfūr b. ‘Īsā b. Surūshān Al-Biṣṭāmī (Al-Baṣṭāmī) (d. 261 A.H./874–5 or 234A.N./848–9), commonly known in the Iranian world as Bāyazīd Biṣṭāmī, was a Persian *Ṣūfī*, from north-central Iran. Known to *Ṣūfīs* as Sultān-ul-Ārifīn (“King of the Gnostics”), Bistami became famous for originating the concept of fanā’ [the passing of the individual self into universal Being] and he was one of the pioneers of what later came to be known as the “drunken” or “ecstatic” (*sukr*) school of *Ṣūfīsm*.

¹⁶⁷Abd Al-Karīm Al-Jīlī was a *Ṣūfī* saint who was born in 1366 CE at Jil in Baghdad. He is said to have been a descendant of Shaykh ‘Abd Al-Qādir Al-Jīlānī. Al-Jīlī travelled in India and lived in Yemen from 1393 to 1403. He wrote more than twenty books, of which *Universal Man* is the best known.

¹⁶⁸*Huwa* means He. In relation to Allāh it means the Supreme Self.

Reflect on the words of these poles [*aqtāb*], guides and gnostics. We deliberated between us and them on matters relating to the hereafter in addition to matters relating to Allāh the Exalted (Dangor 2017: 7).

If you follow a path other than of those who are gnostics by Allāh the Exalted then you have strayed from the eternal path and the straight path and you have become among the people of fire without [any] doubt or uncertainty. May Allāh protect us from that. Know that and ponder and do not fall into error in order that you may be among them if Allāh wills (Dangor 2017: 7).

From the above explanation, Shaykh Yūsuf is really a great *ṣūfī* and it is not surprising if he has a title as '*Walī Qutb al-Rabbānī wa al-Ārifīna al-Ṣamaḍānī*'¹⁶⁹ who has contributed significantly to Islam by following our Prophet Muḥammad SAW. In practice, he firstly advocated to bring a purification of belief or *imān* to the Oneness of God, and then by completing the other pillars of Dīn al-Islam i.e. the entire of Islam and *iḥsān* (good *akhlāq* or character including *ṣūfīsm*) till one can reach the highest maqām *al-'Ubudiyyat al-Muṭlaqa* and then becomes *insān al-kamīl* (the perfect man). Most of these contributions become his reforms in the Islamic Mystical world that will be discussed in brief in the last Chapter with his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* and his own *ṭarīqa* namely *al-Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya*.

3.4 The Intellectual Background of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī

To understand his intellectual background, we need to know who his principal masters from Macassar, his birth place to the Middle East were; as well as his intellectual inspiration regarding his works. The following is a list of his principal masters based on his educational experiences on the previous discussion and other masters mentioned in his works.

3.4.1 His Local Masters in Makassar (around 1632-1644)

- 1) I Daeng ri Tasammeng (around 1632-1636) who taught him to read *al-Qur'ān*, till he memorised it at the age of 8 years old, as well as the Arabic grammatical and *Fiqh* science [Islamic jurisprudence] in Gowa Kingdom (Daeng Magassing 1933).
- 2) Sri Naradireja ibn 'Abd al-Makmur (Datuk ri Panggentungan, the son of Datuk ri Bandang who built an Islamic school specialising in the field of mysticism in Kaluku Bodoa, Tallo in 1634), who taught him Islamic mysticism in 1636-1640 & in 1642).

¹⁶⁹For more information, see Nuruddin Dg. Magassing (1933: 53 & 79); see also al-Maqassarī in *Tuḥfat al-Labīb bi Liqā'i l-Ḥabīb* (c1735: 106). This will be discussed also in the next Chapter.

- 3) Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Aidit from Aceh who built Islamic school in 1640; who taught him Islamic mysticism in 1641 (A. Muawiyah Ramly 2006: 74). This Shaykh was known as the progenitor of a school known as *Tarekat Bahr al-Nūr* [The path of the Ocean of Divine Light], (M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 12 August 2017).
- 4) A holy person at the top of Bawakaraeng Mountain (the name of the holy person as his teacher was not mentioned). At the time (around 1643), he with Sri Naradireja bin 'Abd al-Makmūr Datuk ri Panggentungan (his master) and 'Abd Allāh Lokmok ri Antang (his colleague) took lessons in mysticism from this holy person.

Although those local teachers only taught the essentials and mysticism they had a great influence on him.

3.4.2 His Principal Teachers Overseas

Based on the explanation in Chapter Two as well as the names of his masters mentioned in all his works, we can identify the list of the principal teachers of Shaykh Yūsuf as in the following:

In Aceh till India (around 1645-1648)

- 1) Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī (died 1068/1658) in Randīr, Surat, India. From him, he obtained a certificate of *al-Qādirīyya* and he may also have learned *al-Rifa'īyya Ṣūfī Order* from him because he was appointed as a caliph of both *Ṣūfī* orders by his teacher Bā' Shayban; and
- 2) Shaykh 'Umar bin 'Abd Allāh Bā Shaybān (died 1066 A.H./1656) on the Gujarat coast. As for the *al-Aydrusīyya Ṣūfī Order*, he probably took lessons from this shaykh since he was also initiated into these *ṣūfī* order besides *Qādirīyya* and *Rifā'īyya* (Azra 2007: 207) Likewise the *Shādhilīyya* and *Suhrawardīyya* he also probably took lessons from this Shaykh. Bā Shaybān was the only student of his master Shaykh 'Abd Allāh bin Shaykh al-Aydarus (died 1041 A.H./1631), who was initiated into a number of *ṣūfī* orders including the *Aydrusīyya*, *Qādirīyya*, *Shādhilīyya* and *Suhrawardīyya Ṣūfī Orders* (Azra 2007: 207-208)

In Yemen (around 1649/1653)

- 3) Shaykh Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad 'Abd al-Bāqī (died 1074 A.H./1664). From him, Shaykh Yūsuf obtained a certificate of *Ṭarīqat al-Naqshabandīyya*.

- 4) Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Malkib al-Ārifīn ibn Zakarīyā bin Sulṭān 'Uthmān al-Naqshabandī was from India, but his family originated from Haḍramawt. It has been recorded in *al-Risālat al-Naqshabandīyya* (H. Abdullah 1930: 77) that Shaykh Yūsuf took lessons from him. This had to be in a metaphorical sense through Yusuf's contemplation of his teachings since according to Azra, this shaykh died in 1052 A.H./1642 (Azra, 1992: 428).
- 5) Shaykh Sayyid 'Alī al-Zabidī (died 1072 A.H./1662). From him he obtained a certificate of *Ṭarīqa Sādat al-Bā 'Alawīyya*.
- 6) Shaykh Muḥammad bin al-Wājiyyat al-Saudī al-Yamanī (Al-Maqassarī in *al-Nafhāt al-Saylānīyya*, 1116c. A.H.:25; see also Azra 1992: 421).

Another shaykh from Yemen who was also mentioned in *al-Nafhāt al-Saylānīyya*, is Shaykh ibn 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad bin Muḥammad al-Zajāzī al-Naqshabandī al-Yamanī (Al-Maqassarī in *al-Nafhāt al-Saylānīyya*, 1116c. A.H.: 25). According to Azyumardi Azra, this shaykh was probably Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Mizjājī. Based on past evidence, the copiers of al-Maqassarī's works had misspelt the names of several of his teachers (Azra 1992: 425). Even if this name is correct, giving this Shaykh's name as one of his teachers does not decrease the value of his works as a great *ṣūfī* at the time.

- 7) Sayyid Abū Bākar ibn Salīm Al-Irāqī, who was famous in Haḍramawt as has been recorded in *Zubdat al-Asrār* [Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 101 or Jakarta Manuscript A 101];
- 8) Imām 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād.

In Makka and Mādīna (around 1653/1654-1657)

First, he completed his pilgrimage at the end part of 1653 and then in 1654 he started his studying in Madīna.

- 9) Shaykh Burḥān al-Dīn al-Mulla ibn al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm bin al-Husayn bin Shihab al-Kurdī al-Kūrānī (al-Kawrānī) al-Madanī (died 1101/1690). From this Shaykh, he obtained a certificate of *Ṭarīqatal-Shattarīyya*.
- 10) Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī (died 1071/1661). Shaykh Yūsuf probably learnt the *Kubrawīyya ṭarīqa* from him. He was one of the leading figures of the *Shattarīyya* and

Naqshahabandīyya Orders, as he was also a follower of *Kubrawīyya Ṣūfī Order* (Adiana and Kalam 2002: 16)

- 11) Shaykh Muḥammad Murāz al-Shāmī or Muḥammad Mirza al-Dimashqī (died 1066/1656). He was a guest in the City of al-Madīnat al-Munawwara. Probably his origin was from Syria or Damascus, therefore he was called Muḥammad Murāz al-Shāmī or Muḥammad Mirzā al-Dimashqī (Al-Maqassarī in *al-Nafaḥāt al-Saylānīyya*, 1116c. A.H.: 25; see also Azra 1992: 425).
- 12) Shaykh Ḥasan ibn 'Alī bin 'Umar bin Yaḥyā al-'Ajāmī al-Makkī (died 1113 A.H./1701) who has been also recoded in *al-Nafaḥāt al-Saylānīyya*. He was one of the leading figures of *Tarīqat al-Sattarīyya* in Makka.
- 13) Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm al-Naqshabandī al-Lahūrī in Lahore, India, who settled in the *Ḥāram* of Madīna. Azyumardi Azra related that the Shaykh was very likely 'Abd al-Karīm al-Hindī al-Lahūrī who settled in the *Ḥaram*, and flourished in the seventeenth century (Azra 1992: 424). The lesson that Shaykh Yūsuf obtained from this *Shaykh* was recorded in *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*.

In Damascus (around 1658-1661)

- 14) Shaykh Raslān al-Dimashqī or Shaykh Karīm al-Raslānī Abū Yaḥyā Zakarīyyā al-Anṣārī. His name was found in the treatises *Fath al-Raḥmān* and *Ma'nā al-Wujūd*. There are no more data found regarding this Shaykh, nor where he stayed nor when Shaykh Yūsuf met him. We decided to place him in this section as his name is al-Dimashqī, although he probably stayed in Madīna or in Yemen.
- 15) Shaykh Abū al-Barakāt Ayyūb ibn Aḥmad bin Ayyūb al-Khalwatī Al-Qurayshī (died 1071/1661). He gave Shaykh Yūsuf a degree Tāj al-Khalwatī as well as the certificate of *Tarīqat al-Kalwattīyya*.

Shaykh Yūsuf returned to the *Ḥāram* between 1662 and 1667 to become a great teacher in *ṣūfism* at the central mosque as well as to complete his copying of the treatises of his master in Madīna Shaykh Burḥān al-Dīn al-Mullā ibn al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm bin al-Ḥusayn bin Shihāb al-Kurdī al-Kūrānī (al-Kawrānī) al-Madanī in 1664.

Therefore, Shaykh Yūsuf learned from around fifteen *ṣūfī shaykhs* or masters as well as scholars of *Ḥadīth*, *Qur'ānic* exegesis, and jurisprudence from 1646 to 1661 and then he became a great teacher at *al-Ḥaram* mosque in 1662 till the end of 1667. It was reported that he mastered eighteen *ṣūfī* orders and obtained five certificates from them although

only ten *ṣūfī* orders could be identified with his masters.

According to Auwais Rafudeen, Shaykh Yūsuf received his Islamic education with scholars who resided in the very heart of *Sunni* orthodoxy (M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 12 August 2017). Therefore all his mystical teachings are based on *Sunni* orthodoxy.

3.4.3 His Intellectual Inspirations

The following section is a brief discussion about some of the intellectual inspirations for Shaykh Yūsuf's works to complete the picture of his intellectual background which will be divided into two:

The first source of his intellectual inspiration for his works, in general, comes from the result of his own internal spiritual journey to Allāh and his Divine cognisance that he obtained when he took lessons from all his masters either from Macassar, India or the Middle East; whether he mentioned his masters' names or not. This is because all his works that have been summarised above are written after Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī learnt Islamic *ṣūfism*. After he succeeded in his spiritual journey to Allāh, he attained sainthood and always asked for His guidance before recording anything. He never published anything until he obtained Divine permission. Shaykh Yūsuf always strove to present his writing in a humble and honest way.

The second source of his intellectual inspirations for most of his works mentioned above comes from either his masters or teachers mentioned in the texts, the content of texts, or a combination of both. Some of them are only the author's assumptions or predictions based on the main teachings of his five *Ṣūfī* Orders (*Qādirīyya*, *Naqshabandīyya*, *Bā 'Alawīyya*, *Shattarīyya*, *Khalwatīyya*), (Sultan 2015 100-189) and even *Yūsufīyya* or *Khalwatīyyat al-Yūsufīyya*, as based on their application and evident among his followers in South Sulawesi; and not based on the knowledge of the Shaykh. This discussion needs more investigation into data sources and falls outside the parameters of this thesis.

Inspired by the Teaching of All His Masters from His Country to the Middle East as well as the Result of His Spiritual Experiences

1) ***Asrār al-Ṣalā*** (the Secrets of Prayer or *Ṣalā*)

This work is probably inspired by the teaching of all his masters as well as the result of his spiritual experiences.

2) ***Safīnat al-Najāh*** [The Ark of Safety or the Vessel of Salvation]

This work is inspired by his appreciation to all his masters from whom he learned and mastered the eighteen *ṣūfī* orders. He also outlined the chain of transmission for his

five certificated *ṣūfī* orders.

Inspired by Some of His Ṣūfis Masters from India to the Middle East as well as His Own Spiritual Experiences

3) ***Al-Nafḥat al-Saylānīyya [The Breeze from Ceylon or the Fragrance of Ceylon]***

At the end of this treatise, Shaykh Yūsuf acknowledges the advice he received from six of his masters and some others, who are:

- a. Abu al-Barakāt Ayyūb, son of Aḥmad, son of Ayyūb, the Syrian and Qurayshite Khalwatī;
- b. Muḥammad Mirzā, the Syrian, who settled in Madīna;
- c. Muḥammad, son of Al-Wajīh Al-Sa'dī, the Yemenite;
- d. Mullā Ibrāhīm, son of Ḥasan, son of Shihāb Al-Dīn, the Kurd and Madanite;
- e. Ḥasan, son of 'Alī, son of 'Umar, son of Yaḥyā, the Persian and Makkan;
- f. Muḥammad, son of Muḥammad, the Zajāzī, Naqshbandī and Yemeni;
- g. Others.

Considering the names of his masters as well as the contents, this work seems to be inspired by the teaching of most his masters in the Middle East, including his *Khalwatīyya*, *Naqshbandīyya*, *Bā 'Alawīyya* and *Shattarīyya* masters, even some other masters from India. According to Tudjimah (1997: 40), this work is a collection of some of Shaykh Yūsuf's works written by one of his students in Ceylon in 1116 A.H./1704. Although he only mentions his *Khalwatīyya*, *Naqshbandīyya* and *Shattarīyya ṣūfī* masters without mentioning his *Bā 'Alawīyya ṣūfī* master and his masters from India in this text, this does not mean that the teaching of the last group of *ṣūfī* masters did not influence it as he covered these masters under the phrase "ās well as others"¹⁷⁰

4) ***Zubdat al-Asrār [The Essence of Secrets]***

This treatise is accredited to Shaykh Yūsuf as it is written based on his name al-Hāj Yūsuf al-Tāj who was given a degree with Abū al-Maḥāsin besides his Shaykh by his teacher, Shaykh Abū Ayyūb al-Barakāt ibn Aḥmad bin Ayyūb al-Khalwatī. On the cover of the collection of Shaykh Yūsuf's works in Cod. Or. 7025, Arabic Manuscript of UB Leiden, the name of one of his *Shattarīyya* masters, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī is also mentioned. He also quoted the words of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadīr al-Jīlānī, who he describes as the founder of *Qādirīyya Ṣūfī* Orders. Considering these, its content is

¹⁷⁰For more information about the teachings of the six *ṣūfī* orders including his *ṣūfī* order [*Yūsufiyya* or *Khalwatīyyat al-Yūsufiyya*] as the essence of all his *ṣūfī* orders, see Sultan (2015:100-190).

the combination of several *ṣūfī* orders or at least the combination of *Qādirīyya*, *Naqshabandīyya*, *Shattarīyya* and *Khalwatīyya Ṣūfī* Orders. He probably started recording the lessons of this treatise while in India, continued with them on his journey to Yemen and Madīna, and completed them in Damascus between 1649 to 1651 and 1658 to 1661; or at least before his *Khalwatīyya* master died. This treatise was written in Banten at the end of Shawwāl 1087 A.H./1676 and then copied in Bone 1186 A.H./1772.

5) ***Qurrat al-'Ayn [Consolation for Eyes]***

This is written by al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj Abī al-Maḥāsin al-Shafī' al-Ash'arī al-Khalwatī. Reviewing the content of this work, it seems to be inspired by the teachings of some of his masters in the Middle East. It is not only inspired by the teaching of his master Shaykh Ibrahīm al-Kūrānī (as the name found in the Manuscript of UB Leiden Cod. Or. 7025), but it may also be inspired by the teaching of his *ṣūfī* masters Shaykh Abū al-Barakāt Ayyūb b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb al-Khalwatī al-Qurayshī, Shaykh Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad 'Abd al-Bāqī ibn Shaykh al-Kabīr al-Misjāji al-Yamanī al-Zaydī al-Naqshabandī as well as Sayyid 'Alī al-Zabidī (Sultan 2015: 100-176).

6) ***Shurūṭ al-'Arif al-Muḥaqqaq***. It seems this work is largely inspired by the teachings from his *Shattarīyya ṣūfī* masters, and he also quoted the statements of the *ṣūfī* masters of the *Khalwatīyya* and *Qādirīyya Ṣūfī* Orders.

7) ***Tāj al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Mashārib al-'Arifīn*** by al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf Abū al-Maḥāsin al-Tāj [the Crown of Secrets with regard to the Verification of the Ecstasy of the Gnostics from among the people of Perseverance]. This work is inspired by the teachings of his masters, Abū al-Barakāt Ayyūb b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb al-Khalwatī al-Qurayshī as well as Ibrahīm al-Kūrānī since another version of the text of the Manuscript of UB Leiden Cod. Or 7025 (on the cover of Cod. Or 7025), mentions the name of his master Ibrahīm al-Kūrānī as well as the result of his spiritual experiences in Allāh's path.

8) ***Tuḥfat al-Abrār li Ahl al-Asrār [The gift of the Good Ones to the People of Secrets]***. This text seems to be a synopsis of some his other works. Therefore, it may be said that it is inspired by the teachings of all his principal masters from India to the Middle East or at least from his masters who taught him and gave him certificates. This is combined with his own mystical experiences.

- 9) ***Waṣīyyat al-Munjīyya [a Saving Bequest]***. It seems that a part of this text is a synopsis of some of his treatises and some others parts are new, brief explanations. This work is probably inspired by the teachings of his masters who taught him and gave him certificates as well as his personal spiritual experiences.
- 10) ***Wājib al-Wujūd [The Essential, Indispensable Existence]***. This work is probably inspired by the teachings of his masters of *Qādirīyya*, *Naqshabandīyya* and *Khalwatīyya ṣūfī* masters.
- 11) ***Al-Barkat al-Saylānīyya (the Blessing from Ceylon)***. This work is probably inspired by the teachings of his masters from *Khalwatīyya Naqshabandīyya* and *Shattarīyya Ṣūfī* Orders.¹⁷¹
- 12) ***Sirr al-Asrār [Secret of Secrets]***. It was probably inspired by most of his masters from India and the Middle East since its content is not only from his master Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī but also from a combination of five certified *ṣūfī* orders. Thereafter, it was entitled Secret of Secrets. Although some parts of the text have been mentioned before in *Zubdat al-Asrār* and some other his works, other parts are original, and they complement each other. He probably took lessons for it in India, Yemen, Makka, Madīna and Damascus between 1646 and 1661; and from his *Qādirīyya*, *Naqshabandīyya*, *Bā 'Alawīyya*, *Shattarīyya* as well as *Khalwatīyya ṣūfī* masters,¹⁷² and then blended the essence of all these teachings into his famous *ṭarīqa* in South Sulawesi called as *Yūsufīyya* or *Khalwatīyyat al-Yūsufīyya*.

Inspired by the Teaching of His Khalwatīyya and Shattarīyya Ṣūfī Masters

- 13) ***Tuḥfat al-Amr fī Faḍīlat al-Dhikr [the Gift of the Divine Command regarding the Virtue of Dhikr]***. It was inspired by the teachings of some of his masters in the Middle East or at least from his *Khalwatīyya* and *Shattarīyya ṣūfī* masters.¹⁷³
- 14) ***Kaifīyyat al-Dhikr [the Method of Remembering Allāh]***¹⁷⁴
- 15) ***Tartīb al-Dhikr [the Sequence of Dhikr or Remembering Allāh]***¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹See the teaching of his *ṭarīqat al-Naqshabandīyya*, *Shattarīyya* and *Khalwatīyya* in Sultan (2015: 118-126 & 150-183).

¹⁷²See the teachings of all *ṣūfī* orders in Sultan (2015:100-177).

¹⁷³See the teaching of his *ṭarīqat Al-Shattarīyya* and *Khalwatīyya* in Sultan (2015: 150-183).

¹⁷⁴See footnote No. 173 above.

¹⁷⁵See footnote above.

Inspired by his Khalwatīyya Ṣūfī Master al-Shaykh Abū al-Barakāt Ayyūb ibn Aḥmad bin Ayyūb al-Khalwatī al-Quraishī al-Shamī as well as denotes the chronicles of His spiritual journey

- 16) *Ikhtīṣāṣ al-Dhikr* [The Specification of *Dhikr*]
- 17) *Ma'nā qaul Lā ilāha illā Allāh* [The Meaning of the Phrase *Lā ilāha illā Allāh* "There is no god but Allāh"]
- 18) *Haqīqat al-Rūḥ* [the Reality of the Soul]
- 19) *Al-Fawā'ih al-Yūsufīyya fī Bayān Taḥqīq al-Ṣūfīyya* [The Utterances of Yūsufīyya [based on Shaykh Yusuf] in Explaining the Verification/Realization of the Ṣūfīs]
- 20) *Kaifīyyat al-Nafyi Wa al-Ithbāt bi al-Ḥadīth al-Qudsī* [The Way of Negation and Affirmation (*Dhikr*) via the Ḥadīth Qudsī]
- 21) *Taḥsīl al-'Ināya wa al-Ḥidāya* [The Acquisition of Divine Providence and Guidance]
- 22) *Baḥr al-Lāhūt [Ocean of Divine Nature]*. It seems that this work is inspired by his *Khalwatīyya* master and denotes the chronicles of his spiritual journey since a part of this text has been discussed in *Wājib al-Wujūd* and *Taḥsīl al-'Ināya wa al-Ḥidāya*.
- 23) *Bidāyat al-Mubtadī'* [The First Step of the Novice]
- 24) *Tuḥfat al-Labīb bi Liqā' al-Ḥabīb* [The Valuable Gift concerning the Meeting with the Beloved or The Gift of the Essence in Meeting with the Beloved]
- 25) *Al-Minḥat al-Saylānīyya fī al-Minḥat al-Raḥmāniyya* [The Gifts of Ceylon in relation to the Gifts of the Merciful]

Inspired by His Master Shaykh Karīm al-Raslānī Abū Yaḥyā Zakarīyyā al Anṣārī or Shaykh Raslān al-Dimashqī

- 26) *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān* [The Revelation of the Merciful]. This work is inspired by the teaching of his master Shaykh al-Raslān al-Dimashqī.
- 27) *Ma'nā al-Wujūd [the Meaning of Existence]* .This work is probably inspired by the teaching of his master Shaykh Karīm al-Raslānī Abū Yaḥyā Zakarīyyā al Anṣārī or Shaykh Raslān al-Dimashqī (as has been mentioned in another work namely *Faṭḥ al-*

Raḥmān).

Inspired by His Shattariyya Master Shaykh Mullā Ibrahīm bin Ḥasan Shahābuddīn al-Kurdī al-Kūrānī, then Madanī

- 28) ***Ishrīn Şifa*** [Twenty attributes] since the name of his Shaykh is appeared on the text.
- 29) ***Fath Kaifiyyat al-Dhikr*** [the Explanation Concerning the Ways of Doing *Dhikr* or Introduction to the Method of *Dhikr*].
- 30) ***Hādhihi Fawā'id 'Aẓīma*** [These are the Great Benefits]¹⁷⁶
- 31) ***Al-Dhikr wa al-Du'ā*** [Remembering and *Du'ā*]¹⁷⁷
- 32) ***Kitāb al-Anbāh fī l'rāb lā ilāha illā Allāh*** [The Books of Instruction with Respect to the Declaration *Lā ilāha illā Allāh*] by Sayyidinā al-Sharīf al-'Ālim al-Muḥaqqiq al-'Ārif bi Allāh Ta'ālā al-Shaykh Yūsuf bin 'Abd Allāh al-Jāwī al-Makāssarī Qaddasa Allāh sirrahu.

Another version of this work, namely ***Kitāb Inbāh al-Inbāh fī l'rāb lā ilāha illā Allāh*** [The Book of Annotations of *Kitāb Inbāh al-Inbāh fī l'rāb lā ilāha illā Allāh*] mentioned the name of his master al-Shaykh Ibrahīm ibn Ḥasan al-Kūrānī al-Madanī. The contents of both are similar, so these works are both inspired by the teachings of his master al-Shaykh Ibrahīm ibn Ḥasan al-Kūrānī al-Madanī (Leiden Manuscripts).

- 33) ***Tuḥfat al-Mursala*** [The Manifest Gift]. It seems there is a connection between this text and the *Ishrīn Şifa* [Twenty Attributes]; therefore it maybe inspired by the teachings of his master Shaykh Mullā Ibrahīm bin Ḥasan Shahāb al-Dīn al-Kurdī al-Kūrānī, then Madanī.

Inspired by His Qādirīyya Şūfī Master or Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī

- 34) ***Al-A'yān al-Thābita*** [the Permanent Archetypes]. This work is probably inspired by the teachings of his *Qādirīyya Şūfī* Master or Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī since there is a connection between this work and another work entitled *Risāla Ghāyat al-Ikhtishār wa Nihāyat al-Intizār*, below.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶See the name of his master in the cover of Or 7025 Arabic Manuscript of UB Leiden.

¹⁷⁷See footnote No. 176 above, since it is emanate from the same source.

¹⁷⁸See also the discussion of *Tajallī and A'yān ul Thābita* Concepts in the book "Allāh dan Manusia dalam Konsepsi Syekh Nuruddin ar-Raniry" by Dr Ahmad Daudy, MA (1983: 96-116).

- 35) ***Risāla Ghayāt al-Iqtisār wa Nihāyat al-Intizār***. This treatise is similar to the works of al-Ranīrī that had been analysed by Naguib Al-Attas' (1986), (M. Keraan and M. Haroon 2008). Therefore, a big possibility is that he was inspired by his masters Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī around 1646-1648 in Rāndīr, Surat, India and then the treatise was written in Ceylon around 1684-1693.

***Inspired by the Teaching of His Qādiriyya and Khalwatiyya Master
as well as the Result of His Spiritual Experience***

- 36) ***Ṣūra or an Image (of Tawḥīd)***. This work seems inspired by the teaching of his master Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī,¹⁷⁹ and his *Khalwatīyya* master and the result of his spiritual journey.

***Inspired by the Teaching of His Master Shaykh Muḥammad Bāqī
al-Naqshabandī al-Yamanī***

- 37) ***Talkhis al-Ma'ārif [The Synopsis of the Divine Knowledge]***. In this text, the compiler mentioned that he was trained by Shaykh Muḥammad Bāqī al-Naqshabandī al-Yamanī. Therefore it can be said that this work is inspired by the teaching of this Shaykh.
- 38) ***Al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya [The Divine Revelation]*** or also is called as *Al-Tuḥfat al-Rabbāniyya [The Divine Gift]*. In this treatise, he mentions his teacher's name, al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Mizjājī al-Yamanī (Al-Tīmī 1735: 69; see also Bruinessen 1992: 39).
- 39) ***Al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm [The Straight Path]***. It seems that this work inspired by his master Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (Hamka 1963).

Inspired by the Teaching of His Khalwatiyya and Naqshabandiyya Masters

- 40) ***Daf ' al-Balā' [Repelling Calamity]***
Since its content is found in a part of *Zubdat al-Asrār* and *Sirr al-Asrār*, it may be assumed that he took lessons from the same masters from whom he learnt *Zubdat al-Asrār* and *Sirr al-Asrār*. Or he may have taken lessons from his Shaykh Abū al-Barakāt Ayyūb ibn Aḥmad ibn Ayyūb al-Khalwatī al-Quraishī al-Shamī and Shaykh Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad 'Abd al-Bāqī ibn Shaykh al-Kabīr al-Misjājī al-Yamanī al-Zaydī al-Naqshabandī.

¹⁷⁹See Ahmad Daudy in Allāh dan Manusia dalam Konsepsi Shaykh Nuruddin ar-Raniry (1983: 80-116).

41) ***Habl al-Warīd Li Sa'ādat al-Murīd* [A Jugular Vein for the Happiness of the Disciples]**

The writer's name is mentioned as Shaykh al-Hājj Yūsuf al-Tāj al-Mahāsīn Hadīyyat Allāh in this treatise. He also stated that when he entered the *Naqshabandīyya ṭarīqa*, he had accomplished visualizing God with his heart and was educated by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Naqshabandī al-Yamanī. Based on this name, it may be assumed that it is inspired by the teaching of his master al-Shaykh Abū al-Barakat Ayyūb bin Aḥmad bin Ayyūb al-Khalwatī al-Quraishī al-Shāmī and Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Naqshabandī al-Yamanī. It was composed in Ceylon in 1099 A.H/1688 and based on his students' and companions' request among spiritual adherents (Tudjimah 1997: 14).

Inspired by the Teaching of His Master Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Malkib al-'Arifīn ibn Zakarīyya Ibn Sulṭān 'Uthmān al-Naqshabandī

42) ***Al-Risālat al-Naqshabandīyya* [The *Naqshabandīyya* Treatise]**. It was written based on the dictation by his teacher Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Malkib al-'Arifīn ibn Zakarīyya Ibn Sulṭān 'Uthmān al-Naqshabandī. Its place and year of publication are not mentioned. Therefore, it could be said that this work is inspired by the teaching of this Shaykh (Abdullah 1930: 76-77; see also Bruinessen 1992: 39). Although this event may be occurred in a metaphorical sense based on the previous discussion.

3.5 A Summary of this Text

In one of his treatises, Shaykh Yūsuf has been referred to as Abī al-Maḥāsīn al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Shāfi'ī al-Ash'arī Tāj al-Khalwatī. This indicates that he followed the Shafi'ī *madhhab*, Ash'arī theology and was considered the crown of the *Khalwatī* Order who has a title as a father of goodness. Another title of him mentioned by Nuruddin Dg. Magassing is “*Walī Quṭb al-Rabbānī wa al-‘Ārifīna al-Ṣamadānī*”, which is the same position in the hierarchy of *aqtāb* as *Quṭb al Ghawth* or *Quṭb al-Kabīr*. He was a great *ṣūfī*, a prolific writer who wrote more than fifty treatises, which were then developed and published by his students and his progeny up to his great-great grandsons. Despite not everything has to be discussed here in detail, but the author thinks it is enough to know his personality as well as his teachings. He reformed *ṣūfism* in the seventeenth century. His style was very clear while his soft-spoken manner aroused the interest of people. He was a brave traveler who sought knowledge from Gowa to Banten, Aceh, India and the Middle East. He learnt from around fifteen *ṣūfī* shaykhs, *Ḥadīth* experts (*Muḥaddithīn*), exegetes (*Mufasssīrīn*) and Islamic legists (*fuqahā'*) from 1646 until 1661. He then became a great teacher at *al-Ḥāram* mosque in 1662 till the end of 1667. In 1664, he completed the copying of his master's works, Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī in Madīna and then returned to Makka to continue his teaching. He mastered eighteen *ṣūfī* orders and obtained five certificates in them such as *Qādirīyya* by *Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī*, *Naqshabandīyya* by *Shaykh Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad 'Abd al-Bāqī* the son of *Shaykh al-Kabīr al-Misjājī al-Yamanī al-Zaydī al-Naqshabandī*, *Ba 'Alawīyya* by *Shaykh Sayyid 'Alī*, *Shattariyya* by *Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī*, and *Khalwatīyya* by *Shaykh Abū al-Barakāt 'Ayyūb* the son of *Aḥmad* the son of 'Ayyub al-Khalwatī, the Syrian and *Quraishite*.

Furthermore, he took the essence of all lessons from his teachers and established his own system that combines elements of various orders he had learned which became known as *Yūṣufīyya* or *Khalwatīyyat al-Yūṣufīyya* through his students, his sons as well as his great-great grandsons. This is a culmination of his literary contribution that will be discussed in the last Chapter.

As for the literary contribution in general is although his mystical works cover similar topics the contents complement one another. He, for example, repeatedly asked his adherents to sincerely believe in the Oneness of God, remember and repent to Him abundantly, combine *sharī'a* and *ḥaqīqa*, emulate *sunna* inwardly and outwardly, have good rapport with all creation, have a good opinion about people and Allāh, fear the Divine plan and be satisfied with Divine decree (but not with sin).

Other teachings' contribution included:

- occupying a position between fear and hope in this life;
- knowing yourself before knowing your Lord;
- practising self observation;
- knowing how to thank God;
- knowing the four kinds of *Qibla*;
- praising Our Lord;
- knowing the methods of *dhikr*, their types and meanings;
- knowing the meanings of existence (*wujūd*);
- knowing true prayer;
- understanding *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*;
- understanding *Wājib al-al-Wujūd*
- *Understanding the real form of God and shadow*;
- knowing the twenty attributes of God
- knowing the light of Muḥammad SAW from which all creation arose;
- knowing the soul Reality;
- knowing about *al-'Ubudiyyat al-Muṭlaqa* [absolute servitude];
- knowing about *mu 'jiza, irḥāṣ, karāma* and *istidrāj*; and
- knowing how to become a perfect person.

All these lessons should be obtained from qualified spiritual masters only even though one probably could find some of these lessons in Islamic literatures. This indicates how important a spiritual master is for a spiritual traveler in this life because the one who has no spiritual master has Satan for a master. All his teachings above are inspired by the teachings of his masters who resided in the heart of *Sunni* orthodoxy and also the result of his spiritual journey to Allāh.

CHAPTER FOUR

MAṬĀLIB AL-SĀLIKĪN CONTRIBUTION [TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARIES]

This chapter discusses the content of the *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* treatise of Shaykh Yūsuf through commentaries. The first section of this chapter begins with the introduction of '*Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*' and the intellectual inspiration behind the text. The second section contains the Arabic and the English versions of *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* text of F Or A13b [3] and its comparative text, with textual notes in both Arabic and English, while the third section compares the two texts with each other. The fourth section presents brief commentaries on the two texts and special commentaries on the translated text of F Or A13b [3]. The next section provides some insight into Shaykh Yūsuf's reformist and mystical views as enunciated in this text and other texts by comparing them to views held by other mystics belonging to this school. The last section is *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn's* contribution to the socio-political context at his time, followed by a summary of the salient points in this text.

4.1 Introduction

As was mentioned in the thesis' motivation in the introduction of this thesis, history shows us that Shaykh Yūsuf [1626-1699] was a great *ṣūfī* who sparked a reformation in the Islamic mystic world in the seventeenth century. From his writings and teaching, he is also known as a neo-*ṣūfī* (a reformer in *ṣūfism*). In addition to these feats, he had studied and mastered eighteen *ṣūfī* orders, five of them with certificates. He then used his vast knowledge from especially the five certificated *ṣūfī* orders, to build and develop the *Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī* Order or *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* which has been flourishing among his students and his offspring in South Sulawesi, Indonesia until the modern era.

One of his reforms in the Islamic mystic world is interpreted in his treatise *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*. This *treatise* is a unique and special work that discussed three important concepts in Islamic teaching, which are *tawḥīd*, *ma'rifa* and *'ibāda* or worship. Its content covers Islamic Theology, Islamic Philosophy and Islamic Mysticism. If these things can be understood and applied by Muslims, their spiritual state will be enhanced and they will be able to live peacefully in the world. However, until now, no researchers have reviewed *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* by providing commentaries from philological and hermeneutical perspectives which can benefit scholars everywhere; and particularly in Indonesia and South Africa.

4.1.1 Illustration of *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* Texts

There are two versions of *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* treatise in existence today. They are both in quotation form only, and were written by his students. The quality of the paper of both versions is good with no tears or missing parts. The first text is ten pages long, is lined and does not have a publication date. The other version is written on unlined paper, it is only five pages long and has a publication date of 1186 A.H./1772. This date alludes to the text being written in Bone by La Tenri Tappu, the third or the fourth generation of Shaykh Yūsuf's descendants. His parents were the 22nd King of Bone La Temassongge' Sulṭān 'Abd al-Rāzak-Zain al-Dīn (1749-1775), who was also the 28th King of Gowa (1770-1778), with a grand daughter of Shaykh Yūsuf Ḥabība bint 'Abd al-Kabīr/Jalāl al-Dīn. Another opinion is that La Tenri Tappu was a great grandson of St. Ḥabība bin Muḥammad Yūsuf who married the 19th King of Bone, La Pareppa Tosappewali Sultan Isma'il, whose parents, in turn, were La Mappapening To Appaimeng and Hamida Arung Timurung. La Mappapening and La Temassongge are brothers. La Tenri Tappu then succeeded his father (or according to others, his uncle) to become the 23rd King of Bone with the title Sulṭān Aḥmad Ṣāliḥ (1775-1812). No further information is found about the teachers of this Sulṭān and the sources from whom he acquired the surviving works of Shaykh Yūsuf. The prevailing theory is that because he was a great grandson of Shaykh Yūsuf he may have acquired the works from Shaykh Yūsuf's Banten and Ceylon wives' lineages; specifically from 'Abd al-Kabīr or Jalāl al-Dīn and St. Ḥabība (the son and daughter of Shaykh Yūsuf with his wife from Banten) and from Shaykh al-'Alam Muḥammad Jaylānī (the son of Shaykh Yūsuf with his wife from Ceylon). One of his teachers is reported to be one of the disciples of Shaykh 'Abd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīrī (Tuan Rappang). This sulṭān, following in the footsteps of al-Tīmī, wrote or quoted many of Shaykh Yūsuf's treatises in 1186 A.H. /1772 and the final one in 1221 A.H./1806.

To ascertain the paper size and the condition of the manuscript, the author visited the National Library RI in Jakarta where all the old or ancient manuscripts have been housed.

The source document of *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* is the Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 108 F Or A13b is from the Arabic Manuscript A 108. The size of this manuscript is 17.5cm x 11.5cm with the thickness of 5cm. It contains 33 scripts and exactly 593 pages. The manuscript is made of European paper with no watermark, so the age of the paper is difficult to determine. However, from the record in some texts, it is clear this manuscript was copied in the early 19th century. The text contains a collection of Arabic and Bugis texts. The 27-page text of *Zubdat al-Asrār* is the final text in the manuscript and it contains a copy date inscription of Sha'bān 1221 A.H. [October-

November 1806], by a Qādī Bone named Harun (Lubis 1996: 64). However, the first script and some others were copied by Sulṭān Aḥmad Ṣāliḥ.

The ten page lined text version of the *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* treatise is from the Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 108 F Or A13b [3] or Jakarta Manuscript A 108 [3].¹⁸⁰ The page size of the document is 17cm x 11cm, while the inscription size is 14.3cm x 7.4cm with 17 lines for the first nine pages, then the inscription size of the text reduces to 8.5cm x 7.4cm with 11 lines for the last page. Although this text does not mentioned the year of copying, Tudjimah states that it was copied in 1221 A.H./1806, but without mentioning the copier of the text (Tudjimah 1997: 18)

The second source document of *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* is the Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 101 F Or A13d from the Arabic Manuscript A 101. The page size overall is 22.6cm x 19cm with the thickness of 2.2cm. It contains 21 scripts and is 193 pages long. The cover of this manuscript is the same as the Manuscript A45. The manuscript is made of a thickish European stock paper with a watermark similar to the A45 manuscript. The watermark is from the Horn group with the image of a trumpet hanging inside a crown shield, and at the lower end of the shield there is a flower with an initial GR, and there is a catalog of the Heawood and Churchill. Paper with a similar stamp has been in circulation since in the mid-18th century. This fact corroborates the authenticity of the copying date of 1186A.H./1772 (Lubis, 1996: 61).

Both manuscripts are in good condition and are well preserved, although a few pages are perforated by insects. Both use black and red ink.

The unlined text is from the Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 101 F Or A13d [7] or Jakarta Manuscript A 101 [7] which consists of 5 pages.¹⁸¹ The page size is 22.6cm x 19cm, while the inscription size is 13.5cm x 13.6cm with 14 lines for the first page. The second page's inscription is 20.3cm x 13.6cm with 21lines; the third to the fourth pages are 20.3cm x 13.7cm with 21 lines, then 17cm x 13.6cm with 18 lines for the last page.

The text from MSKBG 101 F Or A13d [7] has been translated by Prof. Suleman Essop Dangor on the 9th of June 2017 as one of the works on the Research Project on Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī and his works, but without special commentaries on the text.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰To view Jakarta Manuscript A 108 and MSKB 108 F Or A 13b [3], UB Leiden as well as the copy of the text, see images nos. 53a-c, 54a-b & 55, 56a-f in Appendix IV Number 1.

¹⁸¹To view the copy of the text in MSKBG 101 F or A 13d [7], and the cover of Jakarta Manuscript A 101 see images nos. 57a-c & 58 in Appendix IV Number 2.

¹⁸²To view the original translation of this text by Prof. Suleman Essop Dangor, see Appendix IV Number 3.

4.1.2 The Intellectual Inspiration for the Text

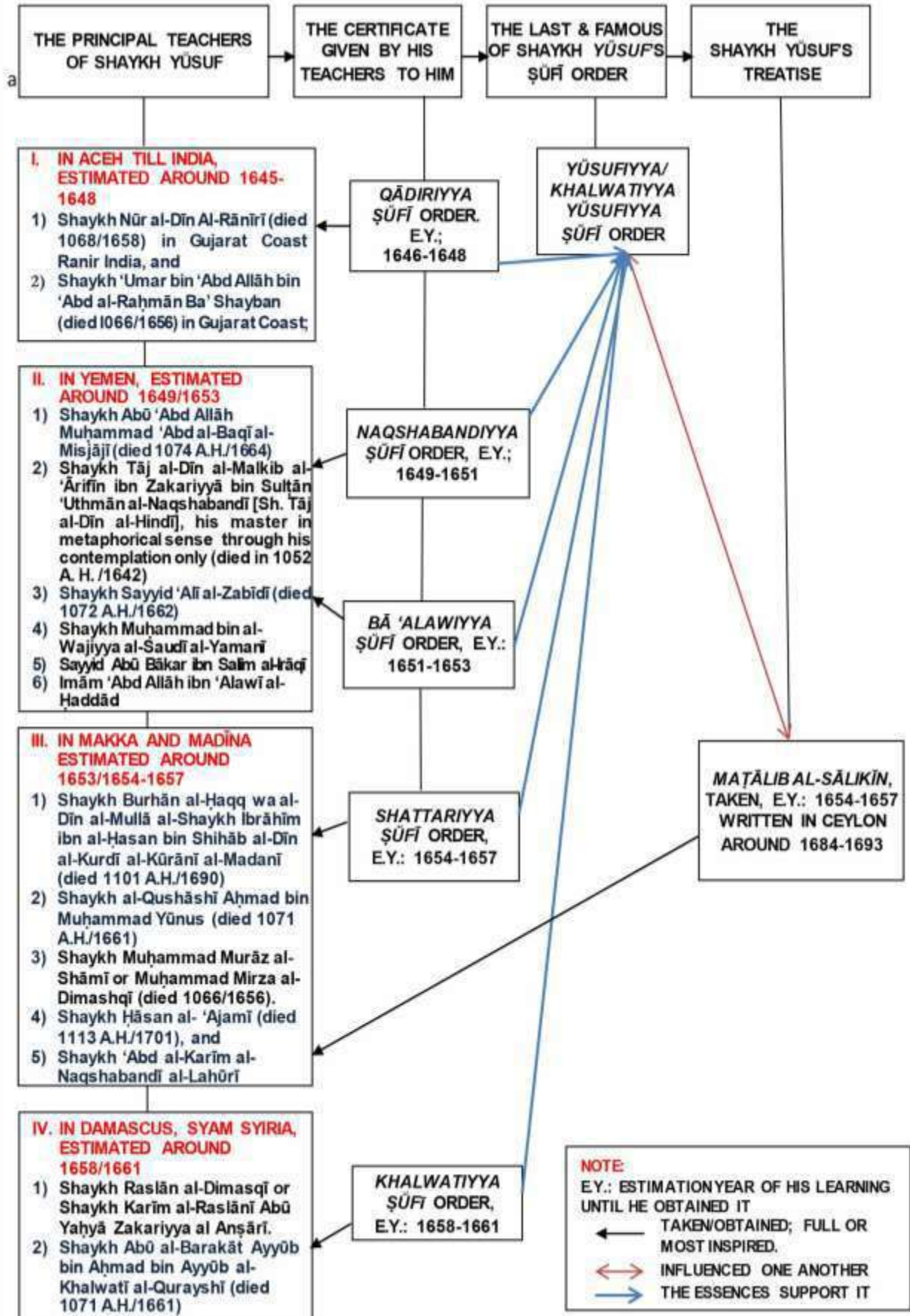
This text mentioned that Shaykh Yūsuf acquired its lesson from Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Naqshabandī al-Lāhūrī, but it did not elaborate where it occurred. However, after reviewing the history of the Shaykh, it is most probable that he took the lesson from this Shaykh in Madīna or in Makka around 1654-1657. Although his teacher hailed from Lahore in India, he settled and flourished in Haramayn in the seventeenth century, especially in Madīna which, at the time, was known as the city of knowledge (Azra 2007: 267).

As far as we know, the custom of Shaykh Yūsuf, as a *ṣūfī* saint, before writing something or when he was contemplating on something important, was usually to ask His Lord’s guidance about these tasks and what he wrote were usually based on his spiritual experinces under the guidance of one or more of his masters.

In addition to this, all his treatises were influenced, to some degree, by his previous studies and then they were collated in his own *ṣūfī* order known as the *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya*. This order was then popularised by his student and his descendants.

Therefore, it is clear that when Shaykh Yūsuf wrote *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, he was inspired by his spiritual experiences under his master’s guide, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Naqshabandī al-Lāhurī; and this text has a relationship with his own *ṣūfī* order. In the following illustration, I will attempt to illustrate the intellectual inspiration of *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*:

CHART 6
THE FRAMEWORK OF INTELLECTUAL INSPIRATION OF SHAYKH YŪSUF IN RELATION TO MAṬĀLIB AL-SĀLIKĪN



4.2 The English and the Arabic Version of *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*

4.2.1 Text in MSKBG 108, F Or A 13b [3] of UB Leiden

The following Arabic corrections are based on my discussions with my Supervisor as well as with some qualified Indonesian scholars. For the sake of brevity, I have deleted many names of Indonesian scholars that I included in this section previously.

As for the numbers in brackets [1] to [10] or [١] to [١٠] all indicate the page number of the texts.

هَذَا كِتَابُ الْمُسَمَّى بِمَطَالِبِ السَّالِكِينَ

This is a Book Entitled Maṭālib al-Sālikīn
[The Quests of the Spiritual Seekers]

1. [1]. In the name of Allāh the Most Beneficent and the Most Merciful. ١. [١] بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
2. Praise be to Allāh Who protects the heart of the sincere [servants] from the entrance of anxieties or others¹⁸³ and makes their hearts an object in which lights and secrets are manifested.¹⁸⁴ May Allāh bless and grant him peace to the one who is the fountainedhead of generosity and kindness, Muḥammad, his families and his companions, the chosen ones [*akhyār*], and furthermore: ٢. الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي حَفِظَ قُلُوبَ الْمُخْلِصِينَ مِنْ نُحُولِ الْأَعْيَارِ وَجَعَلَ قُلُوبَهُمْ **مُظْهِرَ** **[مُظْهِرَةَ]** الْأَنْوَارِ وَالْأَسْرَارِ، وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ وَسَلَّمْ عَلَى مَنْ هُوَ **مُنْبَغٍ** **[مُنْبَغِ]** الْجُودِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَأَصْحَابِهِ الْأَخْيَارِ، وَبَعْدُ

¹⁸³Because others cannot have true existence.

¹⁸⁴There is an error in the text here. It should be read **مُظْهِرَةَ** and not **مُظْهِرٍ**, since it is an adverb referring to an inanimate **قُلُوبَهُمْ**.

3. So, Shaykh al-Hājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, may Allāh grant him complete success [guidance] and make him among the people of verification [truth], *amīn*, said:

“I studied this treatise named *Muṭālib* [*Maṭālib*]¹⁸⁵ *al-Sālikīn li man Qaṣada Rabb al-‘Ālamīn* [The Quest of the Spiritual Seekers for ones who approach God of the Universe] under our master, the leader, the saint, the gnostic with Allāh, master of his age, and authority [*quṭb*]¹⁸⁶ of his time, the noble master ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Naqshbandī al-Lāhūrī [may Allāh sanctify his soul and illuminate his grave¹⁸⁷ and may we benefit from him], amen.”

4. And we have related it from him [may Allāh be pleased with Him]-that is this, know O my brother, may Allāh grant you and us success as He deems [and as it pleases Him]¹⁸⁸ – that there are three things that are necessary for you [to know]: *tawḥīd*, *ma‘rifa* and *‘ibāda* [worship]. *Tawḥīd* [oneness] is like a [branchy and leafy] tree, *ma‘rifa* [gnosis] is like the branches and leaves and *‘ibāda* [worship] [2] is like [its] fruit.

٣. فَيَقُولُ الشَّيْخُ الْحَاجُّ يُوسُفُ النَّاجُ رَزَقَهُ اللَّهُ
تَعَالَى كَمَالَ التَّوْفِيقِ وَجَعَلَهُ مِنْ أَهْلِ
التَّحْقِيقِ، آمِينَ :

أَخَذْتُ هَذِهِ الرِّسَالَةَ الْمُسَمَّاتِ [الْمُسَمَّاتِ]
بِمَطَالِبِ [بِمَطَالِبِ] السَّالِكِينَ لِمَنْ قَصَدَ رَبَّ
الْعَالَمِينَ عَنْ شَيْخِنَا الْإِمَامِ الْوَلِيِّ الْعَارِفِ
بِاللَّهِ سَيِّدِ زَمَانِهِ وَقُطْبِ أَوَانِهِ السَّيِّدِ الشَّرِيفِ
عَبْدِ الْكَرِيمِ النَّقْشَبَنْدِيِّ اللَّاهُورِيِّ قَدَّسَ
اللَّهُ رُوحَهُ وَنَوَّرَ ضَرَائِحَهُ [ضَرَائِحَهُ] وَنَفَعَنَا
بِهِ، آمِينَ

٤. وَرَوَيْنَاهَا عَنْهُ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ وَهِيَ هَذِهِ اعْلَمْ
يَا أُخِي وَفَقَّكَ اللَّهُ وَإِنَّا لِمَا يُحِبُّ وَيَرْضَى،
فَلَا بُدَّ لَكَ مِنْ ثَلَاثَةِ أَشْيَاءَ: تَوْحِيدٌ وَمَعْرِفَةٌ
وَعِبَادَةٌ. فَالتَّوْحِيدُ كَشَجَرَةٍ، وَالْمَعْرِفَةُ
كَأَغْصَانٍ وَأُورَاقٍ، وَالْعِبَادَةُ [٢] كَثَمَرَةٍ.

¹⁸⁵ *Maṭālib* means the quests and *al-Sālikīn* is a plural form of ‘*sālik*’ means the men who are travelling on the path of God or the Spiritual Seekers. The meaning of the title is the Quests of the Spiritual Seekers for ones who approach the Universal God. Furthermore the title will be *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* only, and this is also preferred by Nabilah Lubis and Tudjimah (Lubis 1996: 36; see also Tudjimah 1977: 38).

¹⁸⁶ *Quṭb* literally means a pole. According to *ṣūfis*, *quṭb* depicts a person of extremely high spiritual level who acts as an administrator in that hierarchy of the world; a human conduit of spiritual power from Allāh, through whom this power is distributed in the world (Dangor, personal communication, 20 March 2018).

¹⁸⁷ There is an error in this text, it should be singular *ضريحه* and not plural, unless if the grave is more than one.

¹⁸⁸ These words only exist in the text of MSKBG 101 F Or A 13d [7] as the countervart of this text.

5. If you find a tree you will find branches and leaves, and if you find branches and leaves, you hope [or expect] that this tree¹⁸⁹ would yields fruit. And, if you do not find branches and leaves in this tree you will not find fruit under any circumstances. So, the existence of fruit is impossible.¹⁹⁰ This is a metaphorical example that we have said it in order that you can understand the true example.
6. If you have attained the stage of *tawḥīd*, you will attain *maʿrifa*, and if you have attained the stage of *maʿrifa*, you will attain *ʿibāda* [the stage of *ʿubudiyya*].¹⁹¹
7. Anyone who does not declare the Oneness of Him with the unity of Him [*waḥdāniyya*], is a disbeliever. One who does not know Him with *maʿrifa* to Him is ignorant (*jāhil*). One who does not practise *ʿibāda* by worship to Him is sinful (*fāsiq*), So, the worship of a disbeliever and an ignorant person reverts to him [is rejected].
8. There are two kinds of *tawḥīd*. The first *tawḥīd* is *waḥdat al-wujūd*¹⁹² which is akin to the view of *ṣūfis' muḥaqqiqīn*¹⁹³ who had agreed to say¹⁹⁴ that there is no existence in the visible and the unseen in form or in the external and internal, except the One Being and One Essence¹⁹⁵ and One Reality.
٥. وَإِذَا وَجَدْتَ شَجَرًا فَوَجَدْتَ أَغْصَانًا وَأُورَاقًا
وَإِذَا وَجَدْتَ أَغْصَانًا وَأُورَاقًا فَأَنْتَ رَاجٍ بِأَنَّ
تُجِيءَ هَذِهِ الشَّجَرَةَ [الشَّجَرَةَ] ثَمَرَةً وَإِنْ لَمْ
تَجِدْ فِي الشَّجَرَةِ أَغْصَانًا وَأُورَاقًا، فَوُجُودُ
الثَّمَرَةِ مَحَالٌّ [مَحَالٌّ]. وَهَذَا مِثَالٌ مَجَازِيٌّ
فَلْتَأْتِ لَأَنَّ تَفْهَمَ الْمِثَالَ الْحَقِيقِيَّ
٦. فَإِنْ حَصَلَ لَكَ مَقَامُ التَّوْحِيدِ حَصَلَ لَكَ
الْمَعْرِفَةُ، وَإِنْ حَصَلَ لَكَ مَقَامُ الْمَعْرِفَةِ حَصَلَ
لَكَ الْعِبَادَةُ
٧. فَمَنْ لَمْ يُؤْحَدْهُ بِوَحْدَانِيَّتِهِ فَهُوَ كَافِرٌ، وَمَنْ لَمْ
يَعْرِفْهُ بِمَعْرِفَتِهِ فَهُوَ جَاهِلٌ، وَمَنْ لَمْ يَعْبُدْهُ
بِعِبَادَتِهِ فَهُوَ فَاسِقٌ؛ فَعِبَادَةُ الْكَافِرِ وَالْجَاهِلِ
مَرْذُودَةٌ عَلَيْهِ
٨. فَالتَّوْحِيدُ تَوْحِيدَانِ. تَوْحِيدٌ [التَّوْحِيدُ] الْأَوَّلُ
وَحَدُّهُ التَّوْحِيدُ كَمَا أَنَّ الصُّوفِيَّةَ الْمُحَقِّقِينَ
مُتَّفِقُونَ [عَلَى] أَنْ يَقُولُوا عَلَى [X] أَنْ لَا
مَوْجُودَ فِي الظَّاهِرِ وَالْبَاطِنِ إِلَّا وَجُودٌ وَاحِدٌ
وَدَاتٌ وَاحِدَةٌ [وَاحِدَةٌ] وَحَقِيقَةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ

¹⁸⁹There is a misspelling in the text here. It should be read *هَذِهِ الشَّجَرَةَ*, and not *الشَّجَرَةَ* since it is a subject of the verb *تُجِيءُ*.

¹⁹⁰There is a transcription error in this text here, it should be read *مَحَالٌّ*.

¹⁹¹What is meant by worship here, is the stage of *ʿubudiyya* [that will be explained later and not worship in general].

¹⁹²The Oneness of Being

¹⁹³Probing/verifying *Ṣūfis*

¹⁹⁴There is an error in this text. The word *عَلَى* is in a wrong position here, it should follow the word *مُتَّفِقُونَ* and not for the word *يَقُولُوا*. Therefore the words should be *مُتَّفِقُونَ عَلَى أَنْ يَقُولُوا لَا مَوْجُودَ*.

¹⁹⁵There is an error in this text, it should be read *وَدَاتٌ وَاحِدَةٌ*, since the word *دَاتٌ* indicates female.

9. For example, your limbs are separate but subsist¹⁹⁶ in you and [at the same time] you subsist by your self, namely, the soul.¹⁹⁷
10. Hence, everything subsists¹⁹⁸ because of Allāh, while Allāh subsists by His own essence.
11. [3]. So, with respect to things subsisting with Allāh, it is like the subsistence of the body with the soul. Hence, it is called the human being since it comprises the body and the soul. A Human is not a soul only or body only, but a combination (of the two). In the same manner, الإله (God) is called إله (God) on account of containing the Essence and Attributes.

٩. فَأَعْضَاؤُكَ مَثَلًا مُتَفَرِّقَةً وَالْأَعْضَاءُ قَائِمٌ
[قَائِمَةٌ] بِكَ وَأَنْتَ قَائِمٌ بِذَاتِكَ أَلَا وَهِيَ الرُّوحُ
١٠. كَذَلِكَ الْأَشْيَاءُ قَائِمٌ [قَائِمَةٌ] بِاللَّهِ وَاللَّهُ قَائِمٌ بِذَاتِهِ
١١. [٣] فَنَسَبَةُ قِيَامِ الْأَشْيَاءِ بِاللَّهِ كَنَسَبَةِ قِيَامِ
الْجَسَدِ بِالرُّوحِ فَيُسَمَّى الْإِنْسَانُ بِالْجَسَدِ
وَالرُّوحِ إِنْسَانًا لَا بِالرُّوحِ فَقَطُّ وَلَا بِالْجَسَدِ
فَقَطُّ بَلْ بِالْجَمْعِ، فَكَذَلِكَ يُسَمَّى الْإِلَهُ إِلَهًا
لِكُونِهِ بِالذَّاتِ وَالصِّفَاتِ

¹⁹⁶There is an error in this text, it should be read قَائِمَةٌ since its subject وَالْأَعْضَاءُ is a plural of noun thing [an inanimate plural].

¹⁹⁷The word *al-rūh* as God's affair and secret in Arabic may be used as female or male gender. When it is a female gender means soul (*nafs*) based on the *Qur'ān* 89: 27-28

يَأْتِيهَا النَّفْسُ الْمُطْمَئِنَّةُ ٢٧ أَرْجِعِي إِلَىٰ رَبِّكَ رَاضِيَةً مَرْضِيَةً ٢٨

The word *rūh* as a male gender are (based on the *Qur'ān* 17: 85 *يَوْمَ يُرَادُ مِنَ الرُّوحِ مَنْ أَمَرَ رَبِّي* and *Qur'ān* 78: 38 *يَوْمَ يُرَادُ مِنَ الرُّوحِ مَنْ أَمَرَ رَبِّي*). *Rūh* is the cause of the life of the body, and the soul (*nafs*) is the result of the combination between the *rūh* and the body. When Allāh breathed His *rūh* into the human body, then the *nafs* (soul) becomes existant or active, and then one develops hearing (ears), sight (eyes) and heart. Therefore, *rūh* functions to make one alive and to be *al-Insān* or *ḥayawān al-nātiq*. While *nafs* (soul) uses the functions such as hearing, sight and hearth to live. The soul has a responsibility on its physical deeds, since it is the soul itself which choose good or bad and not the *rūh*. This is one of the differences between *rūh* and *nafs* (soul). However, it cannot be discussed here in length since it is outside of the main theme of this research. For more information about *rūh* and *nafs* (soul) see Sultan, 2014: 54-110.

¹⁹⁸See footnote 196 above. The word should be read قَائِمَةٌ.

12. The word *llāh* (له) has three letters, i.e. 'alif', 'lam', and 'ha'. The letter 'alif' is a symbolic expression of His Absolute Unity [*aḥadiyya*], the *lam* shows His Perfection, and the *ha* refers to His Identity [*Huwiyya*].¹⁹⁹ So, He is the One [*aḥad*] in terms of His Essence, and One in terms of His attributes. His Attributes are His Perfections, such as: Knowledge, Hearing, Sight, Life, Power, Will and Attributes other than those. The names of the Attributes of 'His *Ulūhiyya*²⁰⁰ and *Huwiyya*²⁰¹ exist all in one, and He exists in everything according to what have been stipulated that everything exists with Him and He exists with His essence.

١٢. قَالِإِلَهُ ثَلَاثَةُ أَحْرُفٍ: الْأَلِفُ وَاللَّامُ وَالْهَاءُ
فَالْأَلِفُ إِشَارَةٌ إِلَى أَحَدِيَّتِهِ، وَاللَّامُ إِشَارَةٌ إِلَى
كَمَالِيَّتِهِ، وَالْهَاءُ إِشَارَةٌ إِلَى هُوِيَّتِهِ [هُوِيَّتِهِ]
فَهُوَ أَحَدٌ بِدَاتِهِ وَوَاحِدٌ بِصِفَاتِهِ، وَصِفَاتُهُ
كَمَالَاتُهُ كَالْعِلْمِ وَالسَّمْعِ وَالْبَصَرِ وَالْحَيَاةِ
وَالْقُدْرَةِ وَالْإِرَادَةِ وَغَيْرِ ذَلِكَ مِنَ الْأَسْمَاءِ؛
فَأَسْمَاءُ الصِّفَاتِ الْأَلُوْهِيَّةِ وَهُوِيَّتُهُ مَوْجُودَةٌ
فِي جَمْعٍ وَاحِدٍ وَهُوَ مَوْجُودٌ فِي جَمِيعِ
الْأَشْيَاءِ كَمَا تَبَيَّنَ أَنَّ الْأَشْيَاءَ قَائِمَةٌ بِهِ وَهُوَ
قَائِمٌ بِدَاتِهِ.

13. Such we have mentioned, that the body subsists with the soul and the soul subsists with its essence. So the existence of the body cannot be conceived except [by understanding] that the soul subsists with all its organs [limbs] just as blood exists in the human body and [it] is a living organism, otherwise his life cannot be conceived. Likewise, Allāh exists in everything. If Allāh does not exist in all things, therefore everything is nothing [all things would not exist].

١٣. كَمَا نَكَرْنَا أَنَّ الْجَسَدَ قَائِمٌ بِالرُّوْحِ وَالرُّوْحُ
قَائِمٌ بِدَاتِهِ فَلَا يَتَصَوَّرُ [يَتَصَوَّرُ] قِيَامَ الْجَسَدِ
إِلَّا أَنْ يَكُونَ [تَكُونَ] الرُّوْحُ مَوْجُودَةً فِي
جَمِيعِ الْأَعْضَاءِ كَمَا إِذَا كَانَ النَّمُّ مَوْجُودَةً
[مَوْجُودًا] فِي الْإِنْسَانِ فَهُوَ حَيٌّ، وَإِلَّا، لَا
يَتَصَوَّرُ حَيَاتُهُ [فَلَا تَتَصَوَّرُ حَيَاتُهُ/حَيَاتُهُ].
كَذَلِكَ اللهُ مَوْجُودٌ فِي جَمِيعِ الْأَشْيَاءِ فَلَوْ لَمْ
يُوجَدِ اللهُ فِي الْأَشْيَاءِ لَمْ تُوجَدِ الْأَشْيَاءُ

14. And He [4] is not bound by every place and

١٤. وَهُوَ [٤] مُنْزَعٌ عَنِ كُلِّ مَكَانٍ وَزَمَانٍ وَعَنْ

¹⁹⁹Although probably it is not wrong to say *Hawiyya* as some scholars used it, but the author tends to use *Huwiyya* here as His Identity or His Nature and His Essence. For more information regarding this see "A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, Arabic-English. Edited by J Milton Cowan. Beirut: Library Du Liban (Hans Wehr 1974: 1037).

²⁰⁰Divinity.

²⁰¹هُوِيَّتُهُ (Lit. His identity): His Supreme Self in the sense that He is He the Oneness Who has all the Perfect Attributes.

time and from whatever is not suited to His Essence, just as the soul does not remain in any single organ²⁰² but it is present in all organs [limbs]. Likewise, Allāh does not remain fixed in one place but He exists in everything.

مَا لَا يَلْبِقُ لِذَاتِهِ كَمَا أَنَّ الرُّوحَ لَا تَسْتَقِرُّ فِي
عَضْوٍ [عَضْوٍ] وَاحِدٍ مِنَ الْأَعْضَاءِ وَهِيَ
مَوْجُودَةٌ فِي جَمِيعِ الْأَعْضَاءِ كَذَلِكَ اللَّهُ لَا
يَسْتَقِرُّ فِي شَيْءٍ وَاحِدٍ، وَهُوَ مَوْجُودٌ فِي
جَمِيعِ الْأَشْيَاءِ

15. When the existence of everything with Allāh has been proven, He will then not be imagined,²⁰³ except as existing in everything. This is the meaning of the words of our master ‘Alī [may Allāh be pleased with him] “I did not see anything except I saw Allāh in it.”²⁰⁴ O my brother, do you see anything outside of His Eternal Knowledge? If you say definitely not, you are a gnostic and if you say “yes” then you are ignorant because a product is inconceivable²⁰⁵ prior to the knowledge of the producer. And if you say yes, it is absurd and inconceivable²⁰⁶ for any person of intellect. Just as writing is inconceivable²⁰⁷ for any writer except after he has knowledge of writing.

فَلَمَّا ثَبَتَ قِيَامَ الْأَشْيَاءِ بِاللَّهِ فَلَا يَتَصَوَّرُ
[يَتَصَوَّرُ] إِلَّا أَنْ يَكُونَ مَوْجُودًا فِي الْأَشْيَاءِ
وَهَذَا مَعْنَى قَوْلِ سَيِّدِنَا عَلِيِّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ
مَا رَأَيْتُ شَيْئًا إِلَّا وَرَأَيْتُ اللَّهَ فِيهِ فَهَلْ تَرَى يَا
أَخِي شَيْئًا مِنَ الْأَشْيَاءِ خَارِجًا عَنْ عِلْمِهِ
الْأَزَلِيِّ فَإِنْ قُلْتَ بَلَى، فَأَنْتَ عَارِفٌ وَإِنْ
قُلْتَ نَعَمْ، فَأَنْتَ جَاهِلٌ أَمْ يَتَصَوَّرُ [لِأَنَّهُ لَا
يَتَصَوَّرُ] الْمَصْنُوعُ قَبْلَ عِلْمِ الصَّانِعِ،
فَإِنْ قُلْتَ نَعَمْ، فَهَذَا مُحَالٌ [مُحَالٌ] لَا يَتَصَوَّرُ
[يَتَصَوَّرُ] عَنْ كُلِّ ذِي عَقْلٍ كَالْكَاتِبِ لَا
يَتَصَوَّرُ [تَتَصَوَّرُ] لَهُ الْكِتَابَةُ إِلَّا بَعْدَ عِلْمِهِ
بِالْكِتَابَةِ

²⁰²It is better to use *عَضْوٍ* فِي.

²⁰³There is a transcription error in this text, the verb should be passive, therefore it should be read *يَتَصَوَّرُ*.

²⁰⁴I was unable to trace this saying in the sources.

²⁰⁵I think there is an error in the text. The verb should be passive *أَمْ يَتَصَوَّرُ* means “or will a product be conceived prior to the knowledge of the producer” (as if as he asks, although without adding a question mark on the text). Nevertheless, it should be read *[لِأَنَّهُ لَا يَتَصَوَّرُ]* if we need to adjust it with the meaning of the text because a product is inconceivable prior to the knowledge of the producer,

لِأَنَّهُ لَا يَتَصَوَّرُ الْمَصْنُوعَ قَبْلَ عِلْمِ الصَّانِعِ

²⁰⁶There is a transcription error in this text, it should be read *مُحَالٌ*.

²⁰⁷The verb should be passive female, so it should be read *تَتَصَوَّرُ* to adjust it with the meaning of the text, except if the word *al-kitābatu* (a subject) becomes *al-kitābata* (an object) the word *lā yataṣawwaru* may be used.

16. Likewise, Allāh brings²⁰⁸ into being the world from the unseen to the seen after things are already existing in His Eternal Knowledge cognitively²⁰⁹ This is the meaning of His words, the Exalted: “Verily, Our command unto a thing when we intend it, is only that we say unto it: “Be!” –and it is!”²¹⁰ Because all things have existed on His original knowledge in the unseen world, so if He commands by His will [5] from the unseen to the real or visible world, so the things appear in the visible world, as it was in the unseen (world). If He decreed to produce or to bring it [something]²¹¹ from the unseen [world] to the visible world, so, He will produce or bring it²¹² by the command ‘kun fayakun’ (“Be!-And it is!”)

١٦ . وَكَذَلِكَ اللَّهُ أَوْجَدَ [يَجِيءُ بِهِ] الْعَالَمَ مِنَ الْعَيْبِ إِلَى الشَّهَادَةِ بَعْدَ مَا كَانَتْ الْأَشْيَاءُ مَوْجُودَةً فِي عِلْمِهِ الْأَزَلِيِّ بِالْوُجُودِ **الدَّهْنِ** [الدَّهْنِي] وَهُوَ مَعْنَى قَوْلِهِ تَعَالَى إِنَّمَا أَمْرُنَا إِذَا أَرَدْنَا شَيْئًا أَنْ نَقُولَ لَهُ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ لِأَنَّ الْأَشْيَاءَ كَانَتْ مَوْجُودَةً فِي عِلْمِهِ الْأَزَلِيِّ فِي عَالَمِ الْعَيْبِ. فَأَمَرَ بِإِرَادَتِهِ [٥] مِنَ الْعَيْبِ إِلَى الشَّهَادَةِ، فَظَهَرَ فِي الشَّهَادَةِ كَمَا كَانَ فِي الْعَيْبِ. فَإِذَا أَرَادَهُ أَنْ **يُجِيئَهُ** [يَجِيءُ **بِهِ**] مِنَ الْعَيْبِ إِلَى الشَّهَادَةِ، **فَيُجِيئُهُ** [فَيُجِيئُهُ] بِأَمْرٍ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ.

²⁰⁸ Although probably the word أَوْجَدَ الْعَالَمَ as the past verb means made the world [the nature] exist or created the world [the nature] are not wrong, especially according to Sh. K. H. Dr. Baharuddin and some other Indonesian scholars, but I prefer to follow what my Supervisor suggested that the verb should be **يَجِيءُ بِهِ** (meaning, brings or produces).

²⁰⁹ There is an error in this text. The word **الدَّهْنِ** is an an adverb, therefore it should use (باء النسبة). Therefore the words should be read **فِي عِلْمِهِ الْأَزَلِيِّ بِالْوُجُودِ الدَّهْنِي**.

²¹⁰ The Arabic text is based on the *Qur'ān* 16:40 and the *Qur'ān* 36:82 or the combination of both verses.

²¹¹ Correct formulation should be **فَيَجِيئُهُ بِهِ**. Therefore the pronoun • is redundant here.

²¹² Correct formulation should be **فَيُجِيئُهُ بِأَمْرٍ**.

17. Because everything is in His knowledge, while His-knowledge is His attribute, therefore the Attributes are one with His Essence. Separation of the Attributes from the Essence cannot be imagined as the separation of the body from the soul before death cannot be imagined.²¹³ Likewise, you say that the separation of butter from milk or milk from butter²¹⁴ before curdling cannot be imagined.²¹⁵ This is the meaning of His words [may He be Exalted] "...And Allāh is Ever Encompassing all things" (Qur'ān, 4:126).

١٧. فَأَلْأَشْيَاءُ فِي عِلْمِهِ، وَعِلْمُهُ صِفَتُهُ،
فَالصِّفَاتُ بِالدَّاتِ وَاحِدَةٌ. لَا يَتَصَوَّرُ
[يَتَصَوَّرُ] انفِكَالُ الصِّفَاتِ عَنِ الدَّاتِ. كَمَا لَا
يَتَصَوَّرُ [يَتَصَوَّرُ] انفِكَالُ الجَسَدِ عَنِ الرُّوحِ
قَبْلَ المَوْتِ. وَكَمَا تَقُولُ لَا يَتَصَوَّرُ [يَتَصَوَّرُ]
انفِكَالُ الرُّبْدَةِ [الرُّبْدَةِ] عَنِ الحَلِيبِ، وَالحَلِيبِ
عَنِ الرُّبْدَةِ [الرُّبْدَةِ] قَبْلَ الرُّوبِ. وَهَذَا مَعْنَى
قَوْلِهِ تَعَالَى وَكَانَ اللهُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ مُحِيطًا

²¹³The verb should be passive male, therefore it should be read *يَتَصَوَّرُ*.

²¹⁴See footnote number 213 above, it should be read *يَتَصَوَّرُ*.

²¹⁵Although probably this word is not wrong, since according to some Indonesian scholars who have studied in Egypt some of Egyptians usually called it *زُبْدَةٌ / الرُّبْدَةُ* (*zibda* or *al-zibda*), but we prefer to use *الرُّبْدَةُ* (*al-zubda*) rather than *الرُّبْدَةُ* (*al-zabda*), since this is the standard rendering.

18. So, the milk is present²¹⁶ in the cream, and the cream²¹⁷ is present in the milk and they are in reality one thing. Likewise, everything exists in Allāh and Allāh exists²¹⁸ in everything. In reality, both of them are one. When Allāh was in [the phase of] pre-eternity, there was nothing with Him. And He will be in post-eternity²¹⁹ just as He was in pre-eternity, hence the meaning of their words “cognitive knowledge [*ma`lūmāt*] does not exude any fragrance of external existence and it will never do so.”²²⁰ This²²¹ image is transmitted from the original images in the Eternal True [Divine] Knowledge and this transmission occurs like the letters emanating from you, [6] not in terms of the original letters, which²²² remain fixed in your being. Your existence is borrowed from the True [Divine] origin though every borrowed [person or thing] does not in reality exist. You are non-existent [*adam*]. You have no share in existence because you are characterised as non-existent. If you claim existence - that you have existence - other than God's existence, then you are attributing partnership with Allāh (i.e. committing *shirk*). “*Verily! Joining others in worship with Allāh is a great zūlm (wrong) in deed*” (*Qur'ān*, 31:13).

فَالْحَلِيبُ **مَوْجُودَةٌ** [مَوْجُودٌ] فِي الرَّبْدَةِ
[الرَّبْدَةُ]، وَ الرَّبْدَةُ [الرَّبْدَةُ] مَوْجُودَةٌ فِي
الْحَلِيبِ. وَهُمَا فِي الْحَقِيقَةِ شَيْءٌ وَاحِدٌ. كَذَلِكَ
الْأَشْيَاءُ مَوْجُودَةٌ فِي اللَّهِ. وَاللَّهُ **مَوْجُودَةٌ**
[مَوْجُودٌ] فِي الْأَشْيَاءِ. وَهُمَا فِي الْحَقِيقَةِ
شَيْءٌ وَاحِدٌ. كَانَ اللَّهُ فِي الْأَزَلِ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ مَعَهُ
شَيْءٌ، فَيَكُونُ فِي **الْأَبَدَةِ** [الْأَبَدِ] كَمَا كَانَ فِي
الْأَزَلِ وَهَذَا مَعْنَى قَوْلِهِمْ مَا شَمَّتِ
الْمَعْلُومَاتُ الْعِلْمِيَّةُ مِنْ شَمَّتِ رَائِحَةَ الْوُجُودِ
الْخَارِجِيِّ وَلَمْ تَشْمِ أَبَدًا فَإِنَّ هَذَا [هَذِهِ] صُورَةٌ
مَنْقُولَةٌ مِنَ الصُّورَةِ الْأَصْلِيَّةِ فِي عِلْمِ الْحَقِّ
الْأَزَلِيِّ. وَهَذَا النُّقْلُ حَابِثٌ كَالْحُرُوفِ الَّتِي
تَخْرُجُ مِنْكَ، [٦] لَا مِنْ جِهَةِ الْحُرُوفِ
الْأَصْلِيَّةِ **يَكُونُ** [تَكُونُ] ثَابِتَةً فِي دَاتِكَ؛
فَوُجُودُكَ مُسْتَعِيرٌ مِنَ الْأَصْلِ الْحَقِيقِيِّ، وَكُلُّ
مُسْتَعِيرٍ لَيْسَ لَهُ فِي الْحَقِيقَةِ وُجُودٌ. فَأَنْتَ فِي
عَدَمٍ، وَلَا لَكَ مِنَ الْوُجُودِ نَصِيبٌ، وَأَنْتَ
بِالْعَدَمِ مُتَّصِفٌ؛ فَإِنَّ ادَّعَيْتَ بِالْوُجُودِ بَأَنَّ
يَكُونُ لَكَ وُجُودٌ سِوَى وُجُودِ اللَّهِ فَقَدْ أَشْرَكْتَ
بِاللَّهِ وَإِنَّ الشِّرْكَ لَظُلْمٌ عَظِيمٌ.

²¹⁶There is an error in this text. It should be read **فَالْحَلِيبُ مَوْجُودٌ** since its subject is male or masculine.

²¹⁷See footnote 215 above. We prefer to read it as *al-zubda* rather than *al-zabda*.

²¹⁸There is a transcription error in this text, the words **وَاللَّهُ مَوْجُودَةٌ** should be **وَاللَّهُ مَوْجُودٌ**.

²¹⁹There is an error in this text. In Arabic, the word **فِي الْأَبَدَةِ** is rarely used, except the word **فِي الْأَبَدِ**.

²²⁰This means all knowledge is traced to the Divine source. Nothing emanates from a source external to Him. Its shape may alter during the process of emanation just as the letters articulated by a person are different to its origin in his or her mind.

²²¹There is an error in this text, it should be **هَذِهِ صُورَةٌ** since the word pointed is *mu'annath* or female.

²²²There is an error in the text here. The verb should be **تَكُونُ**.

19. So, have trust in Allāh who is One in Essence and One in Attributes because everything whose existence is affirmed for other than Him, not for Himself (cannot be Allāh)²²³. So understand that.

١٩. فَأَمِنْ بِاللَّهِ الَّذِي هُوَ بِالذَّاتِ أَحَدٌ وَالصِّفَاتِ
وَاحِدٌ لِأَنَّ كُلَّ مَا تَبَيَّنَ وُجُودُهُ لِعَیْرِهِ لَا لِنَفْسِهِ
فَأَفْهَمُ

20. True faith is that you leave your metaphorical existence to your true non-existence because Allāh has made true non-existence a mirror for His Essence and manifestation [*tajallī*]²²⁴ of Him with His Perfect²²⁵ Essence. All of them pass from Him into complete annihilation [*fanā*].²²⁶ If you progress to non-existence you become a mirror to Him and the Reality [*al-Haqq*] will witness His Essence in your essence.²²⁷ He is a witness with respect to witnessing His Essence in this mirror, and He is the witnessed with respect to Him being seen in this mirror. Whoever knows this matter and believes it, is a believer [7] who asserts the Unity of Allāh [*muwahḥid*].²²⁸ If not, then he is a believer metaphorically and a true disbeliever because he has not believed in reality.

٢٠. وَحَقِيقَةُ الْإِيمَانِ أَنْ تَخْرُجَ مِنْ وُجُودِكَ
الْمَجَازِيِّ إِلَى عَدَمِكَ الْحَقِيقِيِّ. فَالْعَدَمُ الْحَقِيقِيُّ
جَعَلَهُ اللهُ مِرْآةً لِذَاتِهِ وَتَجَلَّى عَلَيْهِ بِالْكَمَالِ
[بِالْكَمَالَةِ] الذَّاتُ كُلُّهَا الْمُعْتَبَرَةُ عَنْهُ بِالْفَنَاءِ
الْأَتَمِّ. فَإِذَا صِرْتَ عَدَمًا تَصِيرُ مِرْآةً لَهُ
وَيُشَاهِدُ الْحَقُّ ذَاتَهُ بِذَاتِهِ [بِذَاتِكَ] فَهُوَ شَاهِدٌ
مِنْ حَيْثُ أَنَّهُ يُشَاهِدُ ذَاتَهُ فِي هَذِهِ الْمِرْآةِ؛
وَهُوَ الْمَشْهُودُ مِنْ حَيْثُ أَنَّهُ يُرَى فِي هَذِهِ
الْمِرْآةِ، وَمَنْ عَرَفَ هَذِهِ الْمَسْأَلَةَ وَاعْتَقَدَ بِهَا،
فَهُوَ مُؤْمِنٌ [٧] مُوحِّدٌ وَإِلَّا فَهُوَ مُؤْمِنٌ
مَجَازِيٌّ، كَافِرٌ حَقِيقِيٌّ لِأَنَّهُ مَا آمَنَ بِحَقِيقَةِ

²²³Nor can it claim to exist either.

²²⁴Allāh's unveiling of Himself to His creatures.

²²⁵There is an error in this text. It should be read بِالْكَمَالَةِ since it refers to the word الذَّاتِ.

²²⁶The passing of the individual self into universal Being or everything expresses complete annihilation.

²²⁷An error occurred in this text. It should be read بِذَاتِكَ the similar meaning with the word فِيكَ in another text.

²²⁸One who sees the Divine Unite in everything.

21. As for our saying that you are an ignorant person, if you say yes, this necessitates the creation of the world has not occurred²²⁹ prior to His, the Exalted, knowledge (thereof). It also necessitates the attribution of ignorance to Allāh [may He be Exalted] which is disbelief and misguidance. And disbelief and misguidance with respect to Him [Glorious and Exalted is He] is unthinkable.²³⁰ “He [Glorious and Exalted is He] is high above what the transgressors say.”^{231 232}

22. The second *tawhīd* is well-known to every Muslim specifically and generally and that is “He, Allāh, is One. Allāh is Self-Sufficient. He begets not, nor is He begotten, and there is none equal (or comparable) unto Him” (*Qur’ān*, Ch. 112). Yes, so, understand and confirm His Unity.

23. Then Gnosis [*ma’rifā*] is to know that your beginning is from Him and your return is to Him, so you return to Him with exactly the same way to how He originated you from Him; just like the sea when the water flows from it to the river and returns to the sea as it was in the river. The water does not change from its reality as water.

٢١. وَأَمَّا قَوْلُنَا فَأَنْتَ جَاهِلٌ إِنْ قُلْتَ نَعَمْ، فَلْيَلْزَمْ مِنْ هَذَا أَنْ يَكُونَ [لَا تَكُونَ] خَلْقِيَّةُ الْعَالَمِ قَبْلَ عِلْمِهِ تَعَالَى. فَلْيَلْزَمْ مِنْ هَذَا أَيْضًا نِسْبَةُ الْجَاهِلِ إِلَى اللَّهِ، فَهَذَا كُفْرٌ وَضَلَالٌ؛ فَالْكَفْرُ وَالضَّلَالُ فِي حَقِّهِ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى مَحَالٌ [مُحَالٌ]، وَهُوَ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى مُنْرَّةٌ عَمَّا يَقُولُونَ [يَقُولُ] الظَّالِمُونَ عُلُوًّا كَبِيرًا

٢٢. وَالتَّوْحِيدُ الثَّانِي مَعْلُومٌ عِنْدَ كُلِّ أَحَدٍ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ الْخَاصَّةِ وَالْعَامَّةِ فَهُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ. نَعَمْ، فَافْهَمِمْ وَتَحَقَّقْ فِي أَحَدِيَّتِهِ

٢٣. وَالْمَعْرِفَةُ أَنْ تَعْرِفَ أَنَّ مَبْدَأَكَ مِنْهُ وَمَعَادَكَ إِلَيْهِ فَتَعُودُ إِلَيْهِ بَعَيْنٍ مَا بَدَأَكَ مِنْهُ كَالْبَحْرِ إِذَا امْتَدَّ مِنْهُ مَآوُهُ إِلَى النَّهْرِ فَيَعُودُ إِلَى الْبَحْرِ كَمَا كَانَ فِي النَّهْرِ وَلَا يَتَغَيَّرُ الْمَاءُ عَنِ الْحَقِيقَةِ الْمَائِيَّةِ

²²⁹An error occurred in this text. It should be read لَا تَكُونَ.

²³⁰This transcription is error here, it should be read مُحَالٌ.

²³¹This is based on Quran 17:43 [Glory be to Him! He is highly exalted above what they say!].

²³²An error occurs in this text, since plural noun in this sentence is preceded by the verb. Therefore the verb must be *mufrad* (singular). So, it should be عَمَّا يَقُولُ الظَّالِمُونَ عُلُوًّا كَبِيرًا although in the verse Quran 17:43 above mentioned as عَمَّا يَقُولُونَ and it is true.

24. Worship is to obey His *Wahdat al-Wujūd* [the Oneness of His existence]; that is, there is no existence [8] but His. And He, Glory be to Him and Exalted is One and has no partner in existence. The linguistic meaning of ‘*ubudiyya*’²³³ is obedience of something to something else just as your organs [limbs] are obedient to your soul in terms of all matter being linked to the desire of the soul, it is because you do not do anything [because of Allāh] except through the desire of the soul. Apparently [in *ẓāhir*], your organs [limbs] worship your essence and your essence is the object of devotion²³⁴. The essence is the worshipper with respect to the manifest [*ẓāhir*] and the object of worship²³⁵ with respect to the hidden [*bāṭin*]²³⁶ because the command is from it and to it.

٢٤. وَالْعِبَادَةُ أَنْ تُطِيعَ فِي وَحْدَةِ وُجُودِهِ بِأَنْ لَا وُجُودَ [٨] لِغَيْرِهِ وَهُوَ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى وَاحِدٌ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ فِي الْوُجُودِ. وَمَعْنَى الْعُبُودِيَّةِ فِي اللَّغَةِ طَاعَةُ الشَّيْءِ لِشَيْءٍ كَأَعْضَانِكَ مُطِيعَةٌ لِرُوحِكَ مِنْ حَيْثُ الْأَمْرُ بِاسْتِنْهَاءِ الرُّوحِ؛ لِأَنَّكَ مَا تَفْعَلُ اللَّهُ إِلَّا بِاسْتِنْهَاءِ الرُّوحِ، فَفِي الظَّاهِرِ أَعْضَاؤُكَ عَابِدَةٌ لَكَ وَذَاتُكَ مَعْبُودٌ [مَعْبُودَةٌ] فَالذَّاتُ عَابِدَةٌ مِنْ حَيْثُ الظَّاهِرِ، وَالذَّاتُ مَعْبُودٌ [مَعْبُودَةٌ] مِنْ حَيْثُ الْبَاطِنِ لِأَنَّ الْأَمْرَ مِنْهُ إِلَيْهِ.

²³³ Servitude of the ‘self’ or individual consciousness is that by means of fulfilling its specific function and purpose of creation.

²³⁴ There is an error occurred in this text. Since the word (ذات) is *mu'annath* or female, therefore the words should be **وَذَاتُكَ مَعْبُودَةٌ**.

²³⁵ See footnote 234 above. It should be read **وَالذَّاتُ مَعْبُودَةٌ**.

²³⁶ The unperceivable reality within the perceivable manifestation.

25. If you annihilate your existence and the existence of things other than Allāh and you know yourself that all that and entities other than Allāh are non-existents; you will not see anything but Him and you will not witness anything but Him and nothing will remain²³⁷ except Him. “Not for you [but for Allāh] is the decision” (Qur’ān, 3:128).

So He becomes a devotee [`ābid] from the perspective of the Divine Command being from Him. And He is an object of worship²³⁸ from the perspective of the Divine Command [amr] returning to Him.

“Everything will perish but He [His Face]. His is the judgement, and to Him you (all) shall be returned” (Qur’ān, 28:88).

“Whatsoever is on it (the earth) will perish, and the face of your Lord full of Majesty and Honour will abide forever” (Qur’ān, 55:26-27).

٢٥. فَإِذَا أَفْنَيْتَ وُجُودَكَ وَوُجُودَ غَيْرِ اللَّهِ
وَعَرَفْتَ أَنَّ نَفْسَكَ أَنَّ ذَلِكَ الْكُلَّ وَغَيْرَ اللَّهِ
مَعْنُومٌ؛ فَلَا تَرَى إِلَّا هُوَ، لَا تُشَاهِدُ إِلَّا
هُوَ، وَلَا يَبْقَى إِلَّا هُوَ، وَلَيْسَ لَكَ مِنَ الْأَمْرِ
شَيْءٌ فَيَصِيرُ هُوَ الْعَابِدُ مِنْ حَيْثُ الْأَمْرُ
مِنْهُ، وَمَعْبُودٌ [الْمَعْبُودُ] مِنْ حَيْثُ الْأَمْرُ
يَرْجِعُ إِلَيْهِ.

كُلُّ شَيْءٍ هَالِكٌ إِلَّا وَجْهَهُ، لَهُ الْحُكْمُ وَإِلَيْهِ
تُرْجَعُونَ،

كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانٍ وَيَبْقَى وَجْهُ رَبِّكَ ذُو
الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ

²³⁷The verb used in the present tense here is from the root *baqā* meaning the state of "subsistence"; continuing awareness through Allāh.

²³⁸An error occurred in this text. It should be read **وَالْمَعْبُودُ** due to its function as a subject.

26. Anyone who knows the reality of: *tawḥīd*, *ma'rifa* and *'ubūdiyya* is an obedient slave who asserts the Unity of God and a gnostic [*'ārif*, *muwaḥḥid* and *muṭīr*] if not then he is nothing. Whoever [9] desires a [spiritual] path to Allāh let him first understand these words; then he can follow the path to Allāh through this²³⁹ method. That means, it is incumbent on the spiritual seeker firstly to commence with denying the existence of beings other than Allāh through cognizance. Once he has denied his own existence and the existence of entities other than Allāh cognitively, he will succeed in denying his own existence and the existence of entities other than Allāh visibly. Then he passes from this²⁴⁰ negation pertaining to the knowledge of negation and attains complete annihilation in Allāh and subsistence [*baqā'*]²⁴¹ with Him.

٢٦. فَمَنْ عَرَفَ حَقِيقَةَ التَّوْحِيدِ وَالْمَعْرِفَةِ وَالْعُبُودِيَّةِ، فَهُوَ عَارِفٌ مُوَحَّدٌ مُطِيعٌ، وَإِلَّا، فَلَيْسَ هُوَ بِشَيْءٍ فَمَنْ [٩] أَرَادَ السُّلُوكَ إِلَى اللَّهِ، فَلْيَفْهَمْ أَوَّلًا هَذِهِ الْكَلِمَاتِ ثُمَّ يَسْأَلُكَ لِلطَّرِيقِ إِلَى اللَّهِ **بِهَذَا** الْكَيْفِيَّةِ، يَعْنِي يُنْبَغِي لِّلسَّالِكِ أَنْ يَسْرَعَ أَوَّلًا لِنَفْيِ وُجُودِ غَيْرِ اللَّهِ عِلْمًا فَلَمَّا نَفَى وُجُودَهُ وَوُجُودَ غَيْرِ اللَّهِ عِلْمًا يَحْصُلُ لَهُ نَفْيُ وُجُودِهِ وَوُجُودِ غَيْرِ اللَّهِ عِيَانًا ثُمَّ يَنْفَى مِنْ **هَذَا** النَّفْيِ مِنْ عِلْمِ النَّفْيِ، فَيَحْصُلُ لَهُ الْفَنَاءُ فِي اللَّهِ، وَالْبَقَاءُ بِهِ

²³⁹There is an error in this text. It should be read **بِهَذِهِ الْكَيْفِيَّةِ**, since the word pointed is female.

²⁴⁰Otherwise, the mistyped occurred in this text is due to the word pointed as male. Therefore it should be read **مِنْ هَذَا** النَّفْيِ.

²⁴¹The state of "subsistence"; continuing awareness through Allāh or what is called by Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz in *Islamic Mysticism a Short History* as the subsequent survival in God (Knysh 2000: 57).

27. It is like the butterfly or moth,²⁴² when it hurls its soul²⁴³ into a flame and it is consumed [by it] we do not²⁴⁴ say: “Has the butterfly become a flame or has it become non-existent?” Rather we say it is now one²⁴⁵ with the flame because before it cast its soul [into the flame], it was veiled [*mahjūb*] from the flame. When it cast its soul into the flame, it combined [with it] and became one with it. Likewise, the spiritual seeker is veiled before negating his own existence and the existence of entities other than Allāh. And when his existence and the existence of entities other than Allāh is denied, it becomes combined and becomes one with Allāh.

٢٧. كَمَثَلِ فِرَاشٍ [الْفَرَاشِ] إِذَا رَمَى رُوحَهُ فِي السِّرَاجِ وَاحْتَرَقَ فَنُقُولُ [فَلَا نَقُولُ] هَلْ صَارَ الْفَرَاشُ [الْفَرَاشُ] سِرَاجًا أَمْ صَارَ عَدَمًا، بَلْ نَقُولُ صَارَ بِالسِّرَاجِ وَاحِدًا [وَاحِدٌ] لِأَنَّهُ قَبْلَ رَمِي رُوحِهِ كَانَ مِنَ السِّرَاجِ مَحْجُوبٌ فَلَمَّا رَمَى رُوحَهُ انْتَصَلَ وَصَارَ بِهِ وَاحِدٌ كَذَلِكَ السَّالِكُ قَبْلَ نَفْيِ وُجُودِهِ وَوُجُودِ غَيْرِ اللَّهِ هُوَ مَحْجُوبٌ، فَلَمَّا نَفَى وُجُودَهُ وَوُجُودَ غَيْرِ اللَّهِ، انْتَصَلَ وَصَارَ بِهِ وَاحِدٌ

²⁴²There is a misspelling in this text. The word *firāsh* is not found in Arabic dictionaries except the word *farāsha* [sing.] or *farāsh* [plural] means moth[s] or butterfly [butterflies], (‘Abd. bin Muḥammad & Oemar Bakri 1974: 151). So it should be read كَالْفَرَاشِ [plural] or الْفَرَشَةُ [sing]. This is supported by the Words of God in *Qur’ān Sūrat al-Qāri’ah* (101:4) states that يَوْمَ كَالْفَرَاشِ الْمَبْثُوثِ means “It is a Day whereon mankind will be like moths scattered about.”

²⁴³Based on the *Qur’ān Sūrat al-Qāri’ah* (101:4) above which states يَوْمَ يَكُونُ النَّاسُ كَالْفَرَاشِ الْمَبْثُوثِ and it does not say كَالْفَرَاشِ الْمَبْثُوثِ that indicated that although it is an inanimate plural, it is not considered as singular feminine gender but it is still considered as a male gender in the *Qur’ān*. Therefore, we concluded that the words إِذَا رَمَى رُوحَهُ are fine or correct.

²⁴⁴There is an error here. It should been a negative word فَلَا نَقُولُ.

²⁴⁵There is an error occurred here, since the word وَاحِدٌ functions as *ism muakkhar* صَارَ while the words بِالسِّرَاجِ function as *khabar muqaddam* صَارَ.

28. There are many²⁴⁶ paths to Allāh as one of the gnostics said “the path to Allāh are as numerous as the breaths of all created beings but the nearest among them to Allāh and the highest among them and one most connected to [10] the quests of these [paths]²⁴⁷ is that [path] in which the spiritual seeker intends to reach the Essence of Allāh the Exalted with no attention to the other and otherness.
“Say: this is my Way – I do invite you to Allāh with certain knowledge, I and those who follow me. Glory be to Allāh! And I will never join partners with Allāh” (Qur’ān, 12:108).

My heart is between the two fingers from among the Fingers of the Beneficent [the Merciful]²⁴⁸Who can change it as He pleases.²⁴⁹

29. May abundant blessings and peace of Allāh be upon Muḥammad, his family and his Companions
30. This *Kitāb* or book has been completed²⁵⁰ by the help of Allāh and His bounty. Amen.

٢٨. وَالطَّرِيقُ إِلَى اللَّهِ كَثِيرٌ [كثيرة]، كَقَوْلِ بَعْضِ الْعَارِفِينَ، الطَّرِيقُ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى بِعَدَدِ أَنْفَاسِ الْخَلَائِقِ، وَلَكِنْ أَقْرَبُهَا إِلَى اللَّهِ وَأَعْلَاهَا وَأَوْصَلُهَا إِلَى [١٠] الْمَطَالِبِ [المطالِب] هَذَا [هذه]، فَهُوَ أَنْ يَقْصِدَ السَّالِكُ لِدَاتِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى مَعَ عَمِّ النَّفَاتِهِ إِلَى الْغَيْرِ وَالْغَيْرِيَّةِ، قُلْ هَذِهِ سَبِيلِي أَدْعُوا إِلَى اللَّهِ عَلَى بَصِيرَةٍ أَنَا وَمَنِ اتَّبَعَنِي وَسُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَمَا أَنَا مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ.

وَكَانَ قَلْبِي بَيْنَ أَصْبَعَيْنِ مِنْ أَصَابِعِ الرَّحْمَنِ، يَقْلِبُهَا كَيْفَ يَشَاءُ.

٢٩. وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّم تَسْلِيمًا كَثِيرًا

٣٠. تَمَّتْ [تَمَّ] الْكِتَابُ بِعَوْنِ اللَّهِ وَكَرَمِهِ، آمِينَ

²⁴⁶An error occurred in this text. It should be read **كثيرة** since it is an adjective of the word [turuq].

²⁴⁷The demonstrative pronoun **هذا** should be read **هذه**, but it seems redundant here.

²⁴⁸Literal meaning for the word *al-Rahmān* is the Beneficent (for all mankind and all creatures), but it can be interpreted as the Merciful for the specific ones who have His Mercy (Dr. Syamsul Bahri Lc, MA., personal communication, 12 May 2018) .

²⁴⁹These words are quoted based on his interpretation of various prophetic traditions such as see ḥadīth Anas ibn Mālik, vol. 20, No. 365: 350). In this ḥadīth saying: **إِنَّ الْقُلُوبَ بَيْنَ أَصْبَعَيْنِ مِنْ أَصَابِعِ اللَّهِ يَقْلِبُهَا كَيْفَ يَشَاءُ** and in another ḥadīth by ‘Abd Allāh bin ‘Umar, vol. 3, No. 2968: 342 saying:

عن عبد الله بن عمرو أنه سمع رسول الله ﷺ يقول إن قلوب بني آدم بين إصبعين من أصابع الرحمن كقلب واحد يصرفه كيف يشاء ثم قال رسول الله ﷺ {اللهم مصرف القلوب صرف قلوبنا على طاعتك.

and other similar prophetic traditions.

²⁵⁰The words should be **تَمَّ الْكِتَابُ** to harmonize between *fi’il* (verb) and *fā’il* (subject) in terms of gender.

4.2.2 The Text of Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 101 F Or A 13d [7]

The following text is presented as a comparison only to the above text. This is based on Dangor's translation with some modification and additional notes to fix it with the Arabic text.

Maṭālib al-Sālikīn [The Quests of the Spiritual Seekers]

1. In the name of Allāh the Beneficent the Merciful. .١ [١] بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

2. And Whose help we seek. Praise be to Allāh Who protects the hearts of the sincere [servants] from the entrance of others²⁵¹ and makes their hearts an object in which lights are manifested.²⁵² May Allāh bless and grant peace to the one who is the fountainhead of generosity and kindness and secrets, Muḥammad and his family and his companions, the chosen ones [*akhyār*]. .٢ وبه نستعين، الحمد لله رب العالمين الذي حفظ قلوب المخلصين من دخول الأغيار، وجعل قلوبهم مظهر [مظهرة] الأنوار. وصلى الله على من هو منبع الجود والكرام والأسرار محمد وآله وأصحابه الأخيار، وبعد،

3. Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj [may Allāh grant him complete success and make him among the people²⁵³ of verification [truth] said:

"I studied this treatise named *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn liman qaṣada Rabb al-Ālamīn* under our master, the saint [*walī*], gnostic with Allāh [*ʿarīf billah*], master of his age, and authority [*quṭb*]²⁵⁴ of his time, the noble master `Abd al-Karīm al-Naqshbandī al-Lāhorī [may Allāh sanctify his soul and illuminate his grave and may we benefit from him], amen."

.٣ فيقول الشيخ الحاج يوسف التاج رزقه الله كمال التوفيق وجعله من أهله [أهل] التحقيق، آمين.
أخذت هذه الرسالة المسماة بمطالب السالكين لمن قصد رب العالمين عن شيخنا الإمام الولي العارف بالله تعالى سيد زمانه وقطب أوانه السيد الشريف عبد الكريم النقشبدي اللاهوري، قدس الله روحه ونور ضريحه ونفعنا به، آمين.

²⁵¹because others cannot have true existence.

²⁵²An error occurred in this text. The verb should be *مظهرة* since its subject is an inanimate plural (additional).

²⁵³The pronoun *•* is redundant here (additional).

²⁵⁴Lit. is a pole or a person of extremely high spiritual level who acts as an administrator in the spiritual hierarchy of the world; a human conduit of spiritual power from Allāh, through whom it is distributed in the world.

4. We have also related it from him [may Allāh be pleased with him] - that is this, know oh my brother [may Allāh grant you and us success as He likes and as it pleases Him] - that there are three things that are necessary for you [to know]: *tawḥīd*, *ma'rifa* and *'ibāda*. *Tawḥīd* [oneness] is like a tree, *ma'rifa* [gnosis] is like the branches and leaves and *'ibāda* [worship] is like [its] fruit.
5. If you find a tree you will find branches and leaves, and if you find branches and leaves, you hope [or expect] that this tree yields²⁵⁵ fruit. [However] if you do not find branches and leaves in this tree you will not find fruit under any circumstances [so, the existence²⁵⁶ of fruit is impossible]. This is a metaphorical example that we say in order that you can understand the real and true example.
6. If you attain the stage of *tawḥīd*, you will attain *ma'rifa*, and if you attain the stage of [2] *ma'rifa*, you will attain *'ibāda*.
٤. رويناهما عنه أيضا رضي الله عنه هي هذه. اعلم يا أخي، وفقك الله وإيانا لما يحب ويرضى؛ فلا بد لك من ثلاثة أشياء: توحيد، ومعرفة، وعبادة. فالتوحيد كشجرة، والمعرفة كأغصان وأوراق، والعبادة كثمرة.
٥. فإذا وجدت شجرا، فوجدت أغصانا وأوراقا، وإذا وجدت أغصانا وأوراقا فأنت راج بأن **تجيب** [تجيب] بهذه الشجرة ثمرة؛ فإن لم تجد في الشجرة أغصانا وأوراقا، **فوجد** [فوجود] الثمرة محال وهذا مثال مجازي قلنا لأن تفهم مثال الحقيقي.
٦. فإن حصل لك مقام التوحيد حصل لك المعرفة، وإن حصل لك مقام [٢] المعرفة حصل لك مقام العبادة؛

²⁵⁵There is a transcription errors in this text, it should be read بأن تجيب بهذه الشجرة ثمرة.

²⁵⁶There is a transcription error in this text, it should be read فوجود.

7. One who does not declare the unity of Allāh [*waḥdāniyya*], is a disbeliever. One who does not know about His *ma'rifa* is ignorant. The worship of an ignorant person reverts²⁵⁷ to him.²⁵⁸
8. *Tawḥīd* is of two types. The first *tawḥīd* is *waḥdat al-wujūd*²⁵⁹ likes the view of *ṣūfīs' muḥaqqiqīn*²⁶⁰ who had agreed to say²⁶¹ that there is no existence in the visible and the unseen in form or in the external and internal, except the One Being and One²⁶² Essence and One Reality.
9. For example, your limbs are separate but subsist²⁶³ in you and you subsist by yourself, namely, the soul.
10. Hence, everything subsists because of Allāh, while Allāh subsists by His own essence.
٧. فمن لم يوحد بوجدانيته فهو كافر، ومن لم يعرف بمعرفته فهو جاهل؛ فعبادة الجاهل مردود [مردودة] عليه.
٨. فالتوحيد توحيدان. التوحيد الأول وحدة الوجود، كما أن الصوفية المحققين متصيقون [متفقون] على أن يقولوا على [X] أن لا موجود في الغيب والشهادة في الصورة والمعنى في الظاهر والباطن إلا وجود واحد، وذات واحد [واحدة]، وحقيقته واحدة.
٩. فأعضائك مثلا متفرقة قائم [قائمة] بك، وأنت قائم بذاتك. ألا وهي الروح
١٠. كذلك الأشياء قائمة بالله، والله قائم بذاته.

²⁵⁷There is an error in this text. It should be read مردودة (additional).

²⁵⁸Some words are missing in this text which are exist in the previous text or in F Or A13b [3] such as: One who does not practise *'ibāda* is sinful (*fāsiq*), So, the worship of a disbeliever and an ignorant person reverts to him.

وَمَنْ لَمْ يَعْزُدْ بِعِبَادَتِهِ فَهُوَ فَاسِقٌ؛ فِعْبَادَةُ الْكَافِرِ وَالْجَاهِلِ مَرْدُودَةٌ عَلَيْهِ (additional).

²⁵⁹The Oneness of Being

²⁶⁰Probing/verifying *Ṣūfīs*

²⁶¹There are transcriptions error in this text. The words should be متفقون على أن يقول أن لا موجود as appeared in the text of Arabic Microfilm MSKGB 108 F OrA13b[3] or Jakarta Manuscript A 108[3], although both texts put the word على in wrong places (additional).

²⁶²An error occurred in this text, it should be read واحدة (additional).

²⁶³There is an error in this text, it should be read [الأعضاء] قائمة since its subject [الأعضاء] is an inanimate plural, so it should be the singular feminine gender (additional).

11. So, with respect to things subsisting with Allāh, it is like the subsistence of the body with the soul. Hence, it is called ²⁶⁴the human being since it comprises the body and the soul. A human is not a soul only or body only, but a combination (of the two). In the same manner, الإله (God) is called إله (God) on account of containing the Essence and Attributes.
12. So, إله has three letters ا ل هـ. The ا is a symbolic expression of His Absolute Essence [*aḥadiyya*], the ل to His Supreme Self [*hawīyya*] and He is One in Essence [*Dhāt*] and One in Attributes [*Ṣifāt*]. His Attributes are His Perfections such as Knowledge, Hearing, Sight²⁶⁵ and Power and Attributes other than those. The Divine Attributes subsist in all things that One, and He²⁶⁶ exists in everything according to what have been stipulated that everything exists with Him and He exists with His essence.
١١. فنسبة قيام الأشياء بالله كنسبة قيام الجسد والروح **فتسمى** **[فيسمى]** الإنسان بالجسد والروح. إنسانا لا بالروح فقط، ولا بالجسد فقط، بل بالجميع. وكذلك تسمى الإله إله لكونه بالذات والصفات.
١٢. فالإله ثلاثة أحرف: الألف واللام والهاء. فالألف إشارة إلى أحديته، واللام إشارة إلى هويته فهو واحد بذاته، واحد بصفاته، وصفاته كمالاته كالعلم والسمع والبصر والقدرة وغير ذلك من الأسماء. الصفات الألوهية موجودة في جمع واحد، **وهي** **[وهو]** موجود في جميع الأشياء كما ثبت أن الأشياء قائمة به وهو قائم بذاته.

²⁶⁴There is a transcription error here, the word should be read **فيسمى** (additional).

²⁶⁵There is a missing word in this text i.e. the word **والحياة** that exists in text MSKBG 108 F Or A13b [3] (additional).

²⁶⁶The pronoun **وهي** should be **وهو** since it refers to God (additional).

13. As we have already mentioned that the body subsists with the soul and the soul subsists with its essence. So the existence of the body cannot be conceived except [by understanding] that the soul subsists²⁶⁷ with all its organs [limbs] just as blood exists in the human body and it²⁶⁸ is a living organism, otherwise his life cannot be conceived²⁶⁹. Likewise, Allāh subsists in everything and if Allāh is not to be found in everything, [therefore everything is nothing].²⁷⁰
14. And He is not bound by²⁷¹ place and time and from whatever is not suited to His Essence, just as the soul does not remain in any single organ but is present in all organs [limbs]. Likewise, Allāh does not remain fixed in one place but He subsists in everything.
١٣. كما ذكرنا أن الجسد قائم بالروح، والروح قائم بذاته فلا يتصور قيام الجسد إلا أن يكون الروح موجودة [موجودا] في جميع أعضائه، كما إذا كان الدم موجودا في الإنسان؛ فهي [فهو] حي، وإلا لا يتصور [فلا تتصور] حيويته، كذلك الله موجودا في جميع الأشياء. فلو لم يوجد الله في الأشياء... لم تجد [توجد] الأشياء...
١٤. وهو منزه عن مكان وزمان وعن ما يليق لذاته كما أن الروح لا تستقر في عضو واحد من الأعضاء، وهي موجودة في جميع الأعضاء. كذلك الله لا يستقر في شيء واحد، وهو موجود في جميع الأشياء.

²⁶⁷An error is occurred in this text. Since the word (الرُّوح) is *muzakkar* or male (based on the *Qur'ān* 17: 85 وَيَسْأَلُونَكَ عَنِ الرُّوحِ قُلِ الرُّوحُ مِنْ أَمْرِ رَبِّي وَمَا تُبَدِّلُهَا إِلَّا أَنْ يَشَاءَ اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ) and *Qur'ān* 78: 38 (يَوْمَ يَكْفُرُ الْأَرْضُ وَأَلْمَلِكَةُ صَفًا) which functions as *ism* (كان), therefore its *khābar* **مُؤْجِدَةٌ** must be *muzakkar* or male **مُؤْجِدًا**. Therefore the words should be

إلا أن يكون الروح موجودا في جميع أعضائه.

²⁶⁸There is a transcription error in this text, it should be read **غير**.

²⁶⁹There is a transcription error in this text, it should be read **فلا تتصورحيوته** since its *nāib al-fā'il* is female to adjust it with the counterpart text.

²⁷⁰There is a missing words here. To complete it, so, there should be the words **لم تجد الأشياء** as it is found in the text MSKBG 108, F Or A 13b [3] (additional).

²⁷¹The word **كُلِّ** [each] here is missing while in another text or in the text of F OrA13[b] exists. However, both versions are correct. This one would mean "He is not bound by any place" while the other would mean "He is not bound by every place."

15. When you seek the subsistence of everything in Allāh then do not imagine [anything] except that He subsists in everything and this is the meaning of the words of our master `Ali [may Allāh be pleased with him] “I did not see anything except I saw Allāh in it.”²⁷² O my brother, do you see anything outside of His Eternal Knowledge? If you say “certainly,” then you are ignorant because the product is not conceived²⁷³ before the producer has knowledge of it. If you say “yes” then this is the location where it is inconceivable for any person of intellect, such as the writer, that the script should not be conceived²⁷⁴ by him [3] except after he has knowledge of what he will be writing.

١٥. فلما طلبت قيام الأشياء بالله، فلا يتصور إلا أن يكون موجودا في الأشياء. وهذا معنى قول سيدنا علي رضي الله عنه: ما رأيت شيئا إلا ورأيت الله فيه؛ فهل ترى يا أخي شيئا من الأشياء خارجا عن علمه الأزلي؟ فإن قلت: بلى، فأنت جاهل، أم يتصور [لأنه لا يتصور] يتصور المصنوع قبل علم الصانع، فإن قلت: نعم، فهذا محال لا يتصور عند كل ذي عقل، كالكاتب لا يتصور [تتصور] له الكتابة [٣] إلا بعد علمه بالكتابة.

²⁷²I was unable to find this saying in the sources.

²⁷³Both are correct as the first means “will the product be conceived prior to the knowledge of the producer” (as if as he asks although without adding a question mark in the text), and the second one is because the product is inconceivable prior to the knowledge of the producer.

²⁷⁴There are two opinions here. First, the verb should be in the passive of feminine gender تتصور to adjust with the meaning of the text above. The second one is that these words can be used if it is translated as such as the writer, he cannot conceive his writing except after he has knowledge of what he will be writing or if it is read as follows: كُتِبَ لَا يَتَصَوَّرُ لَهُ الْكِتَابَةَ إِلَّا بَعْدَ عِلْمِهِ بِالْكِتَابَةِ.

16. Likewise, Allāh brings into being the world from the unseen to the seen after things already exist in His Eternal Knowledge cognitively. This is the meaning of His words, the Exalted: “Verily, Our command unto a thing when we intend it, is only that we say unto it: “Be!” –and it is!”²⁷⁵ Because all things have existed on His original knowledge in the unseen world, so if He commands by His will from the unseen to the real or visible world, so the things appear in the visible world, as it was in the unseen (world). If He decreed to bring²⁷⁶ it from the unseen [world] to the visible world, so, He will bring it²⁷⁷ by the command ‘kun fayakun’ (“Be!-And it is!”).

17. Because things are [embedded] in [His] knowledge²⁷⁸ and His Knowledge is His Attributes and Attributes and Essence are one. Separation of the Attributes from the Essence cannot be imagined as the separation of the body from the soul before death cannot be imagined. Likewise, the separation of butter from milk or milk from butter before curdling cannot be imagined. This is the meaning of His words [may He be Exalted] “and Allāh encompasses all things” (Qur’ān, 4: 126).

١٦ . وكذلك الله أوجد [يجيء به] العالم من الغيب إلى الشهادة بعدما كانت الأشياء موجودة في علمه الأزلي بالوجود الذهني. ومعنى قولنا إنما أمرنا إذا أردناه أن نقول له كن فيكون لأن الأشياء كانت موجودة في علم الأزلي في عالم الغيب، فأمر بإرادته من الغيب إلى الشهادة، فظهر في الشهادة كما كان في الغيب. فإذا أَرَادَهُ أَنْ يَجِيئَهُ [يجيء به] إلى الشهادة، فَيَجِيبُ [فيجيبه] بأمر كن فيكون.

١٧ . فالأشياء في علم [علمه]، وعلمه صفاته، فالصفات بالذات واحدة، لا يتصور انفكاك الصفات عن الذات كما لا يتصور انفكاك الجسد عن الروح قبل الموت أو كما لا يتصور انفكاك الذبذبة عن الحليب، والحليب عن الذبذبة قبل الذوب. وهذا معنى قوله تعالى وكان الله بكل شيء محيطاً.

²⁷⁵The Arabic text is based on the Qur’ān 16:40 and the Qur’ān 36:82 or the combination of both verses.

²⁷⁶Correct formulation should be فإذا أراد أن يجيء به إلى الشهادة.

²⁷⁷Correct formulation should be فَيَجِيبُهُ بِأَمْرٍ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ.

²⁷⁸There is a transcription error in this text. There should be a pronoun • means His refers to God. So the words should be read • في علمه in His knowledge (additional).

18. So, the milk is present²⁷⁹ in the cream, and the cream is present in the milk and they are in reality one thing. Likewise, everything exists in Allāh and Allāh exists in everything. In reality, both of them are one. When Allāh was in [the phase of] pre-eternity, there was nothing with Him and He was in eternity just as He was in pre-eternity, hence the meaning of their words “the cognitive knowledge [ma`lūmāt] does not emanate from [the emanation of] the fragrance of external existence and it will never emanate.” This image is transmitted from the original images in the Eternal True [Divine] Knowledge and this transmission occurs like the letters emanating from you, not in terms of the original letters, which²⁸⁰ remain fixed in your being. Your existence is borrowed from the True [Divine] origin though every borrowed [person or thing] does not exist in reality. You are non-existent [adam]. You have no share in existence because you are characterised as non-existent. If you claim existence - that you have existence-other than God’s existence, then you are attributing partnership with Allāh (i.e. committing *shirk*).²⁸¹ “Verily! Joining others in worship with Allāh is a great *ẓūlm* (wrong) in deed” (*Qur’ān*, 31:13).

١٨. فالحليب موجودة [موجود] في الزبدة، والزبدة موجودة في الحليب، وهما في الحقيقة شيء واحد. وكذلك الأشياء موجودة في الله. والله موجود في الأشياء، وهما في الحقيقة شيء واحد. كان الله في الأزل، ولم يكن معه شيء في الأبد، كما كان في الأزل. وهذا معنى قولهم: ما شمت المعلومات العلمية من شمات رائحة الوجود الخارجي ولن تشم أبدا. فإن هذه الصورة منقولة من الصور الأصلية في علم الحق الأزل، وهذا النقل حاث لحروف التي تخرج منك لا من جهة الحروف الأصلية يكون [تكون] ثابتة في ذاتك، فوجودك مستقر من الأصل الحقيقي، وكل مستقر ليس له في الحقيقة وجود؛ فأنت في عدم، ولا لك من الوجود نصيب، وأنت بالعدم متّصف، فإن ادعيت بالوجود بأن يكون وجود سوى وجود الله، فقد أشركت بالله، وإن الشرك لظلم عظيم.

²⁷⁹There is an error in this text. It should be read فَأَلْحَيْبٌ مُّوجُودٌ, since its subject is male or masculine.

²⁸⁰There is an error in the text here. The verb should be تكون.

²⁸¹This is an opposite of أهل الديوان the people of the register [of the saints].

19. So have trust in Allāh who is One in Essence and One in Attributes because whenever His existence is affirmed for beings other than Him then His existence is for others, not for Himself (cannot be Allāh). So understand that.
20. The reality of faith is that you leave²⁸² your metaphorical existence to your essential non-existence because Allāh has made essential non-existence a mirror for His Essence and manifestation [tajalli]²⁸³ to him with His Perfect Essence²⁸⁴, all of them pass from Him into complete annihilation [fanā].²⁸⁵ If you progress to non-existence you become a mirror to Him and the Reality [al-Ḥaqq] will witness His Essence in your essence. So, He²⁸⁶ is a witness²⁸⁷ with respect to witnessing His Essence²⁸⁸ in this mirror, and He is the witnessed with respect to Him being seen²⁸⁹ in this mirror. Whoever understands this matter and believes firmly in it, is a true believer who asserts the Unity of Allāh [muwaḥḥid].²⁹⁰ If not, he is metaphorically a true disbeliever because he does not believe in reality.

١٩. فأمن بالله الذي هو بالذات أحد، وبالصفات واحد، لأن كلما ثبت وجوده لغيره فوجوده لغير لا لنفسه فافهم.

٢٠. وحقيقة الإيمان بأن يخرج [تخرج] من وجودك المجازي إلى عدمك الحقيقي، فالعدم الحقيقي جعله الله مرآة لذاته وتجلي عليه بالكمالات [بالكمال] الذاتية كلها المعبر عنه بالفناء [المعتبرة عنه بالفناء] الاثم فإذا عرفت عدما تصير مرآة لها يشاهد الحق ذاته فيك فهي يشاهد [فهو شاهد] من حيث إنه يشاهد [٤] ذاته بذاته في هذه المرآة، وهو المشهود من حيث إنه ير [يري] في هذه المرآة. ومن عرف هذه المسئلة واعتقد بها؛ فهو مؤمن موحد حقيقي، وإلا فهو من مجازي كافر حقيقي لأنه ما آمن بحقيقة.

²⁸²The verb should be read **تخرج** since it refers to the word **وحقيقة** (additional).

²⁸³Allāh's unveiling of Himself to His creatures.

²⁸⁴There is an error in this text. It should be read **بلكمالة** since it refers to the word **الذاتية** (additional).

²⁸⁵The transcriptions are error in this text. The words should be read **بالمعتبرة عنه بالفناء** to adjust it with the text MSKGB 108 F Or A 13b [3] (additional). Then the words **fanā'** means passing of the individual self into universal Being.

²⁸⁶An error occurred in this text. It should be read **فهو** since it refers to God (additional).

²⁸⁷This transcription is error here. It should be read **شاهد** as a Subject in this sentence (additional).

²⁸⁸The word **ذاته** has been repeated here and therefore the word **بذاته** is redundant.

²⁸⁹There is a mistyped here; it should be read **يرى** (additional).

²⁹⁰One who sees the Divine Unite in everything.

21. As for our saying that you are an ignorant person, if you say yes, this necessitates the creation of the world has not²⁹¹ prior to His, the Exalted, Knowledge, (thereof). It also necessitates the attribution of ignorance to Allāh the Exalted that it is disbelief and misguidance and disbelief and misguidance with respect to Him [Glorious and Exalted is He] is unthinkable. *He [Glorious and Exalted is He] is high above what the transgressors say.*²⁹²
22. Verily the second *tawhīd* is well-known to every Muslim specifically and generally and that is “Allāh is One, Allāh is Self-Subsisting, He does not beget nor is He begotten, and there is no one comparable to Him” (*Qur’ān*, Ch. 112). Yes. So understand and confirm [that].
23. Gnosis [*ma’rifā*] is to know that every beginning²⁹³ is from Him and the return is to Him. so you return to Him with exactly the same way to how He originated you from Him, just like the sea when the water flows²⁹⁴ from it to the river and it returns to the sea eventually the way it was.²⁹⁵ The water does not change from its reality as water.
٢١. وأما قولنا: فأنت جاهل إن قلت نعم، فليزِم من هذا لأن [لا] تكون خلقية العالم قبل علمه تعالى، ويلزم من هذا أيضا نسبة الجهل إلى الله تعالى فهذا كفر وإضلال؛ فالكفر وضلال في حقه سبحانه وتعالى محال، وهو سبحانه وتعالى منزّه عما يقول الظالمون علوا كبيرا.
٢٢. فالتوحيد الثاني معلوم عند كل أحد من المسلمين الخاصة والعامة، فهو الله أحد، الله الصمد، لم يلد ولم يولد، ولم يكن له كفوا أحد. نعم، فافهم وتحقق.
٢٣. والمعرفة أن تعرف أن مبد [مبدأ] كل منه، ومعادك إليه فيعود إليه بعين ما يعديك منه كالبحر إذا منه ماء [إذا امتد منه ماؤه] إلى النهر فيعود إلى البحر كما كان في النهر [في النهر]، ولا يتغير الماء عن الحقيقة المائية.

²⁹¹The ن in the text is redundant here. It should be read لا.

²⁹²This is based on Quran 17:43 [Glory be to Him! He is highly exalted above what they say!].

²⁹³There is an error (or a misspelling) in the text here. The verb should be مبدأ.

²⁹⁴I think the verb يسيل is missing in the text here, or it would be better if the words to be إذا امتد منه ماؤه as they are found in the text F Or A13b [3] (additional).

²⁹⁵It seems that there is a misspelling in this text. The words في النهر should be read في النهر to adjust it with the previous word or to have it aligned with the meaning of the text, as well as to adjust it with the text F Or A13b [3] (additional).

24. 'Ibāda means to submit to His *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* that is, there is no existence but His. And He is One, Who has no partner in existence. The linguistic meaning of 'ubdiyya²⁹⁶ is obedience of something to something else just as your organs [limbs] are obedient to your soul. In connection with the matter regarding the desire of the soul, it is because you do not do anything except through the desire of the soul²⁹⁷. Apparently [in *ẓāhir*], your organs [limbs] worship your essence and your essence is the object of devotion²⁹⁸. The essence is the worshipper²⁹⁹ with respect to the manifest [*ẓāhir*] and the object of worship³⁰⁰ with respect to the hidden [*bāṭin*]³⁰¹ because the command is from it and to it.

٢٤ . والعبادة بأن يطيع في وحدة وجوده بأن لا وجود لغيره، وهو واحد لا شريك له في الوجود. ومعنى المعبودية في اللغة إطاعة الشيء للشيء، كأعضائك مطيعة لروحك من حيث الأمر باشتهاء الروح؛ لأنك ما تفعل شيئاً باشتهاء الروح، **لأنك ما تفعل شيئاً باشتهاء الروح**. ففي الظاهر أعضاؤك عابدة لذاتك، **وذات معبود [وذاتك معبودة]**؛ فالذات **عابد [عابدة]** من حيث الظاهر ومعبود **[ومعبودة]** من حيث الباطن لأن الأمر منه وإليه.

²⁹⁶Servitude of the 'self' or individual consciousness is that by means of fulfilling its specific function and purpose of creation.

²⁹⁷This phrase "you do not do anything except through the desire of the soul" is repeated here.

²⁹⁸There is an error occurred in this text. Since the word (ذات) is *mu'annath* or female, therefore the words should be **وَذَاتُكَ مَعْبُودَةٌ** (additional).

²⁹⁹There is an error in the text here. The verb should be **عابدة**, since its subject is feminine gender

³⁰⁰See footnote 298 above. The verb should be **معبودة** (additional).

³⁰¹The unperceivable reality within the perceivable manifestation

25. If your existence and the existence of other than Allāh is concealed and you know yourself and other than Allāh, all that is non-existence and you will not see anything but Him and you will not witness anything but Him and nothing with remain³⁰² except Him. “Not for you [but for Allāh] is the decision” (Qur’ān, 3:128) So, He becomes a devotee [ābid] from the perspective of the Divine Command being from Him and the object of devotion [ma`būd] from the perspective of the Divine Command [emanating] from Him. And He is an object of worship from the perspective of the Divine Command [amr] returning to Him.

“Everything will perish but He [His Face]. His is the judgement, and to Him you will be brought back” (Qur’ān, 28:88).

“All that is on it [earth] will perish but the Face of your Lord will abide forever, full of Majesty and Honour” (Qur’ān, 55:26-27)

٢٥. فإذا تغيب وجودك ووجود غير الله وعرفت نفسك وغير الله، إن ذلك الكل معدوم. فلا ترى إلا هو، ولا تشاهد إلا هو، ولا يبقى إلا هو، وليس لك من الأمر شيء، فيصير هو العابد من حيث الأمر منه، والمعبود منه من حيث الأمر منه، والمعبود من حيث الأمر يرجع إليه.

كل شيء هالك إلا وجهه له الحكم وإليه ترجعون.

كل من عليها فان، ويبقى وجه ربك ذو الجلال والإكرام.

³⁰²The verb used in the present tense here is from the root *baqā* meaning the state of "subsistence"; continuing awareness through Allāh.

26. Any one who knows the reality of *tawhīd*, and the reality of *ma'rifa* and the reality of *'ubūdiyya* is an *'ārif*, *muwaḥḥid* and *muṭī'*,³⁰³ if not then he is nothing. Whoever desires a [spiritual] path to Allāh let him first understand these words, then he can follow the path to Allāh through this method. It is incumbent on the spiritual seeker firstly to commence with denying his own existence and the existence of entities other than Allāh through cognizance. Once he has denied his own existence and the existence of entities other than Allāh cognitively,³⁰⁴ he will succeed in denying³⁰⁵ **his own existence and the existence of others other than Allāh cognitively,**³⁰⁶ his own existence and the existence of entities other than Allāh visibly. Then he passes from this negation pertaining to the knowledge of negation and he attains complete annihilation in Allāh and subsistence [*baqā'*]³⁰⁷ with Him

٢٦. فمن عرف حقيقة التوحيد والمعرفة والعبودية، فهو عارف موحد مطيع، وإلا فليس شيئاً؛ فمن أراد السلوك إلى الله فليفهم أولاً هذه الكلمات ثم يسلك للطريق إلى الله بهذه الكيفية. نعني ينبغي للسالك أن يشرع أولاً لنفي وجوده ووجود غير الله علماً. فلما نفي وجوده ووجود غير الله علماً، يحصل له من نفي [علي] وجوده ووجود غير الله علماً، وجوده ووجود غير الله عياناً ثم يفني من هذا النفي من علم النفي، فيحصل له الفناء في الله والبقاء به.

³⁰³An obedient slave who asserts the Unity of God as well as a gnostic [additional].

³⁰⁴This is superfluous.

³⁰⁵There is an error in the text here. The preposition **علي** should come after the verb.

³⁰⁶It seems that the words **وجوده ووجود غير الله علماً** are redundant here.

³⁰⁷The state of "subsistence"; continuing awareness through Allāh.

27. It is like the moth,³⁰⁸ when it hurls its soul into a flame and it is consumed we do not³⁰⁹ say: “Has the moth become a flame or has it become non-existent?” Rather we say it is now one [with the flame] because before it cast its soul [into the flame], it was veiled [*maḥjūb*] from the flame. When it cast its soul into the flame, it combined [with it] and became one³¹⁰ with it. Likewise, the spiritual seeker is veiled before³¹¹ negating his existence and the existence of entities other than Allāh. And when his existence and the existence of others other than Allāh are denied, he becomes combined and becomes one³¹² with Allāh.

٢٧ . كمثل فراش [الفراش] . إذا رمي روحه في السراج واحترق، فنقول [فلا نقول] هل صار الفراش سراجا أم صار عدما؟، بل نقول: واحدا لأنه قبل رمي روحه كان من السراج محجوب ، فلما رمي روحه بالسراج اتصل وصار به واحدا [واحد] . لذلك السالك قبل وجوده ووجود غير الله هو محجوب فلما نفي وجوده ووجود غير الله هو محجوب . فلما نفي وجوده ووجود غير الله تعالى اتصل وصار به واحدا [واحد] .

³⁰⁸There is a transcription error in this text, it should be used **ال** or **to be read** الفراش instead of **فراش**, since it is a subject of this sentence.

³⁰⁹There is an error here. It should been a negative word **فَلَا نَقُولُ** [additional].

³¹⁰There is a transcription error in this text, it should be read **واحد** since it functions as *ism muakhhhar* of **صار** as it appeared in its counterpart of this text or in MSKBG 108 F Or 13b [3].

³¹¹It seems that this text has textual redundancies here. **وجوده ووجود غير الله هو محجوب فلما**. The words **لذلك السالك قبل** should be linked directly to the phrase **نفي وجوده ووجود غير الله هو محجوب** as it is found in its counterpart text MSKBG A108 F Or A 13b [3]. Therefore, the words should be read **لذلك السالك قبل نفي وجوده ووجود غير الله هو محجوب** [additional].

³¹²There is a transcription error in this text, it should be read **واحد** as has been mentioned in the footnote number 310 above.

28. There are many paths³¹³ to Allāh as one of the gnostics said³¹⁴ “the path to Allāh are as numerous as the souls [the breath] of all created beings but the nearest among them to Allāh and the highest among them and those with the closest connection among them to the quests is that³¹⁵ spiritual seeker of the Essence of Allāh the Exalted who is inattentive to the other and otherness.

“Say³¹⁶ : *this is my Way – I do invite you to Allāh with certain knowledge, I and those who follow me. Glory be to Allāh! And I will never join partners with Allāh.*” (Qur’ān, 12:108)

“My heart was between two fingers from among the Fingers of the Beneficent [Merciful]³¹⁷ Who could change it as He pleased.”³¹⁸

29. May abundant blessings and peace of Allāh be upon Muḥammad, his family and his companions.

30. Allāh knows best.

1186 AH

٢٨. **والطريق [والطرق]** إلى الله كثيرة لقوله بعض العارفين: **الطريق [الطرق]** إلى الله بعدد أنفاس الخلائق، ولكن أقربها إلى الله وأعلاها وأوصلها إلى المطالب **هذا**، فذلك السالك لذات الله تعالى مع عدم التفاته إلى الغير والغيرية.

هل [قل] هذه سبيلي ادعوا إلى الله على بصيرة أنا ومن اتبعني، وسبحان الله وما أنا من المشركين.

وكان قلبي بين **إصبعين** من أصابع الرحمن، يقبلها كيف يشاء

٢٩. وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم تسليماً كثيراً.

٣٠. والله أعلم.

١١٨٦.

³¹³The subject must be plural, so it should be read **والطرق**. [additional].

³¹⁴The attached pronoun ٤ is redundant here.

³¹⁵The demonstrative pronoun هذا is redundant here.

³¹⁶There is an error in the text here. The verse starts with **قل** and not with **هل**.

³¹⁷Literal meaning for the word *al-Rahmān* is the Beneficent (for all mankind and all creatures), but it can be interpreted as the Merciful for the specific ones who have His Mercy (Dr. Syamsul Bahri Lc, MA., personal communication, 12 May 2018).

³¹⁸These words are quoted based on his interpretation of various prophetic traditions such as see ḥadīth Anas ibn Mālik, vol. 20, No. 365: 350). In this ḥadīth saying: **إِنَّ الْقُلُوبَ بَيْنَ أَصْبَعَيْنِ مِنْ أَصَابِعِ اللَّهِ يَقْبَلُهَا كَيْفَ يَشَاءُ**, and in another ḥadīth by ‘Abd Allāh bin ‘Umar, vol. 3, No. 2968: 342 saying:

عن عبد الله بن عمرو أنه سمع رسول الله ﷺ يقول إن قلوب بني آدم بين إصبعين من أصابع الرحمن كقلب واحد يصرفه كيف يشاء ثم قال رسول الله ﷺ اللهم مصرف القلوب صرف قلوبنا على طاعتك.

and other similar prophetic traditions [additional].

4.3 Difference Categories in Both Arabic Texts

We will categorise the differences between the two texts by using the following categories:

Category I: This category highlights the difference at the start and the end of both texts

Category II: This category highlights the grammatical errors in the two texts.

Category III: This category highlights the use of different words in texts that have similar meaning or express the same intention. These include nouns, adjectives, verbs, connectors, conjunctions and prepositions.

Category IV: This category shows redundancy in either or both texts.

Category V: This last category highlights the absence of crucial words in one text which influences the meaning or makes the text incomplete in meaning.

مَطَالِبِ السَّالِكِينَ

Difference Category	Text of MSKBG 101 F Or A 13d [7] – Text B	Text of MSKBG 108 F Or A 13b [3] – Text A	No.
No differences	[١] بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ	[١] بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ	.١
(Cat. I): Both texts are different at the start. (Cat. III): Both texts use extra words. Both convey the same meaning as well as some Arabic grammatical errors.	وبه نستعين، الحمد لله الذي حفظ قلوب المخلصين من دخول الأغيار، وجعل قلوبهم مظهر [مظهرة] الأنوار. وصلى الله على من هو منبع الجود والكرام والأسرار محمد وآله وأصحابه الأخيار، وبعد،	الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي حَفِظَ قُلُوبَ الْمُخْلِصِينَ مِنْ نُحُولِ الْأَغْيَارِ وَجَعَلَ قُلُوبَهُمْ مُظْهِرَ [مُظْهِرَةَ] الْأَنْوَارِ وَالْأَسْرَارِ، وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ وَسَلَّمْ عَلَى مَنْ هُوَ مُنْبَعُ [مُنْبَعِ] الْجُودِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَأَصْحَابِهِ الْأَخْيَارِ، وَبَعْدُ	.٢
(Cat. IV) Text B has a redundancy of pronoun (ه). (Cat. II): Text A contains	فيقول الشيخ الحاج يوسف التاج رزقه الله كمال التوفيق وجعله من أهله [أهل] التحقيق، أمين: أخذت هذه الرسالة المسماة بمطالب السالكين لمن قصد	.٣ فيقول الشيخ الحاج يوسف التاج رزقه الله تعالى كمال التوفيق وجعله من أهل التحقيق، أمين: أخذت هذه الرسالة المسماة [المسماة] بمطالب [بمطالب]	

<p>grammatical errors.</p>	<p>رب العالمين عن شيخنا الإمام الولي العارف بالله تعالى سيد زمانه وقطب أوانه السيد الشريف عبد الكريم النقشبدي اللاهوري، قدس الله روحه ونور ضريحه ونفعنا به، آمين.</p>	<p>السَّالِكِينَ لِمَنْ فَصَدَ رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ عَنْ شَيْخِنَا الْإِمَامِ الْوَلِيِّ الْعَارِفِ بِاللَّهِ سَيِّدِ زَمَانِهِ وَقُطْبِ أَوَانِهِ السَّيِّدِ الشَّرِيفِ عَبْدِ الْكَرِيمِ النَّقْشَبَنْدِيِّ اللَّاهُورِيِّ قَدَسَ اللَّهُ رُوحَهُ وَتَوَرَّ ضَرَائِحَهُ [ضَرِيحَهُ] وَنَفَعَنَا بِهِ، آمِينَ</p>	
<p>(Cat. III): Text B has additional words with no influence in meaning between the two texts. (Cat. V.) Text A is missing two words ويرضى</p>	<p>رويناها عنه أيضا رضي الله عنه هي هذه. اعلم يا أخي، وفقك الله وإيانا لما يجب ويرضى؛ فلا بد لك من ثلاثة أشياء: توحيد، ومعرفة، وعبادة. فالتوحيد كشجرة، والمعرفة كأغصاب وأوراق، والعبادة كثمره.</p>	<p>رَوَيْنَاهَا عَنْهُ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ وَهِيَ هَذِهِ اِعْلَمْ يَا أَخِي وَفَقَكَ اللَّهُ وَإِيَانَا لِمَا يُحِبُّ فَلَا بُدَّ لَكَ مِنْ ثَلَاثَةِ أَشْيَاءَ: تَوْحِيدٌ وَمَعْرِفَةٌ وَعِبَادَةٌ. فَالتَّوْحِيدُ كَشَجَرَةٍ، وَالمَعْرِفَةُ كَأَغْصَانٍ وَأَوْرَاقٍ، وَالعِبَادَةُ [٢] كَثَمَرَةٍ.</p>	<p>.٤</p>
<p>(Cat. I): Both texts use different connectors at the beginning of the sentence, one use و and another use ف. in addition Text A uses pronoun • [hu] in Qulnāhu (Cat. II): Both texts have grammatical errors)</p>	<p>فإذا وجدت شجرا، فوجدت أغصانا وأوراقا، وإذا وجدت أغصانا وأوراقا فأنت راجح بأن تجيب [تجيء] بهذه الشجرة ثمرة؛ فإن لم تجد في الشجرة أغصانا وأوراقا، فوجد [فوجود] الثمرة محال وهذا مثال مجازي قلنا لأن تفهم مثال الحقيقي.</p>	<p>وَإِذَا وَجَدْتَ شَجْرًا فَوَجَدْتَ أَغْصَانًا وَأَوْرَاقًا وَإِذَا وَجَدْتَ أَغْصَانًا وَأَوْرَاقًا فَأَنْتَ رَاجِحٌ بَأَنَّ تُجِيبَ هَذِهِ الشَّجَرَةَ [الشَّجَرَةَ] ثَمَرَةً وَإِنْ لَمْ تَجِدْ فِي الشَّجَرَةِ أَغْصَانًا وَأَوْرَاقًا، فَوُجُودُ الثَّمَرَةِ مَحَالٌ [مَحَالٌ]. وَهَذَا مِثَالٌ مَجَازِيٌّ قُلْنَا لِأَنَّ تَفْهَمَ الْمِثَالِ الْحَقِيقِيِّ</p>	<p>.٥</p>
<p>No differences</p>	<p>فإن حصل لك مقام التوحيد حصل لك المعرفة، وإن حصل لك مقام [٢] المعرفة حصل لك مقام العبادة؛</p>	<p>فَإِنْ حَصَلَ لَكَ مَقَامُ التَّوْحِيدِ حَصَلَ لَكَ المَعْرِفَةُ، وَإِنْ حَصَلَ لَكَ مَقَامُ المَعْرِفَةِ حَصَلَ لَكَ العِبَادَةُ</p>	<p>.٦</p>
<p>(Cat. II): Text B contains grammatical errors)</p>	<p>فمن لم يوحد بوحديته فهو كافر، ومن لم يعرف بمعرفته فهو جاهل؛ ... و من لم يعبد بعبادته فهو فاسق...</p>	<p>فَمَنْ لَمْ يُوحِدْهُ بِوَحْدَانِيَّتِهِ فَهُوَ كَافِرٌ، وَمَنْ لَمْ يَعْرِفْهُ بِمَعْرِفَتِهِ فَهُوَ جَاهِلٌ، وَمَنْ لَمْ يَعْبُدْهُ بِعِبَادَتِهِ فَهُوَ فَاسِقٌ؛ فَعِبَادَةُ الْكَافِرِ</p>	<p>.٧</p>

<p>(Cat. V): Text B is missing some words such as:</p> <p>وَمَنْ لَمْ يَعْرِفْهُ بِمَعْرِفَتِهِ فَهُوَ جَاهِلٌ، وَمَنْ لَمْ يَعْبُدْهُ بِعِبَادَتِهِ فَهُوَ فَاسِقٌ؛ فَعِبَادَةُ الْكَافِرِ وَالْجَاهِلِ مَرْدُودَةٌ عَلَيْهِ</p>	<p>فعبادة... الكفر... والجاهل مردود [مردودة] عليه.</p>	<p>وَالْجَاهِلِ مَرْدُودَةٌ عَلَيْهِ</p>	
<p>(Cat. II): Both texts are similar in meaning with both containing some grammatical errors.</p> <p>(Cat. III): Text B uses different words or a bit of long text to clarify the following words:</p> <p>في الظاهر والباطن which is also found in text A.</p>	<p>فالتوحيد توحيدان. التوحيد الأول وحدة الوجود، كما أن الصوفية المحققين متضيقون [متفقون على] ان يقولوا على [x] أن لا موجود في الغيب والشهادة في الصورة والمعنى في الظاهر والباطن إلا وجود واحد، وذات واحد [واحدة]، وحقيقته واحدة.</p>	<p>٨. قَالَتَوَحِيدٌ تَوْحِيدَانِ. تَوْحِيدٌ [التَّوْحِيدُ] الْأَوَّلُ وَحَدَّةُ الْوُجُودِ كَمَا أَنَّ الصُّوفِيَّةَ الْمُحَقِّقِينَ مُتَّفِقُونَ [على] أَنْ يَقُولُوا عَلَى [x] أَنْ لَا مَوْجُودَ فِي الظَّاهِرِ وَالْبَاطِنِ إِلَّا وُجُودٌ وَاحِدٌ وَذَاتٌ وَاحِدٌ [وَاحِدَةً] وَحَقِيقَةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ</p>	
<p>(Cat. II): Both texts are similar in meaning with both containing some grammatical errors.</p>	<p>فأعضاؤك مثلا متفرقة قائم [قائمة] بك، وأنت قائم بذاتك. ألا وهي الروح.</p>	<p>٩. فَأَعْضَاؤُكَ مَثَلًا مُتَّفَرِّقَةٌ وَالْأَعْضَاءُ قَائِمٌ [قَائِمَةٌ] بِكَ وَأَنْتَ قَائِمٌ بِذَاتِكَ أَلَا وَهِيَ الرُّوحُ</p>	
<p>(Cat. II): Text A contains a grammatical error.</p>	<p>كذلك الأشياء قائمة بالله، والله قائم بذاته.</p>	<p>١٠. كَذَلِكَ الْأَشْيَاءُ قَائِمٌ [قَائِمَةٌ] بِاللَّهِ وَاللَّهُ قَائِمٌ بِذَاتِهِ</p>	

<p>(Cat. II): Text B contains a grammatical error.</p>	<p>فنسبة قيام الأشياء بالله كنسبة قيام الجسد والروح فتسمى فيسمى الإنسان بالجسد والروح. إنسانا لا بالروح فقط، ولا بالجسد فقط، بل بالجميع. وكذلك تسمى الإله إليها لكونه بالذات والصفات.</p>	<p>[٣] فَنِسْبَةُ قِيَامِ الْأَشْيَاءِ بِاللَّهِ كَنِسْبَةِ قِيَامِ الْجَسَدِ بِالرُّوحِ فَيَسْمَى الْإِنْسَانُ بِالْجَسَدِ وَالرُّوحُ إِنْسَانًا لَا بِالرُّوحِ فَقَطُ وَلَا بِالْجَسَدِ فَقَطُ بَلْ بِالْجَمِيعِ، فَكَذَلِكَ يُسَمَّى الْإِلَهُ إِلَهًا لِكُونِهِ بِالذَّاتِ وَالصِّفَاتِ.</p>	<p>.١١</p>
<p>(Cat. II): Text B contains a grammatical error.</p> <p>(Cat. V) Text B is missing some words that exist in text A such as:</p> <p>فَأَسْمَاءُ الصِّفَاتِ الْأَلُوْهِيَّةِ وَهُوَ قَائِمٌ فِي جَمْعٍ وَاحِدٍ، وَهِيَ [وَهُوَ] مَوْجُودَةٌ فِي جَمِيعِ الْأَشْيَاءِ كَمَا ثَبَتَ أَنَّ الْأَشْيَاءَ قَائِمَةٌ بِهِ وَهُوَ قَائِمٌ بِذَاتِهِ.</p>	<p>فالإله ثلاثة أحرف: الألف واللام والهاء. فالألف إشارة إلى أحدىته، واللام إشارة إلى هويته فهو واحد بذاته، واحد بصفاته، وصفاته كمالاته كالعلم والسمع والبصر والقدرة وغير ذلك من الأسماء. الصفات الألوهية موجودة في جمع واحد، وهي [وهو] موجود في جميع الأشياء كما ثبت أن الأشياء قائمة به وهو قائم بذاته.</p>	<p>فَالْإِلَهُ ثَلَاثَةٌ أَحْرَفٍ: الْأَلْفُ وَاللَّامُ وَالْهَاءُ فَالْأَلْفُ إِشَارَةٌ إِلَى أَحَدِيَّتِهِ، وَاللَّامُ إِشَارَةٌ إِلَى كَمَالِيَّتِهِ، وَالْهَاءُ إِشَارَةٌ إِلَى هَوِيَّتِهِ فَهُوَ أَحَدٌ بِذَاتِهِ وَوَاحِدٌ بِصِفَاتِهِ، وَصِفَاتُهُ كَمَالَاتُهُ كَالْعِلْمِ وَالسَّمْعِ وَالْبَصَرِ وَالْحَيَاةِ وَالْقُدْرَةَ وَالْإِرَادَةَ وَغَيْرَ ذَلِكَ مِنَ الْأَسْمَاءِ؛ فَأَسْمَاءُ الصِّفَاتِ الْأَلُوْهِيَّةِ وَهُوَ قَائِمٌ فِي جَمْعٍ وَاحِدٍ وَهُوَ مَوْجُودٌ فِي جَمِيعِ الْأَشْيَاءِ كَمَا ثَبَتَ أَنَّ الْأَشْيَاءَ قَائِمَةٌ بِهِ وَهُوَ قَائِمٌ بِذَاتِهِ.</p>	<p>.١٢</p>
<p>(Cat. II): Both texts are similar in meaning with both containing some grammatical errors.</p> <p>(Cat. V): Text B is missing some crucial words, i.e. [لم توجد الأشياء] Means [therefore everything is nothing]</p>	<p>كما ذكرنا أن الجسد قائم بالروح، والروح قائم قائمة بذاته فلا يتصور قيام الجسد إلا أن يكون تكون الروح موجودة في جميع أعضائه، كما إذا كان الم موجودا في الإنسان؛ فهي حي، وإلا لا يتصور فلا تتصور حيويته، كذلك الله موجودا في جميع الأشياء. فلو لم يوجد الله في الأشياء ... [لم توجد الأشياء]...</p>	<p>كَمَا ذَكَرْنَا أَنَّ الْجَسَدَ قَائِمٌ بِالرُّوحِ وَالرُّوحُ قائم قائمة بِذَاتِهِ فَلَا يَتَصَوَّرُ يَتَصَوَّرُ قِيَامَ الْجَسَدِ إِلَّا أَنْ يَكُونَ تَكُونُ الرُّوحُ مَوْجُودَةً فِي جَمِيعِ الْأَعْضَاءِ كَمَا إِذَا كَانَ الذم موجودة موجودا فِي الْإِنْسَانِ فَهُوَ حَيٌّ، وَإِلَّا، لَا يَتَصَوَّرُ حَيَوْتَهُ فلا تتصور حياته. كَذَلِكَ اللَّهُ مَوْجُودٌ فِي جَمِيعِ الْأَشْيَاءِ فَلَوْ لَمْ يُوجَدْ اللَّهُ فِي الْأَشْيَاءِ لَمْ تُوجَدْ الأشياء</p>	<p>.١٣</p>

<p>(Cat. III): Both texts are similar in meaning, except in using different determiners: Text A uses 'every' as in (every place and time) and Text B uses 'any' as in (any place and time)</p>	<p>وهو منزه عن مكان وزمان وعن ما يليق لذاته كما أن الروح لا تستقر في عضو واحد من الأعضاء، وهي موجودة في جميع الأعضاء. كذلك الله لا يستقر في شيء واحد، وهو موجود في جميع الأشياء.</p>	<p>وَهُوَ [٤] مُنَزَّهٌ عَنْ كُلِّ مَكَانٍ وَزَمَانٍ وَعَنْ مَا لَا لِذَاتِهِ كَمَا أَنَّ الرُّوحَ لَا تَسْتَقِرُّ فِي عَضْوٍ وَاحِدٍ مِنَ الْأَعْضَاءِ وَهِيَ مَوْجُودَةٌ فِي جَمِيعِ الْأَعْضَاءِ كَذَلِكَ اللَّهُ لَا يَسْتَقِرُّ فِي شَيْءٍ وَاحِدٍ، وَهُوَ مَوْجُودٌ فِي جَمِيعِ الْأَشْيَاءِ</p>	<p>.١٤</p>
<p>(Cat. V): Text B is missing some crucial words: فَإِنْ قُلْتَ بَلَى، فَأَنْتَ عَارِفٌ وَإِنْ قُلْتَ نَعَمْ، فَأَنْتَ جَاهِلٌ The complete text and meaning is "if you say definitely not you are gnostic and if you say yes, then you are ignorant." (Cat. III): Both texts use different prepositions; only [one uses عَنْ and another use عِنْدَ] but both are similar in meaning. (Cat. II): Both texts are containing grammatical errors.</p>	<p>فلما طلبت قيام الأشياء بالله، فلا يتصور إلا أن يكون موجودا في الأشياء. وهذا معنى قول سيدنا علي رضي الله عنه: ما رأيت شيئا إلا ورأيت الله فيه؛ فهل ترى يا أخي شيئا من الأشياء خارجا عن علمه الأزلي؟ فإن قلت: بلى، فأنت جاهل، أم يتصور [لأنه لا يتصور] المصنوع قبل علم الصانع، فإن قلت: نعم، فهذا محال لا يتصور عند كل ذي عقل، كالكتاب لا يتصور [لا تتصور] له الكتابة [٣] إلا بعد علمه بالكتابة.</p>	<p>فَلَمَّا تَبَيَّنَ قِيَامُ الْأَشْيَاءِ بِاللَّهِ فَلَا يَتَصَوَّرُ [يَتَصَوَّرُ] إِلَّا أَنْ يَكُونَ مَوْجُودًا فِي الْأَشْيَاءِ وَهَذَا مَعْنَى قَوْلِ سَيِّدِنَا عَلِيِّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ مَا رَأَيْتُ شَيْئًا إِلَّا وَرَأَيْتُ اللَّهَ فِيهِ فَهَلْ تَرَى يَا أُخِي شَيْئًا مِنْ الْأَشْيَاءِ خَارِجًا عَنْ عِلْمِهِ الْأَزَلِيِّ؟ فَإِنْ قُلْتَ بَلَى، فَأَنْتَ عَارِفٌ وَإِنْ قُلْتَ نَعَمْ، فَأَنْتَ جَاهِلٌ أَمْ يَتَصَوَّرُ [لأنه لا يتصور] المَصْنُوعُ قَبْلَ عِلْمِ الصَّانِعِ، فَإِنْ قُلْتَ نَعَمْ، فَهَذَا مُحَالٌ لَا يَتَصَوَّرُ [لَا يَتَصَوَّرُ] عَنْ كُلِّ ذِي عَقْلٍ كَالْكِتَابِ لَا يَتَصَوَّرُ [لَا تَتَصَوَّرُ] لَهُ الْكِتَابَةُ إِلَّا بَعْدَ عِلْمِهِ بِالْكِتَابَةِ</p>	<p>.١٥</p>
<p>(Cat. II): Both texts are similar</p>	<p>وكذلك الله أوجد [يجيء به] العالم من</p>	<p>وَكَذَلِكَ اللَّهُ أَوْجَدَ [يَجِيءُ بِهِ] الْعَالَمَ مِنْ</p>	<p>.١٦</p>

<p>in meaning with both containing some grammatical errors.</p>	<p>الغيب إلى الشهادة بعدما كانت الأشياء موجودة في علمه الأزلي بالوجود الذهني. ومعنى قولنا إنما أمرنا إذا أردناه أن نقول له كن فيكون لأن الأشياء كانت موجودة في علم الأزلي في عالم الغيب، فأمر بإرادته من الغيب إلى الشهادة، فظهر في الشهادة كما كان في الغيب. فإذا أَرَادَهُ أَنْ يَجِيئَهُ [يَجِيئُ بِهِ] إلى الشهادة، فيجيب [فيجيبه] بأمر كن فيكون.</p>	<p>الْغَيْبِ إِلَى الشَّهَادَةِ بَعْدَ مَا كَانَتْ الْأَشْيَاءُ مَوْجُودَةً فِي عِلْمِهِ الْأَزَلِيِّ بِالْوُجُودِ الدَّهْنِيِّ [الدَّهْنِي] وَهُوَ مَعْنَى قَوْلِهِ تَعَالَى إِنَّمَا أَمْرُنَا إِذَا أَرَدْنَا شَيْئًا أَنْ نَقُولَ لَهُ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ لِأَنَّ الْأَشْيَاءَ كَانَتْ مَوْجُودَةً فِي عِلْمِهِ الْأَزَلِيِّ فِي عَالَمِ الْغَيْبِ فَأَمَرَ بِإِرَادَتِهِ [ه] مِنَ الْغَيْبِ إِلَى الشَّهَادَةِ، فَظَهَرَ فِي الشَّهَادَةِ كَمَا كَانَ فِي الْغَيْبِ. فَإِذَا أَرَادَهُ أَنْ يَجِيئَهُ [يَجِيئُ بِهِ] مِنَ الْغَيْبِ إِلَى الشَّهَادَةِ، فَيَجِيئُهُ [فَيَجِيئُهُ] بِأَمْرٍ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ.</p>	
<p>(Cat.V) Text B pronoun • meaning His that refers to God). (Cat. III) Both texts used different connectors, one used وَكَمَا and another used أَوْ كَمَا. In addition, text B is missing a verb as well, which is تَقُولُ. However, the context of both texts are similar in meaning.</p>	<p>فالأشياء في علم [علمه]، وعلمه صفاته، فالصفات بالذات واحدة، لا يتصور انفكاك الصفات عن الذات كما لا يتصور انفكاك الجسد عن الروح قبل الموت أو كما لا يتصور انفكاك الذبذبة عن الحليب، والحليب عن الذبذبة قبل النوب. وهذا معنى قوله تعالى وكان الله بكل شيء محيطًا.</p>	<p>فَالْأَشْيَاءُ فِي عِلْمِهِ، وَعِلْمُهُ صِفَتُهُ، فَالصِّفَاتُ بِالذَّاتِ وَاحِدَةٌ. لَا يَتَصَوَّرُ انفِكَالَ الصِّفَاتِ عَنِ الذَّاتِ. كَمَا لَا يَتَصَوَّرُ انفِكَالَ الْجَسَدِ عَنِ الرُّوحِ قَبْلَ الْمَوْتِ. وَكَمَا تَقُولُ لَا يَتَصَوَّرُ انفِكَالَ الرَّبْدَةِ عَنِ الْحَلِيبِ، وَالْحَلِيبِ عَنِ الرَّبْدَةِ قَبْلَ الرَّوْبِ. وَهَذَا مَعْنَى قَوْلِهِ تَعَالَى وَكَانَ اللَّهُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ مُحِيطًا.</p>	<p>.١٧</p>

<p>(Cat. II): Both texts are similar in meaning with both containing some grammatical errors.</p>	<p>فالحليب مَوْجُودَةٌ [مَوْجُودٌ] في الزبدة، والزبدة موجودة في الحليب، وهما في الحقيقة شئى واحد. وكذلك الأشياء موجودة في الله. والله موجود في الأشياء، وهما في الحقيقة شئى واحد. كان الله في الأزل، ولم يكن معه شئى في الأبد، كما كان في الأزل. وهذا معنى قولهم: ما شمت المعلومات العلمية من شمت رائحة الوجود الخارجي ولن تشم أبدا. فإن هذه الصورة منقولة من الصور الأصلية في علم الحق الأزل، وهذا النقل حادث للحروف التي نخرت منك لا من جهة الحروف الأصلية يكون [تكون] ثابتة في ذاتك، فوجودك مستقر من الأصل الحقيقي، وكل مستقر ليس له في الحقيقة وجود؛ فأنت في عدم، ولا لك من الوجود نصيب، وأنت بالعدم متّصف، فإن ادعيت بالوجود بأن يكون وجود سوى وجود الله، فقد أشركت بالله، وإن الشرك لظلم عظيم.</p>	<p>١٨. فالحليب مَوْجُودَةٌ [مَوْجُودٌ] في الزبدة، والزبدة مَوْجُودَةٌ في الحليب. وهما في الحقيقة شئى واحد. كذلك الأشياء مَوْجُودَةٌ في الله. والله مَوْجُودَةٌ [مَوْجُودٌ] في الأشياء. وهما في الحقيقة شئى واحد. كان الله في الأزل ولم يكن معه شئى، فيكون في الأبد [الأبد] كما كان في الأزل وهذا معنى قولهم ما شمت المعلومات العلمية من شمت رائحة الوجود الخارجي ولم تشم أبداً فإن هذا [هذه] صورة منقولة من الصورة الأصلية في علم الحق الأزل. وهذا النقل حادث التي تخرج منك، [٦] لا من جهة الحروف الأصلية يكون [تكون] تابعة في ذاتك؛ فوجودك مستعير من الأصل الحقيقي، وكل مستعير ليس له في الحقيقة وجود. فأنت في عدم، ولا لك من الوجود نصيب، وأنت بالعدم متّصف؛ فإن ادعيت بالوجود بأن يكون لك وجود سوى وجود الله فقد أشركت بالله وإن الشرك لظلم عظيم.</p>
<p>(Cat. III): Both texts have similar meaning, but in one instance, Text A uses a pronoun كُلَّ مَا that means</p>	<p>فأمن بالله الذي هو بالذات أحد، وبالصفات واحد، لأن كلما ثبت وجوده لغيره فوجوده لغير لا لنفسه فافهم.</p>	<p>١٩. فأمن بالله الذي هو بالذات أحد والصفات واحد لأن كلَّ ما ثبت وجوده لغيره لا لنفسه فافهم</p>

<p>'everything' or 'whatever' and Text B uses a conjunction كلما that means 'whenever' for the same reference.</p>			
<p>(Cat. II): Both texts are similar in meaning with both containing some grammatical errors, although text B contains more errors. In addition, text B has a misspelling: انه ير [يري]</p> <p>(Cat IV). The word بذاته is redundant in text B</p>	<p>وحقيقة الإيمان بأن يخرج [تخرج] من وجودك المجازي إلى عدمك الحقيقي، فالعدم الحقيقي جعله الله مرآة لذاته وتجلي عليه بالكمالات [بالكمال] الذاتية كلها المعبر عنه بالفناء [المعتبرة عنه بالفناء] الاتم. فإذا عرفت عما تصير مرآة لها يشاهد الحق ذاته فيك فهي [فهو] يشاهد [شاهد] من حيث إنه يشاهد [٤] ذاته بذاته في هذه المرأة، وهو المشهود من حيث انه ير [يري] في هذه المرأة. ومن عرف هذه المسئلة واعتقد بها؛ فهو مؤمن موحد حقيقي، وإلا فهو من مجازي كافر حقيقي لأنه ما آمن بحقيقة.</p>	<p>٢٠. وَحَقِيقَةُ الْإِيمَانِ أَنْ تَخْرُجَ مِنْ وُجُودِكَ الْمَجَازِيِّ إِلَى عَدَمِكَ الْحَقِيقِيِّ. فَالْعَدَمُ الْحَقِيقِيُّ جَعَلَهُ اللَّهُ مِرْآةً لِذَاتِهِ وَتَجَلَّى عَلَيْهِ بِالْكَمَالِ [بِالْكَمَالَةِ] الذَّاتِ كُلُّهَا الْمُعْتَبَرَةُ عَنْهُ بِالْفَنَاءِ الْأَتَمِّ. فَإِذَا صِرْتَ عَدَمًا تَصِيرُ مِرْآةً لَهُ وَيُشَاهِدُ الْحَقُّ ذَاتَهُ بِذَاتِهِ فَهُوَ شَاهِدٌ مِنْ حَيْثُ أَنَّهُ يُشَاهِدُ ذَاتَهُ فِي هَذِهِ الْمِرْآةِ؛ وَهُوَ الْمَشْهُودُ مِنْ حَيْثُ أَنَّهُ يُرَى فِي هَذِهِ الْمِرْآةِ، وَمَنْ عَرَفَ هَذِهِ الْمَسْأَلَةَ وَاعْتَقَدَ بِهَا، فَهُوَ مُؤْمِنٌ مُوَحَّدٌ [٧] وَإِلَّا فَهُوَ مُؤْمِنٌ مَجَازِيٌّ، كَافِرٌ حَقِيقِيٌّ لِأَنَّهُ مَا آمَنَ بِحَقِيقَةِ</p>	
<p>(Cat. II): Both texts are similar in meaning with both containing some grammatical errors, although text A contains more errors.</p>	<p>وأما قولنا: فأنت جاهل إن قلت نعم، فليلزم من هذا لأن [لا] تكون خلقية العالم قبل علمه تعالى، ويلزم من هذا أيضا نسبة الجهل إلى الله تعالى فهذا كفر وإضلال؛ فالكفر وضلال في حقه سبحانه وتعالى محال، وهو سبحانه وتعالى منزه عما يقول الظالمون علوا كبيرا.</p>	<p>٢١. وَأَمَّا قَوْلُنَا فَأَنْتَ جَاهِلٌ إِنْ قُلْتَ نَعَمْ، فَلْيَلْزَمْ مِنْ هَذَا أَنْ يَكُونَ [لَا تَكُونَ] خَلْقِيَّةُ الْعَالَمِ قَبْلَ عِلْمِهِ تَعَالَى. فَلْيَلْزَمْ مِنْ هَذَا أَيْضًا نِسْبَةُ الْجَاهِلِ إِلَى اللَّهِ، فَهَذَا كُفْرٌ وَضَلَالٌ؛ فَالْكَفْرُ وَالضَّلَالُ فِي حَقِّهِ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى مُحَالٌ، وَهُوَ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى مُنْزَهُ عَمَّا يَقُولُونَ [يَقُولُ] الظَّالِمُونَ عُلُوًّا كَبِيرًا</p>	
<p>(Cat. V):The</p>	<p>فالتوحيد الثاني معلوم عند كل أحد من</p>	<p>٢٢. وَالتَّوْحِيدُ الثَّانِي مَعْلُومٌ عِنْدَ كُلِّ أَحَدٍ مِنْ</p>	

<p>phrase في أحسنه which means 'in His unity' are missing in text B</p>	<p>السلمين الخاصة والعامّة، فهو الله أحد، الله الصمد، لم يلد ولم يولد، ولم يكن له كفوا أحد. نعم، فافهم وتحقق. [...في حديثه...]</p>	<p>الْمُسْلِمِينَ الْخَاصَّةَ وَالْعَامَّةَ فَهُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ. نَعَمْ، فَافْهَمْ وَتَحَقَّقْ فِي أَحَدِيَّتِهِ</p>	
<p>(Cat. II) Text B has some spelling errors, such as in the words: [مبدأ] مبد في النهي [في النهر] (Cat. V) The verb امتد (flows) here is missing as well as pronoun ماؤه in ما means its water is also missing.</p>	<p>والمعرفة أن تعرف أن مبد [مبدأ] كل منه، ومعادك إليه فيعود إليه بعين ما يعديك منه كالبحر إذا منه ماء [إذا] امتد منه ماؤه إلى النهر فيعود إلى البحر كما كان في النهي [في النهر] ولا يتغير الماء عن الحقيقة المائية.</p>	<p>وَالْمَعْرِفَةُ أَنْ تَعْرِفَ أَنَّ مَبْدَأَكَ مِنْهُ وَمَعَادَكَ إِلَيْهِ فَتَعُودُ إِلَيْهِ بِعَيْنِ مَا بَدَأَكَ مِنْهُ كَالْبَحْرِ إِذَا امْتَدَّ مِنْهُ مَآؤُهُ إِلَى النَّهْرِ فَيَعُودُ إِلَى الْبَحْرِ كَمَا كَانَ فِي النَّهْرِ وَلَا يَتَغَيَّرُ الْمَاءُ عَنِ الْحَقِيقَةِ الْمَائِيَّةِ</p>	<p>.٢٣</p>
<p>(Cat. III): Both texts use different words for the same meaning. (Cat. II): Both texts are similar in meaning with both containing some grammatical errors. (Cat IV). Text B has textual redundancies</p>	<p>والعبادة بأن يطيع في وحدة وجوده بأن لا وجود لغيره، وهو واحد لا شريك له في الوجود. ومعنى المعبودية في اللغة إطاعة الشيء للشيء، كأعضائك مطيعة لروحك من حيث الأمر باشتهاء الروح؛ لأنك ما تفعل شيئاً باشتهاء الروح، لأنك ما تفعل شيئاً باشتهاء الروح. ففي الظاهر أعضاؤك عابدة لذاتك، وذات معبود [وذاتك معبودة]؛ فالذات عابد [عابدة] من حيث الظاهر ومعبود [ومعبودة] من حيث الباطن لأن الأمر منه وإليه.</p>	<p>وَالْعِبَادَةُ أَنْ تُطِيعَ فِي وَحْدَةِ وُجُودِهِ بِأَنْ لَا وُجُودَ [٨] لِغَيْرِهِ وَهُوَ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى وَاحِدٌ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ فِي الْوُجُودِ. وَمَعْنَى الْمَعْبُودِيَّةِ فِي اللُّغَةِ طَاعَةُ الشَّيْءِ لِشَيْءٍ كَأَعْضَانِكَ مُطِيعَةً لِرُوحِكَ مِنْ حَيْثُ الْأَمْرُ بِاشْتِهَاءِ الرُّوحِ؛ لَأَنَّكَ مَا تَفْعَلُ اللَّهُ إِلَّا بِاشْتِهَاءِ الرُّوحِ، ففِي الظَّاهِرِ أَعْضَاؤُكَ عَابِدَةٌ لَكَ وَذَاتُكَ مَعْبُودَةٌ [مَعْبُودَةٌ] فَالذَّاتُ عَابِدَةٌ مِنْ حَيْثُ الظَّاهِرُ، وَالذَّاتُ مَعْبُودَةٌ [مَعْبُودَةٌ] مِنْ حَيْثُ الْبَاطِنُ لِأَنَّ الْأَمْرَ مِنْهُ إِلَيْهِ.</p>	<p>.٢٤</p>
<p>(Cat. III): Both texts use different words to convey similar</p>	<p>فإذا تغيب وجودك ووجود غير الله وعرفت نفسك وغير الله، إن ذلك الكل</p>	<p>فَإِذَا أَفْنَيْتَ وُجُودَكَ وَوُجُودَ غَيْرِ اللَّهِ وَعَرَفْتَ أَنْتَ نَفْسَكَ أَنَّ ذَلِكَ الْكُلَّ وَغَيْرَ</p>	<p>.٢٥</p>

<p>meanings, especially the verb at the beginning of this sentence. Text B also uses double sentences for confirmation.</p> <p>(Cat. II): Text A contains a grammatical error.</p>	<p>معدوم. فلا ترى إلا هو، ولا تتشاهد إلا هو، ولا يبقى إلا هو، وليس لك من الأمر شيء، فيصير هو العابد من حيث الأمر منه، والمعبود منه من حيث الأمر منه، والمعبود من حيث الأمر يرجع إليه. كل شيء هالك إلا وجهه له الحكم وإليه ترجعون. كل من عليها فان، ويبقى وجه ربك ذو الجلال والإكرام</p>	<p>اللَّهُ مَعْدُومٌ؛ فَلَا تَرَى إِلَّا هُوَ، لَا تُشَاهِدُ إِلَّا هُوَ، وَلَا يَبْقَى إِلَّا هُوَ، وَلَيْسَ لَكَ مِنَ الْأَمْرِ شَيْءٌ فَيَصِيرُ هُوَ الْعَابِدُ مِنْ حَيْثُ الْأَمْرُ مِنْهُ، وَمَعْبُودٌ [الْمَعْبُودُ] مِنْ حَيْثُ الْأَمْرُ يَرْجِعُ إِلَيْهِ. كُلُّ شَيْءٍ هَالِكٌ إِلَّا وَجْهَهُ، لَهُ الْحُكْمُ وَإِلَيْهِ تُرْجَعُونَ، كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانٍ وَيَبْقَى وَجْهُ رَبِّكَ ذُو الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ</p>	
<p>(Cat. III): Both texts use different words for similar meanings: Text A use (يَحْصُلُ لَهُ نَفْيٌ) and Text B use يحصل له من نفي [علي].</p> <p>(Cat. IV): Text B has textual redundancies, i.e. وجوده ووجود غير الله علما</p> <p>(Cat. II): Both texts are similar in meaning with both containing some grammatical errors</p>	<p>فمن عرف حقيقة التوحيد والمعرفة والعبودية، فهو عارف موحد مطيع، وإلا فليس شيء؛ فمن أراد السلوك إلى الله فليفهم أولا هذه الكلمات ثم يسلك للطريق إلى الله بهذه الكيفية. نعني ينبغي للسالك أن يشرع أولا لنفي وجوده ووجود غير الله علما. فلما نفي وجوده ووجود غير الله علما، يحصل له من نفي [علي] وجوده ووجود غير الله علما، وجوده ووجود غير الله عيانا ثم يعني من هذا النفي من علم النفي، فيحصل له الفناء في الله والبقاء به.</p>	<p>۲۶. فَمَنْ عَرَفَ حَقِيقَةَ التَّوْحِيدِ وَالْمَعْرِفَةِ وَالْعِبَادِيَّةِ، فَهُوَ عَارِفٌ مُوَحَّدٌ مُطِيعٌ، وَإِلَّا، فَلَيْسَ هُوَ بِشَيْءٍ فَمَنْ [۹] أَرَادَ السُّلُوكَ إِلَى اللَّهِ، فَلْيَفْهَمْ أَوَّلًا هَذِهِ الْكَلِمَاتِ ثُمَّ يَسْلُكْ لِلطَّرِيقِ إِلَى اللَّهِ بِهَذِهِ [بهذه] الْكَيْفِيَّةِ، يَعْنِي يَنْبَغِي لِلسَّالِكِ أَنْ يَشْرَعَ أَوَّلًا لِنَفْيِ وُجُودِ غَيْرِ اللَّهِ عِلْمًا فَلَمَّا نَفَى وُجُودَهُ وَوُجُودَ غَيْرِ اللَّهِ عِلْمًا يَحْصُلُ لَهُ نَفْيٌ وُجُودِهِ وَوُجُودِ غَيْرِ اللَّهِ عِيَانًا ثُمَّ يَنْفِي مِنْ هَذِهِ [هَذَا] النَّفْيِ مِنْ عِلْمِ النَّفْيِ، فَيَحْصُلُ لَهُ الْفَنَاءُ فِي اللَّهِ، وَالْبَقَاءُ بِهِ</p>	
<p>(Cat. II): Both texts are similar in meaning with both containing some grammatical errors</p> <p>(Cat. III): Both texts use different words</p>	<p>كمثل فراش [الفراش]. إذا رمي روحه في السراج واحترق، فنقول [فلا نقول] هل صار الفراش سراجا أم صار عدما؟، بل نقول: واحدا لأنه قبل رمي</p>	<p>۲۷. كَمَثَلِ فِرَاشٍ [الفَرَّاشِ] إِذَا رَمِيَ رُوحَهُ فِي السِّرَاجِ وَاحْتَرَقَ فَنَقُولُ [فَلَا نَقُولُ] هَلْ صَارَ الْفِرَاشُ [الفَرَّاشُ] سِرَاجًا أَمْ صَارَ عَدَمًا، بَلْ نَقُولُ صَارَ بِالسِّرَاجِ</p>	

<p>for similar meanings or intention: Text A uses صَلَّ بِقَوْلِ بِالسِّرَاجِ وَاجِدًا [صَلَّ] بِالسِّرَاجِ وَاجِدًا</p> <p>And Text B uses بِ نقول: واحدا.</p> <p>(Cat. IV). Text B has textual redundancies.</p>	<p>روحه كان من السراج محجوب ، فلما رمي روحه بالسراج اتصل وصار به واحدا [واحد]. لذلك السالك قبل وجوده ووجود غير الله هو محجوب فلما نفي وجوده ووجود غير الله هو محجوب . فلما نفي وجوده ووجود غير الله تعالى اتصل وصار به واحدا [واحد].</p>	<p>وَاجِدًا [واحد] لِأَنَّهُ قَبْلَ رَمِي رُوحِهِ كَانَ مِنَ السِّرَاجِ مَحْجُوبٌ فَلَمَّا رَمَى رُوحَهُ اتَّصَلَ وَصَارَ بِهِ وَاحِدًا كَذَلِكَ السَّالِكُ قَبْلَ نَفْيِ وُجُودِهِ وَوُجُودِ غَيْرِ اللَّهِ هُوَ مَحْجُوبٌ، فَلَمَّا نَفَى وُجُودَهُ وَوُجُودَ غَيْرِ اللَّهِ، اتَّصَلَ وَصَارَ بِهِ وَاحِدًا</p>	
<p>(Cat. II): Both texts are similar in meaning with both containing some grammatical errors.</p> <p>(Cat. IV) Text B has a redundancy in pronoun • [لقوله]</p>	<p>والطريق [والطرق] إلى الله كثيرة لقوله بعض العارفين: الطريق [الطرق] إلى الله بعدد أنفاس الخلائق، ولكن أقربها إلى الله وأعلاها وأوصلها إلى المطالب هذا، فذلك السالك لذات الله تعالى مع عدم التفاته إلى الغير والغيرية. هل [قل] هذه سبيلي ادعوا إلى الله على بصيرة أنا ومن اتبعني، وسبحان الله وما أنا من المشركين. وكان قلبي بين إصبعين من أصابع الرحمن، يقلبها كيف يشاء.</p>	<p>٢٨. وَالطَّرِيقُ إِلَى اللَّهِ كَثِيرٌ [كثيرة]، كَقَوْلِ بَعْضِ الْعَارِفِينَ، الطَّرِيقُ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى بِعَدَدِ أَنْفَاسِ الْخَلَائِقِ، وَلَكِنْ أَقْرَبُهَا إِلَى اللَّهِ وَأَعْلَاهَا وَأَوْصَلُهَا إِلَى [١٠] الْمُطَالِبِ [المطالب] هذا، فَهُوَ [فهو] أَنْ يَصِدَّ السَّالِكُ لِذَاتِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى مَعَ عَدَمِ النِّفَاتِهِ إِلَى الْغَيْرِ وَالْغَيْرِيَّةِ، قُلْ هَذِهِ سَبِيلِي أَدْعُوا إِلَى اللَّهِ عَلَى بَصِيرَةٍ أَنَا وَمَنِ اتَّبَعَنِي وَسُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَمَا أَنَا مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ. وَكَانَ قَلْبِي بَيْنَ أَصْبَعَيْنِ مِنْ أَصَابِعِ الرَّحْمَنِ، يَقْلِبُهَا كَيْفَ يَشَاءُ.</p>	
<p>No differences</p>	<p>وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم تسليما كثيرا.</p>	<p>٢٩. وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيمًا كَثِيرًا</p>	
<p>(Cat. I) Both texts use different ending words. Text A seems more complete by saying: “This Kitāb or book has been completed by the help of Allāh and His bounty.” While text B seems to</p>	<p>والله أعلم. ١١٨٦.</p>	<p>٣٠. تَمَّتْ [تم] الْكِتَابُ بِعَوْنِ اللَّهِ وَكَرَمِهِ، أَمِينَ</p>	

<p>surrender all to Allāh Who knows the truth. The quotation year is also included. (Cat. II): Text A contains an Arabic grammatical error.</p>			
---	--	--	--

4.4 Commentaries

4.4.1 Commentaries on both Texts in Brief

Maṭālib al-Sālikīn, or the Quests of the Spiritual Seekers, discusses the three important concepts in Islam, which are *tawḥīd*, *maʿrifa* and *ʿibāda* or worship. The author of this treatise is al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tājj and it is estimated to have been written in Ceylon or Sri Lanka between 1684 and 1693. This work has been copied by his students or followers several times until the final version was completed in Bone by his great descendant, La Tenri Tappu in 1186A.H/1772. Another compilation was done at the end of the reign of Ṣultān Aḥmad Ṣāliḥ in 1221 A.H/1806 based on the type of paper the compiler used. Since then, we have only found the two copied texts in Leiden Libraries, the Netherlands, catalogued as Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 101 F Or A13d[7] and Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 108 F Or A13b[3]. Both Arabic Microfilms are from Jakarta Manuscript A 101[7] and A 108[3].

Both compilers were different persons; so although they discussed the same topics, they used different language styles. Both expressed invocations for him, such as the following text:

So, Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tājj, may Allāh grant him complete success [guidance] and make him among the people of verification [truth], *amīn*, said:

The text of MSKBG 101 F Or A13d[7] starts in the following manner:

In the name of Allāh the Beneficent and the Merciful, and Whose help we seek. Praise be to Allāh Who protects the hearts of the sincere [servants] from the entrance of others and makes their hearts an object in which lights are manifested. May Allāh bless and grant peace to the one who is the fountainhead of generosity and kindness and secrets, Muḥammad and his family and his companions, the chosen ones [*akhyār*].

While the text of Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 108 F Or A13b [3] starts with the following words:

In the name of Allāh the Beneficent and the Merciful; followed by:

Praise be to Allāh Who protects the heart of the sincere [servants] from the entrance of anxieties or others and makes their hearts an object in which lights and secrets are manifested. May Allāh bless and grant him peace to the one who is the fountainedhead of generosity and kindness, Muḥammad, his families and his companions, the chosen ones [*akhyār*].

Likewise, the text of Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 108 F Or A13b[3] ends in the following way:

This *Kitāb* or book has been completed by the help of Allāh and His bounty. Amen.

While the other text ends with the following phrase.

Allāh knows best.
1186 AH

Both prologues and epilogues indicated that Shaykh Yūsuf always asked for Allāh's guidance or help before he wrote something and he always ended the text by acknowledging His help.

It seems that both the text of MSKBG 101 F Or A13d [7] and the text of MSKBG 108 F Or A13b [3] have linguistic shortcomings, especially in the proliferation of grammatical errors throughout them.

The text of MSKBG 101 F Or A13d [7] has more redundancies than its counterpart

and the text also has some missing words which are present in the comparative text of MSKBG 108 F Or A13b [3] which leads to gaps in meaning.

Both texts are quite similar in meaning, despite utilising different words, such as nouns, verbs, connectors, conjunctions and prepositions, etc.

Lastly, the author acknowledges that although both copied texts have shortcomings; these deficiencies cannot be traced back to the original text of Shaykh Yusūf which is lost in the passage of time. We can only judge the text via these two compilations. We, therefore, acknowledge not only their contribution which culminated in these two works but also the nameless chain of followers who preserved Shaykh Yusūf's works through the intervening centuries. Both copied texts have similarities and differences between them, but there are no contradictions and they even complete and complement each another.

4.4.2 Commentaries on the Text of MSKBG 108 F Or A13b [3]

Before providing commentaries on the text, the chapter will start out by identifying the key words and phrases in the text; and then identifying the chapter or the verses of the Holy *Qur'ān* quoted in the text that need to be supported by using one type of mystical *Qur'ānic* exegesis (*tafsīr ṣūfī*) in *tafsīr al-Ishārah* called: "*Rūḥ al-Ma'ānī fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm wa al-Sab'ī al-Mathānī*" by Abū al-Faḍl Shihāb al-Dīn al-Sayyid Maḥmūd al-Alūsī al-Baghdādī (1414 A.H./1993 to 1994). Lastly, these steps are followed by special commentaries on each paragraph to illustrate the Shaykh Yūsuf's views in the translated text.

Key words and phrases in *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* are; *maqām al-tawḥīd* [the stage of *tawḥīd*], *maqām al-ma'rifa* and *'ibāda* [the stage of *ma'rifa* and the stage of *'ubudiyya*]; *waḥdat al-wujūd* [the One of Being]; the view of *ṣūfī muḥaqqiqīn*' [Probing/Verifying *Ṣūfīs*]; the One Being, Essence and Reality; *kun fayakun*' ("Be!-And it is!") and others.

The chapters or the verses of the Holy *Qur'ān* quoted in this text are as follows:

1. *Qur'ān* 4:126.
2. *Qur'ān* 16:40 and *Qur'ān* 36:82
3. *Qur'ān* 31:13.
4. *Qur'ān* 17:43
5. *Qur'ān* Ch. 112
6. *Qur'ān* 3:128
7. *Qur'ān* 28:88

8. *Qur'ān* 55:26-27

9. *Qur'ān* 12:108

However in this instance, for expediency's sake and because the *tafsīr* of the *Qur'ānic* verses falls outside the scope of this thesis, I only use the essence of this *tafsīr* to support the necessary text. Therefore, the *tafsīr al-Alūsī [tafsīr ṣūfī]* is only used as supporting data to aid with the understanding of the necessary texts in this treatise, and largely, what is presented here is based on the author's discussion with Baso Pallawagau, Lc., M.A., Dr. Burhanuddin Darwis Lc, M.Ag., and Shaykh Jameel Abrahams.

The text consists of four sub-sections namely, the introduction and vocabulary to the image of *tawḥīd*, *ma'rifa* and *ibāda* according to Shaykh Yūsuf; the second is *tawḥīd*; the third is *ma'rifa*; and the fourth is *ibāda* (devotional service or worship). The last section is a summary that highlights the important points in this text. It will help the reader to see the positioning of this treatise among his other works.

The following section contains the commentaries on each paragraph designed to give a deeper understanding of this treatise as well as to provide insight into Shaykh Yūsuf's reformist and mystical views brought out by this text and to compare them to views upheld by other mystics belonging to this school as has been previously mentioned.

Introduction

[P. 1-3]. The introduction to this treatise contains the basic lessons from Shaykh Yūsuf's master, al-Sayyid al-Sharīf 'Abd al-Karīm al-Naqshabandī al-Lāhūrī) regarding three things; stations of *tawḥīd*, *ma'rifa* and *ibāda*. Although it may seem brief, the content is nonetheless solid and clear, and it is often accompanied by parables. However, according to Martin van Bruinessen, in *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* there are no characteristic teachings of *Naqshabandiyya* (Bruinessen 2000: 39). This opinion can be justified, because Shaykh Yūsuf did not say that *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* is written based on the teachings of the *Ṭarīqat al-Naqshabandiyya*. However, it is wrong to say that Shaykh Yūsuf never studied with Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm al-Naqshabandī al-Lāhurī, who taught Shaykh Yūsuf not only the teachings of the *Ṭarīqat al-Naqshabandiyya*, but also other lessons reflected in *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*.

1) **The Image of *Tawḥīd*, *Maʿrifa* and *ʿibāda* according to Shaykh Yūsuf**

[P.5]. *Tawḥīd* is likened to a tree with abundant branches and leaves, and gnosis (*maʿrifa*) represents its branches and leaves, and devotional service or worship (*ʿibāda*), its fruit. If you find a tree, it is probable that you will find branches and leaves, and if this is true, the chances are high that you will find fruit by means of this tree. The opposite holds true as well. If you do not encounter branches and leaves from this tree, it is impossible to expect fruit from this tree. This is a metaphorical example in order that you can understand the true relationship between the concepts of *tawḥīd*, *maʿrifa* and *ʿibāda*. To continue with this parable, *tawḥīd* without *maʿrifa* or knowledge about Him is like a tree without any branches and leaves. It is then impossible to find fruit on such a tree unless the branches and the leaves of the tree grow out again. In other words, only the one who has *tawḥīd* with *maʿrifa*, could be expected to perform true worship to God and could perform worship well.

[P. 6]. Likewise, a *sālik* [the spiritual seeker] who has achieved the station of *tawḥīd*, may reach the station of *maʿrifa*. The one who has reached the station of *maʿrifa*, may, in turn, reach the stage of worship or devotional services [the stage of *ʿubudiyya*].

[P. 7]. Further, it is said that one who does not declare the Oneness of Him with the unity of Him [*waḥdāniyya*], is a disbeliever. One who does not know God with *maʿrifa* is ignorant (*jāhil*). One who does not practise *ʿibāda* by worshipping Him is sinful (*fāsiq*), so, the worship of a disbeliever and an ignorant person, is rejected by God as useless; therefore God returns it to him.

a) *Tawḥīd*

[P.8]. According to Shaykh Yūsuf, there are two types of *tawḥīd*. The first type of *tawḥīd*, is the Oneness of Being according to the view of *ṣūfi muḥaqqiqīn* who say that there is no existence in the visible or external and the unseen or internal forms, except the One Being and One Essence and One Reality. The second type of *tawḥīd* is what is described in the *Qurʾān* Chapter *al-Ikhlāṣ*, which is called *tawḥīd al-ikhhlāṣ* [pure *tawḥīd*] or what Azra named the immaculate *tawḥīd* (Azra 1992: 440).

Maqām Tawḥīd Waḥdat al-Wujūd

Maqām Tawḥīd Waḥdat al-Wujūd that will be discussed here first is *Tawḥīd Waḥdat al-Wujūd* according to Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī based on the stipulation all *ṣūfi muḥaqqiqīn* who say that there is no existence in the visible or external and the unseen or internal forms, except the One Being and One Essence and One Reality. Then in the next section, we will

compare it with the view of Muḥyi al-Dīn ibn 'Arābī (1165-1240)³¹⁹ who later known as the founder of the teaching or doctrine of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* (Unity of Being) with the view of al-Ghazālī³²⁰ as the founder of *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd* (Unity of Witnessing or Phenomenological Monism).

According to Shaykh Yūsuf, in reality, no entity other than God actually exists. Entities other than Him exist only in the *majāzī* [metaphorical] sense or simply as phenomena of one Being, Who Stands Alone and Gives forms to others. It is likened to the phenomena of shadows, which do not manifest themselves; instead, they are the representations of one's being. What exists is only a person in the background though the shadow is visible to the eyes. It is only a shadow. So the existence of a shadow depends on something else; not itself. Similarly, the universe exists not by itself, but depends on the entity of One Who Stands Alone; that is God (Lubis, 1996: 52 & 53).

Although Shaykh Yūsuf clings to God's transcendence, he nonetheless believes that God encompasses everything (*al-iḥāṭa*) and exists everywhere (*al-ma'yya*) over His creation. However, it does not necessarily mean that His creation is God Himself. The creation is only an allegorical or metaphorical being (*al-mawjūd al-majāzī*), and is not real (*al-mawjūd ḥaqīqī*).

Shaykh Yūsuf was asked: "Why is the universe called God's shade; considering that the shape of the shade reflects the shape of its possessor while Allāh states in the Holy *Qur'ān* "There is nothing comparable unto Him" (*Qur'ān*, 42: 11)? He replied that the case cannot not be understood if the universe is not referred to as the shade of God. Ultimately, it is God Himself Who asked us to pay attention to His creation, and then compared it with shades.

أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَىٰ رَبِّكَ كَيْفَ مَدَّ الظِّلَّ وَلَوْ شَاءَ لَجَعَلَهُ سَاكِنًا ثُمَّ جَعَلْنَا الشَّمْسَ عَلَيْهِ دَلِيلًا ۚ ٤٥ ثُمَّ قَبَضْنَاهُ إِلَيْنَا قَبْضًا يَسِيرًا ۚ ٤٦

"Have you not seen how your Lord spread the shade? If He willed He could have made it still-then We have made the sun its guide [i.e. after the sunrise, it (the shade) squeezes and vanishes at midnoon and then again appears in the afternoon with the decline of the sun, and there had been no sun light, there had would have been no shade]. Then We withdraw it to Us-

³¹⁹Mystic, philosopher, poet, sage, Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn 'Arabi is one of the world's great spiritual teachers. Known as Muhyiddin (the Revivifier of Religion) and the Shaykh al-Akbar (the Greatest Master), he was born in 1165 AD into the Moorish culture of Andalusian Spain, the centre of an extraordinary flourishing and cross-fertilization of Jewish, Christian and Islamic thought, through which the major scientific and philosophical works of antiquity were transmitted to Northern Europe.

³²⁰Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad al-Ghazālī [imām al-Ghazālī] who was born in Tunis Khurasan, Iran in 450 A.H or 1058 A.D and died in 505 A.H. or 1111 A.D and then to be known as a Proof of Islam (Hujjat al-Islam).

a gradual concealed withdrawal” (Qur’ān, 25: 45-46).

The author of *Risālat Ghayāt al-Ikhtisār*, as quoted by Tudjimah, Mohammed Haron and Mustafa Keraan, highlighted some points regarding this verse as follows:

- (1). The shade cannot exist by itself but by the presence of its possessor. Likewise the universe cannot exist by itself but by the grace of Allāh, the Most High.
- (2) The shade does not move except with the movement of its possessor. Likewise this universe does not do anything and it does not have a will except with the will of Allāh and His power, the Most High.
- (3) The shade increases with the compounding of the reflection but the object of the shade does not increase with the compounding of its reflections and its preferences (Tudjimah 1987: 98; see also Keraan & Haron: 2008: 112).

In other words, the image or shade can change; it can be long, or short, and can even disappear, depending on what the time is and when the people see it.

The multitude or the temporary entity is the creation [*makhlūq*], while the One and Only [*aḥad*] or Who remains everlasting is the Creator [*al-Khaliq*]. The creator is only Allāh, and all other than Him is mere creation.

Likewise this universe exists because of God, if God does not exist in this universe or in everything, then everything is nothing.

According to Shaykh Yūsuf, the expression of God in His creation does not mean the presence of God in His creation, but His knowledge that encompasses everything and His Condition³²¹ together with His Unique Identity.

As set out in paragraph 8 above, the agreed understanding of *tawḥīd* or the Unity of Being by the *ṣūfī muḥaqqiq*, is in line with the concept of *al-iḥāṭa* (the One encompasses everything) and *al-ma’iyya* (the One exists everywhere). That is, God is the Oneness; His knowledge encompasses all things, and His Condition or Identity exists alongside everything, because without Him nothing exists. Humans are included in everything. Because God Almighty says:

وَكَانَ اللَّهُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ مُّحِيطًا

³²¹What is meant by His Condition here is His *Huwīyya* (literary His Identity), i.e His Oneness with His perfect names and attributes (Sahib Sultan, personal communication, 12 January 2015).

“And (the knowledge of) Allāh is ever encompassing all things” (Qur’ān, 4: 126). This is supported by *Tafsīr al-Alusi*:

(وَكَانَ اللَّهُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ مُّحِيطًا) إِحَاطَةُ عِلْمٍ وَقُدْرَةِ بِنَاءٍ عَلَى أَنَّ حَقِيقَةَ الْإِحَاطَةِ فِي الْأَجْسَامِ، فَلَا يُوصَفُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى بِذَلِكَ

The words of Allāh, “*wa kāna Allāhu bi kullī shay’in Muḥīṭā*” [means that] the encompassing of [His] knowledge and power is on the basis of the reality of *iḥāṭa* [encompassing] relating to physical entities. And Allāh cannot be characterised like that [since Allāh cannot be ascribed to have a mere physical existence].

(وَلِلَّهِ مَا فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ) لِأَنَّ كُلَّ مَا بَرَزَ فِي الْوُجُودِ فَهُوَ شَأْنٌ مِنْ شُؤُونِهِ سُبْحَانَهُ (وَكَانَ اللَّهُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ مُّحِيطًا) النساء: ١٢٦ [مِنْ حَيْثُ إِنَّهُ الَّذِي أَفْضَلَ عَلَيْهِ الْجُودَ ، وَهُوَ رَبُّ الْكَرَمِ وَالْجُودِ ، لَا رَبَّ غَيْرُهُ؛ وَلَا يُرْجَى إِلَّا حَيْرُهُ

And whatever is in the heavens and on earth belongs to Allāh SWT, because actually all that appear in this world is one of Allāh’s affairs. And Allāh encompasses everything (*Surat al-Nisā* 4:126) in terms of bestowing mercy to it, He is the Lord of generosity, there is no god but Him, and only His goodness is expected (Al-Alūsī 1994: 229 & 233; see also Baso Pallawagau, personal communication, 25 August 2016).

The following Divine words are not mentioned by Shaykh Yūsuf in this text:

إِنَّ رَبَّكَ أَحَاطَ بِالنَّاسِ

“Verily! Your Lord has encompassed mankind (i.e. they are in His Grip)” (Qur’ān, 17: 60).

And:

وَهُوَ مَعَكُمْ أَيْنَ مَا كُنْتُمْ

“And He is with you wheresoever you may be” (Qur’ān, 57: 4).

In paragraphs 9 and 10, Shaykh Yūsuf only relates his parable as: “Your limbs are separate but subsist in you and [at the same time] you subsist by your self or your soul. Thus everything subsists because of Allāh, while Allāh subsists by His own essence.”

In paragraphs 11 to 13, he basically said: [p. 3]. With respect to things subsisting with Allāh, it is like the subsistence of the body with the soul. Hence, the human being [comprises] the body and the soul. A human is not a soul only or body only, but encompasses both. In the same manner, الإله (God) is called إله (God) on account of containing the Essence and

Attributes. The word *Ilāh* (إله) has three letters, i.e. ‘*alif*’, ‘*lam*’, and ‘*ha*’. The letter ‘*alif*’ is a symbolic expression of His Absolute Essence [*aḥadiyya*], the *lam* shows His perfection, and the *ha* refers to His Identity [*Huwiyya*]. So, He is the One and Only (*aḥad*) with His Essence, and One with His Attributes, and His Attributes of perfection, such as Knowledge, Hearing, Sight, Being Alive, Power, Will and others. The names of the attributes of ‘His *Ulūhīya* and *Huwiyya* exist all in one, in the sense that He is the Oneness who has the perfect of attributes, and He exists in everything. Everything exists with Him and He exists with His essence.

As mentioned above, the body subsists with the soul and the soul subsists with its essence. So the existence of the body cannot be conceived except [by understanding] that all human limbs subsist with the soul just as blood exists in the body and [it] is a living organism. Likewise, Allāh exists in everything. If Allāh does not exist in all things, everything is nothing (does not exist).

[P. 14]. Nevertheless, according to Shaykh Yūsuf, *Ilāh* (God) is pure or He [p. 4] is not bound by place and time and from whatever is not suited to His Essence, just as the soul does not remain in any single limb but is present in all limbs. Likewise, Allāh does not remain fixed in one place but He exists in everything.

In other words, God is not bound by space and not restricted by time; the existence of space, time and everything are because of God. As the soul does not settle on one of the members of the body only, but exists in the entire body, likewise God does not inhabit any specific thing (space and time), but exists in the everything. This view also negates the physical presence of God in everything, although everything is His manifestation.

Imam Abū Mansur al-Baghdādī quotes the following words of Sayyidinā ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib KW (May Allāh Bless his face):

كَانَ اللهُ وَمَا كَانَ وَهُوَ أَلَانَ عَلَى مَا عَلَيْهِ كَانَ

"God has existed when nothing existed. He is presently what He was previously." A part of this statement has been mentioned also in *Ṣūra* of Shaykh Yūsuf [an image of *tawḥīd* according to Yūsuf]: "He is now as He was in the past" (Al-Maqassarī in Or 7025, n.d.: 162). It means that God does not occupy a place, since He created space and everything (Al-Baghdādī n.d: 256).

Then Al-Baghdādī explained this statement by stating that:

وَأَجْمَعُوا عَلَى أَنَّهُ لَا يَحْوِيهِ مَكَانٌ وَلَا يَجْرِي عَلَيْهِ زَمَنٌ

"And all (the *Muslimīn* [Muslim believers] since the generation of the former scholars [*Salāf*], the Companions and the followers of the Companions [*tabīʿīn*]) have agreed that place does not contain Him and is not bound by time" (Al-Bagdadī, n.d:256).

[P.15]. When the existence of everything because of Allāh has been proven He will only be imagined as existing in everything. This is the meaning of the words of our master ‘Alī [may Allāh be pleased with him] “I did not see anything except I saw Allāh in it.” O my brother, do you see anything outside of His Eternal Knowledge? If you say definitely not, you are a gnostic and if you say “yes” then you are ignorant because a product is inconceivable prior to the knowledge of the producer. And if you say yes, it is absurd and inconceivable for any person of intellect. Just as writing is inconceivable for any writer except after he has knowledge of writing. Although the knowledge of the writer [author] as a human or a creation of God may not be equated with the knowledge of the Creator (God), but this word is only used by Shaykh Yūsuf as a parable only and no more than that.

[P.16]. Likewise, Allāh brings into being the world from the unseen to the seen after things already exist in His Eternal Knowledge cognitively. This is the meaning of His words, the Exalted: “*Verily, Our commands unto a thing when we intend it, is only that we say unto it: “Be!” – and it is!*”³²² Because all things have existed in His original knowledge in the unseen world, so if He commands by His will [p. 5] from the unseen to the real or visible world, the things appear in the visible world, as they did in the unseen (world). If He decreed to bring it from the unseen [world] to the visible world, so He will bring it by [the command] ‘*kun fayakun*’ (“Be!” - And it is!”). This is supported by *tafṣīr al-Alūsī* in both verses (*Qur’ān*, 36:82 & *Qur’ān*, 16:40) as follows:

First: [يس: ٨٢] **إِنَّمَا أَمْرُهُ إِذَا أَرَادَ شَيْئًا أَنْ يَقُولَ لَهُ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ** [يس: ٨٢] (إِنَّمَا أَمْرُهُ), this means His Creative Ability, which is to create anything from nothing, His ability to bring something into existence. This also includes that the Command be verbal in accordance with what Allāh says “Verily our words unto a thing...” Al-Naḥl (16: 40) By this is meant verbal enforcement.

(إِذَا أَرَادَ شَيْئًا) when He desires anything. This means when He wills to bring anything into existence, He simply says to it ‘Be!’ and it enters into existence (So it is!). Textually,

³²²The Arabic text is based on the *Qur’ān* 36:82 and the *Qur’ān* 16:40 or the combination of both verses. In the verse Yāsīn (*Qur’ān* 36:82) said that “*Verily His Command, when He intends a thing, is only that He says to it, “Be!”- and it is!*” While in the verse al-Naḥl (*Qur’ān* 16: 40) said that “*Verily Our Words unto a thing when we intend it, is only that we say unto it: “Be!” – and it is!*”

there should be a verbal command, in other words, the word (“Be”). This is the opinion of the majority of the predecessors. Yet the Creative Power of Allāh reaches beyond (human) understanding. So you should not discuss or dispute it and avoid and abandon all discussions and argumentation about it (al-Alūsī, 1994: 74; see also Baso Pallawagau, personal communication, 25 August 2017 and Sh. Jamiel Abrahams, personal communication, 21 October 2017).

The second is verse *al-Naḥl* (*Qur’ān*, 16: 40)

إِنَّمَا قَوْلُنَا لِشَيْءٍ إِذَا أَرَدْنَاهُ أَنْ نَقُولَ لَهُ، كُنْ فَيَكُونُ

Since we have discussed a part of the text through the previous verse (*Qur’ān*, 36:82), I will only focus on the necessary text of Al-Alūsī in this verse starting from the word ‘*Al-Shay*’ as follows:

What is meant by the word ‘*al-Shay*’ here is that something which is not in existence [*al-ma’dūm*] and this is one of the meaning of it. Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī argues that the use of the term *al-shay*’ against something that does not exist essentially is the same as when the term denotes something existing. He composed a great *risāla* (a type of book) entitled "*Jalāl al-Fuhūm*." It is known from the treatise that the general usage is not only used by Mu'tazilah and it is famous. Therefore, scholars who disagree with the essence of the verification of meaning said that actually *al-shay* is expressed as it is by seeing its existence in relation to the will of Allāh, Glory be to Him and Exalted [SWT], and not as something before it (Al-Alūsī 1994: 211; see also Burhanuddin Darwis, personal communication, 16 November 2017).

Sh. Jamiel Abrahams illustrated the command “Be” in this verse through this *tafsīr* by saying:

The Command ‘Be’ is a general command and it is created. The word *Innamā* is to confine the scope of the meaning but in fact it is not necessary for Allāh to restrict the reasons for why He creates. The intention of the command is comprehensive (includes everything). The word *Innamā* [Indeed] emphasises and eases the destiny according to Allāh’s will. When creating is connected to His will, it happens in the quickest of times,” (Al-Alūsī 1994: 211-212; see also Sh. Jamiel Abrahams, personal

communication, 21 October 2017).

Those interpretations above illustrated that God creates something not from nothing into existence, but from what exists in His knowledge to be the existence in His creation. In contrast to al-Ghazālī who argued that this universe is created from nothing into the existence.³²³ This difference is actually only about the argument; there is no difference of opinion if it could not be said in the same manner. Because according to Shaykh Yūsuf, the abstract (invisible) exists in the knowledge of God, not outside of His knowledge. It means that the abstract does not exist and only God exists, in which His knowledge encompasses all things, and because of everything is created by His knowledge. It seems there is a similarity between Shaykh Yūsuf's view with his master Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī in Al-Alūsī above in this regard especially in the interpretation of the word *al-shay'*.

[P. 17]. This is because of everything is still in His knowledge, while His knowledge is His attribute. The attribute and essence are one. Everything in His knowledge, while His-knowledge is His attribute. Separation of the Attributes from the Essence cannot be imagined; as the separation of the body from the soul before death cannot be imagined. Likewise, it is said that the separation of butter from milk or milk from butter before curdling cannot be imagined. Therefore, the attribute of His knowledge encompassing all things, does not mean that His attribute is separated from His essence. This is the meaning of His words [may He be Exalted]: "...And (the knowledge of) Allāh is Ever Encompassing all things" (Qur'ān, 4: 126) as has been mentioned above.

[P. 18]. After Shaykh Yūsuf gives his parable about how the cheese and milk are said to be one, and how His attribute and Essence are said to be one. Furthermore, he said, when Allāh was in [the phase of] pre-eternity, there was nothing with Him. This is in accordance with the Prophet's saying [ḥadīth]:

عَنْ عَمِّهِ أَبِي رَزِينٍ قَالَ: قُلْتُ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ أَيْنَ كَانَ رَبُّنَا قَبْلَ أَنْ يَخْلُقَ خَلْقَهُ؟ قَالَ كَانَ فِي عَمَاءٍ مَا تَحْتَهُ هَوَاءٌ وَمَا فَوْقَهُ هَوَاءٌ وَخَلَقَ عَرْشَهُ عَلَى الْمَاءِ. قَالَ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ مَنِيعٍ قَالَ يَرِيدُ بْنُ هَارُونَ الْعَمَاءُ أَيُّ لَيْسَ مَعَهُ شَيْءٌ... قَالَ: وَهَذَا حَدِيثٌ حَسَنٌ.

"From the uncle of Abī Razīn said: I asked: "O Messenger of God where was our God before He creating His creature?" The Messenger of Allāh said: "كَانَ فِي عَمَاءٍ" Nothing accompanying Him, مَا تَحْتَهُ هَوَاءٌ there is not

³²³See *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*. Edisi Sulaiman Dunya. Dār al-Ma'ārif, Cairo, by al-Ghazālī (1966: 80-88).

anything underneath Him, وَمَا فَوْقَهُ هَوَاءٌ and there is nothing above Him , وَخَلَقَ عَرْشَهُ عَلَى الْمَاءِ and God created His Throne [‘*Arsh*] over the water [after creating water]. Ahmad ibn Mani’ said that Yazīd ibn Harūn said that the hadiths means: أَي لَيْسَ مَعَهُ شَيْءٌ [God exists] without anything with Him... It is said that this hadith is rated as *ḥasan*³²⁴ (Sunan al - Tirmīdhī Report No. 3109).

As for the period beginning from the pre-eternity [*azalī*] or the time that God began to create; this is what is meant by the phrase, “the cognitive knowledge [*ma`lūmāt*] does not emanate from the fragrance of external existence and it will never emanate.” This image is transmitted from the original images in the Eternal True [Divine] Knowledge and this transmission occurs like the letters emanating from you, [6] not in terms of the original letters, which remain fixed in your being. Your existence is borrowed from the True [Divine] origin though every borrowed [person or thing] does not in reality exists. You are non-existent [‘*adam*]. You have no share in existence because you are characterised as non-existent. In other words, everything in this universe is transmitted from its original existence in the knowledge of *al-Ḥaqq* (Allāh) that is original or *azalī*. This existence is only a loan name, because what is intended by the original still exists in the original knowledge of God, and yet it has no name. Then because your existence is a loan from the original existence, and everything that is borrowed has no existence in reality. Therefore, you are nothing, you have no existence, and you are characterised by nothing. If you claim existence- that you have existence-other than God’s existence, then you are attributing partnership with Allāh (i.e. committing *shirk*). “Verily! Joining others in worship with Allāh is a great *ẓulm* (wrong) in deed” (*Qur’ān*, 31:13).

This is supported by Al-Alūsī, who stated that:

(إِنَّ الشِّرْكَ لَظُلْمٌ عَظِيمٌ) وَالظَّاهِرُ أَنَّ هَذَا مِنْ كَلَامِ لُقْمَانَ وَيَقْتَضِيهِ كَلَامُ مُسْلِمٍ فِي "صَحِيحِهِ"، وَالْكَلَامُ تَعْلِيلٌ لِلنَّهْيِ أَوْ الْإِنْتِهَاءِ عَنِ الشِّرْكِ، وَقِيلَ : هُوَ خَيْرٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى شَأْنُهُ مُنْقَطِعٌ عَنِ كَلَامِ لُقْمَانَ مُنْصَلٌّ بِهِ فِي تَأْكِيدِ الْمَعْنَى، وَكَوْنُ الشِّرْكِ ظُلْمًا لِمَا فِيهِ مِنْ وَضْعِ الشَّيْءِ فِي غَيْرِ مَوْضِعِهِ وَكَوْنُهُ عَظِيمًا لِمَا فِيهِ مِنَ النَّسْوِيَةِ بَيْنَ مَنْ لَا نِعْمَةَ إِلَّا مِنْهُ سُبْحَانَهُ وَمَنْ لَا نِعْمَةَ لَهُ.

“Indeed shirk is really a great injustice.” In fact, these are the words of Luqman and these words are corroborated by the opinion of Imam Muslim in his collection *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and the words are the explanation of the ban, with the intention

³²⁴Lit. means good. So *ḥadīth ḥasan* means a good *ḥadīth*.

of stopping the *shirk*. Another opinion says that the sentence should come from Allāh, the problem is disconnected from Luqman or there is word-relation in the affirmation of meaning. As for the *Shirk* (injustice) because it is the act of putting something not in its place and is said to be (something great) for equating the owner of favors that Allāh (Glory be to Him) with something that has no favors" (Al-Alūsī 1994: 128-129, see also Baso Pallawagau, personal communication, 25 August 2017).

[P. 19]. So, have trust in Allāh who is One in Essence and One in Attributes because everything whose existence is affirmed for other than Him, not for Himself (cannot be Allāh). So understand that.

To understand that His Attributes and Essence are one, means that His attributes do not subsist outside of His Essence, but always exist or stand with His Essence. Although the attribute is not the essence, as per the view of *Ash'ariyya* or the general belief followed by *ahl al-sunna wa al-jamā'a*, they say that the attribute of Allāh is not His essence or another part of His essence (*al-ṣifat laysat al-dhāt wa lā hiya gayrihā*). It is clear that the attribute is not the essence, because the meaning of each is different. However, the attribute is not completely separated from His essence, because what is meant by *al-ghairiyya* here is that "there is a point of separation" - meaning - (*mufāraqa*) or something with another from a particular aspect (Ahmad Daudy 1983: 70; see also Abū Hasan al-Ash'arī 1955: 28). Another way of understanding that the attribute is not the essence, and also that it is not other than the Essence, is to appreciate that the attribute may not be separated from the essence, under any circumstances because both always come together.

[P.20]. True faith is that you leave your metaphorical existence to your true non-existence because Allāh has made true non-existence a mirror for His Essence and manifestation [*tajallī*] of Him with His Perfect Essence. All of them pass from Him into complete annihilation [*fanā*]. If you progress to non-existence, you become a mirror to Him and the Reality [*al-Ḥaqq*] will witness His Essence in your essence. He is a witness with respect to witnessing His Essence in this mirror, and He is the witnessed with respect to Him being seen in this mirror. Whoever knows this matter and believes it, is a believer who asserts the Unity of Allāh [*muwaḥḥid*]. [p. 7] If not, then he is a believer metaphorically and a true disbeliever because he has not believed in reality.

In the meantime it is said in *Taj al-Asrār*, that a slave remains a slave,

though he has annihilated himself in God and subsists through Him [*fanā' fī Allāh wa baqā' bihī*] and he is attributed with some of God's qualities. God remains God although He appears in his servant and is attributed with the servant's attributes. Understand and do not be mistaken.³²⁵ It should be understood that although *fanā'* and *baqā'* of this servant had reached the level of perfection, he remained conscious and did not utter blasphemous words; he even confirmed the view that only God exists.

According to Shaykh Yūsuf, even though Prophet Muḥammad (SAW) is the most perfect human with the highest *maqām* or status before Allāh and has Allāh's characters, he never says: *Anā al-Ḥaqq* or *Anā-Allāh*"/ I am the Truth or I am God.³²⁶ He only said or conveyed the Words of God:

إِنِّي أَنَا اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا أَنَا

"Verily! I am Allāh! La ilaha illa Anā (none has to be the right worshipped but I)." (*Qur'ān*, 20:14).

So, the speaker was the Lord and His messenger to us was Prophet Muḥammad SAW.

The following Words of God confirm this point further:

قُلْ إِنَّمَا أَنَا بَشَرٌ مِّثْلُكُمْ يُوحَىٰ إِلَيَّ أَنَّمَا إِلَهُكُمُ إِلَهٌ وَاحِدٌ

"Say (O Muḥammad صلي الله عليه وسلم): "I am only a man like you. It has been inspired to me that your ilah (God) is One ilah (God-i.e. Allāh)..." (*Qur'ān*, 18: 110).

And also the Words of God:

هُوَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ

"He is Allāh that Whom there is La ilaha illa Huwa (none has the right to be worshipped but He)...." (*Qur'ān*, 59:23).

[P. 21]. If a person is accused of ignorance by saying yes, it necessitates the creation of the world that had not occurred prior to His knowledge (thereof). It also necessitates the attribution of ignorance to Allāh [may He be Exalted] which is disbelief and misguidance. And disbelief and misguidance with respect to Him [Glorious and Exalted is He] is unthinkable. "He [Glorious and Exalted is He] is high above what the transgressors say."³²⁷

Here Shaykh Yūsuf explained again that it is ignorant for anyone to think "there is something" outside of God's knowledge, or assumed that "universe

³²⁵See *Taj al-Asrār*, in Tudjimah, 1997: 74.

³²⁶See, *Qurrat al-Ayn*, in Tudjimah, 1997: 65.

³²⁷This is based on Quran 17:43 [Glory be to Him! He is highly exalted above what they say!].

creation" took place before the knowledge of God that is eternal (*qadīm*). This also means ascribing ignorance to God which renders the person an infidel who has lost his way. Allāh is the Most Holy, free from all deficiency attributes, or from that which is said by a cruel man. This means that this deed is forbidden, since Allāh is beyond what they said about Him. This is in accordance with the first interpretation of Al-Alūsī to this verse:

“In fact, it is clear that what is meant [by this verse] is to explain that what they say is a forbidden thing from the side that they do not take into account.” (Al-Alūsī (1994: 118).

This is the way Shaykh Yūsuf explaining this by emphasising that it is ignorant for the spiritual seekers to think like that to God. Because Allāh is Glorious and Exalted above what the cruel men or the transgressors say. Then it is supported by Al-Alūsī above.

He is Allāh who has good attributes or names (*al-Asmā al-Ḥusnā*’; as He says:

وَلِلَّهِ الْأَسْمَاءُ الْحُسْنَىٰ فَادْعُوهُ بِهَا

“And (all) the Most Beautiful Names belong to Allāh, so call on Him by them.” (Qur’ān, 7:180).

The principle that everything happens in God's knowledge which is *azālī* (original) and *qadīm* (eternal) made the *ṭaṣawwuf* of Shaykh Yūsuf classified as *Sunnī* and what the *Ash’ariyya* called *ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jamā’a*, because of the belief that everything happens in the knowledge of God and not outside of His knowledge. According to Al-Baghdādī, there is a consensus among the *Ash’ariyya* that power, will, knowledge, life, hearing, vision and the word of Allāh are eternal (*qadīm*), (Al-Baghdādī n.d: 278). According to *Al-Ghazālī*, God has those attributes since pre-eternity.³²⁸

All these arguments of al-Maqassarī above in regards to his *Waḥdat Wujūd* views based on the gnostics and supported by *tafsīr* al-Alūsī are centred around the denial of the physical presence of God with His servant or with everything.

³²⁸ *Al-Iqtishād fī al-’itiqād*, Ed. Dr. Ibrahim Agah Cubuku and Dr. Husseyn Atay. Cairo: Ankara University (al-Ghazālī 1962:60).

b. **Maqām Tawḥīd al-Ikhlāṣ [Immaculate Tawḥīd]**

[P. 22]. The second station of *tawḥīd* by Shaykh Yūsuf is already known by all Muslims, such as His words: “Say (O Muḥammadﷺ): “He is Allāh (the) One. Allāh al-Ṣamad (The Self-Sufficient Master, whom all creatures need), He begets not, nor is He begotten, and there is none co-equal or comparable unto Him” (Qur’ān, Ch. 112).

In *Bidāyat al-Mubtadī* (p. 1) it is said that the belief (‘*Aqīda*) in the reality of the Exalted entails that there is nothing like unto Him (Qur’ān, 42:11), and He is One, without partner in His essence, His attributes and His deeds. Then all that comes to mind and are conceived by the imagination, know that He, Glory be to Him, differs from them. And all beliefs (‘*Aqīda*) are based on *Surat Al-Ikhlāṣ* (Qur’ān, Ch. 112). So, understand [this]

These edicts are also supported by Al-Alūsī (1994: 476-494)³²⁹ as follows:

قُلْ هُوَ اللهُ أَحَدٌ (١) اللهُ الصَّمَدُ (٢) لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ (٣) وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ
(٤)

وَسُمِّيَتْ بِهَا لِمَا فِيهَا مِنَ التَّوْحِيدِ وَلِذَا سُمِّيَتْ أَيْضًا بِالْأَسَاسِ أَصْلُ لِسَانِ
أَصُولِ الدِّينِ وَعَنْ كَعْبٍ كَمَا قَالَ الْجَاحِظُ بْنُ رَجَبٍ أُسِّسَتْ السَّمَوَاتُ السَّبْعُ
وَالْأَرْضُونَ السَّبْعُ عَلَى هَذِهِ السُّورَةِ (قُلْ هُوَ اللهُ أَحَدٌ) وَرَوَاهُ الزَّمَخْشَرِيُّ عَنْ
أَبِي وَأَنَسٍ مَرْفُوعًا وَلَمْ يَذْكُرْهُ أَحَدٌ مِنَ الْمُحَدِّثِينَ الْمُعْتَبَرِينَ كَذَلِكَ، وَكَيْفَ
كَانَ؟ فَالْمَرَادُ بِهِ كَمَا قَالَ: مَا خُلِقَتِ السَّمَوَاتُ وَالْأَرْضُونَ إِلَّا لِتَكُونَ دَلَالًا
عَلَى تَوْحِيدِ اللهِ تَعَالَى وَمَعْرِفَةِ صِفَاتِهِ الَّتِي تَضَمَّنَتْهَا هَذِهِ السُّورَةُ، وَقِيلَ
مَعْنَى تَأْسِيسِهَا عَلَيْهَا أَنَّهَا إِنَّمَا خُلِقَتْ بِالْحَقِّ كَمَا قَالَ تَعَالَى (وَمَا خَلَقْنَا
السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا لِأَعْيُنٍ) [الأنبياء: ١٦] (مَا خَلَقْنَاهُمَا إِلَّا بِالْحَقِّ)
[الدخان: ٣٩] وَهُوَ الْعَدْلُ وَالتَّوْحِيدُ.

This *Sūra* is called *Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ* because it constitutes the meaning of *tawḥīd*. Likewise this chapter is named *al-Asās* (principle) because *tawḥīd* is the basis of the origin of other basics of religion. It was narrated from Ka'b as reported by Jāḥiẓ bin Rajab: "The seven heavens and earth were built on the (basis of this) *sūra* [قُلْ هُوَ اللهُ أَحَدٌ]." It was also narrated by Zamakhsharī from Ubay and Anas respectively with the transmission chain reaching the Holy Prophet, but this *ḥadīth* is not mentioned by the experts of *ḥadīth*: how can it be so? The purpose of the *ḥadīth* as stated by Zamakhsharī is: "The heavens and earths were not created except as a proof of the Oneness of Allāh, and to know His qualities contained in this *sūra* (*al-Ikhlāṣ*)." But others argue that the purpose of the

³²⁹For more information regarding the translation of the *tafsīr* of this verse (Qur’ān 112: 1-4), see Baso Pallawagau, personal communication, 25 August, 2016.

creation of the heavens and the earth by this *sūra* is that the creation of the heavens and the earth is just something that is based on truth, in accordance with the words of Allāh:

وَمَا خَلَقْنَا السَّمَاءَ وَالْأَرْضَ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا لُعِينَ

"We created not the heavens and the earth and all that is between them for a (mere) play" (Qur'ān, 21:16).

مَا خَلَقْنَاهُمْ إِلَّا بِالْحَقِّ وَلَكِنْ أَكْثَرُهُمْ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ

"We created them not except with truth (i.e. to examine and test those who are obedient and disobedient and then reward the obedient ones and punish disobedient ones), but most of them know not" (Qur'ān, 44:39).

أَبِي عَلِيٍّ بْنِ سَيْنَا فِي تَفْسِيرِهِ السُّورَةَ الْجَلِيلَةَ حَيْثُ قَالَ إِنَّ أَحَدًا دَالَ عَلَى أَنَّهُ تَعَالَى وَاحِدٌ مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْوُجُوهِ وَأَنَّهُ لَا كَثْرَةَ هُنَاكَ أَصْلًا لَا كَثْرَةَ مَعْنَوِيَّةً وَهِيَ كَثْرَةُ الْمُقَوِّمَاتِ وَالْأَجْنَاسِ وَالْفُصُولِ وَكَثْرَةُ الْأَجْزَاءِ الْخَارِجِيَّةِ الْمُتَمَايِزَةِ عَقْلًا كَمَا فِي الْمَادَّةِ وَالصُّورَةِ وَالْكَثْرَةُ الْحِسِّيَّةُ بِالْقُوَّةِ أَوْ بِالْفِعْلِ كَمَا فِي الْجِسْمِ وَذَلِكَ يَتَضَمَّنُ لِكُونِهِ سُبْحَانَهُ مَنْزَهًا عَنِ الْجِنْسِ وَالْفَصْلِ وَالْمَادَّةِ وَالصُّورَةِ وَالْأَعْرَاضِ وَالْأَبْعَاضِ³³⁰ وَالْأَعْضَاءِ وَالْأَشْكَالِ وَالْأَلْوَانِ وَسَائِرِ مَا يَبْتَلِمُ الْوَحْدَةَ الْكَامِلَةَ وَالْبَسَاطَةَ الْحَقَّةَ اللَّائِقَةَ بِكَرَمِ وَجْهِهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ عَنْ أَنْ يَنْسِبَهُ شَيْءٌ أَوْ يُسَاوِيَهُ سُبْحَانَهُ شَيْءٌ.

As for the word *aḥad*, Abī Alī ibn Sīnā in interpreting the *Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*, said that the word *aḥad* shows that Allāh the Exalted is One in all respects. There is no plurality here, either literally or metaphorically; such as multitudes of basic elements, species and their subcategories; or many external parts that differ from one another in mind, like matter and images; and many sentiments, either potentially or practically, in the physical body. It implies that Allāh Praise be unto Him is not bound by species, genus, matter, image, contingencies, dimensions, forms, colours and all things that defile perfect oneness; and true simplicity that is worthy of the honour of His Countenance (to avert) something resembling or equalling Him.

وَقَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى: (اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ) مُبْتَدَأٌ وَخَبَرٌ وَقَبْلَ (الصَّمَدِ) نَعْتٌ وَالْخَبَرُ مَا بَعْدَهُ وَلَيْسَ بِشَيْءٍ.

The words of Allāh Glory be to Him and Exalted. *Allāhu aṣ-Ṣamad* is a sentence consisting of *mubtada'* (a subject) and *khbar* (a predicate). Another opinion says the word *al-Ṣamad* is an adjective. The predicate follows it (which here) is nothing.

وَالصَّمَدُ قَالَ ابْنُ الْأَثْبَارِيِّ لَا خِلَافَ بَيْنَ أَهْلِ اللُّغَةِ أَنَّهُ السَّيِّدُ الَّذِي لَيْسَ

³³⁰This word should be ابعاد; meaning dimensions.

فَوَقَّهٖ أَحَدًا، الَّذِي يَصْنَعُ إِلَيْهِ النَّاسُ فِي حَوَائِجِهِمْ وَأُمُورِهِمْ،

According to Ibn al-Anbārī there is no distinction between linguists that the meaning of the word *al-Ṣamad* is the Supreme Ruler above Whom there is nobody; on Whom people are dependent for their needs and affairs.

وَقَالَ الرَّجَاجُ هُوَ الَّذِي يَنْتَهِي إِلَيْهِ السُّؤْدُ وَيَصْنَعُ إِلَيْهِ، أَي يَفْضِدُ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ

According to al-Zajjāj: He is One with Whom all matters of authority and dependency culminate. He directs everything.

وَعَنْ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَلْحَةَ عَنْ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ أَنَّهُ قَالَ هُوَ السَّيِّدُ الَّذِي قَدْ كَمَلَ فِي سُوْدِهِ، وَالشَّرِيفُ الَّذِي قَدْ كَمَلَ فِي شَرَفِهِ وَالْعَظِيمُ الَّذِي قَدْ كَمَلَ فِي عَظَمَتِهِ وَالْحَلِيمُ الَّذِي قَدْ كَمَلَ فِي حِلْمِهِ وَالْعَلِيمُ الَّذِي قَدْ كَمَلَ فِي عِلْمِهِ وَالْحَكِيمُ الَّذِي قَدْ كَمَلَ فِي حِكْمَتِهِ وَهُوَ الَّذِي قَدْ كَمَلَ فِي أَنْوَاعِ الشَّرَفِ وَالسُّؤْدِ.

It is narrated from Ali ibn Abi Talha from Ibn Abbas that He is the He is the Master Who is Most Perfect of His Power; the Honourable Who is Most Perfect in His Glory; the Great Who is Most Perfect of His Greatness; the Mild Who is Most Perfect in His Meekness; the Knower Who is Most Perfect in His knowledge, the Wise Who is Most Perfect in His wisdom and He is the Most Perfect in all types of nobility and mastery.

وَعَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ هُوَ الْمُسْتَعْنَى عَنْ كُلِّ أَحَدٍ الْمُحْتَاجُ إِلَيْهِ كُلِّ أَحَدٍ، وَعَنْ ابْنِ جُبَيْرٍ هُوَ الْكَامِلُ فِي جَمِيعِ صِفَاتِهِ وَأَفْعَالِهِ وَعَنْ الرَّبِيعِ هُوَ الَّذِي لَا تَعْتَرِيهِ الْآفَاتُ وَعَنْ مُقَاتِلِ بْنِ حَيَّانٍ هُوَ الَّذِي لَا عَيْبَ فِيهِ

Narrated from Abī Huraira: “He is the Most Free, Who dispenses with everyone in need”; and narrated from Ibn Jubair: “He is the Perfect in all His Attributes and Deeds,” and narrated from al-Rabi’: “He is not befallen by calamities” and then narrated from Muqātil ibn Hayyān: “He has no defect.”

وَالْمَعْوَلُ عَلَيْهِ تَفْسِيرًا بِالسَّيِّدِ الَّذِي يَصْنَعُ إِلَيْهِ الْخَلْقُ فِي الْحَوَائِجِ وَالْمَطَالِبِ.

A definition most relied upon for master is one to Whom the creation turns for (answering its) needs and requests.

وَجَعَلَ مَعْنَى كَوْنِهِ تَعَالَى سَيِّدًا أَنَّهُ مَبْدَأُ الْكُلِّ وَفِي مَعْنَاهُ تَفْسِيرُهُ بِالْعَنِيِّ الْمَطْلُوقِ الْمُحْتَاجِ إِلَيْهِ مَا سِوَاهُ، وَقَالَ يَحْتَمِلُ أَنْ يَكُونَ كِلَا الْمَعْنَيْنِ مُرَادًا فَيَكُونُ وَصْفًا لَهُ تَعَالَى بِمَجْمُوعِ السَّلْبِ وَالْإِجَابِ وَهُوَ ظَاهِرٌ فِي جَوَازِ اسْتِعْمَالِ الْمُشْتَرِكِ فِي كِلَا مَعْنَيْهِ كَمَا ذَهَبَ إِلَيْهِ الشَّافِعِيُّ، وَالَّذِي اخْتَارَهُ تَفْسِيرُهُ بِالسَّيِّدِ الَّذِي يَصْنَعُ إِلَيْهِ الْخَلْقُ

By making the meaning of *al-Ṣamad* as ruler means He (Allāh) is the Principle of all things. And as far as the interpretation is concerned, it means the Absolute, Rich Who

everyone else needs. And he [the author] says both these meanings are desirable. It can all be attributed to Him by bringing together negative and positive traits. And this clearly indicates that it is permissible to use a word combining different meanings for both of its meanings as the Imām al-Shafi‘ī claims. He chose the interpretation of *al-Ṣamad* as the Ruler Who all creatures need.

As for the words of Allāh Glory be to Him and Exalted, *lam yalid* (He does not give birth)

وَقَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى : (لَمْ يَلِدْ) الخ. عَلَى نَحْوِ مَا سَبَقَ وَنَفَى ذَلِكَ عَنْهُ تَعَالَى؛ لِأَنَّ
الْوِلَادَةَ تَقْتَضِي انْفِصَالَ مَادَّةٍ مِنْهُ سُبْحَانَهُ وَذَلِكَ يَقْتَضِي التَّرْكِيْبَ الْمُنَافِي
لِلصَّمَدِيَّةِ وَالْأَحَدِيَّةِ

It negates the giving birth to Him the Exalted, since giving birth shows separation of matter from Him. Then giving birth requires complexity that is contradictory to His Power (as Ruler) and His Oneness.

(وَلَمْ يُوَلَدْ) وَهُوَ لَا بُدَّ أَنْ يَكُونَ بِصِغَةِ الْمَاضِي وَنَفَى الْمَوْلُودِيَّةِ عَنْهُ سُبْحَانَهُ
لِاقْتِضَائِهَا الْمَادَّةَ، فَيَلْزِمُ التَّرْكِيْبَ الْمُنَافِي لِلْعِنْيِ الْمَطْلُوقِ وَالْأَحَدِيَّةِ الْحَقِيقِيَّةِ أَوْ
لِاقْتِضَائِهَا سَبَقَ الْعَمِّ وَلَوْ بِالذَّاتِ أَوْ لِاقْتِضَائِهَا الْمَجَاسَّةَ الْمُسْتَحِيلَةَ عَلَى
وَاجِبِ الْوُجُودِ،

[He was not born] must be in the past tense and negating *mawlūdiyya* [birth nature] from God because the process requires material. That necessitates complexity (or compositeness) that contradicts Absolute Needlessness and His Real Oneness. Or because it requires a prior phase of nothingness; even in terms of being. Or because it requires an impossible kind of unity for God Whose existence is mandatory.

وَقَدَّمَ نَفَى الْوِلَادَةِ لِأَنَّهُ الْأَهَمُّ لِأَنَّ طَائِفَةً مِنَ الْكُفَّارِ تَوَهَّمُوا خِلَافَهُ بِخِلَافِ نَفَى
الْمَوْلُودِيَّةِ أَوْ لِكَثْرَةِ مُتَوَهِّمِي خِلَافِ الْأَوَّلِ ذُونَ خِلَافِ الثَّانِي بِنَاءً عَلَى أَنَّ
النَّصَارَى يُلْزِمُهُمْ بِوَسِطَةِ دَعْوَى الْإِتْحَادِ الْقَوْلَ بِالْوِلَادَةِ وَالْمَوْلُودِيَّةِ فَيَمُنُّ
يَعْتَقِدُونَهَا إِلَهًا، وَذَلِكَ عَلَى مَا تَضَمَّنَتْهُ كُتُبُهُمْ أَنَّهُمْ يَقُولُونَ الْأَبَ هُوَ الْأَقْنُومُ
الْأَوَّلُ مِنَ الثَّلَاثِ وَالْإِبْنُ هُوَ الثَّانِي الصَّادِرُ مِنْهُ صُدُورًا أَرْلِيًّا مُسَاوِيًّا
بِالْأَرْلِيَّةِ لَهُ، وَرُوحَ الْفُؤَادِ هُوَ الثَّلَاثُ الصَّادِرُ عَنْهُمَا كَذَلِكَ

The negation of giving birth for Allāh, Glory be to Him and Exalted, is presented here because that is the most important due to the fact that there is a group of unbelievers who think that Allāh, Glory be to Him and Exalted, gave birth, in contrast to the annihilation of His birth. Or it is because of the many misunderstandings of the first, in contrast to the

second, based on the recognition of Christians who considered the unity of the child and his father for the one they believed to be a god. It is in accordance with the content of their scriptures that they say: the father is the first being of the trinity, the child is the second that comes from the father as an eternal emanation that is parallel to the eternity of the father, and the Holy Spirit is the third that comes from the two of them.

As for the words:

(وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ) أَي لَمْ يُكَافِئْهُ أَحَدٌ وَلَمْ يُمَاتِلْهُ وَلَمْ يُشَاكِلْهُ مِنْ صَاحِبِيَةٍ وَغَيْرِهَا،

“And there is none co-equal or comparable unto Him” means He is not equivalent to anything and no companions or others are equal unto Him.

The end of this *tafsīr* illustrates the summary of this *sūrah*:

This glorious *sūrah* combines the totality of divine knowledge and Islamic beliefs. Therefore, this verse explains the discussion about the *ḥadīths* [of the Prophet] and the traditions of the Companions, as well as showing proof of the truth of the meaning of *tawḥīd* as *al-Ṣamadiyya* (Independence) which means existence obligation [*wujūb al-wujūd*], or the principle of existence of His existence. He does not give birth as He was not born of anything other than Him. This affirms that though He, the Exalted, is the Lord of all that exists, and is generous to all His creations, the whole universe must be subjected only to Him. His existence does not come from anything other than Himself. There is no existence that is as strong as His existence. Everything from the beginning of this chapter until the word *al-Ṣamad* describes His Subsistence, Attributes, and His Supremacy. He does not consist of multiple elements. His words *lam yalid* until the word explain that here is no equal to Him in form and kind; both in terms of Him not giving birth nor in terms of his being born, and none in the world is equal to Him. This explanation reaches the Divine knowledge of His Essence.

He points out that the phrase *wa lam yūlad* is a description of the previous sentence (*lam yalid*). It is as if the previous sentence says that everything in the form of matter or that is related to matter was born from other elements. Then follows the sentence that Allāh does not give birth because He was not born. Proof of this is found in *Huwa* (He) at the beginning

of the chapter. He has no substance and similarities except that He is He. He is obliged not to be born of anything other than Him. If His identity comes from something other than Him then “He” does not designate His substance. These words are similar to the words of Shaykh Yūsuf in paragraph 19: So have trust in Allāh who is One in Essence and One in Attributes because whenever His existence is affirmed for beings other than Him then His existence is for others, not for Himself (cannot be Allāh).

Some *ṣūfis* claim that the word *huwa*, is part of the *Asmā al-Husnā* (Divine Names), although the argument exists that the *hā al-ghayba* (the hidden pronoun form of ‘He’) already refers, in reality, to His name. It shows absolute identity in the same way as the survival of the life of the soul depends on breathing. This line of argument also points to [the understanding] of His Dignity in a variety of ways and indicates His Eternity without annihilation. Al-Dawānī quotes from al-Imam that he said; “The teachers taught me the phrases of *yā Huwa* [O He], *yā man Huwa* [O Who is He], and *yā man lā ilā ha illā Allāhu* [O Who there is no god but Allāh]. This is what most teachers believe today, whereas it is not mentioned in the *ḥadīth* according to the *ḥadīth* scholars.”

Therefore, it is true what Shaykh Yūsuf said that all beliefs should revert back to this chapter [*Surat al-Ikhlāṣ*] of the *Qur’ān*. This *tawḥīd* which is also supported by al-Alūsī, denied more the physical presence of God with His servant or with everything as uttered by some other *ṣūfis*

3) *Maqām Ma’rifa*

[P. 23]. Gnosis [*ma’rifa*] is ascertaining that your beginning is from Him and unto Him is your place of return, so you return to Him in exactly the same way as how He originated you from Him; just like the sea when the water flows from it to the river and returns to the sea as it was in the river. The water does not change from its reality as water.

According to Shaykh Yūsuf, when Abū Sa’īd al-Kharrāz was asked: “By what have you obtained *ma’rifa* of Allāh?” He answered; “by uniting two contradictory things”;³³¹ which means uniting God’s attributes which appear to contradict each other. For example, uniting the knowledge of Himself being the beginning and the end, and the Outward and the Inward. Shaykh Yūsuf in *Hādhihi Fawā’id Āẓīma* that Allāh is a unifier of two contradictory things, since He is the first with

³³¹See, *Taj al-Asrār*, in *Tudjīmah*, 1997: 74, see also Appendix II No. 1

nothing before the beginning of His first and the Last with nothing after His eternity. He is the Most High (nothing is above Him) and the Nearest (nothing is nearer than Him).³³² It is also has been discussed in his *Ṣūra* [the Image of (*tawḥīd*)] that Abū Zaid al-Kharrāz asked: "How do you know God?" He said, "By His ability to unite two incompatible things. Uniting two incompatible things is that you say "He is not He; it is not that He is He; She is not She, it is not that She is She [*Huwa Lā Huwa, La Huwa Huwa, Hiya Lā Hiya, La Hiya Hiya*]."³³³ According to Shaykh Yūsuf, the Divine Reality is the unity of the pairs of His attributes which contradict each other, and no one will know and understand the actuality of His Oneness, except one who has been bestowed knowledge by God Himself.³³⁴

Another treatise of Shaykh Yūsuf entitled *Bidāyat al-Mubtadi'* [the First Stage of the Novice] illustrates another knowledge about God as follows.

فَأَمَّا الْمَعْرِفَةُ فِي حَقِّهِ تَعَالَى فَهُوَ أَنْ يَعْرِفَ الْعَبْدُ بِأَنَّ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى مُنْتَصِفٌ بِجَمِيعِ الْكَمَالَاتِ، وَأَنَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ خَالِقُ الْكُلِّ مِنَ الْمَوْجُودَاتِ نَوَاتِيهِمْ وَصِفَاتِهِمْ وَأَحْوَالِهِمْ وَأَفْعَالِهِمْ مِنَ الْخَيْرِ وَالشَّرِّ، وَالْكُلُّ تَحْتَ قُدْرَتِهِ وَإِرَادَتِهِ، وَقُدْرَهُ وَقَضَائِهِ.

As for the knowledge (*ma'rifa*) about the reality of God the Exalted, the servant should know that Allāh, the Exalted, has the attributes of all perfection. And He, Glory be to Him, is the creator of all things; their essences, their qualities, conditions and deeds of good and evil. And all remain under His Power and Will, and His Ability and Judgment.

غَيْرَ أَنَّهُ لَا يَأْمُرُ بِالسُّوءِ وَإِنْ كَانَ هُوَ خَالِقُ الْكُلِّ مِنَ الْأَشْيَاءِ صُورَةً وَمَعْنَى، وَأَنَّهُ لَا يَضُرُّ وَلَا يَنْفَعُ مطلقًا إِلَّا اللَّهُ تَعَالَى فِي جَمِيعِ الْأَحْوَالِ، فَافْهَمْ.

It is clear that He does not enjoin evil, even if He is the creator of all things, explicitly and implicitly; and that none could provide absolute harm or benefit except Allāh the Exalted, in all circumstances. So understand.

Although both versions are not the same, both are true and are complementary to one another.

4) *Maqām 'ibāda* ('*Ubudiyya* [worship])

[24] Worship [*'ibāda*] is to obey His *Wahdat al-Wujūd* [the Oneness of His existence]; that is, there is no existence [8] but His. And He, Glory be to Him and Exalted is he, is One and has no partner in existence. The linguistic meaning of '*ubudiyya* is obedience of something to something else just as your organs

³³²See *Hadhihī Fawā'id*, in *Tudjimah*, 1997: 90, see also Appendix II No.10.

³³³See Appendix II Part B No. 1 about this *Ṣūra* of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj.

³³⁴See *Kayfiyyat al-Mungī* or *Kayfiyyat al-Nāfi*, in *Tudjimah*, 1997: 34.

[limbs] are obedient to your soul in terms of all matter being linked to the desire of the soul, it is because you do not do anything [because of Allāh] except through the desire of the soul. Apparently [in *ẓāhir*], your organs [limbs] worship your essence and your essence is the object of devotion. The essence is the worshipper with respect to the manifest [*ẓāhir*] and the object of worship with respect to the hidden [*bāṭin*] because the command is from it and to it.

[P. 25] So, according to Shaykh Yūsuf If you annihilate your existence and the existence of things other than Allāh and you know yourself that all that and entities other than Allāh are non-existent; you will not see anything but Him and you will not witness anything but Him and nothing will remain except Him. “Not for you [but for Allāh] is the decision” (*Qur’ān*, 3:128). So He becomes a devotee [*ābid*] from the perspective of the Divine Command being from Him. And He is an object of worship from the perspective of the Divine Command [*amr*] returning to Him.

The peak of this *maqām* is also known as *maqām al-‘Ubudiyyat al-Muṭlaqa* as the highest *maqām* for a servant; and it is the real fruit [the result of the spiritual seeker’s journey on Allāh’s path].³³⁵ However, in reality it cannot be achieved without attaining first *tawḥīd* and *ma‘rifa*.

As for the verse *Qur’ān*, 3:128, it seems that Shaykh Yūsuf uses the verse in different perspective with al-Alūsī, but both perspectives are true depending on the context of each. Shaykh Yūsuf uses only a part of this verse to describe that the decision is for Him or all commands come from Him and not for you [as servants or creation], therefore everything that happens in this world are based on His decision. While al-Alūsī (1444 A.H/1993: 78-79) interprete the whole verse:

لَيْسَ لَكَ مِنَ الْأَمْرِ شَيْءٌ أَوْ يَتُوبَ عَلَيْهِمْ أَوْ يُعَذِّبُهُمْ فَأِنَّهُمْ ظَالِمُونَ

“Not for you (O Muḥammad ﷺ but for Allāh) is the decision; whether He turns (in mercy) to pardon them or punish them; verily, they are *Zālimūn* (polytheists, disobedients, and wrong-doers, etc.

Bukhārī’s account about the revealing of this verse (ليس لك من الأمر شيء) states that Prophet Muḥammad SAW prayed to God to save some of the pagans and destroy others (It was narrated by some narrators that the the lower right of the incisors of the Messenger of Allāh SAW, were broken by 'Utbah ibn Abī Waqqash and it wounded his face, Salim, the client of Abū Ḥudhaifah or 'Alī *Karramallāhu Wajhah* washed the blood off his face and then the

³³⁵See also, the discussion of *maqām ‘ubudiyyat al-Muṭlaqa* in *Zubadat al-Asrār*.

Prophet said: "How will a congregation of people do such a thing to their Prophet?" Then Allāh the Exalted revealed this verse. Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī, al-Tirmīzī, al-Nasā'i, and others narrated from Ibn Umar RA Who said: "The Messenger of Allāh [SAW] prayed during the battle of Ūḥud: "O Allāh, curses upon Abū Sufyān! O Allāh, curses upon al-Harth ibn Hisham! O Allāh curses upon Suhail ibn 'Amr! O Allāh curses upon Shafwan ibn 'Umayyah!" Then this verse was sent down {لَيْسَ لَكَ مِنَ الْأَمْرِ شَيْءٌ}, and they were all forgiven by the Prophet [Burhanuddin Darwis, personal communication, 19 November 2017].

Then Shaykh Yūsuf mentioned the following verse:

كُلُّ شَيْءٍ هَالِكٌ إِلَّا وَجْهَهُ، لَهُ الْحُكْمُ وَإِلَيْهِ تُرْجَعُونَ

"Everything will perish but He [His Face]. His is the judgement, and to Him you (all) shall be returned" (Qur'ān, 28:88).

The following is al-Alūsī's interpretation on this verse (1994: 194-195) based on the discussion of Baso Pallawagau:

وَأُخْرِجَ عَنْهُ ابْنُ مَرْدَوَيْهِ أَنَّهُ قَالَ: لَمَّا نَزَلَتْ (كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَائِقَةُ الْمَوْتِ) آل عمران: ١٨٥ [قِيلَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ فَمَا بَالُ الْمَلَائِكَةِ؟ فَنَزَلَتْ: (كُلُّ شَيْءٍ هَالِكٌ إِلَّا وَجْهَهُ) فَبَيَّنَ فِي هَذِهِ الْآيَةِ فَنَاءَ الْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالتَّقْلِينَ مِنَ الْجِنِّ وَالْإِنْسِ وَسَائِرِ عَالَمِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَبَرِّيئِهِ مِنَ الطَّيْرِ وَالْوَحُوشِ وَالسَّبَاعِ وَالْأَنْعَامِ وَكُلِّ ذِي رُوحٍ أَنَّهُ هَالِكٌ مَيِّتٌ، وَأَنْتَ تَعْلَمُ أَنَّ تَخْصِيصَ الشَّيْءِ بِالْحَيِّ الْمَوْجُودِ فِي الدُّنْيَا لَا بُدَّ لَهُ مِنْ قَرِينَةٍ فَإِنْ اعْتَبِرَ كَوْنُهُ مَحْكُومًا عَلَيْهِ بِالْهَلَاكِ حَيْثُ شَاعَ اسْتِعْمَالُهُ فِي الْمَوْتِ وَهُوَ إِنَّمَا يَكُونُ فِي الدُّنْيَا قَرِينَةً فَذَلِكَ، وَإِلَّا فَهُوَ كَمَا تَرَى، وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَنْ أَلْتَرَمَ مَا يَقْتَضِيهِ ظَاهِرُ الْعُمُومِ مِنْ أَنَّهُ كُلُّ مَا يُوجَدُ فِي وَقْتٍ مِنَ الْأَوْقَاتِ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَى يَصِيرُ هَالِكًا بَعْدَ وُجُودِهِ بِنَاءً عَلَى تَجَدُّدِ الْجَوَاهِرِ وَعَدَمِ بَقَاءِ شَيْءٍ مِنْهَا زَمَانَيْنِ كَالْأَعْرَاضِ عِنْدَ الْأَشْعَرِيِّ، وَلَا يَحْفَى بَطْلَانُهُ، وَإِنْ ذَهَبَ إِلَى ذَلِكَ بَعْضُ أَكَابِرِ الصُّوفِيَّةِ قَدَسَتْ أَسْرَارُهُمْ.

It is narrated by Ibn Mardawayh that when His words: "Everyone shall taste death" (Qur'ān, 3:185) came down, there was one inquiry; O Messenger of Allāh how about the angels? Then [the words of Allāh Glory be to Him and Exalted] came down: "Everything will perish save His Face. His is the decision and to Him you (all) shall be returned." (Qur'ān, 28:88). Then he explains in this verse the death of the angels, jinns and humans as well as the whole creation of Allāh the Exalted on the land like birds, beasts, predators, cattle and all who have life will perish and die. You know that the allocation of something with life in the world must have *qarīna* (a connection with its opposite, namely death). If its demise has been determined then it will perish because the word *halāk* commonly indicates death. And there are also people who hold on firm to what is generally accepted that everything

that exists at once in the world and the hereafter will perish after he exists, according to the renovation of *jawāhir* (matter) and nothing of that material will last in two times, such as the worldly goods. According to al-Ash‘arī that: “Its invalidity cannot be denied, and some *ṣūfis* think like that.”

وَقَالَ سُفْيَانُ الثَّوْرِيُّ: وَجْهُهُ تَعَالَى الْعَمَلُ الصَّالِحُ الَّذِي تَوَجَّهَ بِهِ إِلَيْهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ، فَقِيلَ: فِي تَوَجُّهِهِ الْإِسْتِثْنَاءُ إِنَّ الْعَمَلَ الْمَذْكُورَ قَدْ كَانَ فِي حَيْزِ الْعَمَلِ فَلَمَّا فَعَلَهُ الْعَبْدُ مُمْتَنِعًا أَمْرَهُ تَعَالَى أَبْقَاهُ جَلَّ شَأْنُهُ لَهُ إِلَى أَنْ يُجَازِيَهُ عَلَيْهِ أَوْ أَنَّهُ بِالْقَبُولِ صَارَ غَيْرَ قَابِلٍ لِلْفَنَاءِ لَمَّا أَنَّ الْجَزَاءَ عَلَيْهِ قَامَ مَقَامَهُ وَهُوَ بَاقٍ، وَرُوِيَ عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الرِّضَا رَضِيَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَنْهُ أَنَّهُ ارْتَضَى نَحْوَ ذَلِكَ، وَقَالَ: الْمَعْنَى كُلُّ شَيْءٍ مِنْ أَعْمَالِ الْعِبَادِ هَالِكٌ وَبَاطِلٌ إِلَّا مَا أُرِيدَ بِهِ وَجْهُهُ تَعَالَى، وَزَعَمَ الْخَفَاجِيُّ أَنَّ هَذَا كَلَامٌ ظَاهِرِيٌّ.

Sufyān al-Thawrī argues that what is meant by the Face of Allāh, the Exalted [*wajhullāh Ta‘ālā*], is a pious deed addressed to Him, Glory and Majesty [*‘Azza wa Jalla*]. Then he said when giving reason for the exclusion: it is based (on the fact) that the above-mentioned deed is grounded in nihilism (it does not exist). So when the servant performs the deed in full compliance, the Almighty and Sublime grants eternity to the deed for him to reward him or that its acceptance becomes incapable of destruction because when the reward for the deed is mandatory for Him, it stands its ground and remains (in tact). It was narrated that Abū Abd Allāh al-Riḍā’ (may Allāh be pleased with him) said he (the Prophet SAW) was inclined towards this (opinion), and he (SAW) said: The meaning (of this) is that the deeds of the servants are lost and invalid except those by which His Face, the Exalted, is desired. Al-Khafaji claimed that these words (of the Prophet SAW) are clear.³³⁶

وَقَالَ أَبُو عُبَيْدَةَ: الْمُرَادُ بِالْوَجْهِ جَاهُهُ تَعَالَى الَّذِي جَعَلَهُ فِي النَّاسِ وَهُوَ كَمَا تَرَى لَا وَجْهَ لَهُ، وَالسَّلْفُ يَقُولُونَ: الْوَجْهُ صِفَةٌ تُنْبِئُهَا اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَلَا نَسْتَعْمَلُ بِكَفَيْتِهَا وَلَا بِتَأْوِيلِهَا بَعْدَ تَنْزِيهِهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ عَنِ الْجَارِحَةِ.

Abū ‘Ubayda said that what is meant by *al-wajh* is His dignity that He designated among people. As you know he does not have a face. The early generation of scholars say that *al-wajh* is a quality that we affirm for Allāh, the Exalted, and we do not dwell on its mechanics or its interpretation after declaring Him free of limbs.

(لَهُ الْحُكْمُ) أَيِ الْقَضَاءِ النَّاقِضِ فِي الْخَلْقِ (وَالِإِيهِ) عَزَّ وَجَلَّ (تُرْجَعُونَ) عِنْدَ الْبَعْثِ لِلْجَزَاءِ بِالْحَقِّ وَالْعَدْلِ لَا إِلَى غَيْرِهِ تَعَالَى، وَرُجُوعُ الْعِبَادِ إِلَيْهِ تَعَالَى عِنْدَ الصُّورِيَّةِ أَهْلِ الْوَحْدَةِ بِمَعْنَى مَا وَرَاءَ طُورِ الْعَقْلِ

³³⁶Or, this is a literalist interpretation.

(To Him belongs the Judgement); in other words, the executive decree in the creation (and to Him) will (you will be returned) on the Day of Judgment; that is, after the resurrection, to be requited by truth and justice. And you will not be returned to anyone else other than the Almighty. The return of the worshippers to Him, according to the *ṣūfīs*, means the people of unity; meaning, those beyond human reason (Baso Pallawagau, personal communication, 25 August 2017).

According to Shaykh Jamiel Abrahams the interpretation of the word *wajh* in this verse through *tafsīr* al-Alūsī:

The word *Wajh* (face) is used but means Allāh the Most High. Because there is none like unto Him. We cannot impose our understanding of perception to Allāh since our minds cannot perceive Him, but He makes minds perceive. This is in accordance to the words of Allāh:

لَا تُدْرِكُهُ الْأَبْصَارُ وَهُوَ يُدْرِكُ الْأَبْصَارَ وَهُوَ الْغَنِيُّ الْخَبِيرُ

“No vision can grasp Him, but His Grasp is over all vision. He is the Most Subtle and Courteous, Well-Acquainted with all things.” (Qur’ān, 6:103)

Everything that was created will cease to exist. *Wajh* or face cannot be taken in the literal sense. Its meaning is metaphorical (Sh. Jamiel Abrahams, personal communication, 21 October, 2017).

The interpretation of Qur’ān 55: 26-27 in Al-Alūsī (1994: 164-169) is as follows:

كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانٍ (٢٦) وَيَبْقَى وَجْهَ رَبِّكَ ذُو الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ (٢٧) [الرحمن: ٢٦-٢٧].

“Whatsoever (on the earth) will perish” [26]

“And the Face of your Lord full of Majesty and Honour will abide forever” [27]

(كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا) أَي عَلَى الْأَرْضِ الَّتِي وُضِعَتْ لِلْأَنَامِ مِنَ الْحَيَوَانَاتِ وَالْمَرْكَبَاتِ وَ (مَنْ) لِلتَّغْلِبِ؛ أَوْ لِلتَّقْلِينِ (فَانٍ) هَالِكٌ.

(All those on it), in other words, all that were put on earth for the benefit of mankind from animals and beasts of burden. *من* refers to two components of a category (like humans and jinns) or for the heavens and the earth. *فان* means perishable.

(وَيَبْقَى وَجْهَ رَبِّكَ) أَي ذَاتُهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ، وَالْمَرَادُ هُوَ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى، فَأَلِضَافُهُ بَيَانِيَّةٌ، وَحَقِيقَةٌ أَلْوَجْهِ فِي الشَّاهِدِ الْجَارِحَةِ، وَاسْتِعْمَالُهُ فِي الدَّاتِ مَجَازٌ مُرْسَلٌ كَاسْتِعْمَالِ الْأَيْدِيِّ فِي الْأَنْفُسِ، وَهُوَ مَجَازٌ شَائِعٌ، وَقِيلَ: أَصْلُهُ الْجِهَةُ وَاسْتِعْمَالُهُ فِي الدَّاتِ مِنْ بَابِ الْكِنَايَةِ وَتَفْسِيرُهُ بِالدَّاتِ هُنَا مَبْنِيٌّ عَلَى مَذْهَبِ الْخَلْفِ الْقَائِلِينَ بِالتَّأْوِيلِ، وَتَعْيِينُ الْمُرَادِ فِي مِثْلِ ذَلِكَ نُونٌ مَذْهَبِ السَّلَفِ، وَقَدْ قَرَّرْنَا لَكَ غَيْرَ

مَرَّةً فَتَنَكَّرَهُ وَعُضَّ عَلَيْهِ بِالنَّوْاجِذِ.

(And the face of your Lord will remain) in other words, His Essence, Glory and Majesty unto Him, and the intent here is Allāh Himself, glory be to Him and Exalted. The augmentation serves an explanatory function. The reality of the face in the visible world refers to all limbs. Its use for the Being is a metaphor; like the use of hands for individuals (souls). This metaphor is common. It is also said: "The origin of the word is *al-jihāh* [side, aspect] and its use for the Essence [of God] is a form of allusion. Its interpretation by essence here is based on the doctrine of later scholars who support figurative interpretation. Assigning of meaning in such cases is other than the Salafi doctrine (earlier, traditional scholars). We have confirmed it to you again and again, so, please remember it and hold on to it firmly (Baso Pallawagau, personal communication, 25 August 2016).

This *tafsīr* is too long to discuss. We cannot present the entire original text with its translation. We, then confine to extracting some main points from this verse such as:

First, *Wajh Rabbik* is His Essence as has been mentioned above.

Secondly, when the addressee is the Prophet SAW, for example in *Rabbuka*, it focuses on the servant who will be rewarded for his good deeds.

Thirdly, *Wajh Rabbika* means Divine direction; that is, the deeds desired by Allāh, Glory be to Him and Exalted, will be eternal. And the opinion about it being a good deed may be included in this interpretation. The closest opinion to this is that *Wajhullāhi Ta'ālā* [the face of Allāh, the Exalted] means the direction or goal commanded by Allāh to proceed to and it is a way to get closer to Him while the source is good deeds.

As for the words (ذُو الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ) that mean He, the Exalted, has Greatness and Glory according to *tawḥīd* experts, signify that Allāh is far from the nature that resembles His creatures. They believe what is proper for Him which relates to His Greatness and Glory in the hearts of those who know Him. It is like saying: "How Great are You and how Glorious You are O Allāh!" which means that He, the Exalted, deserves praise, whether in speech or not. All will relate to the perfection which is possessed by Allāh, Glory be to Him and Exalted, because of the creature's inability to understand His target. Or it could mean the Greatness and Glory of Allāh's side for the monotheists, and then it refers to deeds; meaning that Allāh glorifies them. And some researchers interpret *al-Jalāl* as the Most Independent and *al-ikrām* as Most Perfect in

Virtue. This is a strong opinion. The first opinion makes it clear that *al-Jalāl* is a greatness that shows the Majesty of Allāh to be above all creations and shows that Allāh does not need them. Al-Jauhary says: "The greatness of something is that it does not need anything else and all who need it are low (contemptible)." Al-Kirmānī also said: "Verily He the Exalted has the quality of *'adamiyya* (lack) as his words confirm:" *There is no partner for Him* "(*Qur'ān* 6:163) and also called the quality of greatness because it shows His Greatness above others and the quality of *wujūdiyya* (existentialism) such as life and science. It is also called the quality of honour.

Basically *dhū* (ذُو) is a trait for *al-wajh* and contains properties as mentioned by some opinions which give an indication that the mortal beings on earth are not contradictory to the greatness of Allāh because He is Absolutely Independent. He bestows sustenance on *al-thaqalayn* (human and jinn) from the touch of His generosity after they perish on the Day of Resurrection. And the nature of *al-wajh* as described earlier is far from the assumption about a good deed or direction (goal).

Therefore the words *wajh [wajh Rabbik]* reflect His Essence, Judgement and Greatness which is full of Majesty and Honour in perpetuity. This does not contradict the intention of Shaykh Yūsuf to show the Greatness of Him Who manages all on earth and in the heavens.

[P. 26]. It is said that any one who knows the reality of *tawḥīd*, *ma'rifa* and *'ubūdiyya* is an obedient slave, who asserts the Unity of God, and a gnostic [*'ārif*, *muwahḥid* and *muṭī'*]; if not, he is nothing. Whoever [9] desires a [spiritual] path to Allāh let him first understand these words, and then he can follow the path to Allāh through this method. That means, it is incumbent on the spiritual seeker firstly to commence with denying the existence of beings other than Allāh through cognisance. Once he has denied his existence and the existence of beings other than Allāh cognitively, he will succeed in denying his existence and the existence of entities other than Allāh visibly.³³⁷ He will then pass from this negation pertaining to the knowledge of negation and attain complete annihilation in Allāh and subsistence [*baqā'*]³³⁸ with Him.

According to Harun Nasution, if *Dhu al-Nūn al-Misri* seems to just reach the stage of *ma'rifa*, Abū Yazid al-Bustāmī passes this stage or station (*maqām*), or even reaches *fanā'* and *baqā'*, and then attains *Ittihād*, or unity with God

³³⁷Abolishing screen in *ma'rifa*. Therefore according to Sultan visibly here is not the outward sight, but the inward sight of the spiritual seeker (Sultan, personal communication, 8 July 2019).

³³⁸The state of "subsistence"; continuing awareness through Allāh or what is called by Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz in *Islamic Mysticism a Short History* as the subsequent survival in God (Knysh 2000: 57).

(Nasution 1978: 81).

[P.27]. In this case, Shaykh Yūsuf said that it is like the moth or butterfly, when it hurls its soul in a lamp and it is consumed thereby. We do not say: “Has the moth or butterfly become a flame or has it become non-existent.” Rather we say it is now one with the lamp because before it cast its soul [into the flame], it was veiled [*maḥjūb*] from the flame. When it cast its soul into the flame, it combined [with it] and became one with it.

Likewise, the spiritual seeker is veiled before negating his existence and the existence of things other than Allāh. And when his existence and the existence of other than Allāh is denied, it becomes combined and becomes one with Allāh [in the inner view].

Although it is known that if a small butterfly throws itself into the lamp, it is burned, disappears, and becomes one with the fire light. It will not return to its previous state. This is only a parable used by Shaykh Yūsuf.

According to Shaykh Yūsuf, what happens to the gnostic at certain moments, such as when God descends [*tanazzul*] while the servant ascends (*taraqḡ*), is a spiritual process that brings them closer together (or united, annihilated in *فناء* or having attained permanency in *baqā'*). This spiritual process is just like a lightning flash and in the end, the servant remains the servant (*al-'abd 'abd*) and God remains God (*al-Rabb Rabb*).

Shaykh Yūsuf then established the concept of *Waḥdat al-Ṣamad* (Unity of all Creatures' Dependence), because He is Allāh, the God Whom all creatures need.³³⁹

According to him, the accompaniment of a servant with Allāh is a general notion, while a servant who feel together with Allāh, is a specific instance. Since not all servants who engage in *dhikr*, remember Allāh can enter that specific level, and this is the more specific instance in which he can annihilate his existence and other existences beside Allāh, or he can enter the existence of God Who is only One being remembered, or what we called as *fanā' fī Allāh wa baqā' bih* [annihilation in God and subsistence with Him].

[P.28] Shaykh Yūsuf said with regard to the *ṣūfī* orders: “There are many paths to Allāh as one of the gnostics said “the path to Allāh are as numerous as the breaths of all created beings but the nearest, the highest and the most connected to [10] the quests of these [paths] to Allāh is the path in which the spiritual seeker intends to reach the Essence of Allāh, the Exalted, with no attention to the other and otherness.

³³⁹See, *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya*, in Tudjimah, 1997: 62.

قُلْ هَٰذِهِ سَبِيلِي أَدْعُو إِلَى اللَّهِ عَلَىٰ بَصِيرَةٍ أَنَا وَمَنِ اتَّبَعَنِي وَسُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَمَا أَنَا مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ

“Say: this is my Way – I do invite you to Allāh with certain knowledge, I and those who follow me. Glory be to Allāh! And I will never join partners with Allāh.” (Qur’ān, 12:108).

This verse is supported by the interpretation of Al-Alūsī (1994: 96-97):

{قُلْ هَٰذِهِ سَبِيلِي} means that this path is *da’wah* to the faith of the Oneness of Allāh SWT [Glory be to Him and Exalted]. This is my way, they say, and apparently they take the call to faith from the verse: “And most of mankind will not believe even if you desire it eagerly” {وما أكثر الناس ولو حرصت بمؤمنين} (Qur’ān, 12: 103); to show that he invites them to the faith diligently although that does not benefit them. Then He declares a fact: “And most of them do not believe in Allāh” (Qur’ān, 12: 106). This is to show that there is a warning to them for opposing the teachings of monotheism; but they are ignorant about the signs (signs of power of Allāh) that exist in the universe and in themselves which shows the unity of Allāh, the Exalted, both in terms of substance and nature; as interpreted in:

{أدعوا إلى الله}: I invite humans to know Allāh SWT [Glory be to Him and Exalted] with the qualities of His perfection and greatness which is summarised in *tawhīd*.

{على بصيرة} meaning: a clear argumentation and not blindly. The following pronoun and verb phrase denotes an adverbial state (or *ḥāl*) and the {أدعوا} “I invite” [to Him], together with {ومن اتبعني} those who follow me) are two components of the category involved in religious propagation. Another example of this aspect are the words of Allāh: {أسكن أنت وزوجك الجنة} (“You, and your wife, dwell in Paradise”) (Qur’ān, 2: 35).

The words of Allāh {وسبحان الله} mean: Truly, I sanctify Him [Allāh SWT] from any kind of partner, and this is included in His words {وَمَا أَنَا مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ} forever. This statement confirmed the previous statements about *da’wa* in the path of Allāh Glory be to Him and Exalted (Al-Alūsī, 1994: 96-97; see also B. Darwis, personal communication, 16 November, 2017).

This means that before he ended this treatise Shaykh Yūsuf guided his followers to the faith of the Oneness of Allāh with clear arguments and not blindly. He called on his followers never to engage in *shirk* (joining partners with Allāh, the Exalted). He discusses *tawhīd*, *ma’rifa* and *ibāda* (worship) with clear arguments and interesting parables.

Lastly, Shaykh Yūsuf said that: “My heart is between the two fingers from among

the Fingers of the Merciful Who can change it as He pleases.”

These words are quoted based on his interpretation of the meaning of various prophetic traditions such as see ḥadīth Anas ibn Mālik, vol. 20, No. 365: 350) which states:

عَنْ أَنَسٍ قَالَ كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يُكْنِزُ أَنْ يَقُولَ يَا مُقَلِّبَ الْقُلُوبِ ثَبِّتْ قَلْبِي عَلَى دِينِكَ فَقُلْتُ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ أَمَّا بِكَ وَبِمَا جِئْتَ بِهِ فَهَلْ تَخَلَّفَ عَلَيْنَا قَالَ نَعَمْ إِنَّ الْقُلُوبَ بَيْنَ أَصْبُعَيْنِ مِنْ أَصَابِعِ اللَّهِ يُقَلِّبُهَا كَيْفَ يَشَاءُ

It is reported from Anas RA (may Allāh be pleased with him) that the Messenger of Allāh peace be upon him often said: O (God) Who turns the hearts of men, firm my heart upon your religion. I said, O Messenger of God, we believe in you and whatever you brought. Are you afraid for our sake? He said: Yes, verily the hearts of men are between the two fingers of the Fingers of God Who can change them as He pleases.

Then in another ḥadīth by ‘Abd Allāh bin ‘Umar, vol. 3, No. 2968: 342 saying:

عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَمْرٍو أَنَّهُ سَمِعَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ يَقُولُ إِنَّ قُلُوبَ بَنِي آدَمَ بَيْنَ أَصْبُعَيْنِ مِنْ أَصَابِعِ الرَّحْمَانِ كَقَلْبٍ وَاحِدٍ يُصَرِّفُهُ كَيْفَ يَشَاءُ ثُمَّ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ اللَّهُمَّ مُصَرِّفِ الْقُلُوبِ صَرِّفْ قُلُوبَنَا عَلَى طَاعَتِكَ.

It is narrated that ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Amr said that he heard the Messenger of Allāh (peace be upon him) say that the hearts of the sons of Adam are between the two fingers of the Fingers of the Beneficent like one heart which He directs as He pleases. Then the Messenger of Allāh (peace be upon him) said: Oh God Who directs the hearts of men, direct our hearts to your obedience.

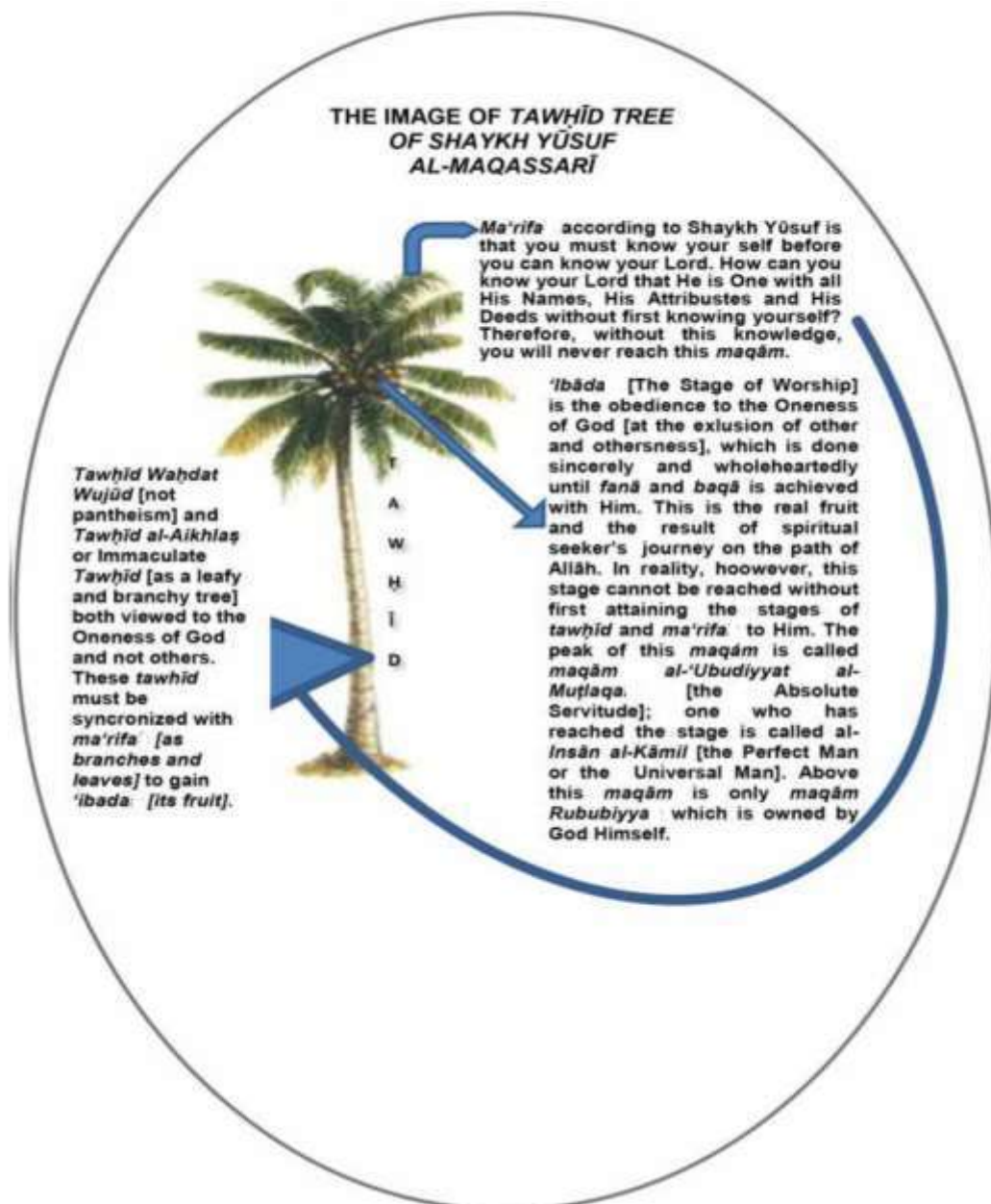
In other words, Shaykh Yūsuf reminds us that we must keep our hearts (which are very close with Him) and our beliefs in Allāh, the Beneficent and the Merciful by always do remembrance and asking our Lord assistance. Since He Who can change the hearts of men as He pleases (He has authorities to change the hearts of men as He pleases).

Salutations and greetings be upon Prophet Muḥammad with his family and all his companions.

The End of the Text

Finally, this treatise is declared completed with the help of God and His bounty. I will attempt to illustrate the image of the *Tawḥīd Tree* of Shaykh Yūsuf below that has been discussed in this chapter.

Diagram 2



4.5 The Similarities and the Differences between Shaykh Yūsuf's Views and Other Mystics' Views Belonging to this School

Before we coming to the discussion, it is better to undersatnd first, that:

1. All *Ṣūfī Muḥaqqiqīn* have agreed that there is no existence in the visible or external and the unseen or internal forms, except the One Being and One Essence and One Reality.
2. It seems that all gnostics have agreed that everything besides God is only a shadow and the shadow itself never exists.³⁴⁰ This agreement is supported by a *hadīth ṣaḥīḥ* stated

³⁴⁰For more information see Lubis (1996: 79); see also A. Afifi (1980: 27).

that: “The true words that have been sung by a poet are Labid's words: know that everything other than Allāh is *bāṭil* (non-existent or it is just like a shadow),” narrated by Bukhārī (1422 A.H. vol. 5:42; 1987, vol.3: 1395) and Muslim (1954, vol.4: 1768) and it is also supported by His words, the Exalted: “*Everything will perish but He [His Face]*” (*Qur’ān*, 28:88) as have been mentioned previously in Chapter Three.

3. All gnostic and scrupulous investigators agreed that *aqīdat al-Islam* must refer back to the verse (*Qur’ān*, 42:11) and Chapter *al-Ikhlāṣ* (*Qur’ān*, 112:1-4).

This issue refers to *al-Ma’iyya* and *al-Iḥāṭa* (the accompaniment and the encompassment of God with His servant) based on his spiritual experiences on “*fanā’ bi Allāh wa baqa’ bihī.*” The problem then arose regarding it between *Ittiḥād* Abū Yazīd al-Bustāmī, *al-Ḥulūl* Abū Mansūr al-Ḥallāj, *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* ibn ‘Arabī and *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd* al-Ghazālī and Aḥmad al-Sirhindī as well as the view of Shaykh Yūsuf towards all in this instance.

4.5.1 *Ittiḥād*

The Unity (of God and a servant, but only one existence or manifestation is seen). This was popularised by Abū Yazīd al-Bustāmī [d. 261 A.H./874–5]. The blasphemous words that are usually stated by him are “*Subḥānī, Subḥānī, mā a’zama sha’nī* [Glory be to Me! How great is My majesty!]; and *laysa fī al-Jubbati illā Allāh* [Nothing in my dress except Allāh] (H. Nasution 1978: 82-86). This doctrine that influenced the doctrines of *al-Ḥulūl* of Ḥusayn ibn Mansūr al-Ḥallāj [858 – 922], and *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* of Ibn al-‘Arabī [1165 -1240].

According to Shaykh Yūsuf, this shaykh has high *ma’rifā* and he has even reached the ultimate goal i.e *fanā’* (annihilation) in *Allāh wa baqā* (remain subsistence) with Him, where he could only see the One Being and no other and otherness. Nevertheless, his blasphemous words can lead someone to disbelieve. Therefore, the words should be corrected or at least the understanding of other people to them should be corrected such as one should see the words emanating from the ecstasy condition in which God’s Himself speak through the tongue of His servant, and may Allāh forgives his sin and sanctify his innermost recesses.

4.5.2 *Al-Ḥulūl* (Divine Incarnation)

Divine Incarnation; indwelling, or the Descent of the Divinity into the mystic servant. This was popularised by Ḥusayn Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (858-922) and famous with the title Love *Shuhadā’* (The fighter who died in love). This doctrine stated that God chose special human body to manifest Himself in it after all the attributes of human in the body are released. Al-Ḥallāj was one who is famous with his blasphemous words ‘*Anā al-Ḥaqq* (I am the Reality or the Most Truth) which was opposed by his own teacher, Junayd al-Baghdādī, who considered his words very dangerous among

Islamic society. Al-Ḥallāj then finally had been dead sentence on 26 March 922 in Iraq (A. Schimmel 1975: 78-85). If the ittiḥād, only one manifestation (manifestation of God) is seen, so in Ḥulūl or Divine Incarnation, there are two existences (the existence of God and a servant) are seen united in one body (H. Nasution 1978: 87-91).

Although Shaykh Yūsuf in his *Zubdat al-Asrār* can tolerate those words when they are uttered in a condition of ecstasy as the words do not come from them, but Allāh who speaks through the tongue of His servants, but in His *Qurrat al-'Ayn* he seems to blame the *ṣūfīs* who dared to speak '*shaṭahāts*' [blasphemous words] like (*Anā al-Ḥaqq* and *Subḥānī*), moreover when these words were not uttered when they were not in a condition of ecstasy or consciousness. Since those words lead one to disbelief and even violate the morality of the Prophet SAW. According to him the Prophet Muḥammad (SAW) himself as humanity's choice, the most perfect man in this world and the closest man to God, never said these words, and he simply said: "*I am only human like all of you*" (*Qur'ān*, 19:110). He did not say: "I am the Truth" or "I am Allāh" (Tudjimah 1997: 65). Likewise, Prophet 'Īsā, son of Maryam, is quoted by Allāh in the Qurān as having said: "*I am the servant of Allāh. He gave me the book and appointed me a prophet ...*" (*Qur'ān*, 19:30-31). He didn't say: "I am Allāh. I am the Truth and I am the spirit of Allāh." Despite this, Allāh rebuked him by saying "*Did you tell the people: Take me and my mother as gods besides Allāh?*" To this, the prophet replies: "*If I had said so, You would have known*" (*Qur'ān*, 5:116). Then Prophet Ibrāhīm, the greatest prophet after Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ according to the majority of scrupulous investigators of knowledge, was quoted as saying: "*I am going to my Lord who will guide me*" (*Qur'ān*, 37:102). He did not say: "I am going to my spirit." Any sinless person's statement can only be true at all levels. But a sinner's statement may be true or false about the same matter; even if he is a saint - because saints are not sinless even though they are protected by Allāh; unlike others. So understand this if you possess any insight (Al-Maqassariī in *Qurrat al-'Ayn*; Dadoo 2017: 5-6).

Shaykh Yūsuf stated that both Allāh and His Prophet are truthful in their claims. The Holy Prophet ﷺ said: "We order you to judge on the basis of outward, manifest matters and not on the basis of inward, concealed matters"³⁴¹ (Al-Maqassarī in *Qurrat al-'Ayn*; Dadoo 2017: 5).

The Holy Prophet ﷺ said: "The best utterance of mine and of prophets before me is 'There is no deity besides Allāh and Muḥammad is the messenger of Allāh.'" This is

³⁴¹This actually appears to be a statement of Al-Shāfi'ī based on a prophetic report appearing in Al-Nasā'ī's *Sunan*, Report No. 5401.

the unanimous testimony of all prophets (and even their master, the Holy Prophet), all saints, gnostics, and members of the community of the Holy Prophet. So anyone who opposes this consensus destroys himself in this world and the hereafter on all levels. Anyone who claims that there is another testimony among gnostics, and saints besides this one, has indeed committed a clear sin and had spoken a blatant untruth. He could possibly fall into the pit of disbelief, since he also feels he may utter disbelieving statements about the Holy Prophet ﷺ. Such actions constitute blasphemy according to general juridical consensus (Al-Maqassariī in Qurrat al-'Ayn; Dadoo 2017: 6).

Finally, the rebuttal to the claim that these atrocious words are mere utterances, or interpretations because their beliefs are not based on these surface meanings, is that interpretations are not permitted and are incorrect for a number of reasons. They are blasphemous utterances that are unpalatable outwardly and inwardly. Have they not understood Allāh's words: "*Those who say that Allāh is the Messiah, son of Maryam have indeed disbelieved?*" (Qur'ān, 5:72). Allāh did not say those who believe that Allāh is the Messiah, son of Maryam have indeed disbelieved. Verbatim statements in the Qur'ān are based solely on the abominable utterances such as these. Whatever emanates from them renders the speakers and its believers apostates. They proclaim denial of Allāh and His speech together with His inability to rectify His (reported) speech. Rectification of His speech (to bring it in line with blasphemous tenets) together with denying Allāh and His speech is blasphemous according to consensus. The interpreter here also blasphemes because he ridicules the *sharī'a*; which is also blasphemous by consensus. This is also the fate of one who hesitates when evaluating these statements mentioned above, since he doubts Allāh's discourse; which is also blasphemous by consensus" (Al-Maqassariī in Qurrat al-'Ayn; Dadoo 2017: 9).

It should be understood that although *fanā'* and *baqā'* of this servant had reached the level of perfection, he remained conscious and did not utter blasphemous words; he even confirmed the view that only God exists. This understanding is reminiscent of a similar understanding that has been articulated by al-Ghazālī that stated that "only God exists," which was the core and essence of the highest *tawḥīd* and *ma'rifa*.³⁴² Nevertheless, according to al-Ghazālī in his *Mishkat al-Anwār*, the *ṣūfī* who uttered the blasphemous words such as *Subḥānī* [Glory be to me], *Anā al-Ḥaqq* " (I am the Reality or I am the Truth or I am the Most True), thus implying *Ittiḥād* or *Ḥulūl*³⁴³ in a

³⁴²See *Ihya' Ulum al-Din*, Chapter IV, Cairo by al-Ghazālī (1939: 190).

³⁴³The *Ittiḥād* view is popularised by al-Bustāmi. In this *ittiḥād*, only one manifestation (manifestation of God) is seen. While in *Ḥulūl* or Divine Incarnation is popularised by al-Ḥallāj in which two existences (the existence of God and a servant) are seen united in one body (Harun Nasution 1978: 90).

drunken condition, could not distinguish between the face of a mirror or shade and the face [image] of one that appeared in it or the possessor of the shade. Once the drunken state is reduced, he will realise that it is not actually *Ittihād* but something akin to it.³⁴⁴

4.5.3 *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*

As has been widely acknowledged by scholars, Muḥyi al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī (1165-1240) is the founder of the teaching of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* (Unity of Being) that sees the universe as a *tajallī*, or unveiling, of the names and attributes of God. In this view, His absolute essence is manifested in the form of beings with limits in a manner where there is only one manifestation with different appearances (Affifi 1946: 90; see also Miftah Arifin 2013: 37). According to Ibn Arabī, Affifi remarks:

إن مسمي الله احدي بالذات كل بأسمائه

"Surely that God is called One in terms of [His] Essence and compounded (many) in term of His Names" (A. Affifi 1946: 90). On the other hand, Shaykh Yūsuf tried to unify and reconcile all the attributes or the qualities of God includes His Names, which according to the Islamic doctrine, holds that God has attributes that seem to contradict one another. God, for example, is believed to be the First (*al-Awwal*) and the Last (*al-Ākhir*); the Outward or Exterior (*al-Zāhir*) and the Inner or Inward (*al-Bāṭin*); the One who gives guidance (Al-Hadī), but also the One who misleads humans (*al-Muḍill*). According to him, all the attributes of God that seem to contradict one other must be understood according to the Oneness of God Himself. If you emphasise certain attributes and then ignore the others, this could lead to erroneous beliefs and practices. The reality of God is the unity of pairs of conflicting Attributes,³⁴⁵ and no one who knows His secret, except those who have been granted knowledge by God Himself (Tudjimah 1997: 43-44, see also Azra 1992: 451).

Waḥdat al-Wujūd doctrine is often called pantheism. But the pantheism of Ibn ‘Arabī, as Afifi asserted, is pantheism with the assumption that “God is an absolute form [existence], unbound, *qadīm* [eternal without beginning] and everlasting. The One (Who) is the source and foundation of all that exists, has always existed and will exist in the future. Views about Him is gradually taking the form of acosmism, which considers this universe to be a

³⁴⁴See *Miskat Cahaya-Cahaya*. Edisi Kedua. Terjemahan dari *Mishkat al-Anwār*, terbitan al-Mathba’ah al-Arabiyyah, Mesir. Cetakan I 1343 H oleh Muḥammad Bagir. Bandung: Mizan. Karya al-Ghazālī (2017: 49).

³⁴⁵*Tāj al-Asrār*, Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 101 F Or A 13d [5], (Al-Maqassarī 1186 A.H.c: 73); see also *Ṣūra* Arabic Microfilm of MSKBG 108, F Or A 13b [24a], (al-Maqassarī n.d: 454).

phenomenon that is only a shade of ultimate reality” (A. Affifi, 1939: 54).³⁴⁶ According to Harun Nasution, the *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* doctrine is a continuation of the *al-Ḥulūl* (Divine Incarnation) ideology founded by Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (858-922 M). God, in this school or doctrine, wants to see Himself and therefore, He created this universe. So this universe is a mirror for God. When He wants to see Himself, He looks to the universe or to the objects that exist in the universe, because Divine Attributes manifest themselves in everything, and this is where God sees Himself. From this point, the doctrine of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* arose. Everything that exists in this world seems numerous, but actually it is only one. This is likened to one who sees numerous versions of himself in a multitude of mirrors that are placed around him. In every mirror he sees himself; and although his self appears as numerous images in the mirrors, he is actually a singular entity (Harun Nasution 1976: 93).

On the other hand, al-Maqassarī stated in this text above in paragraph 20 that: “True faith is that which you leave your metaphorical existence to your true non-existence because Allāh has made true non-existence a mirror for His Essence and manifestation [*tajallī*] of Him with His Perfect Essence. All of them pass from Him into complete annihilation [*fanā*]. If you progress to non-existence, you become a mirror to Him and the Reality [*al-Ḥaqq*] will witness His Essence in your essence. He is a witness with respect to witnessing His Essence in this mirror, and He is witnessed with respect to Him being seen in this mirror. Whoever knows this matter and believes it, is a believer who asserts the Unity of Allāh [*muwaḥḥid*]. [p. 7] If not, then he is a believer metaphorically and a true disbeliever because he has not believed in reality.” It means that only one who has true faith or a perfect man who progresses to non-existence and has reached *fanā* (annihilation) in Allāh and *baqā’* with Him can be a mirror for His, and not all creation.

Farzana Hassan-Shahid (2005) in one of IRFI’s articles³⁴⁷ try to explain *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* ibn ‘Arabī in the following way:

Waḥdat al-Wujūd as explained by Ibn Arabi, recognises the existence of Only One Being, negating the existence of all other Beings. As the term is self-explanatory, *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* means there is only One Being and the physical world is a manifestation of the One Being. Nothing exists besides the One Being. The essential components of the philosophy of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* can be listed as follows

³⁴⁶The words of Affifi above seem that this view could be considered as panentheism. On the other hand, we also cannot deny that Ibn ‘Arabī himself accepted and acknowledged ‘God’s physical presence in everything created’ and that, by itself, contradicts with panentheism. It is probably not real or full pantheism, but in our opinion, it could be referred to as pantheism. Nevertheless, one may consider this view as pantheism or panentheism depends on one’s point of view in this regard, but we cannot deny Ibn ‘Arabī’s last view about God. Here lies the difference between his view and Shaykh Yūsuf’s view as expressed in his *Waḥdat al-Ṣamad*.

³⁴⁷See F.H-Shahid (2005) in “IBNU ARABI AND SIRHINDI-IRFI”. For the available link, refers back to the last footnote in the Introduction (Chapter One).

- 1) There is in reality only One Being
- 2) The One Being has no parts.
- 3) The One Being is neither more here, nor less there.

The next question that must be answered is how the One Being manifests itself or through what process does it become a physical form? According to Ibn ‘Arabī, the One Being knows how to create plurality from its unity and such a form of creation is known as “*Ta’ayyun*.” The physical forms and manifestations begin to occur through this recess of *Ta’ayyun*. This does not mean that the Being is divisible in the sense of the Christian Trinity. The manifestations of the One Being in whichever form they appear are the representation of the One Being in its entirety. Ibn ‘Arabī explained his concept by way of analogy, giving the example of water, ice or vapour as different manifestations of the Being in its entirety.

The stage prior to the multiplicities appearing as physical forms is known as “*Aḥādiyya*” or the stage of Absolute Unity. The second stage is known as the “*Waḥda*” or “unicity” when internal distinctions begin to emerge. These have not yet assumed physical form and are the mere conceptual prototypes of future material manifestations.

This stage is followed by intermediary stages but the final stage involves the actual physical representations of the prototypes in their existential state. According to the concept of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, there are three types of manifestations i.e spiritual, symbolic, or physical of the One Being. Thus the unity and the plurality are the same Being in various forms manifesting as spiritual, symbolic or physical. According to this, there would be no essential difference between the plurality that we see and the transcendental unity from which it emerged. According to this, God in the physical form Suffers, Wills and takes pleasure in the enjoyment of the physical world as a part of it (FH-Shahid June 2005: n.p.).

In this instance, some of Ibnu ‘Arabī’s views above can be accepted by Shaykh Yūsuf with some arguments such as everything is His manifestation or unveiling (*tajallī*), but His manifestation without fusion or incarnation or union, since He has no shape and limits. Then this universe is a phenomenon that is only a shade of an ultimate reality. If this is true, then how can a shade be in a physical unity with its possessor? Shaykh Yūsuf disagreed with this notion, as according to him, the shade will never be in unity with the Real Being or its Possessor, since the status is only granted from Him. Therefore, he did not agree with the physical unity of God with this universe or his servant. The views of the Shaykh on this issue is clear to us, as explained previously in *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, *Tāj al-Asrār*, *Sirr al-Asrār*, *Zubdat al-Asrār*, *Ṣūra* and *Wājib al-Wujūd*.

Then Azra (1992: 449-450) himself argued:

“Despite his insistence on the transcendence of God, al-Maqassarī believes that God is all-encompassing (*al-iḥāṭa*) and omnipresent (*al-maʿīyya*) over His creation. But he takes great care not to associate himself with the doctrine of pantheism by maintaining that although God is present or expresses Himself in His creation, it does not necessarily mean that the creation is God himself; all creation is simply allegorical being (*al-mawjūd al-majāzī*) not the Real Being (*al-mawjūd al-ḥaqīqī*). Thus, like al-sinkilī, he believes that the creation is only a shadow of God, not God Himself. According to al-Maqassarī the “expression” of God in his creations is not the “physical” presence of God in them.

With the concept of *al-iḥāṭa* and *al-maʿīyya*, God descends (*tanazzul*) while man ascends (*taraqqī*), a spiritual process which brings the two closer. It is important to note that according to al-Maqassarī the process will not take its form in the ultimate unity between man and God; while the two may be coming closely associated, in the final analysis, man is man and God is God. With this al-Maqassarī rejects the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (“Unity of Being” or ontological monism) and *al-ḥulūl* (“Divine Incarnation”). In his opinion, God is simply incomparable to anything (*laysa ka mithlihi shayʿ* – *Qurʾān*, 42:11). Instead he adopts the concept of *waḥdat al-shuhūd* (“Unity of Consciousness” or phenomenological monism). Thus, while he carefully disengages himself from the controversial doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* of Ibn ʿArabī and *al-ḥulūl* of Mansūr al-Ḥallāj, al-Maqassarī adopts the doctrine of *waḥdat al-shuhūd*, developed by Ahmad al-Sirhindī and Shāh Walī Allāh.”

As for *waḥdat al-shuhūd* of al-Ghazālī and Sirhindī, both will be explained in more details in the following section.

4.5.4 **Waḥdat al-Shuhūd**

Waḥdat al-Shuhūd [Unity of Witness] was popularised by Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad al-Ghazālī [Imām al-Ghazālī] who was born in Tunis, Khurasan, Iran in 450 A.H or 1058 A.D and died in 505 A.H. or 1111 A.D and later known as a Proof of Islam (*Hujjat al-Islam*). It is stated that “Only God exists or the only One God exists” is the inner view [*mushāhada*] of the gnostics of the highest level or station [*al-ṣiddīqīn*], who have reached the stage of consciousness called *fanāʿ* in *tawḥīd*, namely the concentration of all one's inner consciousness in God. Ultimately they are not aware of their own existence and the existence of all creations (Al-Ghazālī 1939: 240). The inner view is likened to a momentary lightning flash (Al-Ghazālī 1939: 241). In other words, the statement that “Only God exists” expressed by *Al-Ghazālī* is only the feeling of a wise man or a gnostic only at particular moments when reaching *fanāʿ* in Allāh and *baqāʿ* with Him. It is not an expression of certain ideas about God and His relationship with the universe. This doctrine was then further developed by Ahmad

al-Sirhindī and Shah Walī Allāh (Azra 1992). According to Sirhindī regarding real *fanā'* and *baqā'* as has been mentioned previously in Chapter One is that:

“Real fana is to forget the “not Divine,” to free oneself from the love of this world, and to purify the heart from all desires and wishes as it is required of a servant. And real “baqa” is to fulfill the wishes of the Lord, to make his [sic] Will one’s own, without losing one’s self identity” (F.H. Shahid 05 June 2005: n.p.).

In other words, in this instance man is man and Lord is Lord, although these words were not uttered by Sirhindī directly, but Shaykh Yūsuf said it. Therefore, Azra stated that he adopts *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd* which has been developed by Ahmad al-Sirhindī (Azra 1992: 450). Although Azra’s arguments are not wrong in this respect, we find that al-Maqassarī did not adopt *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd* of Sirhindī. It seems that Shaykh Yūsuf found discrepancies and imperfections in the assumptions of both Sirhindī and ibn ‘Arabī and he tried to mediate and to reconcile both views.

First, F.H-Sahid postulated that Sirhindī’s view refers to the transcendence of God while ibn ‘Arabī refers to the immanence of God. Shaykh Yūsuf accepted both positions (it will be explained further in the following section).

Secondly, she found that Sirhindī seemed to recognise dualism, while Ibn ‘Arabī recognised monism. Shaykh Yūsuf insisted on the Oneness of God either in his *tawḥīd*, his *ma’rifa* in all aspects and *his ‘ubūdiyya*.

In this instance, F.H-Sahid states in the following way:

For proponents of *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd* or *Tawḥīd Shuhūdī* the perception of the one Being does not negate the existence of other beings as it does in *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*. The ṣūfī, in other words, sees only One Being but is cognisant of the fact that there are other beings in existence as well. *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd*, does not necessitate the denial of the existence of other beings. Thus the seeing of one Being is a mere subjective observation of the ṣūfī. The defining feature of *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd* is the recognition that “God is above and beyond his creation and therefore transcendent, not immanent as He is in *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*.” God, therefore, is One Being who is distinct from His creations. He creates by the power of His words, not Ta’ayyun as suggested by proponents of the doctrine of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*. Sirhindī, therefore, maintains that the world is not God, but proceeds from God and has an existence independent of the Divine Being, but that it is only an illusory existence. In reality, therefore, Sirhindī also asserts that there is only One Real Being who is God. The created world being imaginary is therefore not of the same Divine essence. In Sirhindī’s view, the world is in essence non-existent and therefore unreal.

The world although unreal and illusory, has an identity of its own because reflections and attributes of God elevate it from non-existence. The illusory object in the world, therefore, has free will, and the ability for self-direction. Man, therefore, has free will. His actions are his own and not of God. Waḥdat al-Shuhūdī, therefore, recognises dualism as its defining characteristic because of the distinctiveness between the nature of God and the nature of the created world.

Sirhindī states that while there are other beings besides the One Deity, the mystical experience enables the *ṣūfī* to perceive only One Being. He explains the difference between the two competing views in his own words as follows:

“*Tawḥid Shuhūdī* is to see One Being that is in his perception. The *ṣūfī* has nothing but One Being. *Tawḥid Wujūdī*, on the other hand, is to believe that there is only One Being there, that other things are non-existent and that in spite of their nonexistence, they are the manifestations and appearances of One Being” (F.H.-Shahid 05 June 2005: n.p.).

Nevertheless, those words are not complete without saying that there is only One Being, One Essence and One Reality. Allāh is *Wājib al-Wujūd* [the absolute or essential existence], while all His creations are only *Wujūd al-Majāzī* [metaphorical existences] whose existences are only granted from His Being. Therefore, everything is His manifestation, but His manifestation or His unveiling (*tajallī*) without fusion, incarnation or union. These words are Shaykh Yusuf’s words to mediate and to reconcile between both views above to correct and to avoid false belief.

4.4.5 **Waḥdat al-Ṣamad**³⁴⁸

Unity of all Creatures’ dependence (or the Unity of One who fulfils all His creatures needs) in the sense of the concentration of dependent feelings of all inner consciousness to only the Oneness of God, because He is Allāh, the One God Whom all creatures need. This was popularised by Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī and his *Waḥdat al-Ṣamad* is a response to *tawḥīd Wāḥdat al-Wujūd* (which is different from *ittihād* Abū Yazīd al-Bistāmī, *al-Ḥūlūl* of Al-Ḥallāj and *Wāḥdat al-Wujūd* of ibn ‘Arabī as well as *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd* of al-Sirhindī) and *tawḥīd al-Ikhlāṣ* or the immaculate *tawḥīd*. His *ma’rifā* in this instance also refers to the Oneness of God, either *ma’rifat al-Dhāt*, *ma’rifat al-ism* and *al-ṣifa* as well as to *ma’rifat al-af’āl*. Then

³⁴⁸This term is derived from the word *Waḥdat al-Ṣamadiyya* in one of his treatises, namely *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya* page 28, lines 11. Also see its image in Appendix II.

his worship is also intended to the Oneness of God without turning to others and otherness as has been discussed in his *maqām 'ubudiyya* or the stage of worship.

He made sure that he presented a clear argument and not argue blindly about the position of servant and Lord as well as the relationship between this universe with Lord.

According to Shaykh Yūsuf, what happens to the gnostic at certain moments, such as when God descends [*tanazzul*] while the servant ascends (*taraqqī*), is a spiritual process that brings them closer together (or united, annihilated in *فناء* or having attained permanency in *baqā'*). This spiritual process is likened to a lightning flash that rarely lasts long, so as soon as the moment passes, the servant's feeling returns to the general level of remembrance; and according to Shaykh Yūsuf, he is conscious again of himself and his God. This servant remains in the remembrance of Allāh in order that he always remains a part of the *ahl al-dhikr* (Sultan 2016: 74). In the end, the servant remains the servant (*al-'abd 'abd*) and God remains God (*al-Rabb Rabb*). When both al-Ghazālī and Shaykh Yūsuf expressed their inner feelings they never issued blasphemous words because both regarded those expressions as mistakes that were never uttered by the Prophet SAW. This is the mistake in terms of expression, not in terms of gnosis (*ma'rifa*) until the phases of annihilation in Allāh or attaining permanency with Him are attained.

However, free from the similarities and differences among his views with other previous ṣūfīs's views belonging to this school, it seems that Shaykh Yūsuf tries to mediate and reconcile among them by completing their arguments through his arguments in *Wājib al-Wujūd* that do not imagine the slave to be the master in relation to the physical body because their existence is the existence of one granted this status and it implies the existence of a real endower of such status. Moreover, the slave has no existence by himself as everything results from the existence of Allāh. The slave must also not surmise that Allāh dwells in him in a way that they retain their separate identities or that He merges with him. Both these states presuppose dual existence in the universe which is impossible for Allāh. As regards such duality, Allāh declares: "Say, o prophet, that He, Allāh, is one. Allāh is independent. He neither procreated nor was He procreated. And there is nothing equal to Him" (*Qur'ān*, Ch. 112). "He is the being who neither adopted a son nor does He have any partner in His sovereignty" (*Qur'ān*, 25:2). "He is the first and the last, the manifest and the concealed (Dadoo, 2017: 2-3). Then to avoid a long

debate between both, finally, he closes the discussion on this issue with the words that a servant is a servant, although he ascends and he is characterised by God's characters or attributes, and God is God, although He descends to His servant and is characterised by servant's characters. This is because His manifestation on one being or His unveiling on His servant is not by fusion or infusion or incarnation or union. He has no shape and limits as has been mentioned previously.

If Ibn-al-Arabi's theory of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* can be interpreted as pantheistic philosophy which acknowledges God's physical presence in all things material or created, and which refers to the immanence of God, while *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd* of *Sirhindī* is vice versa and refers to the transcendence of God; so, *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* and *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd* within his *Waḥdat al-Ṣamad* of al-Maqassarī could be considered as panentheism which tried to reconcile both. According to Shaykh Yūsuf that one must believe that God is beyond the universe, He is the Greatest as He is One Whose identity [*Huwiyya*] infiltrates everything [all existences] with no *Ḥulūl* [incarnation] and no *ittihād* [union]. He, Glory be to Him, encompasses all things (with His knowledge and His Knowledge is His attributes and His attributes and His essence are one, therefore everything in His knowledge scope) and His identity Who is One with all His Perfect attributes is together with everything. He has Power above all His servants and He wins and never fails, and there is nothing comparable unto Him (*Qur'ān*, 42: 11).³⁴⁹

In this regard, he tried to confirm in his *Sirr al-Asrār* that our belief in Allāh, the Exalted, must be located between absolute affirmation of the Divine Transcendence and absolute Immanence, meaning that we affirm His Divine Transcendence without denying His attributes and we affirm His Immanence without comparing Him with anyone. We affirm His Divine Transcendence in the situation of Immanence and affirm His Immanence in the situation of Divine Transcendence because the position of absolute Divine Transcendence leads to negligence and negligence is something which does not have limits. The same applies to the position of absolute Immanence for it leads to extravagant behaviour which transgresses all boundaries (Dangor 1995: 41-43). Therefore, this view is more accurately defined as real and true panentheism. This is one of his reforms to prevent fellow Muslims from false beliefs.

³⁴⁹Al-Maqassarī in his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* and *Zubdat al-Asrār*; see also the image of *tawḥīd* in his book entitled *Ṣūra*.

Nevertheless, whatever the differences of his views with other previous *ṣūfīs'* views, the important fact is that Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī only try to complete the words of previous *ṣūfīs* with clear arguments and not react blindly in his efforts to reform *ṣūfism* to correct and avoid false beliefs. Therefore, it is not surprising, if he has a title besides his *Tāj al-Khalwatī* as "*Walī Quṭb al-Rabbānī wa al-Ārifīn al-Ṣamadānī*," (Daeng Magassing 1933: 53 & 79) as a great saint of Allāh (a leader of Allāh's saints of his time who has God's attributes), who knows Allāh; a human conduit spiritual power from Allāh as the Supreme Ruler whom all creatures need, through whom this power is distributed in the world. According to A. Ridwan Tahir and Sultan that this title is a gift from our Lord directly through His guidance on the person (the servant of Allāh) and some of his disciples. It is only one a *walī quṭb* descended by our Lord in each period, and the *wālis* or saints are divided into some levels from the highest to the lowest.³⁵⁰

Finally, the author can only suggest that one could follow what he considers correct based on his points of view since, in principle, each view of the previous *ṣūfīs* has the truth, although their views also have flaws. Then only one who has reached his God [annihilation in God and subsistence with Him] can feel the truth itself. Shaykh Yūsuf merely attempted to correct the way someone delivered especially related to his own spiritual experience which could lead someone else astray and, ultimately, avoid false beliefs.

4.6. ***The Contribution of Matalib al-Salikin [The Quests of the Spiritual Seekers] to the Socio-Political Context of His Time***

Based on the historical life of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī, we can acknowledge some contribution of this book on the socio-political context at his time in the seventeenth century.

This book was written in Ceylon between 1684-1693 in his exile which contains the purification of beliefs to the Oneness of God, and has contributed in:

- 1) His homeland through his disciples and his great descendants as a guide to avoid animistic beliefs among his society. At the time, Macassar Kingdom had become a great Islamic empire under the rule of Sulṭan Ḥasan al-Dīn (1659-1670) and then it fell to the Dutch authority after the 'Bungayya Treaty in 1669.

³⁵⁰For more information see the arguments of A. Ridwan Tahir, Lc., M.A. cPh.D at Al-Azhar University Cairo, personal communication, 10 May 2019 as well as one of the leaders of Khalwatiyya Sammān in West Sulawesi with Sultan; see also al-Maqassarī in Arabic Manuscript of UB Leiden Or 7025 (n.d.: 148) as it is appeared in image no. 59 in Appendix III.

2) The reformation of Muslim community in the Cape to avoid the influence of Dutch missionaries who always encouraged the local people to Christianity. In this area, his *tawḥid* teaching to the Oneness of God was first applied, Allāh is only One that should be worshipped, and no other and otherness. He is our Lord Who acknowledges the equality of humanity, whether white or black, free person or slave. Then his teaching on *ṣūfism*, which was more oriented to the *sharī'a*. The shaykh taught them how to recite *al-Qur'ān*, how to stand for praying and how to remember our Lord by *adhkār* and some other litanies. This was the ideal time and place for him to practise his reform ideas in a more direct manner. Therefore, although he never mentioned what type of teaching he used and from which sources he took it from, but it is clear that the essence of his teaching came from this treatise and other teachings. He succeeded in culminating his reforms ideas into the hearts of the people in the Cape and he succeeded to build a stronger Muslim community in South Africa. Despite being there for a short period only (around five years), his teachings as well as his guidance were well received by the local communities. His influence on the Cape Muslims will never be forgotten.

4.7 A Summary of Some Important Points of this Treatise

Based on the explanation above, we can extract the following important points:

Shaykh Yūsuf's religious and mystical ideas in *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* show no fundamental differences with his other treatises as they complement one another. Although *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* may be considered his most complete treatise as it is accompanied by concrete and logical examples, it seems more concise than *Zubdat al-Asrār* and *Sirr al-Asrār*. Most discussions of his treatises are repeated many times under different titles and styles.

In terms of themes, this treatise does not deviate from his other treatises, as they deal with their own individual subject of enquiry, but also complement one another thematically and form a coherent body of work that could possibly be titled *The Reformation to Ṣūfism by Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī*. Some unique content covered in *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, for example, are as following:

First, it is said that the word *Ilāh* (الله) has three letters, i.e. 'alif', 'lam', and 'ha'. The letter 'alif' is a symbolic expression of His Absolute Essence [*aḥadiyya*], the *lam* shows His perfection, and the *ha* refers to His Identity [*Huwiyya*]. So, He is the One [*aḥad*] in terms of His Essence, and One in terms of His attributes. His attributes are His perfections, such as, Knowledge, Hearing, Sight, Life, Power, Will and Attributes and others. The names of the

attributes of 'His *Ulūhiyya* [Divinity] and *Huwiyya* exist all in one, and He exists in everything according to what has been stipulated that everything exists with Him and He exists with His essence. In other words, His *Huwiyya* or identity [He is He the Oneness Who has Names and Perfect Attributes] exists together with everything.

Second, although some other treatises of Shaykh Yūsuf discuss the issue of *maqāmāt*, *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* deviates greatly from these as it discusses three *maqāmāt* (stations in *sulūk* on the *ṣūfī* path) with some distinct parables. The 'tree' parable equating *tawḥīd* [Oneness] with a [branchy and leafy] tree, *ma'rifa* [gnosis] with the branches and leaves; and *'ibāda* [worship] with its fruit, is unique to this treatise. He eloquently argues that the production of fruit can only occur on the existence of branches and leaves of that tree, and he equates this to the production of acts of true worship of God or the attainment of the stage of *'ubudiyya* [*al-Muṭlaqa*] can only occur if *tawḥīd* with *ma'rifa* exist.

Third, it is stated that Gnosis [*ma'rifa*] implies that your beginning is from Him and your return is to Him, so you return to Him occurs in exactly the same way as how you originated from Him; just like water from the sea when the water flows from it to the river and returns to the sea from the river. The water does not change from its reality as water. In other words, *ma'rifa* about the existence of God means One Who reconciles two contradictory attributes, such as He is the Beginning and the Last. So, He is the First, as He is the Last. In addition God is believed to be the Outward or Exterior (*al-Zāhir*) and the Inner or Inward (*al-Bāṭin*); the One who gives guidance (*Al-Hadī*), but also the One who leads humans astray (*al-Muḍill*). Nevertheless, He will not be changed from His reality as the One Essence with all those attributes.

Fourth, its special characteristic is its discussion of *ibada* (or worship) in obedience to His *Wahdat al-Wujūd* [the Oneness of His existence]; that is, there is no existence but His. And He, Glory be to Him and Exalted, is One and has no partner in existence. The linguistic meaning of *'ubudiyya* is obedience of something to something else, then he tried to explain it by saying the words that come to mind that just as your organs [limbs] are obedient to your soul in terms of all things being linked to the desire of the soul. Outwardly, your organs [limbs] worship your essence and your essence is the object of devotion. The essence is the worshipper with respect to the apparent [*zāhir*] and the object of worship with respect to the hidden [*bāṭin*] because the command is from it and to it. Providing parables has been a strategy of Shaykh Yūsuf; so, he said that the worship in the sense of obeying the Oneness of His existence is like your body obeying your soul only. This obedience can only be achieved by obeying the unity of the soul. According to Shaykh Yūsuf, in reality your body

worships your essence and your essence is worshipped. So, your essence is a worshipper (*‘ābid*) from the outside and it is worshipped (*ma‘būd*) from the inside because the command comes from the soul and goes back to it. If you annihilate your existence and the existence of things other than Allāh and you know that all entities other than Allāh are non-existent, you will not see anything but Him and nothing will remain except Him. “*Nothing is for you [but for Allāh] is the decision*” (*Qur’ān*, 3:128). So, He becomes a devotee [*ābid*] from the perspective of the Divine Command being from Him. And He is an object of worship (*ma‘būd*) from the perspective of the Divine Command [*amr*] returning to Him.

Therefore, anyone who knows the reality of *tawḥīd*, *ma‘rifa* and *‘ubūdiyya* is a gnostic who asserts the Unity of God, and obedient being [*‘ārif*, *muwaḥḥid* and *muṭī‘*]; if not, he is nothing. Whoever desires a [spiritual] path to Allāh should first understand these words, and then follow the path to Allāh through this method. That means, it is incumbent on the spiritual seeker firstly to commence with denying the existence of beings other than Allāh through cognizance. Once he has denied his existence and the existence of beings other than Allāh cognitively, he will succeed in denying his existence and the existence of entities other than Allāh visibly (in the inward sight of the spiritual seeker). Then he passes from this negation pertaining to the knowledge of negation and attains complete annihilation in Allāh and subsistence [*baqā’*] with Him.

The peak of *maqām ‘ubūdiyya* is called as *maqām al-‘ubūdiyyat al-muṭlaqa* [the Absolute Servitude] as the highest station for a slave besides God. One who has reached this station could be called *al-Insān al-Kāmil* [the perfect man or universal man]. Above this *maqām* is only *maqām Rububīyya* (Divine station) which is owned by God Himself.

Although in general *tawḥīd*, *ma‘rifa* and *‘ibāda* are also implied and discussed in most of his treatises, only *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* discuss these issues in this manner.

Fifth, as illustrated in paragraph 19 of *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* that His Attributes and Essence are one. It also means that His attributes do not exist outside of His Essence, but always subsist or stay with His Essence. This is the same with the belief of the *Ash‘ariyya* and the general body of *aḥl al-Sunna wa al-Jamā‘a* that the attributes of Allāh are not His essence and also not something else (*al-ṣifat laysat al-dhât wa lâ hiya gayrihā*). If thus, it should be understood that the attribute is not the essence, and also that it is not other than the Essence is that under any circumstances - the attribute may not be separated from the essence, because both always come together.

He believes that everything besides God is only a shade and His manifestation or His unveiling on them, but without fusion, incarnation or transmigrating soul or union, since He

has no shape and limits. He has not bound by place and unrestricted by time. He accepted both transcendence and immanence of God in the same manner and position. He does not believe to dualism, since God is far from what the transgressors said. He tried to unify and reconcile all the attributes or the qualities of God includes His Names. He argued that all the attributes of God that seem to contradict one other must be understood according to the Oneness of God Himself. If you emphasise certain attributes and then ignore the others, this could lead to erroneous beliefs and practices. The reality of God is the unity of pairs of conflicting Attributes, and no one who knows His secret, except those who have been granted knowledge by God Himself. His knowledge (attribute) encompassing everything and no one is out of His Knowledge.

From the above explanation of course his view has similarities and differences with some previous *ṣūfīs* belonging to this school. Nevertheless, whatever the difference of his views with other previous *ṣūfīs*' views, the important fact is that Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī only try to complete the words of previous *ṣūfīs* with a clear arguments and not blindly as his efforts to reform in *ṣūfism* to correct and to avoid false beliefs. On the other hand he always appreciate them all as his masters, such as Abū Yāzid al-Bistāmī, Ibn 'Arabī and al-Ghazālī especially the last two ones as they are appeared in some of his treatises. Therefore, it is not surprisingly, if he has a title besides his Tāj al-Khalwatī as "*Walī Quṭb al-Rabbānī wa al-Ārifīn al-Ṣamadānī,*" as a great saint of Allāh (a leader of Allāh's saints at his time who has God's attributes), who knows Allāh; a human conduit spiritual power from Allāh as the Supreme Ruler whom all creatures need, through whom this power is distributed in the world.

Lastly, in various treatises like *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* Shaykh Yūsuf seems to focus purely on *tasawwuf* (mysticism). This does not hide his main concern, namely the renewal of belief and practice of the Islamic community in the archipelago (Indonesia) through his mysticism or *ṣūfism* which is more oriented to the unity of *sharī'a* and *ḥaqīqa*. Despite the variety of *Ṣūfī* orders which are associated with Shaykh Yūsuf and also according to his own testimony the *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī Order* is well received, especially in South Sulawesi and its surrounding areas up to today. If the people of South Sulawesi and West Java, as well as in the Macassar area of Cape Town, are commonly known as fervent Muslims, it is no exaggeration to say that Shaykh Yūsuf had an important role in developing their identity through the spread of his religious and mystical ideas in both countries; so we have to give him the highest accolades for his exemplary services.

CHAPTER FIVE

MAṬĀLIB AL-SĀLIKĪN IN THE LIGHT OF HIS REFORMIST IDEAS AND HIS KHALWATIYYAT AL-YŪSUFIIYA OR YŪSUFIIYA ṢŪFĪ ORDER

This chapter deals with the influence of this treatise on Shaykh Yūsuf's reformist ideas as well as its influence on his *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī* Order. It begins with a discussion of his reforms as a neo-ṣūfī through the text of *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*. It will also briefly review the views of his ṣūfī order and the contribution of *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* treatise in this regard. This will give a new nuance of him as well as on his teaching, following by a summary of the text. This discussion cannot avoid from some repetitions, but the repetitions made here are only a confirmation of some previous statements.

5.1 Introduction

When we examine his career and teachings, there is no doubt that he was one of the most important *mujaddids* or reformers in mysticism in the Indonesian archipelago in the history of Islam. Historians, such as Azra, believe that Shaykh Yūsuf Al-Maqassarī was not only a renowned ṣūfī, but also a neo-ṣūfī (Azra 1992: 447). Sultan acknowledged him as a reformer in the Islamic mystical world (Sultan 2008: n.p.).

It was clear from his life history that his ṣūfīsm did not prevent him from engaging in wordly affairs around him. He was acutely aware of the social rituals and practices that allowed his fellow citizens to stray from the Path of Allāh. He was also aware of the societal injustices that were happening around him. He was a ṣūfī and Allāh's saint that also fought in the midst of society while he reflected on scriptures and prayed *tahajjud* at night, and performed acts of charity and held a sharp bamboo cane³⁵¹ at noon the next day. This is the reason why he was known as a famous ṣūfī and a *mujāhid* at the same time (Hamka 1959/1960: 27). Unlike earlier ṣūfīs who exhibited a strong tendency to shun wordly life, the whole sphere of Shaykh Yūsuf's teachings and practices show a full range of activism in all spheres of life (Azra 1992: 448).

Like his contemporaries, al-Rānīrī and Abd. Rauf al-Sinkili in the Sultanate of Aceh, Shaykh Yūsuf played an important role in Bantanese politics. More than that, he was also intimately involved in the wars against the Dutch, especially after the capture of Sultan Ageng Tirtayāsa. It must be said however, that as most Islamic scholars in the seventeenth century, Shaykh Yūsuf did not employ the influence of the *ṭarīqa* to mobilise the masses for the purpose of war (Azra 2007: 289).

³⁵¹Symbol of war

5.2 His Reformist Ideas in Mysticism and the *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*

Shaykh Yūsuf is considered a reformer in the Islamic mystical world as most of his known works deal with *taṣawwuf*, especially in its relations with the *kalām* science (theology). Like al-Rānīrī and Abd Rauf al-Sinkili, Shaykh Yūsuf developed his teaching by frequently visiting cities which had earlier housed Ṣufī scholars such as al-Ghazālī, Junayd al-Baghdādī, Ibn ‘Arabī, Dhū al-Nūn, Abū Za‘īd al-Kharrās, al-Jīlī, Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh and other authorities (Azra 1992: 448). Shaykh Yūsuf’s works are written in perfect Arabic, courtesy of his long journeys in the Middle East.

Many reformist concepts or teachings of Shaykh Yūsuf alluded to in this thesis are based on the result of my research in the Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden and taken from his numerous works he has authored. Most of these reformist ideas have already been presented by Azra in his 1992 dissertation as well as in his paper which he presented at the Iziko Museum in Cape Town, South Africa, in 2005. To complement Azra’s work, I attempted to catalogue some of al-Maqassarī’s works with the page numbers based on the manuscript or microfilms themselves and not based on the page numbers of the treatises. I also combined both manuscripts of Jakarta with microfilms and manuscripts of UB Leiden into one document source.

The following section covers Shaykh Yūsuf’s reformist ideas as mentioned by Azra and some other scholars:

- The main concept of religious and mystic doctrine, according to Shaykh Yūsuf, is the purification of belief (*‘aqīda*) 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 Chapter *al-Ikhlāṣ* (*Qur’ān*, 112:1-4) and another verse in *al-Shūra* which states that nothing is comparable unto Him (*Qur’ān*, 42: 11), Shaykh Yūsuf emphasised that the Oneness of Allāh is unlimited and absolute.³⁵² *Tawḥīd* is like a branchy and leavy tree, *ma‘rifa* is like the branches and leaves and *‘ibāda* is like its fruit. If you find a tree you will find branches and leaves, and if you find branches and leaves, you hope or expect that this tree will yield fruit. However, if you do not find branches and leaves in this tree you will not find fruit under any circumstances. This is a metaphorical example in order that you can understand the true example.

If you have attained the stage of *tawḥīd*, you will attain *ma‘rifa*, and if you have attained the stage of *ma‘rifa*, you will attain *‘ibāda*. Anyone who does not declare the unity of Allāh [*waḥdāniyya*], is a disbeliever. One who does not know Him with *ma‘rifa* is ignorant (*jāhil*). One who does not practise *‘ibāda* is sinful (*fāsiq*). So, the worship of a disbeliever and an ignorant person is rejected and is reverted back to the person.

³⁵²See *al-Naḥḥat al-Saylāniyya*, Arabic Microfilm of MSKGB 101, F Or A 13d (I), (Al-Maqassarī 1116 A.H.c: 2).

Therefore, *tawḥīd* without *maʿrifa* or knowledge about Him is like a tree without any branches and leaves. It is thus impossible to find fruit on such a tree unless the branches and the leaves of the tree grow out again. In other words, only the one who has *tawḥīd* with *maʿrifa*, could be expected to perform true worship to God or the only one who has *tawḥīd* and *maʿrifa* could worship well.

- Even though Shaykh Yūsuf holds the notion of God’s transcendence, he still believes that God encompasses everything (*al-iḥāṭa*) and exists everywhere (*al-maʿiyya*) over His creation.³⁵³ However, he was very careful not to bind himself with the doctrine of pantheism by saying that even though God appears himself in His creation, it does not necessarily mean that His creation is God himself; all of creation is only an allegorical or metaphorical being (*al-mawjūd al-majāzī*), not a real being (*al-mawjūd al-ḥaqīqī*). Thus, like al-Sinkili, he believes that the creation is only a shadow of God. According to Shaykh Yūsuf, the “expression of God in His creation does not mean the presence of God Himself in them (Azra 1992: 449).
- In the concept of encompassing (*al-iḥāṭa*) and accompaniment (*al-maʿiyya*), the Lord descends (*tanazzul*), while the man or servant ascends (*taraqqī*), a spiritual process which brings them closer. As has been previously mentioned that it is important to note that according to Shaykh Yūsuf, the process will not forge final unity between the servant and God; in the end the servant remains the servant, and God remains God (*al-ʿabd ʿabd wa al-Rabb Rabb*).³⁵⁴ With this, Shaykh Yūsuf appears has a different in view with *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* (the Unity of Being or Ontological Monism) of Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Ḥulūl* (Divine Incarnation) of Abū Maṣūʿ al-Hallāj, and *Ittiḥād* (Divine Union) of Abū Yāzīd al-Bistāmī. Instead, he has similar views with the concept of *Waḥdat al-Shuḥūd* (the Unity Consciousness or Monistic Phenomenology) of al-Ghazālī, but there was also a difference with the concept *Waḥdat al-Shuḥūd* which was developed by Aḥmad al-Sirhindī. Shaykh Yūsuf tried to mediate and to reconcile between them with his own doctrine of *ʿWaḥdat al-Ṣamādʿ* (Unity of all creatures’ dependence) on the basis of the Quarʿanic Chapter *al-Ikhlāṣ* (*Qurʿān*, 112: 1-4) and the result of his spiritual experiences. It is known that the concept that God cannot be compared with anything (*laysa kamithlihī shayʿ*) is also advocated by Ibn ʿArabī and other *ṣūfīs* before him, although there is an assumed contradiction in their beliefs with their expressions which invite some debates, as articulated by Shaykh Yūsuf by his words that the servant is a servant, although he ascends and he is characterised by God’s characteristics, and God is God, although He descends to His servant’s level and can be characterised by the

³⁵³See *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya*, Arabic Microfilm of MSKBG 101, F Or A 13d [1], (Al-Maqassarī 1116 A.H.c: 2-3); see also *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, Arabic Microfilm of MSKBG 108, F Or A 13b [3], (Al-Maqassarī n.d.: 53); *Sirr al-Asrār*, Arabic Manuscript of UB Leiden 7025 [3], (Al-Maqassarī n.d.: 70-72); *Zubdat al-Asrār* Arabic Microfilm of MSKBG 101, F Or A 13d [2], (Al-Maqassarī; 1186 A.H.c.: 31); and then see also Tudjimah (1997: 99).

³⁵⁴*Tāj al-Asrār*, Arabic Microfilm of MSKBG 101, F Or A 13d [5], (Al-Maqassarī 1186 A.H.c: 73)

servant's characteristics as has been mentioned above. Then he confirms in his *Sirr al-Asrār* that our belief in Allāh, the Exalted, must be located between absolute affirmation of the Divine Transcendence and absolute Immanence, meaning that we affirm His Divine Transcendence without denying His attributes and we affirm His Immanence without comparing Him with anyone. We affirm His Divine Transcendence in the situation of Immanence and affirm His Immanence in the situation of Divine Transcendence because the position of absolute Divine Transcendence leads to negligence and negligence is something which does not have limits. The same applies to the position of absolute Immanence for it leads to extravagant behaviour which transgresses all boundaries (Dangor 1995: 41-43). This is one of his introduced reforms to prevent fellow Muslim from false belief. Therefore, although he agreed and accepted *tawḥīd Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, and *tawḥīd Waḥdat al-Shuhūd*, but his *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* and his *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd* within *Waḥdat al-Ṣamad*, prescribes to Panentheism and not Pantheism since he occupies both Divine Transcendence and Absolute Immanence in the same position.

- A prominent feature of the theology of Shaykh Yūsuf is the emphasis on the Oneness of God in which he tried to unify and reconcile all the attributes or the qualities of God, which according to the Islamic doctrine, hold that God has attributes that seem to contradict one another. God, for example, is believed to be the First (*al-Awwal*) and the Last (*al-Ākhir*); the Outward or Exterior (*al-Zāhir*) and the Inner or Inward (*al-Bāṭin*); the One who gives guidance (*al-Hādī*), but also the One who misleads humans (*al-Muḍill*). According to him, all the attributes of God that seem to contradict one other must be understood according to the Oneness of God Himself. If you emphasise certain attributes and then ignore the others, this could lead to erroneous beliefs and practices. The reality of God is the unity of pairs of conflicting Attributes,³⁵⁵ and no one who knows His secret, except those who have been granted knowledge by God Himself (Tudjimah 1997: 43-44, see also Azra 1992: 451).
- *Ma'rīfa* therefore, according to Shaykh Yūsuf, is knowledge that your beginning is from Him and your return is to Him, so you return to Him in exactly the same manner to how you originated from Him, just like the nature of water from the sea. When the water flows from the river to the sea and then through the process of condensation, is returned to the river, it is of the same nature. The water does not change from its reality as water. In other words, *ma'rīfa* relates to the existence of God, Who brings together two contradictory things as mentioned above; or it can be said that he is the one God without Beginning and End. So, He is the First, as well as the Last.

³⁵⁵*Tāj al-Asrār*, Arabic Microfilm MSKGB 101 F Or A 13d [5], (Al-Maqassarī 1186 A.H.c: 73); see also Arabic Microfilm of MSKGB 108, F Or A 13b [24a], (al-Maqassarī n.d: 454).

That is, He will not be changed from His reality as the Essence of the One, Who has all those attributes.³⁵⁶

- The goal of *‘ibāda* or worship is to obey His *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* [the Oneness of His existence]; in other words, there is no existence but His. And He, Glory be to Him and Exalted, is the One Who has no partner in existence. The linguistic meaning of *‘ubudiyya* is the obedience of something to something else just as your organs or limbs are obedient to your soul. All matters are linked to the desire of the soul. You do not do anything except through the desire of the soul. Outwardly [*ẓāhir*], your organs or limbs worship your essence and your essence is the object of devotion. The essence is the worshipper with respect to the manifest [*ẓāhir*] and the object of worship with respect to the hidden [*bāṭin*]. This is because the command originates from it yet it is directed to it.³⁵⁷

Furthermore, he stated that if you annihilate your existence and the existence of things other than Allāh and you know yourself that everything including all entities other than Allāh are non-existent; you will not perceive anything but Him, nor will you witness anything but Him and nothing will remain, except Him. “*Not for you [but for Allāh] is the decision*” (*Qur’ān*, 3:128). So He becomes a devotee [*‘ābid*] from the perspective of the Divine Command being from Him. And He is an object of worship from the perspective of the Divine Command [*amr*] returning to Him.

“*Everything will perish but He [His Face]. His is the judgment, and to Him you (all) shall be returned*” (*Qur’ān*, 28:88).

“*Whatsoever is on it (the earth) will perish, and the face of your Lord full of Majesty and Honour will abide forever*” (*Qur’ān*, 55:26-27).³⁵⁸

When the moth or butterfly hurls its soul into a lamp and it is consumed we do not ask: “Has the moth or butterfly become a flame or has it become non-existent?” Rather, we say the moth is now one with the lamp because before it casts its soul into the flame, it was veiled [*mahjūb*] from the flame. After it casts its soul into the flame, it combined with it and became one with it. Likewise, the spiritual seeker is veiled before negating his existence and the existence of things other than Allāh. And when his existence and the existence of things other than Allāh is denied, it becomes combined and becomes one with Allāh. This spiritual process is an inward rather than an outward one.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁶ *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 108 F Or A13b [3], (Al-Maqassarī n.d.: 55)

³⁵⁷ *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 108 F Or A13b [3], (Al-Maqassarī n.d.: 55-56)

³⁵⁸ *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 108 F Or A13b [3], (Al-Maqassarī n.d.: 56)

³⁵⁹ *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 108 F Or A13b [3], (Al-Maqassarī n.d.: 57)

In other words, the view of Shaykh Yūsuf on the *Waḥdat Wūjud* appears fully cognisant of the Oneness of the Existence of God without the fusion or incarnation or transmigration of soul or union, where the view of Ibn ‘Arabī seems to consider the unity of God with His servant with fusion and Abū Mansūr al-Ḥallāj with incarnation or transmigration of soul and Abū Yāzid al-Bistāmī with union. The peak of this *maqām* is also known as *maqām al-‘ubudiyyat al-muṭlaqa* which will be explained in another paragraph in this section.

- As far of Shaykh Yūsuf’s theology is concerned; he adheres strictly to the *Ash‘arī* doctrines. He emphasises the total commitment to all six articles of belief, that is: belief in the One God, His angels, His Books, His Prophets, the day of resurrection and the God’s ownership of *qaḍā* and *qadar*. Furthermore, in conjunction with a perfect faith in all these pillars of faith, he urged fellow Muslims to fully accept the ambiguous meaning of some verses of the *Qur‘ān* or *al-Ayāt al-Mutashābihāt*.³⁶⁰ Searching or questioning the real meaning of such verses is a sign that one does not fully trust in God, and only by accepting the verses as they were revealed, a wanderer or traveller in the path of God will be able to receive God’s Grace or Blessing (Azra 1992: 451).
- It is well known that the theology of al-Ash‘arī emphasises human predestination in relation to the Will of God. Shaykh Yūsuf himself accepts this notion. For instance, he repeatedly asked Muslims to sincerely accept their fate or divine providence and divine decree (*al-qaḍā wa al-qadar*), whether good or bad.³⁶¹ 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. In this way, Shaykh Yūsuf believes that people will be able to create a better life in this world and the hereafter (Azra 1992: 451-452).
- Shaykh Yūsuf also called on the faithful who are on the path to Allāh never to despair of the mercy of Allāh, for verily Allāh’s mercy exceeds His anger, but he also emphasised that we should always be afraid of him. Shaykh Yūsuf said: *Antu nikanaya tappa anrong gurunnai pangngassenganga, naiya pangngassenganga empoannai mallaka siagang manrannuanga* (Daeng Magassing 1933: 106). This means: Faith is the great teacher of science (the Islamic science), and the Islamic science is a basis for fear and hope.

³⁶⁰ *Al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya*, Arabic Microfilm of MSKGB 101, F Or A13d [1], (Al-Maqassarī 1116 A.H.c: 2)

³⁶¹ *Tuḥfat al-Abrār*. Arabic Microfilm of MSKGB 101, F Or A13d [9], (Al-Maqassarī (1186 A.H.c.:78-79) see also *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya*, Arabic Microfilm of MSKGB 101, F Or A13d [1], (al-Maqassarī 1116 A.H.c: 8-9).

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

وَحَافُونَ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ مُؤْمِنِينَ

“...Fear Me, if you are (true) believer” (Qur’ān, 3: 175).

إِنَّمَا يَخْشَى اللَّهَ مِنْ عِبَادِهِ الْعُلَمَاءُ

“...It is only those who have knowledge among His slaves that fear Allāh” (Qur’ān, 35: 28).

In *al-Nafaḥāt al-Saylāniyya*, as has been previously mentioned, he told his students: it is incumbent for you to occupy a position between fear and hope. Even if both these sentiments are desirable on their own, they have to be combined within the heart of a person. Fear without hope leads to inadequacy, just as hope without fear leads to excessiveness. Both these traits are unwelcome according to Divine Gnostics (May Allāh make them benefit us). Inadequacy causes an act to fail from reaching its goal while excessiveness causes an act to exceed its limits. Such an act is not completely beneficial and will not lead to the accomplishment of the objective. Benefit lies in observing what has been mentioned already. As long as people are characterised by both of them simultaneously, they are fine (M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 14 February 2017). In *Qurrat al-‘Ayn*, he states that our reliance on Allāh must to be positioned between fear and hope; meaning that we should fear Allāh outwardly and hope for His mercy inwardly. We fear at the juncture of hope and, at the same time, hope at the juncture of fear because absolute fear contradicts His persuasion: “Do not despair of Allāh’s mercy” (Qur’ān, 39:53) precisely as unbridled hope contradicts His decree: “Only the losers feel safe against the plan of Allāh” (Qur’ān, 7:99) (M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, 16 February 2017).

- Unlike other ṣūfīs, who thought that the highest *maqām* is *maḥabba* or love, and some others who considered the highest level to be *fanā’* and *baqā’*, Shaykh Yūsuf is virtually the only one who saw *al-‘ubudiyyat al-muṭlaqa* (unrestricted adoration), as the highest *maqām* or stage in *sulūk* on the path of Allāh (Azra 1992: 452). He cites the verse of *al-Qur’ān Sūrat al-Isrā*, wherein the Prophet Muḥammad (SAW) is reported to have journeyed one night from al-Masjid al-Ḥarām to al-Masjid al-Aqsā until he reached the seventh sky to meet with God in *Siḍrat al-Muntahā*. Even there he was not addressed by the title of Prophet or Beloved, but he was addressed as a servant since nothing glorifies the level of divinity more than a servant (Tudjimah 1997: 65). Thus, however glorified the name of a servant may be he still stands accountable to God. Moreover, not all creation can be called directly as His servant, except those that are close to Him; and when Muḥammad meets with God directly in *Siḍrat al-Muntahā*, he never utters outrageous words like

those pronounced by Abū Yāzīd al-Bistāmī, Abū Mansur al-Hallāj and Ibn ‘Arabī. He only says ‘I testify that there is no God but Allāh.’

Muḥammad is a leader and guide of a chosen people and the most perfect human in this earth; yet he never said “*Anā al-Ḥaqq*” or I am God, but he simply maintained that he was only human like all of you (Tudjimah 1997: 65). The person who has successfully reached the ultimate stage, has reached the core of his being, and therefore he is called the perfect human or the Universal Man [*al-Insān al-Kāmil*]. According to Shaykh Yūsuf in his *Zubdat al-Asrār*, by achieving this stage of the perfect human, a servant sheds his allegorical being [*al-maujūd al-majāzī*] and gets into his real nothingness. His nothingness is taken by God as a mirror (*mir’a*) of Himself. God further unveils Himself [*tajallī*] 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 recognise 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 (Azra 1992: 452).

- Shaykh Yūsuf tried hard not to be caught 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, he still remains a servant, while God remains God.³⁶²
- Like most other ṣūfīs, Shaykh Yūsuf obviously is a ṣūfī 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 (Azra 1992: 453). By quoting the *ḥadīth* saying: “*All of mankind is the family of Allāh, so the closest of them to Allāh is the one who is most beneficial to his family*”³⁶³ he urged the faithful not to criticise or look down on those who do not believe in God and the people who live a sinful life, but the believers must have good healthy thoughts (*ḥusn 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; or defeat resulting from sinning is better than intrepidity resulting from obedience.³⁶⁴ With such a view, it is not surprising that none of the works of Shaykh Yūsuf deprecate the Dutch, who brought much misery upon his life because he accepted the fate that has been destined for him by God, so he enjoyed his life until his death in South Africa's Cape of Good Hope, far removed from his homeland.

³⁶²*Zubdat al-Asrār*, Arabic Manuscript A 101 [2], (Al-Maqassarī 1186 A.H.c.: 38); *Tāj al-Asrār* Arabic Manuscript A 101 [5], (Al-Maqassarī 1186 A.H.c.: 73); *Ṣūra*, Arabic Manuscript A 108 [24a], (Al-Maqassarī n.d.: 454)

³⁶³*Sirr al-Asrār*, Arabic Manuscript Or 7025 [3], (Al-Maqassarī n.d.: 93)

³⁶⁴*Al-Nafīḥat al-Saylāniyya*, Arabic Manuscript A 101 [1], (Al-Maqassarī 1116 A.H.c: 5-6)

- In accordance with the level of their trust in God, Shaykh Yūsuf classifies the faithful into four categories. The first category is the people who merely verbalise the proclamation of faith (*shahāda*) without having true faith. These people are called hypocrites (*al-munāfiq*). The second category is those who not only utter the *shahāda*, but also embed it deeply into their souls, and this group is called the common faithful (*al-mu'min al-awwām*). The third category is the class of believers who truly realise 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 *shahāda*, especially by practicing ṭaṣawwuf in order to get closer to God. They are called the select of the elite or very special groups (*Khāss al-Khawās*).³⁶⁵
- The *ṭaṣawwuf* of Shaykh Yūsuf is classified as neo-*ṣūfism* (Azra, 2007: 296). He called this *ṭaṣawwuf*, *al-Ṭarīqat al-Muḥammadiyya* (the Way of Muḥammad or Muḥammadan path) which constitutes the Right Path "*al-Ṣirāt al-Mustaqīm*."³⁶⁶ Throughout his writing, he made it clear that the mystical way can only be navigated through a total commitment both outwardly and inwardly to the legal doctrine of Islam. He maintains that committing oneself simply to the *sharī'a* is better than practicing *ṭaṣawwuf* while ignoring Islamic legal precepts.³⁶⁷ He even goes so far as to classify those who believe that they will be able to get closer to God without practicing such rituals as prayer and fasting as *zindīq* (free-thinkers) and *mulḥid* (heretics).³⁶⁸
- According to Azra, it seems that Shaykh Yūsuf was very enthusiastic in his efforts to reconcile the divine law aspects (*sharī'a*) and divine reality (*ḥaqīqa*) of Islam. In this regard, he repeatedly narrated statements of unnamed authorities who assert that those who keep only the *sharī'a* without the *ḥaqīqa* are *fāsiq* (sinful men), and those who practise *ṭaṣawwuf* while ignoring *sharī'ah* are *zindīq* (free thinker) or *mulḥīd* (heretic).³⁶⁹ He also quoted the words of Gnostic men (*al-'Arif bi Allāh*) that: "All *sharī'a* (divine law) without *ḥaqīqa* (divine reality) is vanity and all *ḥaqīqa* (divine reality) without *sharī'a* (divine law) is imperfect."³⁷⁰ The best thing to do is to harmonise both: "Let it be known, my followers, divine law or exoteric devotion without divine or esoteric reality is like a body without a soul or a spirit (*rūh*), whereas divine reality or esoteric occupation

³⁶⁵ *Al-Barkat al-Saylāniyya*, Arabic Manuscript A 108 [5], (Al-Maqassarī n.d.: 71); see also in *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya*, Arabic Microfilm MSKBG F Or A 13d [1], (Al-Maqassarī 1116 A.H.c.: 4-5).

³⁶⁶ *Sirr-al-Asrār*, Arabic Manuscript Or 7025 [3], (Al-Maqassarī n.d.: 87)

³⁶⁷ *Zubdat al-Asrār*, Arabic Manuscript A 101 [2], (Al-Maqassarī 1186 A.H.c: 37)

³⁶⁸ *Zubdat al-Asrār*, Arabic Manuscript A 101 [2], (Al-Maqassarī 1186 A.H.c: 42; see also Azra 1992: 454-455).

³⁶⁹ *Tāj al-Asrār*, Arabic Manuscript A 101 [5], (Al-Maqassarī 1186 A.H.c: 76)

³⁷⁰ *Al-Fawā'ih al-Yūsufiyya*, Arabic Manuscript A 108 [6], (Al-Maqassarī n.d.: 82); see also *Tāj al-Asrār*, Arabic Manuscript A 101 [5], (Al-Maqassarī 1186 A.H.c: 76).

without divine law or exoteric devotion is like a spirit without a body."³⁷¹ Finally, he cites the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet who said the Prophet was sent by God in order to bring both *sharī'a* and *ḥaqīqa*. Thus, Shaykh Yūsuf insisted that everyone who wants to take the path of God or enter the *ṭarīqa* has to first practise all the teachings of the *sharī'a* (Azra 2007: 295).

- Furthermore, Shaykh Yūsuf argued for a litany of ways to approach and draw near to God. First by the means of the *akhyār* (the chosen people), and that is by performing a lot of prayers, fasting, reading the *Qur'ān*, and the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet [Peace and Blessings be upon him], and about those who struggled in the way of *Allāh (al-jihād fī sabīl Allāh)*, and other exoteric devotions. The second way is the way of the people *mujāhadāt al-shaqā'* (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 types of devotion.³⁷²
- However, Shaykh Yūsuf prevented the traveller 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 *ṣūfī* shaykh or *ṣūfī* master, even if he, as a consequence, must travel to distant places, leaving family and homeland. But no other way; only with the guidance of a trusted *ṣūfī* master (shaykh) will he be able to get closer to God; because the master or shaykh will show him the right and the surest way to achieve spiritual progress.³⁷³ More than that, the *ṣūfī* shaykh is a successor of the Prophet: he is his representative, both outwardly and inwardly (Azra 2007: 295).
- Shaykh Yūsuf differentiated himself from most other prominent scholars by having a high position as well as awards granted to him. Unlike Ahmad Al-Qushāshī who encouraged a *sālik* to leave his master if the master disobeyed *sharī'a*, Shaykh Yūsuf adhered to the earlier notion of the position of the *ṣūfī* of his students or disciples. Thus, for Shaykh Yūsuf, once a *sālik* pledged his allegiance (*bay'a*) to a certain master, he should totally obey him even if the Shaykh does something which does not necessarily lead to a closer communion with God or does something contrary to the teachings of the *sharī'a*. The reason is that the Shaykh is not infallible and even some of the Prophets made mistakes. However, if the Shaykh makes mistakes by transgressing

³⁷¹ See *Sirr al-Asrār*, Arabic Manuscript of UB Leiden Or 7025, (Al-Maqassarī n.d: 86-87).

³⁷² *Al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya*, Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 101 F Or A 13d [1], (Al-Maqassarī 1116 A.H.c.: 23-24)

³⁷³ *Al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya*, Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 101 F Or A 13d [1], (Al-Maqassarī 1116 A.H.c.: 26-27)

rules of the *sharī'a*, Shaykh Yūsuf reminds the student to keep up his good deeds and not follow his master's transgression.³⁷⁴

- Shaykh Yūsuf also discussed at length several special worship and steps toward spiritual progress which should be undertaken by the travellers in God's path. 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 Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Naqshabandī.³⁷⁵ In accordance with the concept of purification of faith, according to Shaykh Yūsuf, the essence of *dhikr* is the full recognition to the Oneness of God. At the preparatory level (*al-mubtadī*) for the general people, their *dhikr* affirms that no one should be worshipped but Allāh. This is the *dhikr* لا اله الا الله. This is also called the *dhikr* of the tongue. At the next level (*al-mutawassif*) among the elites, this person acknowledges that he seeks and loves nothing but Allāh, and that is the goal of the *dhikr* الله-الله. It is also called liver or heart *dhikr*. At the last level the supremely elite, the person fully believes that no other beings exist except God. This is intended by the *dhikr* هو - هو or the *dhikr* of the innermost recesses.³⁷⁶

Based on the above discussion, we can see the status of his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* in the light of his reform ideas clearly, namely that it is a foundation and the main principles in developing his reformist ideas.

5.3 Ṭarīqa [A Ṣūfī Order]

5.3.1 Definition of Ṭarīqa

The linguistic meaning of *ṭarīqa* (pl. *ṭarā'iq* or *ṭuruq*), is, as all terms, contextually dependent. It could mean, 1) a way (*al-Kayfiyya*); 2) a method or system (*al-Uslūb*); 3) a school or direction (*al-Madhab*); 4) a state (*al-Ḥāl*); 5) a tall date palm (*an-Nakhl al-Ṭawīla*); 6) shelter poles or umbrella sticks (*'Amūd al-Miḏallā*); 7) the noble or prominent people (*Sharīf al-Qaum*); 8) a streak or line on an object (*al-Khatt fī Shay'*), (K.H. A. Azis Masyhuri 2011: 1).

In technical terms, according to Gibb, the word *ṭarīqa* has experienced a shift in meaning. In the 19th and 20th centuries, *ṭarīqa* was defined as “a method of psychology for the practical guidance of an individual who had a mystic call” (Humam 2013: 5).

³⁷⁴See, al-Maqassarī, *Habl al-Warīd Li Sa'ādat al-Murid* in Tudjimah (1997: 114).

³⁷⁵For a more detailed explanation of worship relating to *dhikr*, see *Fath Kaiyyat al-Dhikr*, Arabic Manuscript Or 7025 [5], (Al-Maqassarī n.d.: 149-160); see also *Kayfiyyat al-Dhikr*, Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 101 F Or A13d [10], (Al-Maqassarī 1186 A.H.c.: 112-113); see also Sultan 2015: 105-190.

³⁷⁶See *Hadhihi al-Fawā'id 'Azīma*, Arabic Manuscript Or 7025 [6], (Al-Maqassarī n.d.: 161-166).

According to Sultan: “Ṭarīqa is a way or system which is attempted to gain the pleasure [*riḍā*] of Allāh only. To journey is called *sulūk*, while the person who does the spiritual journey [*sulūk*] is called a *sālik* (Sultan 2008: 193).

Then he said that: “A ṣūfī order [*ṭarīqa*] is a channel of mysticism to gain *ḥaqīqah* and then *maʿrifa*” (Sultan 2008: 193)

A *sālik* does not know what station [*maqām*] is attained by him and what effort is needed to reach the next *maqām*. He is not even aware of his shortcomings and errors he is committing on the journey. Therefore, to attempt and reach each *maqām*, he needs a spiritual guide (*shaykh murshid*) who has the experience to guide him from the beginning until he reaches the end of his journey (Sultan 2008: 193).

Ṭarīqa is a practical guide for a student who is embarking on this long and arduous journey towards Allāh, and who is taught and guided throughout by a *shaykh murshid*. The most important aspect to the *sālik* is the correctness of the method of the *dhikr* that he does. Imām al-Ghazālī stated, in reference to the methodology of *dhikr*, that it begins with one’s heart emptying itself completely of everything besides Allāh, then submerging oneself completely in the remembrance of Allāh, and in the end, achieving the state of complete *fanaʿ* in Allāh (Al-Ghazālī 1973: 76). According to Shaykh Yūsuf, only by possessing the knowledge of how to do *dhikr* correctly, can the *dhikr* be done well. Its quality is measured by how well it unburdens the heart from all worldly influences, as well as how much it increases the inward experience of a *sālik* and elevates him to a higher spiritual level and station (Sultan 2008: 194).

Each *ṭarīqa* has a lineage tree that notates the relationship between a student and a *shaykh murshid* of the *ṣūfī* order [*ṭarīqa*], which is descended from the Messenger of Allāh SAW who received the revelation from Allāh SWT through the Arch-Angel Gabriel AS. This relationship between the student and the shaykh is characterised by the shaykh or spiritual guide providing esoteric or spiritual teachings, besides a special *dhikr* and *wīrd* from the *ṣūfī* order [*ṭarīqa*] to his student who, in turn, took an oath to swear alligence to his shaykh and the *sūfī* order (Sultan 2008: 194).

Al-Ghazālī was reported to never having taken his *ṭarīqa* by means of a *shaykh murshid*. According to him, he had learned his *ṭarīqa* from existing literature on mysticism at the time, and then applying those teaching in his life. He went wandering through several countries and then after many years, he retired from worldly affairs and ended up performing *dhikr* in all the holy places in the region (Al-Ghazālī 1973: 68-69).

However, al-Ghazālī also maintained that he could have received his *ṣūfī* path [*ṭarīqa*] by going through a *shaykh murshid*. He felt that a *sālik* needed a spiritual guide. He was reported to have said: “One of the ways (to a *ṭarīqa*) that could be attempted by one who wants to understand the defects in his own soul, is to sit in front of shaykh murshid who is knowledgeable in spiritual defects and hidden things, to ask the murshid’s guidance and to follow the requirements needed to enlighten his heart.” Nevertheless, Imām al-Ghazālī concluded that this method of a *sālik* and *shaykh murshid* is not the only way to find one *ṭarīqa* (al-Ghazālī 1939: 62).

5.3.2 *Ṭarīqa* and its Relations with *Sharī’a*, *Ḥaqīqa* and *Ma’rifa*

Sultan (2018: 143) reported that the *murshid* of the *Ṭarīqat Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* indicated that there are four stages that must be completed by a servant who pursues the teachings of *ṣūfism* to achieve a goal which he called *al-sa’āda* [happiness] or earning the pleasure of God. They are *sharī’a*, *ṭarīqa*, *ḥaqīqa* and *ma’rifa*.³⁷⁷

Furthermore, he states that: *sharī’a*, *ṭarīqa*, *ḥaqīqa* and *ma’rifa* are inseparable and connected to one another. *Sharī’a* is the rule, *ṭarīqa* is the implementation, *ḥaqīqa* is the initial goal of *taṣawwūf* (which is recognition of *al-Ḥaqq* [Allāh]) and *ma’rifa* is the ultimate goal. Those must be completed in sequence, starting from *sharī’a*, *ṭarīqa*, *ḥaqīqa* then *ma’rifa*. It cannot be done in reverse or done in an interrupted manner. If this rule is not followed, a candidate *ṣūfī* will experience failure and misguidance. This is one of reasons why the *ṣūfīs* say that not everyone who learned *taṣawwūf* teaching reaches the level of true *ma’rifa*.” A *sālik* who obtains *ma’rifa*, has a clear sign of always having the shining light of *ma’rifa* in himself both in his spiritual and mental state and his deeds (Sultan 2018: 143 & 151-152).

To reach the end of the journey which is called *ma’rifa* until *fanā’ fī Allāh wa baqā’ bihi*, a candidate *ṣūfī* must attempt the path [*ṭarīqa*] which contains *maqāmāt* [stations] that must be passed one by one in sequence; in the long journey, during which he will experience various *aḥwāl* [inner states].

5.3.3 *Maqāmāt* [Stations] and *Aḥwāl* [Inner States] in the *Ṣūfī* Path

A *sālik* or one who is on the *ṣūfī* path of God needs to complete some stations or *maqāmāt* and *aḥwāl* as inner states. The following discussion is only a brief overview about *maqāmāt* [stations] and *aḥwāl* [inner states], collected and filtered from some of Shaykh Yūsuf’s

³⁷⁷ *Sharī’a* [Divine law], *ṭarīqa* [a way or system that must be attempted by a *sālik*] to gain *ḥaqīqa* [the Divine Truth or the Divine Reality] and then *ma’rifa* [knowing himself and his Lord, Allāh, the creator of everything].

works.³⁷⁸

Like the teaching of other ṣūfīs, Shaykh Yūsuf also has some *maqāmāt* or stations and *ahwāl* or inner states that must be completed by a *sālik* on the *ṣūfī* path of God. However, he also has some differences and probably, his *maqāmāt* and *ahwāl* are the most complete and perfect. Abū Nashr al-Sarrāj, for example, related that the *maqāmāt* consist of seven stations: *tawba* (repentance), *wara'* (watchfulness), *zuhd* (renouncement of worldly pleasures), *faqr* (poverty), *ṣabr* (patience), *tawakkul* (resignation), *riḍā'* (contentment); while the *ahwāl* consists of ten states viz.: *murāqaba* (self-correction through introspection), *qurb* (feeling close to God), *maḥabba* (love), *khawf* (fear), *rajā'* (hope), *shawq* (longing), *ṭuma'nīna* (peaceful/calm feeling), *mushāhada* (witnessing God) and *yaqīn* (certainty) (Abū Nashr al-Sarrāj 1960: 70-104). Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (died 386H/966M) says that *maqāmāt* consists of nine stations: *tawba* (repentance), *ṣabr* (patient), *shukr* (gratitude), *khawf* (fear), *rajā'* (hope), *zuhd* (renouncement of worldly pleasures), *tawakkul* (resignation), *riḍā'* (contentment) and *love*.³⁷⁹ It appears that he interprets *ahwāl* as inward feelings that have not been stabilised. Al-Ghazali stated that *maqāmāt* consisted of eleven stations: *tawba* (repentance), *ṣabr* (patience), *shukr* (thankfulness), *khawf* (fear), *rajā'* (hope), *zuhd*, *tawakkul* (resignation), love, longing, intimacy and *riḍā'* (contentment) (al-Ghazali 1939: 33-45). According to him, each of these stations becomes a *maqām* if the person stabilises it in his life. Prior to this, it remains one of the *aḥwāl* as has been mentioned by al-Makki above.

The explanation of Shaykh Yūsuf in a variety of his works that contained the meaning of '*maqāmāt and ahwāl*', basically followed the teaching of Abū Nashr al-Sarrāj, even though he also took a lot from other sources that is considered not contrary to the teaching of *Ahl al-Sunna*, as we will see below:

Maqāmāt consists of thirteen stations:³⁸⁰

- 1) *Tawba* (repentance): According to Shaykh Yūsuf, repentance is an important Islamic basic teaching and religious regulation and is the first station of the *sālik* at the beginning of his

³⁷⁸See al-Maḡassarī in *al-Barkat al-Saylāniyya; al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya, al-Fawā'id al-Yūsufiyya, Maṭālib al-Sālikīn, Qurrat al-'Ayn, Sirr al-Asrār, Zubdat al-Asrār, Tāj al-Asrār, Tuḥfat al-Abrār, Faḥ al-Kayfiyyat al-Dhikr; Tuḥfat al-Mursala*.

³⁷⁹Abū Ṭalīb Al-Makkī 1961: 350-364 [V.I] and 3-168 [V.II] without explaining the meaning of *maqāmāt* and *ahwāl* as has been mentioned by al-Sarrāj. According to him, *maqāmāt* are basis from *ahwāl*, patient and thanks God, he said that sometimes they are *maqāmāt* and sometimes they are *ahwāl* (Abū Ṭalīb al-Makkī 1961: 407).

³⁸⁰For more information regarding *maqāmāt* [stations] in the *ṣūfī* path refers to Sultan (2008:142-165); see also al-Maḡassarī in *al-Barkat al-Saylāniyya; al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya, Maṭālib al-Sālikīn, Qurrat al-'Ayn, Sirr al-Asrār, Zubdat al-Asrār, Tāj al-Asrār, Tuḥfat al-Abrār, Faḥ al-Kayfiyyat al-Dhikr; Tuḥfat al-Mursala*.

sulūk to reach God. In *Kayfiyat al-Munji* or *Kayfiyyat al-Nāfi*, he divided people that repent into three classes:

- a) The repentance of the common people is repentance of their sins.
 - b) The repentance of *al-Khawās* is repentance from their non-recital or for their negligence (*ghafla*) of *dhikr*.
 - c) The repentance of *Akhās al-Khawās* is repentance for everything that exists in the heart besides Allāh. In other words, the repentance of the super-elite *ṣūfi* is to repent from everything that occupies his time except Allāh.
- 2) *Zuhd* (renouncement of worldly pleasures): This means the rejection of the world to reach Allāh, humbling oneself to Him, fearing His displeasure and hoping for His blessing.
 - 3) *Warā'* means avoiding bad things. According to Shaykh Yūsuf as quoted in his *Sirr al-Asrār* when 'Abd al-Qādir Jaylanī al-Baghdādī (may Allāh sanctify his innermost recesses) was asked: 'How did you attain this rank, o shaykh?' He replied: 'Through humility, good conduct, generosity of spirit and soundness of heart.'
 - 4) *Faqr* (poverty): Do not ask for something and do not avoid it if it is given since Allāh is the All-Knowing. This station means not asking for something. According to Shaykh Yūsuf, the *maqām faqr* (poverty) is not asking for something. If the slave asks for something, it should only be for his right as a servant or slave. Therefore a *sālik* must be good and must have a good attitude when asking for something from Allāh. It is stated, that the Arch-Angel Gabriel AS came to Prophet Ibrāhīm Khalīl-Allāh [the Beloved of Allāh], when he was to be thrown in the fire and Gabriel asked: "Would you ask for help, O Ibrāhīm?" His answered: "To you, no." Gabriel then said: "Ask your God what you wish for." Ibrāhīm answered: "His Knowledge about my condition is enough and Allāh knows more about it."
 - 5) *Ṣabr* or patience or one who has an unshakable soul: His foundation must be strong despite the weight of the challenges that face him. Truly Allāh unites with the patient ones.
 - 6) *Tawakkul* or resignation means the surrender to the '*qaḍā'* and *qadar* of Allāh after attempting the necessary remedial action.
 - 7) *Riḍā'* or willingness or pleasure: This means not to go against God's *qaḍā'* and *qadar*. At this station a willing state involves thanking God, showing patience and resigning to the

Will of God.

- 8) *Shukr* or thanking God. The person who thanks God is one who is sensitive towards Allāh's kindness, whatever his condition.
- 9) *Ikhḷāṣ* or sincerity in facing Allāh. Doing prayer and *dhikr* sincerely only for seeking Allāh's Will or pleasure.
- 10) All of the previous stations lead to the station of *maḥabba* or love: The *sālik* who is in the state of *maḥabba* always hopes for God's love, still remains committed to *tawḥīd*, knows and does what has been ordered by God and avoids what has been forbidden by Him.
- 11) *Ma'rifa* (mystic intuitive knowledge of God): This state has been discussed in detail in his reform ideas on page 302-303 above).
- 12) *Fanā'* [annihilation in God] and *baqā'* [subsistence with Him]: This station represents the unity of feelings between a servant and God after he or a *ṣūfī* abolished his existence and all other existences, except that of Allāh's. In *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* on p.9, Shaykh Yūsuf noted that the spiritual seeker was veiled before negating his own existence and the existence of entities other than that of Allāh. Subsequently, when his existence and the existence of entities other than Allāh are annihilated they combine and become one with Allāh."
- 13) *Al-'Ubudiyya al-Muṭlaqa* including *Waḥdat al-Ṣamad* as has been mentioned briefly in his reform ideas above on pages 300-302, but we will expand on this concept more fully here. God is the only divine being. He, together with His Messenger, Prophet Muḥammad have to be followed. The latter is the most perfect human and the closest one to Allāh; despite that, he never uttered ridiculous phrases such as *Subḥānī* (How holy I am) and *Anā al-Ḥaqq* (I am the Truth). On this topic, he simply said the words in a *ḥadīth*: "I am only human like all of you," and his words: "Do not make me more special than Yūnus Ibn Matta." The existence of his uniqueness stems from the events around the '*mi'rāj*' only and does not extend beyond that. During this event, Prophet Muḥammad (SAW) reached God by embarking on the night journey from the Ḥaram Mosque in Makka to the Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. He then proceeded on the *mi'rāj* until he passed the seventh sky and saw God's secrets and arrived at *Ṣidrat al-Muntahā*, where he met and spoke with God directly. Prophet Yūnus Ibn Matta AS, however, met with God while lying in the belly of a fish in the lowest levels of the sea. We never heard either of them saying '*Anā al-Ḥaqq*' or "I'm God" and other outrageous things. Therefore, Shaykh Yūsuf emphasised

that a servant is a servant even though he reaches the highest '*maqām*' [station] and reaches *ittiḥād*. God is God even though He goes down by '*tajallī*'.

Aḥwāl [inner states] consist of nine features:

- 1) *Murāqaba* (introspection): This means there is self-awareness and the *sālik* is always dealing with God in a state of being watched and his inner eye always sees Allāh everywhere. The opposite is also true, where he is constantly aware that Allāh always sees him. According to Shaykh Yūsuf, there are three *murāqaba*, viz...:
 - a) *Murāqabat al-qalb* (introspection of the heart) inculcates fear of God, or of His punishment.
 - b) *Murāqabat al-rūḥ* (introspection of the soul) takes fear away from God's grace or the separation from His Lord.
 - c) *Murāqabat al-sīr* (introspection of the innermost recesses) brings the *ma'rifa* that God is closer to him than his own veins. This in accordance with the words of God in in Chapter *Qāf*:

وَنَحْنُ أَقْرَبُ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ حَبْلِ الْوَرِيدِ

“And We are nearer to him than his jugular vein (by Our Knowledge).” (Qur'ān, 50:16)³⁸¹

- 2) *Khawf* and *Rajā'*: is the inner state of one who always fears Allāh and hopes for His blessing.
- 3) *Al-Shawq* (longing): is the inner state of one who is always longing for Allāh. Because of his love for Him he remembers abundantly. Allāh is always in his heart, which means that Allāh remembers him, loves him and is longing for him.
- 4) *Al-Uns* (Intimacy): is the inner state of one who concentrates his full soul and expression only on Allāh.
- 5) *Al-Qurb* (Proximity): is the inner state of one who feels himself together with, and is encompassed by, Allāh wherever he is or he feels himself as always being in Allāh's sanctity.
- 6) *Al-Mushāhada* (Visualisation): is the inner state of one who could see Allāh by all of his

³⁸¹See also al-Maqassarī in *al-Barkat al-Saylāniyya* which states: As for the “observation of the heart,” it is to fear the punishment of Allāh, the Most High. The “observation of the soul” is to fear separation from Allāh, the Most High; and the “observation of the secret” is the knowledge that Allāh, the Most High, is nearer to one than one's self.

expressions or by his inner eye.

- 7) *Al-Yaqīn* (Certainty). This is the inner state of one who believes in Allāh or is convinced of Allāh and to sever himself from all of things except Allāh in every circumstance and condition. He has firm conviction about continuously confronting everything in his soul. He will never be tempted to run from creatures and always turn unto Allāh (in all states).

In *Secret of Secrets (Sirr al-Asrār)*, it is stated that there are four types of belief or confidence: first, sure knowledge (*'ilm al-yaqīn*); then its essence (*'ayn al yaqīn*) or to be convinced not only by knowledge, but also seeing and witnessing Him; then its truth (*ḥaqq al-yaqīn*), in this case it is not only by knowing, seeing or witnessing Him, but also feeling His truth, this confidence has reached *maqām ma'rifa*; then its reality (*ḥaqīqat al-yaqīn*), when a servant becomes one of the elect (*khawwāṣṣ*) of the people of Allāh, the Exalted, Possessor of the Perfection and Completeness or one who has reached the station of *fanā' fi Allāh wa baqā' bih* (Sultan 208: 177-178, see also Dangor, 1995: 11).

- 8) *Tuma'nīna* (Tranquility): is the inner state of one who is in a peaceful condition without being anxious and afraid. Nothing can waver his feelings and thinking since he has reached the highest state for a pure soul. Regardless of the journey and its strenuousness, he reaches the end where he could communicate directly with Allāh Who is looked at, loved and longed for. This engenders peace.
- 9) *Al-Taqwā'* (God consciousness): is the inner state of one who always observes Allāh 'Azza *Wajalla's* orders and avoids all that He had forbidden, either in hidden ways or openly (wherever and whenever) and always hopes for His Blessing.³⁸²

5.4 *Ṭarīqa Khalwatiyya* in Indonesia

5.4.1 The Pioneer of *Ṭarīqa Khalwatiyya* in Indonesia

The Pioneer of Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya in the Seventeenth Century

The *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya* was established in the Indonesian archipelago in the 17th century through Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī, so it was later renamed as *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* by his disciples and descendants. Shaykh Yūsuf obtained the diploma of the *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya* as well as the title of *Tāj al-Khalwatī* in Syria from Shaykh Abū al-Barakāt Ayyūb bin Aḥmad ibn Ayyūb al-Khalwatī al-Qurayshī (944-1071/1586-1661 A.H.), the imām of Masjid al-Akbār Muḥyi al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī.

³⁸²For more information regarding *ahwāl* [inner states] in the *ṣūfī* path refers to Sultan (2008:166-185); see also al-Maqassarī in *al-Barkat al-Saylāniyya*; *al-Fawā'id al-Yūsufiyya*, *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya*, *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, *Qurrat al-'Ayn*, *Sirr al-Asrār*, *Zubdat al-Asrār*, *Tāj al-Asrār*, *Tuḥfat al-Abrār*, *Fath al-Kayfiyyat al-Dhikr*; *Tuḥfat al-Mursala*.

This *ṭarīqa* was further developed by his disciples from Makka to Banten, especially Shaykh ‘Abd al-Baṣīr al-Darīrī al-Raffānī (1052-1133 H / 1643-1723 AD), a knowledgeable blind *ṣūfī*. This shaykh arrived in Macassar in 1089/1678, to succeed his teacher, Shaykh Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī who chose to settle in Banten. All the *silsila* of *Khalwatiyya* Yūsuf in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, are traced through Shaykh ‘Abd al-Baṣīr al-Khalwatī al-Raffānī (Tuan Rappang or Tuan who spent the rest of his life in Rappang), ahead of the name of Shaykh Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqassarī. For example, the ones who directly received the certificate of *Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* from Shaykh al-Raffānī (Tuan Rappang) are:

- (1) Jamī’ al-Dīn bin Ṭālib al-Tīmī
- (2) Abd al-Qādir Karaeng Majannang
- (3) Shaykh ‘Ālam Muḥammad Jaylānī bin Muḥammad Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqassarī which is continuing downwards until Ṣāhib (al-Khayr) Sulṭān al-Maḥāsin bin Muḥammad Sulṭān Bayt Allāh (Muḥammad Sultan Baitullah).
- (4) Abū Sa‘ad al-Faḍl.
- (5) Abd al-Mājid Nūr al-Dīn Ibn ‘Abdillāh and so on until Muḥammad Rijal bin Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Saqāf, dan Abd al-Raḥīm bin Jamāl al-Dīn al-Saqāf. They now teach and develop *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* in South Sulawesi, Indonesia.³⁸³

Another *ṭarīqa* taught by Shaykh Yūsuf to one of his disciples, ‘Abd Ḥamīd Karaeng Karunrung, was later called the *Yūsufiyya ṭarīqa*. This *ṭarīqa* was without a special *silsila* since it was a combination of the essential elements of all *ṭarā’iq* that he had mastered, especially the five certificated ones. Karaeng Karunrung is the King of Tallo and the High Administrator of the Islamic Kingdom of Gowa as well as the father-in-law of Shaykh ‘Ālam Muḥammad Jaylānī bin Muḥammad Yūsuf.

The three persons mentioned at the end of the previous paragraph, had already pledged to his masters Shaykh ‘Abd al-Baṣīr al-Khalwatī al-Raffānī and ‘Abd Ḥamīd Karaeng Karunrung. His great-great descendant, Muḥammad Sulṭān Bayt Allāh, who finally developed this *ṭarīqa* into the *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Yūsufiyya*, holds the five *silsila* of *ṣūfī* orders from Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī in form of *sembangan*.³⁸⁴ He died in 1948 and was buried in the Lakiung Funeral Complex of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī (near the shrines of Shaykh Yūsuf al-

³⁸³For more information about the *silsila Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* with some its branches in South Sulawesi and Cape Town refers to Sultan (2015: 228-229); see also Appendix IVA.

³⁸⁴*Sembangan* is similar to *warkah* or a letter or a notebook of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī Tāj al-Khalwatī that contains the five *silsila* of his *ṣūfī* orders, his *silsila* from our Prophet Muḥammad SAW., the name of his father and some other his teachings; see also Chapter Two p. 31.

Maqassarī). This *ṭarīqa* was then continued by Shaykha Nūr al-Ṣūfiyya (sometimes she called as Nūr al-Ṣufī only) until their son Ṣāhib (al-Khayr) Ṣultān al-Maḥāsīn bin Muḥammad Ṣultān Bayt Allāh is named the successor of this *ṭarīqa* in Indonesia. He was then renamed as Shaykh K. H. Sahib Sultan Krg. Nompo (My father).

Imām Adam Philander with his wife from South Africa went to Indonesia and arrived in Gowa on Tuesday 5th February 2012 to pledge as well as receive a certificate and *silsila Khalwatiyya Yūsuf Ṣūfī* Order from his *murshid* Shaykh Sahib Sultan. Furthermore, he became a *murshid of the Khalwatiyya Yūsuf Ṣūfī* Order in Cape Town. Although he is the first man who hold the *silsila Khalwatiyya Yūsuf Ṣūfī* Order in his country, he was 45th (in line of this *ṭarīqa*) after his master in Indonesia, Shaykh Sahib Sultan.

The Pioneer of Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya in the Eighteenth Century

The *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya* which reached the shores of Indonesia in the 18th century through Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān al-Madanī (1132-1189 A.H./1717-1775), was later renamed *Khalwatiyya Sammān*. Shaykh al-Sammān also obtained a diploma from Shaykh Muṣṭafā bin Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī al-Khalwatī (1099-1163A.H./1688-1749). Both branches of *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya* stem from the same genealogy which has branches from Shaykh Mawlānā ‘Afandī ‘Umar al-Khalwatī. Two of ‘Umar al-Khalwatī’s disciples were Yahya al-Sirwānī, who started the *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* and Muḥammad ‘Amir Umm al-Khalwatī who started the *Ṭarīqat Khalwatiyya Sammān*.

Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Sammān which is currently developing in South Sulawesi was brought by Shaykh ‘Abd. Allāh al-Munīr who traveled to Sumbawa in the North Western part of Indonesia to learn Islamic mysticism. He received *Ṭarīqa Sammāniyya* from Shaykh Idrīs ibn ‘Uthmān ‘Abd. Allāh al-Munīr who then became a son-in-law of the King of Sumbawa Datuk Mukhtar. He sired three children, one whose name was Dea Lalo Pananrang, or Daeng Palallo in Buginese, or Muḥammad Fuḍail.

Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Sammān was established in South Sulawesi in 1240/1825, when Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh al-Munīr went to South Sulawesi with his son Muḥammad Fuḍail. Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh al-Munīr who was known as *Pangulutta* (our leader prince) returned to Sumbawa afterwards and passed away and was buried there. His son Shaykh Muḥammad Fuḍail who was appointed as his *khalīfa*, lived in Bone and then settled, married and died in Barru in 1859.

The earliest disciples of Shaykh Muḥammad Fuḍail were from among the Bugis nobility, some of whom then held important positions in the kingdom. Some even became kings, such as

Tumarilaleng (Chairman of Adab, second man of the king) Bone; La Mappangara Arung Sinri (d.1849); the King of Bone Ahmad Ibn Idris (ruled 1860-1871); the King of Gowa Sulṭān Muḥammad Idrīs (reigned 1893-1895); the King (Arung Matoa) Wajo; Ishak Manggabarani Karaeng Mangeppe (ruled 1900-1919); Watang Lipu (Mangkubumi [the High Administrator] of Soppeng Kingdom); Petta Ambo'na La Massalengke, Master Lambe in soppeng, Petta Ralle, Arung Toa, and Ḥājj Abd al-Razzaq (d.1902). Among them, the most influential disciple of Shaykh Muḥammad Fuḍail in developing the *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Sammān* was al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Razzāq (d.1902). He is the ancestor of many branches of this *ṭarīqa* and one of these branches continued downwards until Ḥājj Ajma'īn, who is better known as al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Andi Main (Ajma'īn) Puang Sikki (d.2012), then to Ḥājj Muḥammad Hidayat, whose full name is al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Andi Muḥammad Hidāyat Puang Rukka.³⁸⁵

5.4.2 The Main Differences between the Two Ṣūfī Orders (*Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* and *Khalwatiyya Sammān*)

According to Martin van Bruinessens, there are some differences between the two *ṣūfī orders* in terms of practice, organisation, and the social composition of its followers.

- 1) The recitation of *dhikr*, the names of God, and some short phrases are uttered silently by the followers of *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf*, while in *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Sammān*, they are uttered loudly.
- 2) *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* does not have a central leader, while *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Sammān* has a central leader in Maros.
- 3) *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* does not have a special place of worship and followers are free to associate or mix with their neighbours who are not members of this *ṭarīqa*; while *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Sammān* has a special place of worship (*muṣallā*) and they tend to isolate themselves from other followers of *ṣūfī orders*.
- 4) Many followers of *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* are from the nobility and the followers of *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Sammān* are more from the common people³⁸⁶

Sultan responded to the findings of Martin Van Bruinessens in the following way:

- 1) The recitation of *dhikr* in *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* is silent if it is done alone, but it is done audibly in a congregation, with the stipulation that it is not done too loudly.

³⁸⁵For more information about the *Silsila Tariqat al-Khalwatiyya Sammān* see Sultan (2015: 231-232).

³⁸⁶Martin van Bruinessen (1991: 391) in *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tradisi*; see also Abdul Wahid Kasyful Humam (2013: 78).

- 2) It is true that *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* does not have a central leader, only leaders in the sense of a relationship between the shaykh *murshid* with his disciples or followers. This subservient relationship exists because of the *bay'a*, a pledge of allegiance that a *sālik* or disciple made to his shaykh or his master. The disciples or followers usually come to visit their shaykh's house at any time, except during the time for the *shī'ar* of Islam, which are celebrated in the shaykh *murshid's* residence. These celebrations, such as commemorating the Islamic *hijiri* new year, the Day of *Ashūra*, the night of *Niṣf al-Sha'bān* (15 Sha'bān), the *Mawḷud* of the Prophet SAW and the occasion of *Isrā'* and *mī'rāj*, the disciples normally congregate at the place of their master with great fervour. They all gather to listen to the special advices of the *murshid* which are followed by *dhikr* and communal prayer on that auspicious night (*laylat al-mubāraka*). They are held regularly every year. In addition, the followers of this *ṭarīqa* believe that worship (*dhikr* and prayer) on the night of *Niṣf al-Sha'bān* (the blessed night) is good and should be done. It becomes a starting point to purify themselves before entering the holy month of *Ramaḍān*, and to obtain God's gift of a change in destiny, from a bad destiny to a good one and from a good destiny to a better one. They remember Allāh's Word: (وقال ربكم) "And pray unto Me, undoubtedly your prayer will I grant" (*Qur'ān*, 40:60) and the *ḥadīth* of the Holy Prophet:

عن سلمان الفارسي رضي الله عنه قال: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: لا يرد القضاء الا الدعاء ولا يزيد في العمر إلا البر

From Salmān al-Fārisī RA [may Allāh be pleased with him]: "The destiny will not change except by prayer, and nothing can extend life except with good effort" (Narrated by Tirmidhī).

- 3) It is correct that the *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* does not have a special place of worship. Its members freely associate with neighbors who are not members of the *ṭarīqa*. But in recent times, there are special places of worship or mosques built by some of the shaykh *murshid* of this *ṭarīqa*. These places of worship are used by them only at certain times of the day [such as when praying *taḥajjud* (mid night prayer), after dawn prayer, after the sunnat prayer of *ḍuḥā*, and after *'Ishā* prayer). But at other times, they remain open to the public and they join other worshipers in the mosque. Therefore, at particular times of the day or on special occasions, these places of worship are utilised exclusively by the followers of this order, and at other times, these places become public places of worship. For example, during the annual *Ramaḍān* and *Ḥajj* period every year during the

festivals of *Fitr* and *Aḏḥā*, both disciples and followers³⁸⁷ of this order as well as the general public congregate at the mosque³⁸⁸ and at the residence of the shaykh to mingle and greet one another over a period of seven days.

- 4) The original followers of *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* were mainly from descendants of the Arab and non Arab nobility.³⁸⁹ This was true then, but it has changed considerably as the number of followers who come from nobility are far less in number than the followers and disciples who are common folk. Ultimately, a person's status in society is not a criterion for becoming a caliph or a *murshid*, but anyone who reaches a special level (to be a caliph or *murshid*) qualifies (Sultan 2015: 164-167).

5.4.3 The Main Teachings of *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya*

- 1) *Yaqza*: Awareness of himself as a despicable creature before God Almighty.
- 2) *Tawba*: Begging forgiveness for all sins.
- 3) *Muḥāsaba*: Self-introspection.
- 4) *Ināba*: Desire to return to God.
- 5) *Tafakkur*: Reflection or contemplation on the greatness of God.
- 6) *I'tisam*: Always acting as God's *khalīfa* on earth.
- 7) *Firār*: Fleeing from evil and worldly affairs that are not useful
- 8) *Riyāḏa*: Practising charity as much as possible.
- 9) *Tashakkur*: Always gives thanks to God by serving and praising Him.
- 10) *Simā'*: Concentrates all limbs and senses in following the commandments of God especially the sense of hearing (Hamid 1990: 181 and S. Mulyati: 2005: 130-131).

Dhikr Teaching in Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya

According to K.H. A. Azis Masyhuri, a *sālik* is taught that in the *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya*, there is one practice entitled *al-Asmā al-Sab'a* (seven names) of God or the seven kinds of *dhikrs* that connect the seven levels of the souls:

The first level: The *dhikr* لا اله الا الله لا إله إلا الله [there is no god but Allāh] is designed to correct the level of the soul called *al-Nafs al-Ammāra* (the Animal Soul).³⁹⁰ This soul is

³⁸⁷ Disciples means students are usually used in the *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya* and others, but in *Yūsufiyya* the followers are usually used, since either *murshid* or students, they all are the followers of the Prophet S.A.W. That is the reason for them being called *tumminawanna karaenga*; meaning the followers of our master.

³⁸⁸ To view the mosque and some activities of the followers of *ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* see Appendix IVB.

³⁸⁹ *Ajam* are not Arab people. In principle, they are divided into two groups: *Ajam* nobility and common *Ajam*. For more information, see Sultan 2015: 221-227.

³⁹⁰ See *Mystical Dimension of Islam* by Schimmel Annemarie (1975: 25).

regarded as hedonistic and preoccupied with animalistic pleasures such as lust and anger, and always encourages the owner to commit sin.

The second level: The *dhikr* الله (Allāh) is connected with *al-Nafs al-Lawwāma* (the reproachful soul). This soul is considered begin to be clean. It admonishes its owner for sinning and encourages him to do good deeds.

The third level: The *dhikr* هو (Huwa/Hū [He]) is associated with *al-Nafs al-Mulḥama* (the inspired soul). This soul is considered more pure; because it actively strives towards piety and, at the same time, actively avoids evil that can pollute it.

The fourth level: The *dhikr* حق (Ḥaqq, the True) is connected with the level of *al-Nafs al-Muṭma'inna* (the calm soul). This soul, in addition to being spiritually clean, is also considered to be at peace in the face of all the trials of life, both joyous and sad.

The fifth level: The *dhikr* حي (Ḥayy, the Source of Life) is associated with *al-Nafs al-Rāḍiya* (the pleased or willing soul). This soul is getting cleaner, quieter and more satisfied with its owner's lot in life because of the realisation that everything comes from God.

The sixth level: The *dhikr* قيوم (Qayyūm, the Eternal). This *dhikr* is connected with the level of the soul called *al-Nafs al-Marḍiyya* (the beloved soul). Building on the previous level, the soul also gains His pleasure.

The seventh level: The *dhikr* قهار (Qahhār, the Mighty) is connected with the level of the soul called *al-Nafs al-Kāmila* (the perfect soul). This soul has reached the highest level or pinnacle of spiritual perfection and will continue to experience this during the lifetime of the owner.

The seven levels of the souls above are essentially based on *Qur'ānic* verses.

The first level is based on the *Qur'ān* 12:53:

وَمَا أُبْرِيْ نَفْسِيْ اِنَّ النَّفْسَ لَأَمَّارَةٌ بِالسُّوْءِ ...

“Verily the (human) self is inclined to soul”

The second level is based on the *Qur'ān* 75: 2:

وَلَا أُقْسِمُ بِالنَّفْسِ اللَّوَّامَةِ

“And I swear by the self-reproaching person (a believer)”

The third level is based on the *Qur'ān* 91:7-8

وَنَفْسٍ وَمَا سَوَّاهَا. فَأَلْهَمَهَا فُجُورَهَا وَتَقْوَاهَا

“And by *Nafs* (Adam or a person or a soul etc.); and Him Who perfected him in proportion. Then He showed [inspired] him to understand what is wrong for him and what is right for him.”

The fourth level is based on the *Qur'ān* 89:27

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّفْسُ الْمَطْمَئِنَّةُ

“(It will be said to the pious): “O (you) the one in (complete) rest and satisfaction!”

The fifth and the sixth levels are based on the *Qur'ān* 89: 28

أَرْجِعِي إِلَىٰ رَبِّكَ رَاضِيَةً مَّرْضِيَةً

“Come back to your Lord – Well-pleased (yourself) and well-pleasing unto Him.”

The seventh level which is above all the other levels of the soul, is explicitly absent in the *Qur'ān*, because the entire the *Qur'ān* is the perfection of all levels of soul and *dhikr* of the owner (A. Masyhuri 2011: 119-121).

Although these *dhikrs* were known to Shaykh Yūsuf and even practised by him, he preferred to simplify them by advocating mainly three *dhikrs* namely, *Lā ilāha illā Allāh*, *Allāh-Allāh* and *Huwa-Huwa* (*Hu-Hu* or *ah-ah*) to reach his Lord. This has been taught in most of his treatises and practised by his followers up to today. In his *ṭarīqa*, either the *Khalwatiyya* or *Yūsufiyya*, it is believed that *nafs* is essentially seen as a single entity, except for the many levels of worldly matters that can influence it, so Shaykh Yūsuf maintains that the soul can be either in a state of *ammāra*, *lawwāma* or *muṭma'inna*. These states are related to the teachings of God in the mundane existence of the world, because humans were created for doing *mu'āmalā*, in addition to worship and *ma'rifa*. However, *rāḍiya* is the state of *muṭma'inna* which has been sanctified by devotion, and *marḍiyya* is the gift of God to the *muṭma'innat al-rāḍiya*. Both are directly related to the afterlife on the day of Resurrection when there is no a physical duty of worship, such as *ṣalāt*, *dhikr* etc., (Sultan 2015: 170).

On the other hand, the seventh level of *dhikrs* and souls above are still practised in *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Sammān* or *Sammāniyya* up to today, especially the *dhikr Lā ilāha illā Allāh* with more expressive sounds and movements. In addition, Shaykh Sammān also left out the

ṣalāwāt namely *ṣalāwāt nuqṭah*.³⁹¹

According to Sultan in his small book about *Dhikr Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya* that it seems that in the *Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* and *Khalwatiyya Sammān ṣūfī* orders there are several groups of *Shaykh-Murshids* and each has followers. Nevertheless, among the groups *Yūsufiyya* and *Sammāniyya* there are no differences in terms of principles and purpose, both only have their own way or method in achieving their goals to be as close as possible to God Almighty and together with Him (Sultan 2018: 63).

Ādāb [Etiquettes] of Dhikr in Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya

There are some *ādāb* [etiquettes] that must be obeyed by the *sālik*, either before uttering *dhikr*, when uttering *dhikr* or after uttering *dhikir*.

Ādāb [etiquettes] that must be done before one performs *dhikr* are:

- 1) *Tawba* from all violations and sins which have no benefit for the life Hereafter.
- 2) Purity of body by taking a bath or ablution.

Ādāb [etiquettes] that must be done while one is uttering *dhikr*, such as:

- 1) Sitting in a holy place, such as a place of prayer.
- 2) Wearing clean and respectable clothes.
- 3) Choosing a dark place.
- 4) Closing both eyes.
- 5) Utmost humility.

The *ādāb* [etiquettes] that someone should do after the *dhikr* have been completed, are:

- 1) Continuing with the *dhikr* silently while waiting for the *wird* [the result of *dhikr*]
- 2) Holding one's breath.
- 3) Correcting the heart (meaning a *sālik* must purify his heart from all bad desires and all bad things)
- 4) Removing the veil (barrier) from the devil's lust. So after correcting the heart, the veil (barrier) from the devil's lust will also be removed
- 5) Refraining from drinking water because it can extinguish the heat gained from the *dhikr*

³⁹¹For more information about the teaching of *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Sammān* or *Sammāniyya*, refers to his book *al-Nafḥat al-Ilāhiyyah* or see about *Ṭarīqat Sammāniyya* in *Satu Tuhan Seribu Jalan Sejarah, Ajaran dan Gerakan Tarekat di Indonesia* by Abdul Wadud Kasyful Humam (2013: 162-179).

and can eliminate the heart's longing for God (Humam 2013: 81; see also Sultan 2015: 172).

5.4.4 Rituals and Practices in *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf*

In *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya* there are special rituals to be performed as in other *ṣūfī* orders such as *talqīn* and *dhikr*. In this *Ṭarīqa*, however, there are no genealogical reading, no *ratīb*, and no *istighātha*, but *sunnat duḥā'* should be done to initiate *tālqin*.³⁹²

1) *Bay'a (Talqīn)*

Bay'a in *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya* can be done anytime but it is usually done after *sunnat duḥā'* prayer. These events are usually organised as follows:

- (a) Prospective students must purify their heart by filling it with good thoughts and intentions.
- (b) The *Murshid* who will accept the pledge and the prospective students perform ablution and wear clean and modest clothes.
- (c) The *Murshid* leads the *duḥā'* prayer in the mosque or the prayer-room at the *murshid's* house. After prayer, the prospective students are invited to sit on white cloth in a semicircle around the *murshid*. The men are separated from the women (Sultan 2015: 172-173).

In addition to the seating arrangements, the prospective students must follow the instructions of the *murshid* below:

- Utmost sincerity.
- Reciting the *basmala* and *ṣalāwa*
- Reading the *Qur'ānic* verse 48:10

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يُبَايِعُونَكَ إِنَّمَا يُبَايِعُونَ اللَّهَ يَدُ اللَّهِ فَوْقَ أَيْدِيهِمْ فَمَنْ نَكَثَ فَإِنَّمَا يَنْكُثُ عَلَى نَفْسِهِ وَمَنْ أَوْفَى بِمَا
عُهِدَ عَلَيْهِ اللَّهُ فَمَا لِيُبَدِّلَهُ أَجْرًا عَظِيمًا

“Verily, those who give *Bay'ā* (pledge) to you (O Muḥammad) they are giving *Bay'ā* (pledge) to Allāh. The Hand of Allāh is over their hands. Then whosoever break his pledge, breaks only to his own harm, and whosoever fulfills what he has covenanted with Allāh, He will bestow on him a great reward.”

- Reciting the *Shahāda*

³⁹² *Ratīb*, and *istighātha* are other kinds of remembrances. Both are collection of *wirid* and *dhikr*.

- Reading the *du'ā* إلهي أنت مقصودي ورضاك أنت مطلوبي (*Ilāhī Anta Maqshūdī wa Riḍāka Anta Maṭlūbī*) "Oh my Lord You are my intention and Your Pleasure I seek."
- Reciting لا إله إلا الله and accompanying it with *dhikr khāfi* movements as much as 100 times, reciting لا إله إلا الله, and then completing it with محمد رسول الله
- Reading the *du'ā talqīn*³⁹³
اللَّهُ الْعَلِيُّ الْحَقُّ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ مَالِكُ الْعَرْشِ الْعَظِيمِ. اللَّهُمَّ أَخْشَرْنَا فِي زُمْرَةِ أَهْلِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ؛ وَأَحْيَيْنَا بِلَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَأَمْتَنَا عَلَى قَوْلِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ؛ وَاجْعَلْ آخِرَ كَلَامِنَا لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ؛ اللَّهُمَّ تَوَرَّ قُلُوبَنَا بِالذِّكْرِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَنَقِّ أَرْوَاحَنَا بِالذِّكْرِ اللَّهُ - اللَّهُ وَبَارِكْ أَسْرَارَنَا بِالذِّكْرِ هُوَ - هُوَ بِحُسْنِكَ وَكَرَمِكَ وَرَحْمَتِكَ يَا أَرْحَمَ الرَّاحِمِينَ، وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَمِينَ يَا رَبَّ الْعَالَمِينَ.
- Closing the session by reading *Surat al-Fātiḥa* (Sultan 2015: 173-174)

Dhikr

In *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf*, the *dhikr* which is taught to followers consists of three kinds as has been mentioned previously:

- (a) *Dhikr Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh (dhikr nāfi Isbath)*. This *Dhikr* is usually given to the novice students with *dhikr* practice as much as 10-100 times every day. It can be increased to 300 times every day if their spiritual station is already higher.
- (b) *Dhikr Allāh, Allāh (dhikr ismu I-jalāla)*. This *dhikr* is usually given to students who have reached a special level, and which is done between 40 to 200 or 300 times every day.
- (c) *Dhikr huwa, huwa (dhikr ismu I-ishāra)*. This *dhikr* is given to students who have reached a more specialised level and this *dhikr* is done between 100 and 700 times every day. But the usual amount is usually around 300 times every day and it builds from there until he reaches the highest level. It is known that he has reached the stage of *ma'rifat Allāh*, and at the same time he can be a caliph (Sultan 2015: 174).

There are twelve etiquettes when engaging *dhikr*:

- Sitting as in prayer in a clean place.
- Placing one's hands on both thighs.
- The heart, body, and clothes should be clean.
- Using neat and fragrant clothes.
- Looking for a quiet and isolated place.
- Closing one's eyes for concentration.

³⁹³For the translation of this *du'ā*, please see the ritual and practices of *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* (Gowa Version) in the next section.

- Imagining sitting with one's *murshid*.
- Engaging sincerely with the *dhikr*, so the vibrations of the heart can fill the surroundings.
- Utmost sincerity
- Synchronising the *dhikr* with the movement of *dhikr*.
- Bringing the meaning of *dhikr* to the heart.
- Imagining the release of spirit from the body so as to elevate his spiritual degree (Sultan 2015: 175; see also S. Mulyati 2005: 135-136).

The ways of *dhikr* are as follows:

- *Dhikr* is performed not too loudly and accompanied by calm movements.
- Its implementation is mostly done at home.
- It is performed between *Maghrib* and '*Isha* prayers.
- *Dhikr* starts with a *tahīyya* sitting position
- The *dhākir* strives to calm himself and cleanse his heart.
- The reading of *al-Fātiḥa* is dedicated to the prophet, the [late] parents, and to the [late] shaykh who accepted his *bay 'a*.
- Reading *istighfār* in groups of 3, 7, or 21 as *tawbat al-nasūḥā*.
- Reading a *du'a* before *dhikr*.³⁹⁴
- Repeating the *dhikr* as much as 100 times.
- Ending with a *du'ā* after *dhikr*.³⁹⁵ (Sultan 2015: 175; see also S. Mulyati 2005: 136-137).

As for the ritual and practices of *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Sammān* or *Ṭarīqa Sammāniyya*, they only exist by the explanation and guidance of his Shaykh or his own *murshid*. The disciple does not follow any path, except the one indicated by is not going anywhere, but is everywhere with his *murshid* (Sultan 2018: 63).

³⁹⁴See *du'ā* No. 12a in the Ritual and Practices of *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya*.

³⁹⁵See *du'ā* 12b in the Ritual and Practices of *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya*.

5.5 His *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Yūsufiyya Şūfī Order* and His *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*

5.5.1 An Overview of *Yūsufiyya*

This *ṭarīqa* is mentioned only in brief. It is not surprising when one examines the teachings of the *ṭarīqa* of Shaykh Yūsuf that established itself in South Sulawesi that it is a composite of the teachings of the *şūfī* orders [*turuq*] which he had followed and studied in the past.

This is the reason why no one mentions the genealogy of *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* because it does not have a specific genealogy. The only lineages that are mentioned are the five *şūfī* orders that Shaykh Yūsuf taught; namely *Qādiriyya*, *Naqshabandiyya*, *Bā 'Alawiyya*, *Shatthariyya* and *Khalwatiyya*.

My grandfather, Muḥammad Sultan Baitullah [Muḥammad Şulṭān Bayt Allāh], was one of the *murshid Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* in South-Sulawesi, whose lineage was traced through 'Abd al-Başīr al-Ḍarir Tuan Rappang to Jami' al-Dīn bin Ṭālib al-Tīmī to 'Abd al-Qadīr Karaeng Majannang and so on which makes him the seventh generation descendant from Shaykh Yūsuf and the forty-second from the Prophet SAW. In addition to teaching *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf*, he also taught *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* (Gowa version), which is a composite of some of the shortened and simplified *Ṭarīqa* of Shaykh Yūsuf, both the recitation of *dhikr* and prayer or practice of his spiritual experiences. Although this Shaykh did not have a special diploma, but the five certificates of the *şūfī* orders from Shaykh Yūsuf were in his possession as the *sembangan* heir.³⁹⁶

A *Murshid* with a direct lineage from Shaykh Yūsuf is considered one of the *murshid* heirs of the *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya*, even if he does not hold a special diploma and genealogy of one of the *şūfī* orders. This transfer of experiences from one *murshid* to another *murshid* heir is not the same as the transfer of one caliph to another with special certificates and *silsila*.

Interestingly, to be a *murshid* in *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* is not easy, since he must connect with the spirit of the Prophet Muḥammad SAW or Shaykh Yūsuf himself or both in his spiritual journey who permits to continue its teaching. Therefore, the transfer experience from one *murshid* heir to another occurs when the *murshid* has met the spirit of the Messenger of Allāh [SAW] or the spirit of Shaykh Yūsuf who permits him to continue his teaching through this *ṭarīqa*.

Students who are not heirs are limited to becoming followers and practitioners of *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya*, so that anyone of their family and friends who wish to become disciples as well as

³⁹⁶See the footnote No. 384 above and the explanation of *Sembangan* in Chapter Two p. 31.

practitioners of *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* may be bound by *bay'at* to the *murshid* heirs.

It is narrated that the the first *murshid* heir of *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* in Gowa and Tallo was Abd al-Hamid Karaeng Karunrung, and as his first disciple was Jami' al-Dīn bin Ṭālib al-Tīmī al-Maqassarī, who later became a caliph of *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* after his devotion to Shaykh Abd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīr al-Khalwatī al-Raffānī (Sultan 2008: 37).

Shaykh Yūsuf's son Muḥammad 'Abd al-Kabīr who was known as *Tuwang ri Takalarak*, taught *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* (Takalar's version) with *Tamparang Taenayya Sandakanna* (the Unexpected Sea that signified the vast knowledge of Shaykh Yūsuf). Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, known as *Ance Daeng*, and his son Muḥammad Ḥanafī (*Tuwang ri Beba*) taught *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* (Beba version) with *Langik Taenayya Birinna* (the Infinite Sky). Here, Shaykh Yūsuf's knowledge is compared to a sky without horizons. Another student was Muḥyi al-Dīn, or perhaps 'Abd Allāh *Tuwang ri Dīma*, the son of Shaykh Yūsuf, who was delegated to Bima. He composed and taught *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* (Bima version) with *Biseang Taenayya Gulinna* (the Boat without a Rudder). This title again signifies Shaykh Yūsuf's immense knowledge which can guide anyone to the correct destination.³⁹⁷ Shaykh al-'Alam Muḥammad Jaylānī taught *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* as well as *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* and then continued until his great descendant, Shaykh K.H. Sahib Sultan whose father composed a simplified version of all the teachings of Shaykh Yūsuf that was known as *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* (Gowa version).

Since my father is not only a *murshid* of *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya* but also a *murshid* of *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya*, his *ṭarīqa* is known as *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya*. He uses his *Khalwatiyya* certificate as his grip handle although he has the five certificates from Shaykh Yūsuf.³⁹⁸

Although *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* has developed in various versions, as mentioned above, there are no fundamental differences in terms of teaching and purpose. Each version has its own way or method of achieving its goal of being as close as possible to God Almighty.

5.5.2 The Way for being as Close as Possible to Allāh in *Tarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* (Gowa Version)

According to the Gowa version (the version of Muḥammad Ṣulṭān Bayt Allāh), this is achieved through the understanding that although the *nafs* or soul is essentially a single entity with many worldly influences that may affect it, the soul can only be *ammāra*, *lawwāma* or *muṭma'inna*. These states are related to the teachings of God in mortal life since men are

³⁹⁷For more information see Daeng Magassing (1933: 91:92) and Sibali (1994: 37).

³⁹⁸As for the *silsila* of *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* and its branches including *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya*, see Appendix IV Part A.

created, not only to worship and *ma'rifa* but also to do *mu'āmala* (social dealings). Being *rāḍiya* is a state of *muṭma'inna* that has been sanctified with devotion, while *marḍiyya* is a gift of God to the *muṭmai'nnat al-rāḍiya*. This will be awarded to the servant in paradise on the day of Resurrection where there will no longer be obligations to worship. The Words of God in *Sūrat al-Shams* (*Qur'ān*, 91:9):

قَدْ أَفْلَحَ مَنْ زَكَّاهَا

“Indeed he succeeds who purifies his ownself (i.e. by obeys and performs all that Allāh ordered, by following the true Faith of Islamic Monotheism and by doing righteous good deeds).”

And His words in *Sūrat al-Fajr*, verses 27-30:

يَا نَفْسُ النَّفْسُ الْمُطْمَئِنَّةُ (٢٧) أَرْجِعِي إِلَىٰ رَبِّكِ رَاضِيَةً مَّرْضِيَّةً ٢٨ فَأَدْخُلِي فِي عِبْدِي (٢٩) وَأَدْخُلِي جَنَّاتِي

“(It will be said to the pious): “O (you) the one in (complete) rest and satisfaction! Come back to your Lord – Well-pleased (yourself) and well-pleasing unto Him. Enter you, then, among My honoured slaves. And enter you My Paradise!”

The three levels of souls are connected to the three kinds of *dhikrs*: *Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh*, *Allāh-Allāh*, and *Huw-Huw*.

These three *dhikr* are used then to bring the soul from the lower level to the higher level.

First, the phrase لا اله الا الله is a reliever of *ammāra*.

Second, الله-الله is a supporter of *lawwāma*.

Third, the pronoun هو- هو is a supporter of *muṭma'inna*.

In other words, the *dhikr* لا اله الا الله cleanses the soul of *ammāra* and takes it into *lawwāma*, the *dhikr* الله-الله brings the soul from *lawwāma* to *muṭma'inna*, the *dhikr* هو- هو adorns *muṭma'inna* with *rāḍiya* which is pleasing to Him [*marḍiyya*]; who, after death, will be called to join the congregation which has gained favour in the grave [*barzakh*], and who will finally be commanded to enter paradise.

According to the *ṣūfīs*, the *ahl al-dhikr*, in addition to gaining pleasure in the world of *barzakh* and the happiness in the hereafter or in the paradise forever, they can also feel the tranquility in their soul in this world and feel as close as possible to Allāh SWT (Glory be to Him and Exalted), as they occupy the state of *fanā' fī Allāh wa baqā' bihī* [annihilation in God and subsistence with Him].

By constant *dhikr*, a servant only remembers Allāh and negates anything but Him. By using the *dhikr*, the servant will finally believe and feel that none is worshiped, intended, and beloved, but Allāh.

Dhikr with the phrase “لا إله إلا الله”, is called *awwām dhikr* (general level) or also called oral *dhikr* (tongue), pronounced as many times as possible but not too loudly. Allāh says:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا اذْكُرُوا اللَّهَ ذِكْرًا كَثِيرًا

“O you who believe! Remember Allāh with much remembrance” (Qur’ān, 33:41).

The words of Prophet SAW:

أفضل الذِّكْر لا إله إلا الله. رواه الترمذى وابن ماجه والحاكم عن الجابر رضى الله عنه.

“The best of *dhikr* is *Lā llāha illā Allāh*” (Narrated by al-Tirmidhī, and Ibn Mājah and al-Ḥākim from Jābir RA (may Allāh be pleased with him).

“الله-الله” is called *khawās dhikr* (the elite *dhikr*) or also called as *qalb dhikr* (heart *dhikr*), the heart engages *dhikr* repeatedly until it becomes peaceful. Allāh says:

...أَلَا بِذِكْرِ اللَّهِ تَطْمَئِنُّ الْقُلُوبُ

“Verily in the remembrance of Allāh do hearts find rest” (Qur’ān, 13:28).

“هو-هو” is called *dhikr akhaṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ* (the elite of elites or the superlative elites) or also called *dhikr sirr* (*dhikr* of the innermost recess), the most soulful *dhikr*, as mentioned in *Ḥadīth Qudsī*:

مَنْ ذَكَرَنِي فِي نَفْسِهِ ذَكَرْتُهُ فِي نَفْسِي

“Whoever remembers me in his soul, I will remember him in Myself”

And His words:

فَأَذْكُرُونِي أَذْكُرْكُمْ ...

“Therefore remember Me (by praying, glorifying etc.), I will remember you...” (Qur’ān, 2:152).

Reciting “هو-هو” in the heart or in the soul for Allāh:

هُوَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ

“He is Allāh, then Whom there is *lā ilāha illā Huwa* (none has the right to be worshipped but He)” (Qur’ān, 59:22).

When performing *dhikr*, or remembering God, one must know that God is with His servants according to the words of God in *Surat al-Ḥadīd*:

وَهُوَ مَعَكُمْ أَيْنَ مَا كُنْتُمْ

“... And He is with you (by His knowledge) wheresoever you may be...” (Qur’ān, 57:4).

Therefore always remember Allāh “There is no god but Allāh (لا إله إلا الله), in accordance with His words in *Sūra Ṭāhā*:

إِنِّي أَنَا اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا أَنَا فَاعْبُدْنِي وَأَقِمِ الصَّلَاةَ لِذِكْرِي

“Verily! I am Allāh! *Lā ilāha illā Anā* (none has the right to be worshipped but I), so worship Me, and perform *al-ṣalā* (*‘iqāmat al-ṣalā*) for My Remembrance” (Qur’ān, 20:14).

Engaging *dhikr* (الله - الله), remembering Allāh and feeling together with Him is special. The servant remembers Allāh only, and not other creatures with (هو - هو) until *fanā’ fī Allāh wa baqā’ bihī* [annihilation in God and subsistence with Him]. This experience is for the super elite.

In other words, the special feeling when a servant enters the presence of God resembles a lightning flash. It is rarely lasts long, and after the servant's feelings subside to the earlier level, he is conscious of himself and conscious of his God. He remains a servant and his God is still God. Such a servant continues *dhikr* by mentioning the name of Allāh (Hu-Hu) in his heart so as to remain in the group of people who are with Allāh; the أهل الذكر).

Therefore, it is known that the accompaniment of Allāh with His servant either who is engaging *dhikr* or not, is normal. But the accompaniment of a servant with Allāh is special, in the sense that it is only reserved for the servant who really remembers or engages in *dhikr*.

5.5.3 Rituals and Practices in *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufīyya* (Gowa Version)

Rituals in *Yūsufīyya* are like rituals in *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya* above. Their practices are the composition of some *ṣūfī* orders of Shaykh Yūsuf that have been symplified (Version of Muḥammad Ṣultān Bayt Allāh).

The practices are as follows:³⁹⁹

1) **Reciting al-Fātiḥa to:**
the Prophet SAW

إِلَى حَضْرَةِ النَّبِيِّ الْمُصْطَفَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ. الْفَاتِحَةَ ...

Then to the spirit of Shaykh Yūsuf, Sayyidinā al-Salāma QS (may Allāh sanctify His innermost recesses), al-Fātiḥa ...

ثُمَّ إِلَى رُوحِ الشَّيْخِ يُوسُفَ سَيِّدِنَا السَّلَامَةِ قَدَّسَ اللَّهُ سِرَّهُ. الْفَاتِحَةَ ...

Then to the spirit of Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣulṭān Bayt Allāh QS (may Allāh sanctify His innermost recesses), al-Fātiḥa...

ثُمَّ إِلَى رُوحِ الشَّيْخِ مُحَمَّدِ سُلْطَانِ بَيْتِ اللَّهِ قَدَّسَ اللَّهُ سِرَّهُ. الْفَاتِحَةَ ...

Then to the souls of Shaykha Nūr I-Ṣūfī QS (may Allāh sanctify Her innermost recesses), al-Fātiḥa...

ثُمَّ إِلَى رُوحِ الشَّيْخَةِ نُورِ الصُّوفِيَّةِ قَدَّسَ اللَّهُ سِرَّهَا. الْفَاتِحَةَ ...

Then to the souls of the murshids (teachers) of Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya (may Allāh sanctify the innermost recesses of them all, al-Fātiḥa ...

ثُمَّ إِلَى أَرْوَاحِ مُرْشِدِي الطَّرِيقَةِ الْيُوسُفِيَّةِ قَدَّسَ اللَّهُ أَسْرَارَهُمْ الْفَاتِحَةَ ...

Then to the souls of all followers of Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya (may Allāh sanctify the innermost recesses of them all, al-Fātiḥa ...

ثُمَّ إِلَى أَرْوَاحِ جَمِيعِ الطَّرِيقَةِ الْيُوسُفِيَّةِ قَدَّسَ اللَّهُ أَسْرَارَهُمْ – الْفَاتِحَةَ ...

Then to the souls of mashāykh and murshidīn of ahl-ṭarīqa (may Allāh sanctify the innermost recesses of them all, al-Fātiḥa ...

³⁹⁹For more information to this ritual practice see the handbook of this ṭarīqa entitled: “Ritual Khalwatiyyah Yusufiyyah” by Syeikh K.H.Sahib Sultan Karaeng Nompo, written by H.J.Muzdalifah Sahib, 28 January 2018 which is practised by the followers of this ṭarīqa in every eve of jum’a in the residence of their murshid. Nevertheless, this ritual does not mean only practiced in every eve of Friday, but it is recommended for every day, without limits especially for those who want to undergo sulūk (a spiritual journey to Allāh).

ثُمَّ إِلَى أَرْوَاحِ مَشَائِخِ وَالْمُرْشِدِينَ مِنْ أَهْلِ الطَّرِيقَةِ قَدَّسَ اللَّهُ أَسْرَارَهُمْ – الْفَاتِحَةَ ...

2) Reciting the following *du‘ā*

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الَّذِي لَا يَضُرُّ مَعَ اسْمِهِ شَيْءٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَلَا فِي السَّمَاءِ وَهُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ. ٣٨

"In the name of Allāh with His name, there is nothing on earth and in the sky that can give harm. And He is the All-Hearer, the All-Knower."⁴⁰⁰

3) Reciting *Sūrat al-Nūr (Qur‘ān, 24: 35)* and *Sūrat al-Shūrā’ (Qur‘ān, 42: 52)*

أَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ مِنَ الشَّيْطَانِ الرَّجِيمِ

"I take refuge in Allāh from the accursed shayṭān"

اللَّهُ نُورُ السَّمُوتِ وَالْأَرْضِ مِثْلُ نُورِهِ كَمِشْكَاةٍ فِيهَا مِصْبَاحٌ الْمِصْبَاحُ فِي زُجَاجَةٍ الزُّجَاجَةُ كَأَنَّهَا كَوْكَبٌ دُرِّيٌّ يُوقَدُ مِنْ شَجَرَةٍ مُبَارَكَةٍ زَيْتُونَةٍ لَا شَرْقِيَّةٍ وَلَا غَرْبِيَّةٍ يَكَادُ زَيْتُهَا يُضِيءُ وَلَوْ لَمْ تَمْسَسْهُ نَارٌ نُورٌ عَلَى نُورٍ يَهْدِي اللَّهُ لِنُورِهِ مَن يَشَاءُ وَيَضْرِبُ اللَّهُ الْأَمْثَلَ لِلنَّاسِ وَاللَّهُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ

"Allāh is the Light of the heavens and the earth. The parable of His Light is as (if there were) a niche and within it a lamp, the lamp is in a glass, (and) the glass as it were a brilliant star, lit from a blessed olive-tree, neither of the east (i.e. neither it gets sun-rays only in the morning) nor of the west (i.e. nor it gets sun-rays only in the afternoon,- but it is exposed to the sun all day long), whose oil would almost glow forth (of itself), though no fire touched it. Light upon Light! Allāh guides to His Light whom He wills. And Allāh set forth parables for mankind, and Allāh is all Knower of Everything" (Qur‘ān, 24:35).

4) Reciting *Sūrat al-Shūrā’ (Qur‘ān, 42: 52)*

وَكَذَلِكَ أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَيْكَ رُوحًا مِّنْ أَمْرِنَا مَا كُنْتَ تَدْرِي مَا الْكِتَابُ وَلَا الْإِيمَانُ وَلَكِن جَعَلْنَاهُ نُورًا نَّهْدِي بِهِ مَن نَّشَاءُ مِنْ عِبَادِنَا وَإِنَّكَ لَتَهْدِي إِلَى صِرَاطٍ مُسْتَقِيمٍ ﴿٥٢﴾

"And thus We have sent to you (O Muḥammad ﷺ) Rūḥan (an Inspiration and a Mercy) of Our Commad. You knew not what is the book, not what is Faith? But We have made it (this Qur‘ān) a light wherewith We guide whosoever of Our slaves We will. And verily, you (O Muḥammad ﷺ) are indeed guiding (mankind) to the straight faith (i.e. Allāh religious of Islamic monotheism)" (Qur‘ān, 42:52).

⁴⁰⁰It is recommended to be read at least three times in the morning and in the evening.

5) Reciting *Du'ā* of the Prophet SAW:

اللَّهُمَّ لَكَ الْحَمْدُ أَنْتَ نُورُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَمَنْ فِيهِنَّ وَلَكَ الْحَمْدُ أَنْتَ قَيُّومُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ
وَمَنْ فِيهِنَّ.

“O Allāh to You all Praises, You are the light in the heavens and on the earth and from what is inside them; and to You all Praises, You are the establisher of what in the heavens and on the earth and from what is inside them.”

6) *Du'ā* to be Conveyed to the Prophet Muḥammad SAW, His Family and His Companions.

اللَّهُمَّ يَا نُورَ النُّورِ يَا مُدَبِّرَ الْأُمُورِ بَلِّغْ عَنَّا حَضْرَةَ سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَأَصْحَابِهِ تَحِيَّةً وَسَلَامًا

“O Allāh, the source of the emission of light (*nūr*), O God, the Lord governs all things; may you deliver from us greetings and prosperity to the presence of our leader Muḥammad (SAW) - and his family, and all his companions.”

7) Reciting *Ṣalāwat Nūr al-Anwār* and *Ṣalāwat al-Ummīyya*

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى نُورِ الْأَنْوَارِ وَسِرِّ الْأَسْرَارِ وَتَرَيَاتِقِ الْأَغْيَارِ وَمِفْتَاحِ بَابِ الْيَسَارِ سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ نِ الْمُخْتَارِ وَآلِهِ
الْأَطْهَارِ وَأَصْحَابِهِ الْأَخْيَارِ عَدَدَ نِعَمِ اللَّهِ وَإِفْضَالِهِ

“O God, bestow grace upon the light of all lights, the secret of all secrets, the antidote against others, the opening doors of convenience, that is our Honourable Master of the chosen companions as much as the count of the blessings of Allāh and His bounties.”

8) Reciting *Ṣalāwāt* of a Young Anṣār Man

The Messenger of Allāh S.A.W. said: “There are salutations or *ṣalāwāt* from a young Anṣār man which were never uttered by anyone from my community, i.e.:

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ عَدَدَ مَنْ صَلَّى عَلَيْهِ وَصَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا
أَمَرْتَ بِالصَّلَاةِ عَلَيْهِ. وَصَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا تُبْغِي أَنْ يُصَلَّى
عَلَيْهِ.

“O Allāh, give salutations to Muḥammad the same number as those who bring salutations on him. Give salutations to Muḥammad the same number as those who do not bring salutations on him. Grant salutations for Muḥammad as you commanded to bring salutations on him. Grant salutations for Muḥammad as you would prefer for him to be

given salutations to. Grant salutations for Muḥammad as he should be given salutations to.⁴⁰¹

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ حَتَّى لَا يَبْقَى مِنَ الرَّحْمَاتِ شَيْءٌ

O Allāh, give salutations to Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad until there are no more remnants of salutation left. Have mercy on Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad until there is no more mercy left."⁴⁰²

9) Reciting *Ṣalāwat al-Ummīyya*

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ عَبْدِكَ وَنَبِيِّكَ وَرَسُولِكَ النَّبِيِّ الْأُمِّيِّ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلِّمْ تَسْلِيمًا بِقَدْرِ عَظَمَةِ دَاتِكَ فِي كُلِّ وَقْتٍ وَحِينٍ.

"O Allāh, bestow grace to our master Muḥammad, Your servant, Your Prophet and Your Messenger, the illiterate Holy Prophet and to all his family and companions and bestow salvation with all the Majesty of Your Essence at all *times and circumstances*."

10) Reciting *Istighfār*

أَسْتَغْفِرُ اللَّهَ الْعَظِيمَ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيُّومُ وَأَتُوبُ إِلَيْهِ. ٣-٢١×

I ask forgiveness of Allāh Almighty, who is the only God, the Eternal, Self-Existing, and I repent to Him."

11) *Du'ā Sayyid al-Istighfār*

In singular form

اللَّهُمَّ أَنْتَ رَبِّي، لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا أَنْتَ، خَلَقْتَنِي، وَأَنَا عَبْدُكَ، وَأَنَا عَلَى عَهْدِكَ وَوَعْدِكَ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُ، أَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ شَرِّ مَا صَنَعْتُ، أَبُوْءُكَ بِنِعْمَتِكَ عَلَيَّ، وَأَبُوْءُكَ بِدُنْيِي، فَاعْفِرْ لِي، فَإِنَّهُ لَا يَغْفِرُ الذُّنُوبَ إِلَّا أَنْتَ.

In plural form

اللَّهُمَّ أَنْتَ رَبُّنَا، لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا أَنْتَ، خَلَقْتَنَا، وَنَحْنُ عِبَادُكَ، وَنَحْنُ عَلَى عَهْدِكَ، وَوَعْدِكَ مَا اسْتَطَعْنَا، نَعُوذُ بِكَ مِنْ شَرِّ مَا صَنَعْنَا، نَبُوْءُكَ بِنِعْمَتِكَ عَلَيْنَا، وَنَبُوْءُكَ بِدُنْيَانَا، فَاعْفِرْ لَنَا فَإِنَّهُ لَا يَغْفِرُ الذُّنُوبَ إِلَّا أَنْتَ.

⁴⁰¹See Al-Hafidz bin al-Jauzi, Bustān al-Wahidhin: p. 409 in Sultan 2018: 8-9.

⁴⁰²The same source as has been mentioned above in Sultan 2018: 9-10.

"O Allāh you are our Lord, there is no god but You, You have created us, and we are Your servants. And we abide by our covenants and promise to You to the best of our ability. We take refuge in You from the iniquity of our deeds. We turn to You for the blessings which You have given us, and for our sins. So forgive us, verily none can forgive sins other than You."

12) Reciting the following Du'ā

a. This du'ā is recited before doing dhikr

إِلَهِي أَنْتَ مَقْصُودِي وَرِضَاكَ مَطْلُوبِي أَعْطِنِي مَحَبَّتَكَ وَمَعْرِفَتَكَ وَلَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْعَظِيمِ.
(Singular form)

اللَّهُمَّ أَنْتَ مَقْصُودُنَا وَرِضَاكَ مَطْلُوبُنَا أَعْطِنَا مَحَبَّتَكَ وَمَعْرِفَتَكَ وَلَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْعَظِيمِ .
(Plural form)

My Lord (only) You are my objective and Your pleasure do I seek, grant me Your love and Your recognition. There is no power to turn away and no power to do good except with Allāh the Most High, the Great. .

b. This du'ā is recited after doing dhikr

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

اللَّهُ الْعَلِيُّ الْحَقُّ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ مَلِكُ الْعَرْشِ الْعَظِيمِ.

اللَّهُمَّ احْشُرْنَا فِي زُمْرَةِ أَهْلِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ. وَأَحْيِنَا بِإِلَهِهِ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَأَمِتْنَا عَلَى قَوْلِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَاجْعَلْ آخِرَ كَلَامِنَا لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ. اللَّهُمَّ نَوِّرْ قُلُوبَنَا بِإِذْكَرِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَتَقِ أَرْوَاحَنَا بِالذِّكْرِ اللَّهُ - اللَّهُ وَبَارِكْ أَسْرَارَنَا بِالذِّكْرِ هُوَ - هُوَ. بِحُسْنِكَ وَكَرَمِكَ يَا أَرْحَمَ الرَّاحِمِينَ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ، آمِينَ يَا رَبَّ الْعَالَمِينَ.

"Allāh the Most High, the Most True, there is no god but He, the Ruler of the great throne. O Allāh, gather us together with a group of people who utter لا إله إلا الله, make us live with لا إله إلا الله, and make us die saying لا إله إلا الله, and make our last statement لا إله إلا الله; enliven our hearts with dhikr لا إله إلا الله; purify our innermost recesses with dhikr الله - الله; and bless our innermost recesses with dhikr هو - هو; with Thy beauty, and Thy glory and Thy mercy, O the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. And salutation be upon our Master Muḥammad with his family and his companions and

peace; āmēn. O Lord of the Worlds.” This is also used as a part of the pool of practical *dhikrs* used in congregation in limited numbers of each *dhikr*.

5.5.4 *Dhikr* in *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya*

Dhikr in *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* is divided into two: first is the special form of *dhikr* and the second is the general form of *dhikr*.

1) *Dhikr* in the special form

That is an activity for remembering Allāh and mentioning His names with special sentences or phrases such as *tasbīḥ*, *taḥmīd* and *tahlīl* which can be done alone or with a group at certain times of the morning or the afternoon. *Dhikr* in this form is also called *dhikr muqayyad* (bound), due to the times and places as well as how it is recited.

The words of Allāh SWT (Glory be to Him and Exalted):

فِي بُيُوتٍ أُدِّنَ اللَّهُ أَنْ تُرْفَعَ وَيُذَكَّرَ فِيهَا أَسْمُهُ يُسَبِّحُ لَهُ فِيهَا بِالْغُدُوِّ وَالْآصَالِ

“In houses (mosques), which Allāh has to be raised (to be cleaned and to be honoured), in them His names is glorified in the morning and in the afternoon or the evening” (Qur’ān, 24Z: 36).

The etiquettes of doing *dhikr* in this form are:

- (a) The material of *dhikr* must originate from *al-Qur’ān* and *al-Sunna*, compiled by scholars.
- (b) It may be uttered loudly, softly or in the heart. This will be explained in brief later.

Dhikr in special form is the soul training through which the aspirant continuously remembers God so and his soul of the servant is always filled with His presence.

فَأَذْكُرُونِي أَذْكُرْكُمْ

“Therefore remember Me, I will remember you.

The Words of God in a *ḥadīth qudsī*:

مَنْ ذَكَرَنِي فِي نَفْسِهِ ذَكَرْتُهُ فِي نَفْسِي

“Whoever remembers Me in his soul, I will remember him in Myself”

2) *Dhikr* in the general form

This means remembering God in every time, place and activity according to the demands and guidance of Allāh and His Messenger (Peace and Blessings be upon him [PBUH]). This form of *dhikr* is the result of the previous *dhikr* form. The earnestness of training in oral *dhikr* will lead to the fixation of *dhikr* in the heart that influences his daily behaviour. *Dhikr* in this form is called *dhikr muṭlaq* (free) which is not limited by time and place (Sultan 2013: 7-8). As God says:

فَإِذَا قَضَيْتُمُ الصَّلَاةَ فَادْكُرُوا اللَّهَ قِيَمًا وَقُعُودًا وَعَلَىٰ جُنُوبِكُمْ ...

So when you have finished your prayer, remember Allāh standing, sitting and lying down (Qur'ān, 4: 103).

The Three Methods of Engaging in Dhikr

(a) *Dhikr al-Jahr* (الذكر الجهر)

Dhikr al-Jahr is engaging in *dhikr* with lip movements and soft sounds that are not too loud.

(b) *Dhikr al-Khafī* (الذكر الخفي)

Dhikr al-Khafī is engaging in *dhikr* without lip movements, but by tongue or by lip movements and faint sounds.

(c) *Dhikr Sirr* (الذكر السر)

Dhikr Sirr is engaging in *dhikr* with the heart, which is also called as (الذكر القلب)⁴⁰³

The Ways of Doing Dhikr

In general the ways of doing or engaging in *dhikr* in *ṭarīqa Yūsufiyya* or *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* are as follows:

Engaging in *dhikr* by sitting and (*tafakkur* [contemplation]) at a certain spot or in a quiet place while mentioning the name of Allāh and always remembering Him. At first, tongue *dhikr* of لا إله إلا الله is done whereby one's breath is visualized as stretching from the navel to the brain when reciting the *Lā*. It is accompanied by appropriate head movements. Then follows the word *ilāha* with the head shifting to the right side, and then moving the head to the left while reciting the phrase *illa-Allāh* - and "striking" the phrase upon the heart with intensity and remembering

⁴⁰³See the notebook of Sultan (2013: 6).

the meaning of this phrase. The intensity should be of such a kind that its "heat" permeates the entire body. After the effect of the *dhikr* is felt in all parts of body the reciter moves to the *dhikr* of the heart by reciting **الله الله**. This sequence begins at the heart, followed by the mouth and finally the tongue which moves alone by unconscious *dhikr*. The third or soul *dhikr* is also called the *dhikr* of the innermost recesses [هو هو], when the *dhākir* only remembers Allāh. The *sālik* is not like a common man; he feels inner calmness, then annihilation in God and subsistence in Him to derive His pleasure. These methods are composites of some of his masters' teachings; especially his *Naqshabandiyya* and *Shattariyya* with *Khalwatiyya's* masters.⁴⁰⁴

It has been mentioned above that these three kinds of *dhikrs* are used to bring soul from the lowest level to the highest level through three soul stages, i.e. *ammāra*, *lawwāma* and *muṭmainna* souls (Sultan 2008: 206-207).

Dhikr started by reciting:

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ الْمَلِكُ الْحَقُّ الْمُبِينُ. مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ الصَّادِقُ الْوَعْدِ الْأَمِينُ. ٣x

There is no God but Allāh, the King, the Right, the Manifest. Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh, the most sincere and the faithful one in promise.

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ ٢x
لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ١x
١٠-١٠٠x

Then *Dhikr ismu al-Jalāla* **الله -الله** as much as 40-200/300 times and the last is *Dhikr ismu al-Ishāra* **هو-هو** as much as 300 times or more. Then to be closed by reciting **لا إله إلا هو** as have been previously mentioned. Nevertheless, when *dhikr* is engaged in congregation on every eve of Jum'a after *farḍ ṣalāt l-'Ishā'*, the number of *dhikrs* are less than normal, due to the time constraints (around one to two hours only) and also they are considered as spiritual practice for *jama'a* followed by a *tawzi'a* of the *murshid*.

⁴⁰⁴Sultan, personal communication, 06 April 2018; see also Appendix IV part A regarding the *dhikr* method in *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* and its images and some images of the *dhikr* methods in *Naqshabandiyya Ṣūfī* Order where he adopted a part.

5.5.5 Some of the Chosen Verses of the Qur'ān, and the Highly Recommended Prayers for Jamā'at al-Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya⁴⁰⁵

1) The verse (Qur'ān, 2: 163)

وَالْهُكْمُ لِلَّهِ وَحْدًا لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الرَّحْمَنُ الرَّحِيمُ

“And Your *Ilāh* is One *Ilāh* (God – Allāh), *lā ilāha illā Huwa* (there is no god but He), the Most Beneficent and the Most Merciful)

2) *Āyat al-Kursī* (Qur'ān, 2: 255)

اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيُّومُ لَا تَأْخُذُهُ سِنَّةٌ وَلَا نَوْمٌ لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مَنْ ذَا الَّذِي يَشْفَعُ عِنْدَهُ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِهِ يَعْلَمُ مَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَمَا خَلْفَهُمْ وَلَا يُحِيطُونَ بِشَيْءٍ مِنْ عِلْمِهِ إِلَّا بِمَا شَاءَ وَسِعَ كُرْسِيُّهُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَلَا يَئُودُهُ حِفْظُهُمَا وَهُوَ الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ .

“Allāh *Lā ilāha illā Huwa* (none has the right to be worshipped but He), the Ever Living, the One Who sustains and protects all that exists. Neither slumber, nor sleep overtakes Him. To Him belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is on the earth. Who is He that can intercede with Him except with His Permission? He knows what happens to them (His creatures) in this world, and what will happen to them in the Hereafter. And they will never compass anything of His Knowledge except that which He wills, His *Kursī* (Throne) extends over the heavens and the earth, and He feels no fatigue in guarding and preserving them. And He is the Most High, the Most Great.”

3) The end of *Sūrat al-Baqara* (Qur'ān, 2: 284-286)

لِلَّهِ مَا فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ وَإِنْ تُبَدُّوا مَا فِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ أَوْ تُخْفُوهُ يُحَاسِبْكُمْ بِهِ اللَّهُ فَيَعْفُورُ لِمَنْ يَشَاءُ وَيُعَذِّبُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَاللَّهُ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ (٢٨٤) ءَأَمَّنَ الرَّسُولُ بِمَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ رَبِّهِ وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ كُلٌّ ءَأَمَّنَ بِاللَّهِ وَمَلَائِكَتِهِ وَكُتُبِهِ وَرُسُلِهِ لَا نَقِرُّ بَيْنَ بَيْنٍ أَحَدٍ مِنْ رُسُلِهِ وَقَالُوا سَمِعْنَا وَأَطَعْنَا غُفْرَانَكَ رَبَّنَا وَإِلَيْكَ الْمَصِيرُ (٢٨٥) لَا يَكْفُرُ اللَّهُ نَفْسًا إِلَّا وُسْعَهَا لَهَا مَا كَسَبَتْ وَعَلَيْهَا مَا اكْتَسَبَتْ رَبَّنَا لَا تُؤَاخِذْنَا إِنْ نَسِينَا أَوْ أَخْطَأْنَا رَبَّنَا وَلَا تَحْمِلْ عَلَيْنَا إِصْرًا كَمَا حَمَلْتَهُ عَلَى الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِنَا رَبَّنَا وَلَا تُحَمِّلْنَا مَا لَا طَاقَةَ لَنَا بِهِ وَاعْفُ عَنَّا وَاعْفِرْ لَنَا وَارْحَمْنَا أَنْتَ مَوْلَانَا فَانصُرْنَا عَلَى الْقَوْمِ الْكَافِرِينَ .

“To Allāh belongs all that is in the heavens and all that is on the earth, and whether you disclose what is in your own selves or counceal it. Allāh will call you to account for it .

⁴⁰⁵ For more information see the notebook of Sultan (2013: 19-46).

Then He forgives whom He wills and punishes whom He wills. And Allāh is able to do all things.”

“The Messenger (Muḥammad ﷺ) believes in what has been sent down to him from his Lord, and (so do) the believers. Each one believes in Allāh, His Angels, His books and His Messengers. They say, “We make no distinction between one another of His Messengers – and they say, “ We hear and we obey. (We seek) Your Forgiveness our Lord, and to You is the return (of all).”

“Allāh burdens not a person beyond his scope. He gets reward for that (good) which he has earned, and he is punished for that (evil) which he has earned. “Our Lord Punish us not if we forget or fall into error, our Lord! Lay not on us a burden like that which You did lay on those before us (“Jews and Chritiants), our Lord! Put not on us a burden greater than we have strength to bear. Pardon us and grant us Forgiveness. Have mercy on us. You are our of Maulā (Patron, Supporter and Protector, etc.) and give us victory over the disbelieving people.”⁴⁰⁶

4) Sūra Āl ‘Imrān (Qur’ān, 3: 18-19)

شَهِدَ اللَّهُ أَنَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ وَالْمَلَائِكَةُ وَأُولُو الْعِلْمِ قَائِمًا بِالْقِسْطِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ (١٨) إِنَّ الدِّينَ عِنْدَ
اللَّهِ الْإِسْلَامُ وَمَا اخْتَلَفَ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ إِلَّا مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا جَاءَهُمُ الْعِلْمُ بَغْيًا بَيْنَهُمْ وَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ بِآيَاتِ اللَّهِ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ
سَرِيعُ الْحِسَابِ

“Allāh bears witness that Lā ilāha illā Huwa (none has the right to be worshipped but He), and the angels, and those having knowledge (also give this witness), (He is always) maintaining His creation in justice Lā ilāha illā Huwa (none has the right to be worshipped but He), the All-Mighty, the All Wise.”

“Truly, the religious with Allāh is Islam. Those who were given the Scriptures (Jews and Cristians) did not differ except, out of mutual jealousy, after knowledge had come to them. And whoever disbelieves in the Ayāt (proofs, evidences, verses, signs, revelations, etc.) of Allāh, then surely, Allāh is Swift in calling to account.”

5) Sūra Āl ‘Imrān (Qur’ān, 3: 26-27)

قُلِ اللَّهُمَّ مَلِكُ الْمَلِكِ نُورِي الْمَلِكِ مَنْ تَشَاءُ وَتَنْزِعُ الْمَلِكَ مِمَّنْ تَشَاءُ وَتُعِزُّ مَنْ تَشَاءُ وَتُنْزِلُ مَنْ تَشَاءُ بِإِذْنِكَ الْحَيُّ
إِنَّكَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ (٢٦) تُولِجُ اللَّيْلَ فِي النَّهَارِ وَتُولِجُ النَّهَارَ فِي اللَّيْلِ وَتُخْرِجُ الْحَيَّ مِنَ الْمَمِيتِ وَتُخْرِجُ
الْمَمِيتَ مِنَ الْحَيِّ وَتَرْزُقُ مَنْ تَشَاءُ بِغَيْرِ حِسَابٍ

⁴⁰⁶(V.2:286) Narrated Abu Mas‘ūd al-Badrī RA. The Messenger of Allāh SAW said: “Whoever recited the last two Verses of *Sūrat al-Baqara* at night, that will be sufficient for Him.” (*Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol.5, *Ḥadīth* No. 345 in Muhammad Taqī-ud-Dīn al-Hilālī & Muhammad Muhsin Khān 1995: 99).

“Say (O Muḥammad ﷺ) “O Allāh! Possessor of the Kingdom, You give the Kingdom to whom You will, and You take the Kingdom from whom You will, and You endue with honour whom You will, and You humiliate whom You will. In Your Hand⁴⁰⁷ is the good. Verily, You are able to do all things.”

“You make the night to enter into the day, and You make the day to enter into the night (i.e. increase and decrease in the hours of the night and the day during winter and summer), You bring the living out of the dead, and You bring the dead out of the living. And You give wealth and Sustenance to whom You will, without limit (measure or account).”

6) Sūrat al-Isrā (Qur’ān, 17:111)

وَقُلِ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي لَمْ يَتَّخِذْ وَلَدًا وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ شَرِيكٌ فِي الْمَلَكِ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ وَلِيٌّ مِنَ الذُّلِّ وَكَبِيرًا

“And say: “All the praises and thanks be to Allāh, Who has not begotten a son (nor an offspring), and Who has no partner in (His) Dominion, nor He is low to have a Wali (helper, protector or supporter). And magnify Him with all the Magnificence, [Allāhu Akbar (Allāh is the Most Great)]”

7) Sūrat al-Wāqī’a (Qur’ān, 56:88-96)

فَأَمَّا إِنْ كَانَ مِنَ الْمُقَرَّبِينَ (٨٨) فَرَوْحٌ وَرَيْحَانٌ وَجَنَّتْ نَعِيمٌ (٨٩) وَأَمَّا إِنْ كَانَ مِنَ أَصْحَابِ الْيَمِينِ (٩٠) فَسَلَّمَ لَكَ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ الْيَمِينِ (٩١) وَأَمَّا إِنْ كَانَ مِنَ الْمُكْذِبِينَ الضَّالِّينَ (٩٢) فَنُزُلٌ مِنْ حَمِيمٍ (٩٣) وَتَصْلِيَةٌ جَهِيمٍ (٩٤) إِنْ هَذَا لَهُوَ حَقُّ الْيَقِينِ (٩٥) فَسَبِّحْ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ الْعَظِيمِ (٩٦)

“88. Then if he (the dying person) be of the Mauqarrabūn (those brought near to Allāh, 89. (There is for him) rest and provision, and a garden of delights (Paradise).90 And he (the dying person) be of those on the Right Hand, 91. Then there is safety and peace (from the Punishment of Allāh) for (you as you are from) those on the Right Hand.92. But he (the dying person) be of the denying (of the Resurrection), the erring (away from the Right Path of Islamic Monotheism), 93. Then for him is the entertainment with boiling water, 94. And burning in Hell-fire. 95. Verily, this! This is an absolute Truth with certainty.

96. So, glorify with praises the Name of your Lord, the Most Great.”

⁴⁰⁷(V.3:26): عزوجل صفات الله *Ṣifāt Allāh* (The Qualities of Allāh)

All that has been revealed in Allāh’s عزوجل Book [the *Qur’ān*] as regards the [*Ṣifāt*] Qualities of Allāh عزوجل The Most High like His face, Eyes, Hands, Shins, (Legs), His Coming, His *Istawa* (rising over His Throne) and others, etc. of His Qualities, or all that Allāh’s Messenger ﷺ qualified Him in the true authentic Prophet’s *Aḥādīth* (narrations) as regards His Qualities like [*Nuzūl*] His Descent, or His Laughing and others, etc. The religious scholars of “the *Qur’ān* and *Sunna*” believe in the qualities of Allāh and they confirm that these are really His Qualities, without *Ta’wīl* (interpreting their meanings baselessly, etc.) or *Tashbīh* (giving resemblance or similarity to any of the creatures) or *Ta’tīl* (i.e. completely ignoring or denying them i.e. there is no Face, or Eyes or Hands, or Shins, etc. for Allāh). These Qualities befit or suit only Allāh Alone, and He does not resemble any of His creatures. As Allāh’s Statement (in the *Qur’ān*): (1) “There is nothing like unto Him and He is the All-Hearer, the All-Seer.” (V 42:11) (2) “There is none comparable unto Him.” (V 112: 4), (M. Muhsin Khan and M. Taqi-ud-Din al-Hilali 1995: 103).

8) *Sūrat al-Ḥaṣhr (Qur'ān, 59:22-24)*

هُوَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ عِلْمُ الْغَيْبِ وَالشَّهَادَةِ هُوَ الرَّحْمَنُ الرَّحِيمُ (٢٢) هُوَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْمَلِكُ
الْقُدُّوسُ السَّلَامُ الْمُؤْمِنُ الْمُهَيْمِنُ الْعَزِيزُ الْجَبَّارُ الْمُتَكَبِّرُ سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ (٢٣) هُوَ اللَّهُ الْخَلِيقُ الْبَارِئُ
الْمُصَوِّرُ لَهُ الْأَسْمَاءُ الْحُسْنَى يُسَبِّحُ لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَهُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ

“He is Allāh, besides Whom there is Lā ilāha illā Huwa (none has the right to be worshipped but He), the all-Knower of the unseen and the seen (open). He is the Most Beneficent, the most Merciful.”

“He is Allāh, than Whom there is Lā ilāha illā Huwa (none has the right to be worshipped but He), the King, the Holy, the One Free from all defects, the Giver of the security, the Watcher over His creatures, the All-Mighty, the Compeller, the Supreme Glory be to Allāh (High is He) above all that they associate as partner with Him.”

“He is Allāh, the Creator, the investor of all things, the Bestower of forms. To Him belong the Best Names⁴⁰⁸ All that is in the heavens and the earth glorify Him. And He is the All-Mighty, the All-Wise.”

9) *Sūrat al-Shūrā' (Qur'ān, 42:11)*

لَيْسَ كَمِثْلِهِ شَيْءٌ وَهُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْبَصِيرُ

“There is nothing like unto Him, and He is the All-Hearer, the All-Seer⁴⁰⁹”

⁴⁰⁸(V. 59:24) Allāh has one hundred minus one Names (i.e.99).

Narrated Abū Hurayra عنه رضي الله عنه: Allāh has ninety nine Names, i.e. one hundred minus one, and whoever believes in their meanings and acts accordingly, will enter Paradise, and Allāh is Witr (one) and loves the Witr (*Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol.8 *Ḥadīth* No. 419).

⁴⁰⁹In the Qurrat al-'Ayn as interpreted by Tudjimah, it is said that belief in the Ḥaqq Ta'āla should be placed between sanctifying the Absolute One and equating the Absolute One. It means sanctifying Him at the place of equality and likening or equating Him in the place of sanctification. For purifying it is far from equating to the people of verification. Do you understand the Word of God: ليس كمثلته شيء this is a place or stage of *al-Tanzīh* (inequality or sanctification) and وهو السميع البصير as the place or the stage of *al-Tashbīh* (equate). The result of that placement: *al-Tanzīh* remains with *al-Tashbīh*, then he sanctifies and equates. This is the opinion of *Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jama'a* (Tudjimah 1997: 64-65).

Obviously what Shaykh Yūsuf says above that the place of sanctification is the understanding the Words of God ليس كمثلته شيء ("There is nothing like unto Him"); the place of equating is the understanding of the Words of God: وهو السميع البصير ("And He is the All-Hearer, the All-Seer") and the like. So, sanctifying God in the place of equality means that God hears, sees and so falls differently from man and other entities than him hear, see and so forth; while equating God in the place of sanctification, meaning God has qualities of hearing, seeing and so forth not with ears, eyes and other tools as having by human and other creatures. Because there is nothing like unto Him. Briefly, Allāh has the perfect of qualities and the Most Holy of the deficient qualities (Sultan 2008: 131-132; see also a similar and complete interpretation by Prof. Yousuf Dadoo on M.A Rafudeen, personal communication, 16 February 2017).

10) *Sūrat al-Ikhlāş or Tawḥīd (Qur'ān, 112:1-4)*

قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ (١) اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ (٢) لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ (٣) وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ.

- Say, (O Muḥammad صلى الله عليه وسلم): “He is the One.”⁴¹⁰
- “Allāh-aş-Şamad (السيد الذي يصمد اليه في الحاجات) The Self-Sufficient Master: Whom all creatures need, He neither eats nor drinks.
- “He begets, not, nor was He begotten”⁴¹¹.

⁴¹⁰*Tawḥīd* (Islamic Monotheism): It has three aspects: A, B, and C:

- (A) Oneness of the Lordship of Allāh: *Tawḥīd al-Rububiyya*: To believe that there is only one Lord for all the universe, its Creator, Organizer, Planner, Sustainer, and the Giver of security, etc. and that is Allāh.
- (B) Oneness of the worship of Allāh: *Tawḥīd al-Uluhiyya*: To believe that none has the right to be worshipped [e.g. praying, invoking, asking for help (from the unseen), swaring, slaughtering, sacrifices, giving charity, fasting, pilgrimage, etc.] but Allāh.
- (C) Oneness of the Names and Qualities of Allāh: *Tawḥīd al-Asmā' wa al-Şifāt*: To believe that: (i) we must not name or qualify Allāh except with what He or His Messenger has named or qualified Him: (ii) none can be named or qualified with the Names or Qualification of Allāh: e.g. *Karīm*: (iii) We must confirm Allāh's all qualifications which Allāh has stated in His Book (the *Qur'ān*) or mentioned through His Messenger (Muḥammad صلى الله عليه وسلم) without changing them or ignoring them completely or twisting the meanings or giving resemblance to any of the created things; e.g. Allāh is present over His Throne as mentioned in the *Qur'ān* (Vol. 20: 5); “The Most Beneficent (i.e Allāh) iistawa (rose over) the(Mighty Throne” over the seventh haven; and He only come down over the first (nearest) heaven (to us during the day of 'Arafāt (Hajj, i.e. 9th Dhul-Hijja) and also during the last third part of the night, as mentioned by the Prophet, but He is with us by His knowledge only, not by His Personal Self (*Bi-Dhātihī*), “There is nothing like unto Him, and He is the All-Hearer, the All-Seer.” (The *Qur'ān*, V. 42: 11).

This Noble Verse confirms the quality of hearing and the quality of sight for Allāh without resemblance to others; and likewise he also said:

“To one who I have created with Both My hands,” (V. 38:75); and He also said:

“The Hand of Allāh is over their hands”: (V.48:10, the *Qur'ān*). This confirms two hands for Allāh, but there is no similarity for them.

This is the faith of all true believers, and was the Faith of all the Prophets of Allāh from Nūh (Noah), Ibrahīm (Abraham), Mūsa (Moses) and 'Iesa (Christ) till the last of the Prophets, Muḥammad صلى الله عليه وسلم. It is not like as some peopel think that Allāh is present everywhere, here, there and even inside the breasts of men.

These three aspects of *Tawḥīd* are included in the meaning of *Lā ilāha illā Allāh* (none has the right to be worshipped but Allāh).

It is also essential to follow Allāh's Messenger Muḥammad صلى الله عليه وسلم: *Wajūb al-Ittebā'* and it is a part of *Tawḥīd al-Uluhiyya*. This is included in the meaning: “I testify that Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh” and this means, “None has the right to be followed after Allāh's Book (the *Qur'ān*), but Allāh's Messenger صلى الله عليه وسلم. [See the *Qur'ān* (V. 39:7) and (V. 3:31)].

⁴¹¹(V. 112:3)

(A) Narrated Mu'adh bin Jabal رضي الله عنه: The Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم said, “O Mu'adh! Do you know what Allāh's right upon His slaves is? I said, “Allāh and His Messenger know better.” The Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم said, “To worship Him (Allāh) Alone and to join none in worship with Him (Allāh). Do you know upon their right upon Him is?” I replied, “Allāh and His Messenger know better.” The Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم said: “Not to punish them (if they did so),” [Şaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, vol. 9, *Hadīth* No. 470].

(B) Narrated Abu Sa'id al-Khudrī رضي الله عنه: A man heard another man reciting: “Say (O Muḥammad): “He is Allāh (the) One.” (V.112:1) And he recited it repeatedly. When it was morning, he went to the Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم and informed him about that as if as he considered that the recitaion of that *Sūrah* by itself was not enough. Allāh's Messenger صلى الله عليه وسلم said, “By Him in whose hand my life is, it is equal to one-third of the *Qur'ān*.” [Şaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, vol. 9, *Hadīth* No. 471].

(C) Narrated 'Aisha رضي الله عنها: The Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم sent (an army unit) under the command of a man who used to lead his companions in the prayers and would finish his recitation with (the *Sūra* 112): ““Say (O Muḥammad): “He is Allāh (the) One.” (V.112:1). When they returned (from the Battle), they mentioned that to the Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم. He said (to them). “Ask him why he does so.” They asked him and he said. “I do so because it mentones the qualities of the most beneficent and I love to recite it (in my prayers).” The Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم said (to them): “Tell him that Allāh loves him.” [Şaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, vol. 9,

- “And there is none co-equal or comprable unto Him.”

11) Sūrat al-Falaq (Qur’ān, 113: 1-5)

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

قُلْ أَعُوذُ بِرَبِّ الْفَلَقِ (١) مِنْ شَرِّ مَا خَلَقَ (٢) وَمِنْ شَرِّ غَاسِقٍ إِذَا وَقَبَ (٣) وَمِنْ شَرِّ النَّفَّاثَاتِ فِي الْعُقَدِ (٤)
وَمِنْ شَرِّ حَاسِدٍ إِذَا حَسَدَ .

- Say: “I seek refuge with (Allāh) the Lord of the daybreak.
- From the evil of what He has created.
- And from the evil of the darkening (night) as it comes as it darkness (or the moon as it sets or goes away).
- And from the evil of the witchcrafts when they blow in the knots.
- And from the evil of the envier when he envies.”

12) Sūrat al-Nās (Qur’ān, 114: 1-6):

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

قُلْ أَعُوذُ بِرَبِّ النَّاسِ (١) مَلِكِ النَّاسِ (٢) إِلَهِ النَّاسِ (٣) مِنْ شَرِّ الْوَسْوَاسِ الْخَنَّاسِ (٤) الَّذِي يُوَسْوِسُ فِي
صُدُورِ النَّاسِ (٥) مِنَ الْجِنَّةِ وَالنَّاسِ .

- Say: “I seek refuge with (Allāh) the Lord of mankind.
- The King of mankind.
- The llāh (God) of mankind
- From the evil of the whisper (devil who whispers evil in the hearts of men) who withdraws (from his whispering in one’s heart after one remembers Allāh)
- Who whispers in the breasts of mankind.
- Of jinns and men.”

[Hadīth No. 472]. For complete information regarding all the footnotes in this issue of this Qur’ān Chapter, see M. Muhsin Khan and M. Taqi-ud-Din al-Hilali 1995: 884-885 & 911-912).

13) **Sūrat al-Tawba (Qur'ān, 9:128-129):**

لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِّنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ عَزِيزٌ عَلَيْهِ مَا عَنِتُّمْ حَرِيصٌ عَلَيْكُمْ بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَءُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ (١٢٨) فَإِنْ تَوَلَّوْا فَقُلْ
حَسْبِيَ اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ عَلَيْهِ تَوَكَّلْتُ وَهُوَ رَبُّ الْعَرْشِ الْعَظِيمِ (١٢٩)

“Verily, there has come unto you a Messenger (Muḥammad ﷺ) from amongst your selves (i.e whom you know well). It grieves him that you should receive any injury or difficulty. He (Muḥammad ﷺ) is anxious over you (to be rightly guided, to repent to Allāh, and beg Him to pardon and forgive your sins, in order that you may enter Paradise and be saved from the punishment of the Hell-fire), for the believers he ﷺ is full of pity, kind, and merciful.”

But if they turn away, say (O Muḥammad ﷺ): “Allāh is sufficient for Me. Lā ilāha illā Huwa (None is the right to be worshiped but He), in Him I put my trust and He is the Lord of Mighty Throne.⁴¹²

14) **Statement Du‘ā before reading the next one:**

حَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ وَنِعْمَ الْوَكِيلُ نِعْمَ الْمَوْلَى وَنِعْمَ النَّصِيرُ

Allāh is sufficient for us, and He is the best Protector, the best Management and the best Helper.

15) **Five Prayers for the World and five for the Hereafter by Shaykh Abū Mahfūz Ma‘rūf al-Karkhī**

حَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ لِدِينِنَا؛ حَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ لِدُنْيَانَا؛ حَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ الْكَرِيمُ لِمَا أَهَمَّنَا؛ حَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ الْحَلِيمُ الْقَوِيُّ لِمَنْ بَغَى.
عَلَيْنَا؛ حَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ الشَّدِيدُ لِمَنْ كَانَنَا بِسُوْءٍ؛ حَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ الرَّحِيمُ عِنْدَ الْمَوْتِ؛ حَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ الرَّئُوفُ عِنْدَ الْمَسْأَلَةِ فِي
الْقَبْرِ؛ حَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ الْكَرِيمُ عِنْدَ الْحِسَابِ؛ حَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ الطَّيْفُ عِنْدَ الْمِيزَانِ؛ حَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ الْقَدِيرُ عِنْدَ الصِّرَاطِ؛ حَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ
لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ عَلَيْهِ تَوَكَّلْنَا وَهُوَ رَبُّ الْعَرْشِ الْعَظِيمِ

Allāh is sufficient for us for our religion, Allāh is sufficient for us for our worldly life, Allāh the Most Gracious is sufficient for us for whatever troubles us. Allāh the Most Tolerant is sufficient for us and the Strongest against those who turn against us. Allāh the Most Powerful is sufficient for us for those who have bad intentions towards us. Allāh the Most Merciful is sufficient for us for when we die. Allāh the Most Personal is sufficient for us for when we are questioned in our graves, Allāh the Most Gracious is sufficient for us for at the time of reckoning, Allāh the Most Kind is sufficient for us at the scales (of deeds).

⁴¹²Narrated by Ibn ‘Abbās رضي الله عنه. The last statement of Ibrahīm (Abraham) عليه السلام when he was thrown into the fire was: Allāh is sufficient for me and He is the Best Disposer (of my affairs)” (Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, vol. 6, ḥadīth No. 87).

Allāh the Almighty is sufficient for us for when we walk on the *ṣirāṭ* (the bridge separating paradise from hell). Allāh is sufficient for us as there is no god but He. In Him we place our trust; and He is the Lord of the Great Throne.

16) Du‘ā “Sapu Jagat” in Sūrat al-Baqara (Qur‘ān, 2: 201):

رَبَّنَا آتِنَا فِي الدُّنْيَا حَسَنَةً وَفِي الْآخِرَةِ حَسَنَةً وَقِنَا عَذَابَ النَّارِ

"O our Lord, grant us good in the world and good in the hereafter and keep us from the torment of hell."

Additional Du‘ā above:

وَأَدْخِلْنَا الْجَنَّةَ مَعَ الْأَبْرَارِ . يَا عَزِيزُ يَا غَفَّارُ يَا رَبَّ الْعَالَمِينَ .

And enter us into the heavens with those who have done good deeds, O God Almighty, Oft-Forgiving, O Lord of the universe"

17) Sūrat al-Sāffāt (Qur‘ān, 37:80-82)

إِنَّا كَذَلِكَ نَجْزِي الْمُحْسِنِينَ ٨٠ إِنَّهُ مِنْ عِبَادِنَا الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ٨١ ثُمَّ أَعْرَفْنَا الْأَخْرِينَ

"Verily, thus we reward the Muḥsinūn (good doers). Verily, he Nuh (Noah) عليه السلام was one of Our believing slave. Then We drowned the other (disbelievers and polytheists, etc."

18) Sūrat al-Fātiḥa

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ (١) الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ (٢) الرَّحْمَنُ الرَّحِيمِ (٣) مَلِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ (٤) إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ
وَإِيَّاكَ نَسْتَعِينُ (٥) اهْدِنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ (٦) صِرَاطَ الَّذِينَ أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ غَيْرِ الْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا الضَّالِّينَ

"In the name of Allāh, the most Beneficent, the Most Merciful.

All the praises and thanks be to Allāh, the Lord⁴¹³ of the ‘Ālamīn

⁴¹³(V.1:2) Lord: The actual word used in the Qur‘ān is *rabb*. There is no proper equivalent for *Rabb* in English language. It means the One and Only Lord for all the Universe, its Creator, Owner, Organiser, Provider, Master, Planner, Sustainer, Cherisher and Giver of Security, etc. *Rabb* is also one of the Names of Allāh. We have used the word "Lord" as nearest to *Rabb*. All occurrences of "Lord" in interpretation of the meaning of the Noble Qur‘ān actually mean *Rabb* as should be understood as such.

(mankind, jin and all that exists).⁴¹⁴ *The Most Beneficent and the Most Merciful The Only Owner (and the only Ruling Judge) of the Day of Recompense (i.e. the Day of Resurrection);*

*You (alone) we worship and You (Alone) we ask for help (for everything) Guide us to the Straight Way.*⁴¹⁵ *The way of those on whom You have bestowed Your Grace*⁴¹⁶ *not (the way) of those who earned Your Anger,*⁴¹⁷ *(such as the Jews), nor at those who went astray (such as the Christians)*^{418,419}

5.5.6 Other Teachings in *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Khalawatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya*

All his reformist ideas including the three important things in his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* are also included in the teachings of *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Khalawatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya*. There is discrepancy in the receptivity among all followers, since not all his followers have the same knowledge and understanding based on their intelligence and innate talent. Besides, not all have the same time to learn. Their different situations and conditions also play a part. For example, in one day the *murshid* explains about *dhikr* and its virtue to his followers who came from Sinjai and Maros regency while at another time he explains about *tawḥīd* and *ma'rifā* to his followers who have come from Maros and Makassar. On another day the shaykh *murshid* may answer queries of his followers regarding *ibāda* and *mu'āmala*.

⁴¹⁴(V.1:2) Narrated Abu Sa'id bin Al-Mu'allā: While I was praying in the mosque, Allāh's Messenger صلى الله عليه وسلم called me but I did not respond to him. Later I said, "O Allāh's Messenger, I was praying." He said: "Didn't Allāh say – answer Allāh (by obeying Him) and His Messenger when he (صلى الله عليه وسلم) calls you." He then said to me, "I will teach you a *Sūra* which is the greatest *Sūra* in the *Qur'ān* before you leave the mosque." Then he got hold of my hand, and when he intended to leave the mosque, I said to Him: "Didn't you say to me, 'I will teach you a *Sūra* which is the greatest *Sūra* in the *Qur'ān*?' He said: *Al-Ḥamdu-lillāhi Rabbil 'ālamīn* [i.e. all the praise and thanks be to Allāh, the Lord of the 'Ālamīn (mankind, jinns, and all that exists) *Surat al-Fātiḥa* which is *As-Sabā Al-Mathāni* (i.e. the seven repeatedly recited Verses) and the Grand *Qur'ān*] which has been given to me (Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Vol. 6, Ḥadīth No.1).

⁴¹⁵(V.1:6) Guidance is of two kinds:

a) Guidance of *Tawfīq* i.e. totally from Allāh, i.e. Allāh open one's heart to receive the truth (from disbelief to Belief in Islamic Monotheism).

b) Guidance of *Irshād*, i.e. through preaching by Allāh's Messengers and pious preachers who preach the truth i.e. Islamic Monotheism.

⁴¹⁶(V.1:7) i.e. the way of the Prophets, the *Siddiqūn* (i.e. those followers of the Prophet, who were first and foremost to believe in them, like Abu Bakr as-Siddiq, the martyrs and righteous, [as Allāh عز وجل said: "And whoso obeys Allāh and the Messenger (Muḥammad صلى الله عليه وسلم), then they will be in the company of those on whom Allāh has bestowed His Grace, of the Prophets, the *Siddiqūn*, the martyrs, and the righteous. And how excellent these companions are! (V.4.69)

⁴¹⁷(V.1:7) Narrated 'Adi bin Hātim رضي الله عنه: I ask Allāh's Messenger صلى الله عليه وسلم about the statement of Allāh: *غَيْرِ الْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ – not (the way) of those who earn Your anger.*" He صلى الله عليه وسلم replied, "They are the Jews," And about *وَلَا الضَّالِّينَ – nor of those who went astray,*" he replied, "The Christians, and they are the ones who went astray." (Quoted by At-Tirmidhī and *Musnad* Abū Dāwūd)

⁴¹⁸(V.1:7) Narrated 'Ubāda bin As-Sāmit رضي الله عنه Allāh's Messenger صلى الله عليه وسلم said, "Whoever does not recite *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* in his prayer, his prayer is invalid." (Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Vol. 1, Ḥadīth No.723)

⁴¹⁹(V.1:7) Narrated by Abū Huraira رضي الله عنه Allāh's Messenger صلى الله عليه وسلم said, "When the *Imām* says: *Ghairil-maghdūbi 'alyhim walaḍ-ḍa'illīn* [i.e. not the way of those who earn Your anger and – nor the way of those who went astray (V.1:7), then you must say, *Āmīn*, for if one's utterance of *Āmīn* coincides with that of angels, then his past sins will be forgiven" (Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Vol. 6, Ḥadīth No.2). For complete information regarding all the footnotes for this *Sūra*, see M. Muhsin Khan and M. Taqi-ud-Din al-Hilali 1995: 33-34).

A *murshid* should teach all his followers completely about the Islamic religion. He also should teach his followers about *sharī'a*, *ṭarīqa*, *ḥaqīqa* and *ma'rifa* and their mutual relationships.

In this *Ṭarīqa*, when one needs to take a pledge (*bay'a*) he must purify himself both outwardly and inwardly (by taking a bath and ablution and wearing good, clean clothes), and ask forgiveness to our Lord from all sins. The shaykh *murshid* explains about *tawba*, *imān*, *Islam*, *insān* and *iḥsān* as well as *ma'rifa* until his death.

The death of any follower must be reported to his *murshid*; who will pray for him and attend his funeral prayer and burial. Sometimes, the *murshid* delivers a lecture at the burial place and at other times during the second, third or seventh night after his burial. Sometimes *the murshid* give explains how Allāh SWT (Glory be to Him and Exalted) created this universe with all creation in it and the function of death to enlighten the hearts of his followers as well as to increase their cognition of Allāh.

According to Sultan [the *murshid* of this *ṭarīqa*] four stages must be attempted by a servant to reach the goal which is called as *al-Sa'āda* (the happiness) and to gain His pleasure. i.e. *sharī'a*, *ṭarīqa*, *ḥaqīqa* and then *ma'rifa*.

Finally, I will present the following teachings of our *murshid*:

- If one does good to you, you have to repay him with better deeds. If one treats you badly you still have to be good to him. If you compensate him with bad deeds, you will be equal to him in vice. Allāh likes one who overlooks the sins of other people.
- Do not ask for too much sustenance from our Lord. Only ask for an amount that suffices for you.
- When you pray to your Lord (Allāh SWT [Glory be to Him and Exalted]) you should use the plural form rather than the singular form, as you should pray not only for your ownself but for all the believers and when you use the plural form, it means all who hear your *du'ā* - either Jinns or angels - will say '*āmīn*' for you.
- Other prayers [*du'ā*] that are recommended include:

The *du'ā* based on the encounter of 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib KW with the Prophet Khidr AS [Peace be upon him] when the former circumambulated the *Ka'ba*. Suddenly he saw a man hanging on the mosquito net of the *Ka'ba* while praying:

اللَّهُمَّ يَا مَنْ لَا يَشْغُلُهُ سَمْعٌ عَنْ سَمْعٍ وَ يَا مَنْ لَا يَغْلُظُهُ السَّائِلُونَ وَمَنْ لَا يَتَّبِرُّمُ بِالْحَاحِ الْمُلْحِينِ أَرْزُقْنَا بُرْدَ
عَفْوِكَ وَحَلَاوَةَ رَحْمَتِكَ

"O Allāh, Who is not occupied with listening to something (good) over another and Who never makes mistakes by the many requests of the people and Who never ignores the urgency of ones who pray to Him (at the same time), grant us the coldness of Your forgiveness and the sweetness of Your grace."⁴²⁰

Then 'Alī said, "O servant of Allāh SWT (Glory be to Him and Exalted). Repeat what you said."

The person asked 'Alī, "Did you hear it?" 'Alī replied. "Yes."

Then the man said: "By Khiḍr whose soul is in His grip, whoever utters the prayer every time he finishes *farḍ* (mandatory) prayer [*ṣalāt al-farḍ*] will get the forgiveness of sins from Allāh Glory be to Him and Exalted; even though his sins are like the numbers of sand and rain drops or as many leaves of trees."⁴²¹

The second *du'ā* is also from Prophet Khiḍr AS:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ. لَا قُوَّةَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ
مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ، كُلُّ نِعْمَةٍ مِنَ اللَّهِ. مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ الْخَيْرِ كُلُّهُ بِيَدِ اللَّهِ. مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ لَا يَصْرِفُ السُّوءَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

In the name of Allāh, whatsoever God wills will transpire. There is no power except with Allāh. Whatsoever God wills will transpire. All the blessings come from God. Whatsoever God wills will transpire. All good is entirely in the hands of God. Whatsoever God wills will transpire. No one can reject evil except God.⁴²²

The following words of *ṣūfīs* are also taught in this *ṭarīqa*:

مَنْ عَبَدَ الْإِسْمَ دُونَ الْمَعْنَى فَهُوَ كَافِرٌ

Whoever worships the Divine name without its meaning is an infidel.

وَمَنْ عَبَدَ الْمَعْنَى دُونَ الْإِسْمِ فَهُوَ مُنَافِقٌ

Whoever worships the meaning without the Divine name is a *munāfiq* [hypocrite];

وَمَنْ عَبَدَ الْإِسْمَ وَالْمَعْنَى فَهُوَ مُشْرِكٌ

⁴²⁰The literal meaning of *sam'un 'an sam'in* is listening to something from another or over another, but what is intended by the words something here, according to Sultan and Amin is that good praying or good call from His servant. This translation is based on Amin Sahib and Sahib Sultan, personal communication, 12 May 2018.

⁴²¹In the notebook of Sultan (n.d.: 86-87) stated that this *ḥadīth* narrated by Khatib in *Tarikh Do'a-Do'a (Tarikh al-Du'ā)* from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from 'Abd Allāh bin Mihrāz from Yazīd bin Aṣam, from 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib.

⁴²²See the notebook of Sultan (n.d.: 24).

Whoever worships the Divine name and its meaning is a *mushrik* (polytheist);

وَمَنْ عَبَدَ صَاحِبَ الْإِسْمِ وَالْمَعْنَى فَهُوَ صِدِّيقٌ

Whoever worships the owner of the Divine name and its meaning is the true one.⁴²³

The words infidel, hypocrite and polytheist here are relate to worship only. These are based on *ijmā'* (the consensus) of Allāh's saints and *şūfis* (Sultan, personal communication, 04 April 2018).

5.6 His followers and Admirers

His Followers and Admirers in Gowa-Macassar

Shaykh Yūsuf as a national hero of Indonesia and South Africa has many followers and admirers.

According to Sahib Sultan, a leader of *Khalwatiyat al-Yūsufiyya Şūfī* Order, in an interview: “Now, it is estimated there are more than twenty thousand of his followers and admirers from South Sulawesi who are spread among Buginese and Macassarese people, and even abroad.” Even though I do not know exactly how many his followers and admirers stay around Java, Buton and Ternate (the Northern Maluku) or in Indonesia as a whole, I nonetheless believe that his teaching also spread to Bugis, Macassar, Java, Buton, Ternate, Malaysia, France⁴²⁴ and South Africa.

His followers in Gowa/Macassar are estimated at around ten thousand Muslims. Most of them are ordinary people and some descendants of noble families of Macassar. Only a few of the elite have maintained the purity and continuity of the teachings of the *Ṭarīqa*. The system is passed one from one generation to the next. However, the entry of any follower into this *ṭarīqa* is based on his own free will.

Most of these followers are farmers and labourers while others are mosque imams or civil servants like teachers. There are also some banks staff, the head of a bank, doctors, nurses, and lecturers. Some of them have rarely visited their teachers' houses for some reason such as old age or a busy schedule. However, most of them are obedient Muslims. Besides applying the *sharī'a* and *ḥaqīqa* well, they are also obedient, loyal and very respectful to their *murshids*, so that the relationship between them is truly strong. Most of them always follow the rules of the government either in general or the rules relating to Islamic celebrations; such as in celebrating 'Id al-Fiṭr and 'Id al-Adḥā

⁴²³See the notebook of Sultan (n.d.: 102-103).

⁴²⁴ Mr. Mamert Eric (a French) who has high respect for Shaykh Yūsuf and his teaching has shown interest in becoming a student of *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya*.

days and so on. They associate well with the followers of other *şūfī* orders in Indonesia, even with other community around the world.

Several years ago, IKSYAM (Association of the Great Family of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī celebrated the 385th of Shaykh Yūsuf's birthday in Tamalate Palace of Gowa Kingdom. In 2017, IKSYAM group visited the Kramat in Faure, Cape Town SA.⁴²⁵

His Followers and Admirers in South Africa especially in Cape Town

In Cape Town, South Africa, no complete data was found about his followers, but I personally observed during my visit to Cape Town between May 1st till 16th 2011 that he has many admirers there.

Interestingly, today, Imām Adam Philander and his family (*the Imām of Nur al-Latief mosque near the Kramat Macassar* or Shaykh Yūsuf's shrine) has become the leader of *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* in Cape Town. He and his wife have taken *bay'a* with his master Shaykh KH. Sahib Sultan Krg. Nompo (the ninth generation of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī) since in 2012; followed by his son Muḥammad Yūsuf Philander in April 2014 in the Kramat.

During my visit to Cape Town in April 2014 and in 2017, I saw how Cape societies both Muslims and non Muslims appreciate Shaykh Yūsuf and ourselves as his direct descendants. Even on the day of Pasca, Muslims from all over the country celebrate a festival known as *Kramat Macassar* for four days due the shrine of Shaykh Yūsuf there. Mr. Ibrahim Rasool, (the former Premier of Western Cape, South Africa, as well as the Ambassador of South Africa in the United States of America and regards himself as one of Shaykh Yūsuf's offspring) also came with his big group from U.S.A. to Cape Town to visit the *Kramat of al-Maqassarī* for the duration of the festival in 2014.⁴²⁶

After visiting and joining the *Kramat Festival* in Cape Town, SA on 22 to 24 April 2014, we then visited Pretoria as well as UNISA.⁴²⁷ I saw how Pretoria Muslims appreciate Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī as well as his descendants especially the Eghsaan Philander family (who first introduced Islamic cultures in Pretoria to us). In addition, we visited some Islamic schools and saw the Islamic

⁴²⁵See images regarding the celebration in Appendix IV.

⁴²⁶To view some images in celebrating the Easter festival *Kramat Macassar* around Shaykh Yūsuf's shrine in Faure Zandflied, Makassar village, Cape Town, South Africa in 2014, refers back to the images of the festival in Appendix I Part A.

⁴²⁷To view some images regarding our visit to Pretoria as well as to UNISA see appendix IV Part B.

Education Development as well as some mosques in Pretoria. Many *ḥalāl* food and drinks available at Arab and Indian store. All of which show that Islam is established in Pretoria, SA. According to my father, it is in this place Shaykh Yūsuf was inaugurated as a National Hero of South Africa by the Excellency President Thabo Mbeki. As has been mentioned in Chapter Two (p. 98) that this President officially conferred on Shaykh Yūsuf the “Oliver Reginald Tambo (ORT)” Award which is the highest accolade in South Africa. It acknowledged the role of Shaykh Yūsuf in fighting for human rights in the country colonised by apartheid. The President announced that Shaykh Yūsuf had represented the fighting spirit of the people in South Africa. Because of Allāh’s blessing to me and my wish to do research about Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī and his works especially in providing commentaries on his Maṭālib al-Sālikīn treatise, UNISA accepted my research proposal in April 2014. Alḥamdu li Allāh (all praises to our Lord) and many thanks to my Supervisor who are patient in guiding me and all my brothers and sisters in Islam in SA for their support as well as UNISA and its staff who always ready to assist me to this point where I can complete my PhD degree.

It is believed by Capetonian Muslims that some of his teachings are always practised there. When I visited Cape Town in April 2017 I saw how the Capetonian Muslims practised the *Bā ‘Alawiyya Ṣūfī* Order. Most of them practised *Ratib ul-Ḥaddād* and *wīrd al-laṭīf* well and they believed that this version was the teaching brought by Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī. According to Shaykh Jamiel Ebrahiem from Bosmont, Johannesburg, some groups practised a mix of *Qādiriyya*, *Shattariyya* and *Rifa’iyya* orders and others practised a mix of *Qādiriyya*, *Naqshabandiyya* and *Bā ‘Alawiyya Ṣūfī* Orders (Shaykh Jamiel Ebrahiem, personal communication, 25 April 2017). From our communication, it seems that this Shaykh loves Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī.

Therefore, the impact of Shaykh Yūsuf’s teaching in both countries that stressed purification of beliefs, made all Muslims in both areas to be fervent Muslims. In South Sulawesi, the Macassarese and Buginese more dominantly followed and practised *Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* and *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī* Orders while the Capetonians more predominantly followed and practised his *Bā ‘Alawiyya Ṣūfī* Order. Both have the same roots; viz. Tuan Yūsuf of Macassar’s teachings.

5.7 A Summary

Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maḡasasārī can be called a reformer in the Islamic mystical world in the seventeenth century, and his teaching could be classified as *neo-ṣūfism* through his purification of beliefs. His *ṣūfism* reconciles *sharī'a* and *ḥaqīqa*.

His *ṣūfī orders* which are famous in South Sulawesi up to today are: *Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* and *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī Orders*. The first one is his *ṭarīqa* based on the teaching of his master Abū Ayyub bin Ahmad bin Ayyub al-Khalwatī al-Qurayshī; while the second one is the composite of all that he has been learned especially from the five *ṣūfī* orders with certificates; but both use similar methods of *dhikrs*.

As for his followers, both live in peace and appreciate each other including their *murshid*. His followers also could associate well with other followers of *ṣūfī* orders such as *Khalwatiyya Sammān*, *Naqshabandiyya*, *Qādiriyya*, *Shattariyya*, *Muḥammadiyya* and others which are united under the umbrella of *Ṭarīqat al-Muktabara an-Nahdliyya* in South Sulawesi, Indonesia. The *ṣilat al-raḥīm* among the *Murshid* of these *ṣūfī* orders has become stronger today.

His *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* has an important role both in his reformist ideas as well as in his own *ṭarīqa*. They complement each other.

If *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* treatise is regarded as a foundation and the main principles in developing his reformist ideas then it inspires his *ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* and vice versa.

His reformist ideas were collected from some of his treatises by Azra (1992) and then developed by me. This is because the title of *neo-ṣūfī* and reformer in the Islamic mystical world for Shaykh Yūsuf emerged in the twentieth century while he never credited all his ideas as reformist ideas.

The mutual complementarity mentioned above can also be observed in their enunciation in his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* and their practice or implementation in his *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī Order*.

Maṭālib al-Sālikīn, which consists of three important themes; namely, *ṭawḥīd*, *ma'rifa*, and *'ibāda* [worship], is implemented in his *ṭarīqa*, although not all his followers could achieve their ultimate purpose. The spiritual training is lengthy and arduous as I have noticed through this research.

Nevertheless, it will become easier if we are used to train ourselves in getting closer to Him because of Allāh, He will guide His servants who are serious in worship without looking at other and otherness to be successful in this world and in the Day of Hereafter.

Conclusion and Suggestions for Future Research

6.1 Conclusion

This study has presented a comprehensive account of Shaykh Yusuf al-Maqassarī's literary contributions with special attention to his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*.

Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī was one of the Malay-Indonesian scholars who was part of the cosmopolitan scholarly networks centered in Makka and Madīna and he played a substantial role in popularising Islamic reformist ideas by way of teaching and writing in the seventeenth century. He was born in the Tallo palace, Parangloe, on the 3rd of July 1626 or the 8th of *Shawwāl* 1036 A.H. from the union of Abū al-Jalāl Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Khidr bin Abī al-Khayr Yaḥya bin 'Alawī al-Ḥaḍramī (Tuanta Manjalāwī) and Āmina I Tubiani Daeng Kunjung and grew up in the Gowa Palace. After much research on his father's origin, we conclude that Shaykh Yūsuf was a descendant of the ahl al-Bayt and twenty generations removed from our Holy Prophet Muḥammad SAW. The complete name of Shaykh Yūsuf in the Arab tradition, is Abū al-Maḥāsin al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Shāfi'ī al-Ash'arī, Hadiyyat Allāh Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Jāwī al-Maqassarī bin walī' Allāh Abī al-Jalāl 'Abd Allāh Khidr bin Abī al-Khayr Yaḥya bin 'Alawī al-Ḥaḍramī. Another title can be found in his treatise *Tuḥfat al-Mursala*, which is Abū al-Ḥarkānī or a father of motion (as a sign of appreciation from all his disciples and his followers), since he started a movement for defending human rights. Nevertheless, in this thesis, we have restricted his title to Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī or Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Maqassarī.

He lived and grew up in the Islamic environment of the Gowa Palace under the care of Sulṭān Alā' al-Dīn who treated him as his own son together with his daughter, the Lady Princess Sitti Daeng Nisanga (who later became his first wife at the age of 18). At that time the Kingdom of Gowa needed a qualified Islamic scholar to make its animistic society become real and fervent Muslims. This responsibility imbibed in him bravery and adventurism to wander around the world in search of knowledge.

It is known that he had many principal masters from Macassar to the Middle East. He was a brave, strong and intelligent man who wandered continuously in searching of Islamic knowledge, from Celebes [1632-1644], Banten [1644-1645], Aceh [1645] - although he did not meet *Shaykh* Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī there - and then via India [1645/1646-1648] to the Middle East [1649-1667]. He spent around twenty-one years abroad to deepen his Islamic knowledge, especially in *ṣūfism*.

His local masters in Makassar 1632-1644, were:

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

First, I Daeng ri Tasammeng (in around 1632-1636) who taught him to read *al-Qur'ān* till he memorised it at the age of eight, as well as Arabic grammar and *Fiqh* science [Islamic jurisprudence] (in Gowa Kingdom).

Second, Sri Naradireja ibn 'Abd al-Makmur (Datuk ri Panggentungan, the son of Datuk ri Bandang who built an Islamic school specialising in the field of mysticism in Kaluku Bodoa, Tallo in 1634), who taught him Islamic mysticism in 1636-1640 & in the early part of 1642.

Third, Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Aidit from Aceh who built an Islamic school in 1640 where he taught him Islamic mysticism in 1641. This shaykh was known as the progenitor of a school known as *Ṭarīqat Baḥr al-Nūr* [The path to the Ocean of Divine Light].

Lastly, there was a holy person at the top of Bawakaraeng Mountain (whose name is not mentioned). In around 1643, he joined Sri Naradireja bin 'Abd al-Makmūr Datuk ri Panggentungan (his master) and 'Abd Allāh Lokmok ri Antang, his colleague, and together took lessons from this holy person. It seems that this teacher advised him to continue his studies in the holy lands, Makka and Madīna. Shortly after they returned from seeking the mystic knowledge of the saint (*walī*) of Allāh at Bawakaraeng Mountain, they were suddenly able to perform miracles. Although those local teachers only taught the essentials of their discipline they had a great influence on him.

His principal teachers overseas, starting from Gujarat in India (1645/1646-1648) can be identified as:

First, Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī (died 1068/1658) in Randīr, Surat, India. From him, he obtained a certificate of *al-Qādirīyya* and he may also have learned *al-Rifa'īyya Ṣūfī Order* from him because he was appointed as a caliph of both *Ṣūfī* orders by his teacher Bā' Shayban. Second, from Shaykh 'Umar bin 'Abd Allāh Bā Shaybān (died 1066 A.H./1656) on the Gujarat coast. He probably took lessons from this shaykh in *al-Aydrusīyya Ṣūfī Order* since he was also initiated into it. Bā Shaybān was the only student of his master Shaykh 'Abd Allāh bin Shaykh al-Aydarus (died 1041 A.H./1631), who was initiated into a number of *ṣūfī* orders including the *Aydrusīyya*, *Qādirīyya*, *Shādhilīyya* and *Suhrawardīyya Ṣūfī Orders*. Therefore, it seems Shaykh Yūsuf learnt the five *sūfī* orders when he stayed in India for around three years with one certificate, namely *Qādirīyya*.

Shaykh Yūsuf then left India at the end of 1648 to Nuhita Yemen (around 1649/1653). In Yemen, where he studied under:

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

First, Shaykh Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Mizjājī: This learned scholar died in 1074 A.H./1664 and from whom Shaykh Yūsuf obtained a certificate of *Ṭarīqat al-Naqshabandīyya*. Second, Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Malkib al-‘Ārifīn ibn Zakarīyā bin Sulṭān ‘Uthmān al-Naqshabandī: Although he was from India, his family originated from Haḍramawt. This Shaykh was a teacher of his master Shaykh Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Mizjājī as well as Muḥammad Mirza al-Dimashqī. Historical records show that this shaykh had died in Makka before Yūsuf arrived there in 1052 A.H./1642. This seemingly contradicts the statements made by Shaykh Yūsuf that he took lessons from this great scholar in his *al-Risālat al-Naqshabandīyya*. The simple explanation is that Yūsuf met his spirit in a metaphorical sense through his contemplation of his teachings and his incorporation of his lessons into this treatise.

Then he wandered to Zabid and met Shaykh Sayyid ‘Alī al-Zabidī (died 1072 A.H./1662). From this third master he obtained a certificate of *Ṭarīqat al-Sāda Bā ‘Alawīyya*. Fourth, Shaykh Muḥammad bin al-Wājiyya al-Sa’dī al-Yamanī, whose name has been recorded in his treatise *al-Nafḥāt al-Saylānīyya*. Another shaykh from Yemen who was also mentioned in *al-Nafḥāt al-Saylānīyya*, is Shaykh ibn ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad bin Muḥammad al-Zajāzī al-Naqshabandī al-Yamanī. However, this shaykh was probably Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Mizjājī. Based on past evidence, the copiers of al-Maqassarī’s works had misspelt the names of several of his teachers. Fifth, Sayyid Abū Bākar ibn Salīm Al-Irāqī, who was famous in Haḍramawt as has been recorded in his treatise *Zubdat al-Asrār* [Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 101 or Jakarta Manuscript A 101]. Last was Imām ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alawī al-Ḥaddād.

From Yemen, he continued his studies to Ḥāramayn, Makka and Mādīna (around 1653/1654-1657). In Ḥāramayn he studied under some *ṣūfī* masters, among others:

Shaykh Burhān al-Ḥaqq wa al-Dīn al-Mullā al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm Ḥasan bin Shihāb al-Dīn al-Kurdī al-Kawrānī al-Madanī (died 1101/1690). From this shaykh, he obtained a certificate of *Ṭarīqat al-Shattarīyya*. He then took lessons from Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī (died 1071/1661), the master of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Ḥasan al-Kawrānī al-Madanī. Shaykh Yūsuf probably learnt the *Kubrawīyya ṭarīqa* from him besides two other *ṣūfī* orders that had been taught by this shaykh. He was one of the leading figures of the *Shattarīyya* and *Naqsahabandīyya Orders*, as he was also a follower of the *Kubrawīyya Ṣūfī Order*. Furthermore, Shaykh Muḥammad Murāz al-Shāmī or Muḥammad Mirza al-Dimashqī (died 1066/1656) was a guest in the city of al-Madīnat al-Munawwara. His origin was probably from Syria or Damascus, therefore he was called Muḥammad Murāz al-Shāmī or Muḥammad Mirzā al-Dimashqī. He was a colleague of Shaykh Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Mizjājī in Yemen. This shaykh’s name has been recorded in *al-Nafḥāt al-Saylānīyya*. Another of his masters was Shaykh Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī bin

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

'Umar bin Yaḥyā al-'Ajamī al-Makkī who has been recorded also in *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya*. (died 1113 A.H./1701). He was one of the leading figures of *Ṭarīqat al-Sattariyya* in Makka. The last was Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm al-Naqshabandī al-Lahūrī in Lahore, India, who settled in the *Ḥāram* of Madīna and flourished in the seventeenth century. The lesson that Shaykh Yūsuf obtained from this *Shaykh* has been recorded in *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*.

The last destination was Damascus (around 1658-1661) where he studied under: Shaykh Raslān al-Dimashqī or Shaykh Karīm al-Raslānī Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī. His name was found in the treatises *Fath al-Raḥmān* and *Wājib al-Wujūd*. There are no more data found regarding this Shaykh, where he stayed or when Shaykh Yūsuf met him. We decided to place him in this section as his name is al-Dimashqī, although he probably stayed in Madīna or in Yemen. Then his famous master was Shaykh Abū al-Barakāt Ayyūb ibn Aḥmad bin Ayyūb al-Khalwatī Al-Qurayshī (died 1071/1661). He gave Shaykh Yūsuf a degree Hadiyat Allāh, Tāj al-Khalwatī as well as the certificate of *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya*.

Shaykh Yūsuf returned to the Ḥaramayn between 1662 and 1667 to become a great teacher in *ṣūfism* at the central mosque in Makka as well as to complete his copying of the treatises of his master in Madīna Shaykh Burḥān al-Dīn al-Mullā ibn al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm bin al-Ḥusayn bin Shihāb al-Kurdī al-Kūrānī (al-Kawrānī) al-Madanī in 1664.

Therefore, Shaykh Yūsuf learned from around fifteen *ṣūfī shaykhs* or masters as well as scholars of *Ḥadīth*, *Qur'ānic* exegesis and Islamic jurisprudence from 1646 to 1661 and then himself became a great teacher at *al-Ḥaram* mosque in 1662 till the end of 1667. It was reported that he mastered eighteen *ṣūfī* orders and obtained five certificates from them although only ten *ṣūfī* orders could be identified with his masters. It seems Shaykh Yūsuf received his Islamic education with scholars who resided in the very heart of *Sunni* orthodoxy.

When Shaykh Yūsuf stayed in the Ḥaram of Makka, he married twice. First with Khadīja, a daughter of an Imām of the Shafi'ī school of law at the Ḥaram Mosque Makka who bore him a daughter named Zamāniyya or Puang Am Mang in Lontarak. Then in Judda prior to his return to the land of his birth he married a daughter of al-Shaykh Abū 'Abd Allāh Judda, who was called Sayyida Jidda. She bore a son, 'Abd Allāh, who was also called Daengta Kare Sitaba in Lontarak. Then, he returned to his country in the early part of 1668 and stayed in Banten.

While Shaykh Yūsuf lived in Banten between 1668 and 1683, he played an important role, not only as a writer of important treatises on guiding the Muslim community at the time; but also as

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

a defender of human rights on behalf of Sulṭān Ageng Tirtayasa the King of Banten (1651-1682).

As a *ṣūfī* of the seventeenth century with great charisma, he attracted the interest of a few kings and great leaders in their society who wanted him to be their son-in-law. Shaykh Yūsuf, therefore, married nine times, not because of his carnal desires, but because of the *da'wa* mission to give spiritual enlightenment in the areas where his wives lived. Moreover he did not marry nine wives simultaneously but in staggered fashion according to the Islamic teaching that allows a man to marry up to four wives at a time. As the result of his marriages, he fathered 13 sons and daughters and 12 of them accompanied him in his exile and were with him when he died.

On March 22nd 1684, the Dutch exiled Shaykh Yūsuf, who was then 58 years old, with members of his family (except his father-in-law) and his followers to Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Sulṭān 'Abd al-Jalīl, the King of Gowa, delegated Karaeng Bontonompo to petition the government of the Dutch East India Company in Batavia to return Shaykh Yūsuf to Macassar (Gowa), but the Dutch East India Company refused.

In his new location, Shaykh Yūsuf abandoned his political activities that had dominated almost half of his life in Banten and had caused him to lose many people who were dear to him and whom he loved especially his beloved Sulṭān Ageng Tirtayasa. The shaykh had always respected the Sulṭān because of his commitment towards Islam. So he withdrew to dedicating his life to mysticism and developing and following his *ṣūfī* order.

Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī was primarily a *ṣūfī*. With respect to his personality, he was a true hero not only in Indonesia, but also in South Africa. His life experiences made it clear that his *ṣūfism* did not keep him away from worldly affairs. He was a *ṣūfī* who could also fight in the midst of society. Therefore, he was called a great *ṣūfī* and *mujāhid* (warrior) as well as a father of the nation.

Shaykh Yūsuf was an Islamic *ṣūfī* scholar who spent a significant portion of his life in search of Islamic knowledge to deepen his exposure to mysticism, especially during the time he spent in the Arabian Peninsula, where he left us many treatises in Arabic, as a guidance for approaching God.

There are around 57 texts attributed to Shaykh Yūsuf. Of these 57 scripts, 49 are available in Leiden libraries (Universiteit of Bibliotheque [UB] & KITLV) and around 43 in Jakarta, one at Berlin Library and three at Garret Collection at Princeton University Library, USA, while some others are located in private collections as well as in the book in the hands of Hawash

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

Abdullah. Most of his works are in Arabic.

His works that were written in Banten between 1670 and 1680, and the rest during his exile in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) between 1684 and 1693, were estimated to be more than forty. They are mostly preserved at the Leiden University Library in the Netherlands and in the National Museum or National Library in Jakarta [all manuscripts in the National Library Jakarta today are taken from the National Museum Jakarta].

The intellectual inspirations for Shaykh Yūsuf's works come from the result of his own internal spiritual journey to Allāh and his Divine cognizance that he obtained when he took lessons from all his masters either from Macassar, India or the Middle East; whether he mentioned his masters' names or not. This is because all his works that have been summarised in this thesis were written after Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī learnt Islamic *ṣūfism*. After he succeeded in his spiritual journey to Allāh, he attained sainthood and always asked for His guidance before recording anything. He never published anything until he obtained Divine permission (either mentioned in the text or not). Shaykh Yūsuf always strove to present his writing in a humble and honest way. Another source of his intellectual inspirations for most of his works mentioned above comes from either his masters or teachers mentioned in the texts, the content of texts, or a combination of both. This discussion needs more investigation into data sources and falls outside the parameters of this thesis.

During his exile, his strength of character continuously inspired his country, Indonesia, in terms of human rights. After 1681, Tanjung Harapan or the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa, became a preferred place of exile for people of high status. From 1693 to 1694, the Dutch exiled and moved Shaykh Yūsuf from Sri Lanka to South Africa via a ship called *de Voetboog*, together with 49 members of his family and his followers. In South Africa, he not only built an Islamic community but also showed that slaves and black people that they were equal to others. Islam does not differentiate between the colour of people and all people are equal before God. So many people found that Islam was easy and close to their soul. All these achievements made them admire and respect Shaykh Yūsuf. One such person was the honourable President Nelson Mandela who admired Shaykh Yūsuf and highly respected him. He expressed his happiness at Shaykh Yūsuf's presence and influence on the South African people in front of many audiences.

As for his treatise *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, or the Quests of the Spiritual Seekers, it discusses three important concepts in Islam, which are *tawḥīd*, *ma'rifa* and *'ibāda*. It is estimated to have been written by him in Ceylon or Sri Lanka between 1684 and 1693. This work has been copied by his students or followers several times until the final version was completed in Bone by his

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

great descendant, La Tenri Tappu in 1186A.H/1772. Another compilation was done at the end of the reign of Şulţān Aḥmad Şāliḥ in 1221 A.H/1806 based on the type of paper the compiler used. Since then, we have only found the two copied texts in Leiden Libraries, the Netherlands, catalogued as Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 101 F Or A13d [7] and Arabic Microfilm MSKBG 108 F Or A13b [3]. Both Arabic microfilms are from Jakarta Manuscripts A 101[7] and A 108 [3]

It seems that both the text of MSKBG 101 F Or A13d [7] and the text of MSKBG 108 F Or A13b [3] have linguistic shortcomings, especially in the proliferation of grammatical errors throughout their texts. The text of MSKBG 101 F Or A13d [7] has more redundancies than its counterpart and the text also has some missing words which are present in the comparative text of MSKBG 108 F Or A13b [3], which leads to gaps in meaning. Both texts are quite similar in meaning, despite utilising different words, such as nouns, verbs, connectors, conjunctions and prepositions, etc. Nevertheless, although both copied texts have similarities and differences between them, there are no contradictions and they even complement each other.

This text mentioned that Shaykh Yūsuf acquired its lesson from Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karim al-Naqshabandī al-Lāhurī, but it did not elaborate where it occurred. However, after reviewing the history of the shaykh, it is most probable that he took the lesson from this shaykh in Madīna or in Makka around 1654-1657. Although his teacher hailed from Lahore in India, he settled and flourished in Haramayn in the seventeenth century, especially in Madīna which, at the time, was known as the city of knowledge.

In addition to this, all his treatises were influenced, to some degree, by his previous studies and then they were included in his own *şūfī* order known as the *Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya*. This order was then popularised by his students and descendants.

Therefore, it is clear that when Shaykh Yūsuf wrote *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, he was inspired by his spiritual experiences under his master’s guide, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karim al-Naqshabandī al-Lāhurī; and this text has a relationship with his own *şūfī* order.

Shaykh Yūsuf’s religious and mystical ideas in *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* show no fundamental differences with his other treatises, as they complement one another. *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* may be considered as the one of the most complete of his treatises, as it is accompanied by concrete and logical examples; yet it seems more concise than *Zubdat al-Asrār* and *Sirr al-Asrār*. Most discussions of his treatises are repeated many times with different titles and styles.

In terms of themes, his treatises complement one another as if those treatises were collected and compiled into one book with a title such as, *The Reformation to Şūfism by Shaykh Yūsuf*

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

al-Maqassarī. Nevertheless, there are also some differences in contents. Some of the contents that are mentioned and explained in *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, for example, do not appear in others. The following examples illustrate the specific ones that are only mentioned in this treatise, starting from the word *Ilāh* or God and His attributes and Essence, which is followed by the three main points raised in this treatise.

First, the word (الله) has three letters, i.e. 'alif', 'lam', and 'ha'. The letter 'alif' is a symbolic expression of His Absolute Essence [*aḥadiyyah*], the *lam* shows His perfection, and the *ha* refers to His Identity [*Huwiyya*]. So, He is the One [*aḥad*] in terms of His Essence, and One in terms of His attributes. His attributes are His perfections, such as, Knowledge, Hearing, Sight, Life, Power, Will and other Attributes. The names of the attributes of 'His *Ulūhiyya* [Divinity] and *Huwiyya* exist all in one, and He exists in everything according to what have been stipulated that everything exists with Him and He exists with His essence. In other words, His *Huwiyya* or identity [He is the Oneness Who has Names and Perfect Attributes] exists together with everything.

Second, as His Attributes and Essence are one, His attributes do not exist outside of His Essence, but always subsist or stay with His Essence. The *Ash'ariyya* and the general body of *Aḥl al-Sunna wa al-Jamā'a* believe that the attributes of Allāh are not His essence and also not something else (*al-ṣifat laysat al-dhāt wa lā hiya ghayruhā*). It is clear that the attribute is not the essence, because the meaning of each is different. However, the attribute is not something other than His essence, because what is meant by *al-ghayriyya* here, is that "there is a point of separation" - meaning - (*mufāraqa*) or something with another aspect. Thus instead of understanding the attribute not to be the essence, or vice versa, it is advisable to appreciate that under any circumstances the attribute may not be separated from the essence because both are always conjoined.

Furthermore, although some other treatises of Shaykh Yūsuf are not devoid of discussions about *maqāmāt*, *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* deviates greatly from these as it discusses three *maqāmāt* (stations in *sulūk* on the *ṣūfī* path) with some parables while in some other works these parables are not mentioned. The following parables are exclusively found in this text: equating *tawḥīd* [oneness] with a [branchy and leafy] tree, *ma'rifa* [gnosis] with the branches and leaves and *ibāda* [worship] with its fruit. If you find a tree you will find branches and leaves, and if you find branches and leaves, you hope [or expect] that this tree yields fruit. [However] if you do not find branches and leaves in this tree you will not find fruit under any circumstances [or it is impossible for you to have its fruit]. So *tawḥīd* without *ma'rifa* (knowledge) is like a tree without any branches and leaves. It is impossible for it to yield fruit unless its branches and leaves

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

grow again. In other words, only one who has *tawhīd* with *maʿrifa* could be expected to perform true worship of God or only one who has *tawhīd* and *maʿrifa* could perform worship well or attain the stage of *ʿubudiyya* or *ʿubudiyya al-Muṭlaqa*.

This treatise mentioned two kinds of *tawhīd*: “*Tawhīd Wahdat al-Wujūd* [panentheism] and *Tawhīd al-Ikhlāṣ* or Pure or immaculate *Tawhīd* [like a tree with leaves and branches] in relation to the Oneness of God alone.” These *tawhīd* must be synchronised with *maʿrifa* [as branches and leaves] to gain *ʿibāda* [its fruit].

Maʿrifa implies that your beginning is from Him and your return is to Him, so your return to Him occurs in exactly the same way as how you originated from Him; just like water from the sea which flows into a river (after evaporation and precipitation) and returns to the sea from the river. The water does not change from its reality as water. In other words, *maʿrifa* about the existence of God means One Who reconciles two contradictory attributes, such as He is the Beginning and the Last. So, He is the First, as He is the Last. In addition God is believed to be the Outward or Exterior (*al-Zāhir*) and the Inner or Inward (*al-Bāṭin*); the One who gives guidance (*Al-Hadī*), but also the One who leads humans astray (*al-Muḍill*). However He will not be changed from His reality as the One Essence with all those attributes. This reminds us of the words of *ṣūfīs*:

مَنْ عَرَفَ نَفْسَهُ فَقَدْ عَرَفَ رَبَّهُ

“Whoever knows himself will know His Lord”

It seems that this teaching asked us to know ourselves before we know our Lord. How can we know our Lord that He is One with all His Names, His Attributes and His Deeds without first knowing ourselves. Therefore, without this knowledge, we will never reach this *maqām*, and this is the true teaching.

The special characteristic of this treatise is its discussion of *ʿibāda* (or worship) in obedience to His *Wahdat al-Wujūd* [the Oneness of His existence]; that is, there is no existence [8] but His. And He, Glory be to Him and Exalted, is One and has no partner in existence. The linguistic meaning of *ʿubudiyya* is obedience of something to something else, just as your organs [limbs] are obedient to your soul in terms of all things being linked to the desire of the soul. Outwardly, your organs [limbs] worship your essence and your essence is the object of devotion. The essence is the worshipper with respect to the apparent [*zāhir*] and the object of worship with respect to the hidden [*bāṭin*] because the command is from it and to it. Providing parables has been a strategy of Shaykh Yūsuf; so, he said that worship in the sense of obeying the Oneness of His existence is like your body obeying your soul only. This obedience can only be achieved

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

by obeying the unity of the soul. According to Shaykh Yūsuf, in reality your body worships your essence and your essence is worshipped. So, your essence is a worshipper (*'ābid*) from the outside and it is worshipped (*ma'būd*) from the inside because the command comes from the soul and goes back to it. If you annihilate your existence and the existence of things other than Allāh and you know that all entities other than Allāh are non-existent, you will not see anything but Him and nothing will remain except Him. “*Nothing is for you [but for Allāh] is the decision*” (*Qur'ān*, 3:128). So He becomes a devotee [*'ābid*] from the perspective of the Divine Command being from Him. And He is an object of worship (*ma'būd*) from the perspective of the Divine Command [*amr*] returning to Him.

Therefore, anyone who knows the reality of *tawhīd*, *ma'rifa* and *'ubūdiyya* is a gnostic who asserts the Unity of God and an obedient slave [*'ārif*, *muwaḥḥid* and *muṭī'*]; if not, he is nothing. Whoever desires a [spiritual] path to Allāh should first understand these words, and then follow the path to Allāh through this method. That means, it is incumbent on the spiritual seeker firstly to commence with denying the existence of beings other than Allāh through cognizance. Once he has denied his existence and the existence of beings other than Allāh cognitively, he will succeed in denying his existence and the existence of entities other than Allāh visibly (in his inward sight). Then he passes from this negation pertaining to the knowledge of negation and attains complete annihilation in Allāh and subsistence [*baqā'*] with Him.

Shaykh Yūsuf repeatedly gave a parable by saying that it is like the moth or butterfly when it hurls its soul in a lamp and it is consumed thereby. We do not say: “Has the moth or butterfly become a flame or has it become non-existent.” Rather we say it is now one with the lamp because before it cast its soul [into the flame], it was veiled [*mahjūb*] from the flame. When it cast its soul into the flame, it combined [with it] and became one with it. Likewise, the spiritual seeker is veiled before negating his existence and the existence of things other than Allāh. And when his existence and the existence of beings other than Allāh is denied, it combines and unites with Allāh [in the inner view].

It is known that if a small butterfly throws itself into a lamp, it is consumed; it disappears and becomes one with the heat of the light. It will not return to its previous state. This is only a parable used by Shaykh Yūsuf.

Therefore, *'ibāda* [The Stage of Worship] is obedience to the Oneness of God [and the exclusion of others], which is done sincerely and wholeheartedly until *fanā* and *baqā'* is achieved with Him. This is the real fruit and the result of spiritual seeker's journey on the path to Allāh. In reality, however, this stage cannot be reached without first attaining the stages of

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

tawhīd and *ma'rifa*. In other words all his teaching in his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* treatise includes *tawhīd* as a leafy tree, *ma'rifa* as its branches and leaves and *'ibāda* as its fruit. Its practitioners are directed to the Oneness of God and to none other. The peak of *maqām 'ubudiyya* is called *maqām al-'Ubūdīyyat al-Muṭlaqa* [the Absolute Servitude] which is the highest station for a slave before God. One who has reached this station could be called *al-Insān al-Kāmil* [the perfect man or universal man]. Above this *maqām* is only *maqām Rubūbiyya* (Divine station) which is owned by God Himself.

Shaykh Yūsuf said with regard to the *ṣūfī* orders: “There are many paths to Allāh as one of the gnostics said “the path to Allāh are as numerous as the breaths of all created beings but the nearest, the highest and the most connected to the quests of these [paths] to Allāh is the path in which the spiritual seeker intends to reach the Essence of Allāh, the Exalted, with no attention to the other and otherness. Then, he quoted the following verse:

قُلْ هَذِهِ سَبِيلِي أَدْعُوا إِلَى اللَّهِ عَلَى بَصِيرَةٍ أَنَا وَمَنِ اتَّبَعَنِي وَسُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَمَا أَنَا مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ

“Say: this is my Way – I do invite you to Allāh with certain knowledge, I and those who follow me. Glory be to Allāh! And I will never join partners with Allāh” (Qur'ān, 12:108).

This verse is interpreted by al-Alūsī as *da'wa* in the path of Allāh with clear arguments and not blindly. Then Shaykh Yūsuf quoted the following Prophetic traditions: “My heart is between the two fingers from among the Fingers of the Most Merciful Who can change it as He pleases.”

He corroborates al-Alūsī's interpretation and calls on his followers never to engage in *shirk* (joining partners with Allāh, the Exalted). He discusses *tawhīd*, *ma'rifa* and *'ibāda* (worship) with clear arguments and interesting parables. In addition, Shaykh Yūsuf reminds us that we must keep our hearts (which are very close with Him) and our beliefs in Allāh, the Most Beneficent and the Most Merciful by always remembering Him and asking for His assistance because He can change the hearts of men as He pleases.

This treatise plays a vital role both in his reformist ideas as well as in his own *ṭarīqa*. In other words, both his reformist ideas or his own *ṭarīqa* are not complete without their reliance on each other and this text. The concepts presented in his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* as well as his reformist ideas were used as teachings and then practised in his *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī* Order in addition to other sources of his previous learning.

Although in general *tawhīd*, *ma'rifa* and *'ibāda* are also implied and discussed in most of his treatises, only *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* discuss these issues in this special manner. These are

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

implemented in his *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī Orders* especially with engaging in *dhikr* and acquiring *ma'rifa* of Allāh.

His *Waḥdat al-Ṣamad* believes in two kinds of *tawḥīd*, i.e. *tawḥīd Wāḥdat al-Wujūd* (which is different from the *al-Ittiḥād* of Abū Yazīd al-Bustāmī [d. 261 A.H./874–5], *al-Ḥulūl* of Ḥusayn ibn Mansūr al-Ḥallāj [858 - 922], and *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* of Ibn al-'Arābī [d. 1240 CE], as well as *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd* of al-Sirhindī) and *tawḥīd al-lkhlāṣ* or the immaculate *tawḥīd*. When paying attention to his views in his *Waḥdat al-Ṣamad* or throughout his treatises, it seems that his views could be taken to mediate and to reconcile the differences among those previous *ṣūfīs* belonging to this school. In total, throughout his treatises especially those reflected in his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, *Zubdat al-Asrār*, *Sirr al-Asrār*, *Wājib al-Wujūd*, *Hadhihi fawā'id 'aẓīma [al-Dhikrs]* as well as in the image of *tawḥīd* in his book entitled *Ṣūra* and some others, he has repeated and tried hard to give a clear argumentation about the position of servant and Lord as well as the relationship between this universe with the Lord. He believes that everything besides God is only a shade and His manifestation or His unveiling on them, but without fusion, *ḥulūl* (incarnation or transmigrating soul) or *ittiḥād* (union) since He has no shape and limits. He is not bound by place and unrestricted by time. He occupies both transcendence and immanence of God in the same manner and position. He does not believe in dualism, since God is very different from what the transgressors claim Him to be. He tried to unify and reconcile all the attributes or the qualities of God includes His Names, which according to the Islamic doctrine, holds that God has attributes that seem to contradict one another. God, for example, is believed to be the First (*al-Awwal*) and the Last (*al-Ākhir*); the Outward or Exterior (*al-Zāhir*) and the Inner or Inward (*al-Bāṭin*); the One who gives guidance (Al-Ḥadī), but also the One who misleads humans (*al-Muḍill*). According to him, all the attributes of God that seem to contradict one other must be understood according to the Oneness of God Himself. If one emphasise certain attributes and then ignore the others, this could lead to erroneous beliefs and practices. The reality of God is the unity of pairs of conflicting Attributes, and no one who knows His secret, except those who have been granted knowledge by God Himself. In other words, He always adheres his *tawḥīd*, his *ma'rifa* to Allāh in all aspects as well as his *'ubudiyya* (worship) to the Oneness of God and none others. His knowledge (attribute) encompassing everything and no one is out of His Knowledge.

According to Shaykh Yūsuf, what happens to the gnostic at certain moments, such as when God descends [*tanazzul*] while the servant ascends (*taraqqī*), is a spiritual process that brings them closer together (or united, annihilated in *فناء* or having attained permanency in *baqā'*). This spiritual process is just like a lightning flash that rarely lasts long, so soon after this moment, the servant's feelings returns to the general level of remembrance; and according to Shaykh Yūsuf, he is conscious again of himself and his God. This servant remains in the remembrance of Allāh

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

in order that he always remains a part of the *ahl al-dhikr*. In the end, the servant remains the servant (*al-'abd 'abd*) and God remains God (*al-Rabb Rabb*). When both Al-Ghazālī and Shaykh Yūsuf expressed their inner feelings they never issued blasphemous words because both regarded those expressions as mistakes which were never uttered by the Prophet SAW. This is the mistake in terms of expression, not in terms of gnosis (*ma'rifa*) until the phases of annihilation in Allāh or attaining permanency with Him are attained.

However, free from the similarities and the differences of Shaykh Yūsuf's views with other previous *ṣūfīs* belonging to this school, it seems that he tried to mediate, even to reconcile with them by completing their arguments in his treatise *Wājib al-Wujūd*, that we do not imagine the slave to be the master of their own physical body because their existence is the existence of one who granted this status. This implies the existence of a real endower of such status. Moreover, you have no existence by yourself: everything results from the existence of Allāh. Do not also surmise that Allāh dwells in you in a way that you retain your separate identities, or that He merges with you. Both these states presuppose dual existence in the universe which is impossible for Allāh. As regards such duality, Allāh declares: "Say, O Prophet, that He, Allāh, is one. Allāh is independent. He neither procreated, nor was He procreated. And there is nothing equal to Him" (*Qur'ān*, Ch. 112). "He is the being who neither adopted a son nor does He have any partner in His sovereignty" (*Qur'ān*, 25:2). "He is the first and the last, the manifest and the concealed. Then to avoid a long debate between them, he finally concluded the discussion on this issue with the words that a servant is servant, although he ascends and he is characterised by God's characters or attributes, and God is God, although He descends to His servant and is characterised by servant's characters with the reason about His manifestation on one being or His unveiling on His servant as has been mentioned above.

If Ibn-al-Arabi's theory of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* can be interpreted as pantheistic philosophy which acknowledges God's physical presence in all things material or creation, and which refers to the immanence of God, while *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd of Sirhindī* is vice versa which refers to the transcendence of God; then *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* and *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd* within the *Waḥdat al-Ṣamad* of al-Maqassarī could be considered as panentheism which is a path to reconcile both. According to Shaykh Yūsuf that one must believe that God is beyond the universe, He is the Most Great as He is One Whose identity [*Huwiyya*] infiltrates everything [all existence] with no *Ḥulūl* [incarnation] and no *ittiḥād* [union]. He, Glory be to him, encompasses all things (with His knowledge and His Knowledge is His attributes and His attributes and His essence are one, therefore everything is known in His knowledge scope) and His identity Who is One with all His Perfect attributes is together with everything. He has Power above all His servants and He wins and never fails, and there is nothing comparable unto Him (*Qur'ān*, 42: 11).

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

In this regard, he tried to confirm in his *Sirr al-Asrār* that our belief in Allāh, the Exalted, must be located between absolute affirmation of the Divine Transcendence and absolute Immanence, meaning that we affirm His Divine Transcendence without denying His attributes and we affirm His immanence without comparing Him with anyone. We affirm His Divine Transcendence in the situation of Immanence and affirm His Immanence in the situation of Divine Transcendence because the position of absolute divine Transcendence leads to negligence and negligence is something which does not have limits. The same applies to the position of absolute Immanence for it leads to extravagant behaviour which transgresses all boundaries. This is one of his reforms to prevent fellow Muslims from false beliefs.

Therefore, whatever the differences of his views with other previous *ṣūfīs'* views, the important fact is that Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maḡassarī only attempted to complete the words of previous *ṣūfīs* with clear and concise arguments as his efforts to reform certain aspects in *ṣūfism* in order to correct and avoid false beliefs. Throughout his efforts, however, he always appreciated them all as his masters as they appeared in some his treatises. Therefore, it is not surprising, that he has a title besides his Tāj al-Khalwatī as "*Walī Quṭb al-Rabbānī wa al-Ārifīn al-Ṣamadānī,*" as a great saint of Allāh (a leader of Allāh's saints at his time who has God's attributes), who knows Allāh; a human conduit spiritual power from Allāh as the Supreme Ruler whom all creatures need, through whom this power is distributed in the world. This title is a gift from our Lord directly through His guidance on the person (the servant of Allāh) and some of his disciples. It is only once in a designated period, that a *walī quṭb* is descended by our Lord, and the *wālīs* or saints are divided into some levels based on their degree and task of each before God.

In principle, each view of the previous *ṣūfīs* has the truth, although their views also have flaws. Then only one who has reached his God [annihilation in God and subsistence with Him] can feel the truth itself. Therefore, one could follow what he considers correct based on his point of view. Shaykh Yūsuf just tried to straighten out the way someone delivered his spiritual experience which could lead someone else astray and ultimately, to avoid false beliefs.

The *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* which was written in Ceylon between 1684-1693 during his exile there, played an important role to the socio-political context of his time:

Firstly, it had a profound effect on his homeland, through his disciples and his great descendants, as a guide to avoid animistic beliefs prevalent in his society and to safe-guard them from false belief. At the time Macassar Kingdom had become a great Islamic empire under the rule of Sulṭan Ḥasan al-Dīn (1659-1670) and then fall into the Dutch authority after 'Bungayya Treaty in 1669.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

Secondly, it played an important role in the reformation of the Muslim community in the Cape to avoid the influence of Dutch missionaries who always forced the local people there to Christianity. In this area, his *tawḥīd* teaching to the Oneness of God first was applied, Allāh is the only One that should be worshipped, and no other and otherness. He is our Lord who acknowledge human all are the same, either white or black, free or slave person. Then his *ṣūfism* which is more oriented to the *sharī'a*. The shaykh taught them how to recite *al-Qur'ān*, how to stand for praying and how to remember our Lord by *adhkār* and some other litanies. This was the right time and place for him to practise his reform ideas more practically. Although he never mentioned the type of doctrine he was teaching or where it came from, the essence of this treatise and his other teachings and reforms made an undeniable impact on the hearts of the people in the Cape and he succeeded in building a true Muslim community in South Africa in the short time he was there. His influence on the Capetonian Muslims can never be forgotten.

As for the remembrance to our Lord, Shaykh Yūsuf, throughout his treatises, only advocates mainly three *dhikrs*: *Lā ilāha illā Allāh*, *Allāh-Allāh* and *Huwa-Huwa* (*Hu-Hu* or *ah-ah*) to reach his Lord. This teaching has been practised by his followers up to the present. In his *ṭarīqa*, either the *Khalwatiyya* or *Yūsufiyya*, it is believed that *nafs* is essentially seen as a single entity, except for the many levels of worldly matters that can influence it, so Shaykh Yūsuf maintains that the soul can be either in a state of *ammāra*, *lawwāma* or *muṭma'inna*. These states are related to the teachings of God in the mundane existence of the world, because humans were created for doing *mu'āmala* (social dealings), in addition to worship and *ma'rifa*. However, *rāḍiya* is the state of *muṭma'inna* which has been sanctified by devotion, and *marḍiyya* is the gift of God to the *muṭma'innat al-rāḍiya*. Both are directly related to the afterlife on the day of Resurrection when there is no a physical duty of worship, such as *ṣalāt*, *dhikr* etc.

These three *dhikrs* are used then to bring the soul from the lower level to the higher level. First, the phrase لا إله إلا الله is a reliever of *ammāra*. Second, الله-الله is a supporter of *lawwāma*. Third, the pronoun هو-هو is a supporter of *muṭma'inna*. In other words, the *dhikr* لا إله إلا الله cleanses the soul of *ammāra* and takes it into *lawwāma*, the *dhikr* الله-الله brings the soul from *lawwāma* to *muṭma'inna*, the *dhikr* هو-هو adorns *muṭma'inna* with *rāḍiya* which is pleasing to Him [*marḍiyya*]; who, after death, will be called to join the congregation which has gained favour in the grave [*barzakh*], and who will finally be commanded to enter paradise.

Dhikr with the phrase لا إله إلا الله, is called *awwām dhikr* (general level) or also called oral *dhikr* (tongue), pronounced as many times as possible but not too loudly. Allāh says:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا أَذْكُرُوا اللَّهَ ذِكْرًا كَثِيرًا

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

“O you who believe! Remember Allāh with much remembrance” (Qur’ān, 33:41).

The words of Prophet SAW: *أفضلُ الذِّكْرِ لا إلهَ إلا اللهُ*. رواه الترمذی وابن ماجه والحاكم عن الجابر رضى الله عنه "The best of *dhikr* is *Lā ilāha illā Allāh*" (Narrated by al-Tirmidhī, and Ibn Māja and al-Ḥākim from Jābir RA (may Allāh be pleased with them).

"الله-الله", is called *khawās dhikr* (the elite *dhikr*) or also called as *qalb dhikr* (heart *dhikr*), the heart engages *dhikr* repeatedly until it becomes peaceful. Allāh says:

أَلَا بِذِكْرِ اللَّهِ تَطْمَئِنُّ الْقُلُوبُ

“Verily in the remembrance of Allāh do hearts find rest” (Qur’ān, 13:28).

“هو-هو”, is called *dhikr akhaṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ* (the elite of elites or the superlative elites) or also called *dhikr sirr* (*dhikr* of the innermost recess), the most soulful *dhikr*, as mentioned in *Ḥadīth Qudsī*: *مَنْ ذَكَرَنِي فِي نَفْسِهِ ذَكَرْتُهُ فِي نَفْسِي* “Whoever remembers Me in his soul, I will remember him in Myself.” Then His words: *فَاذْكُرُونِي أَذْكَرْكُمْ* “Therefore remember Me (by praying, glorifying etc.), I will remember you...” (Qur’ān, 2:152) and His words:

إِنِّي أَنَا اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا أَنَا فَاعْبُدْنِي وَأَقِمِ الصَّلَاةَ لِذِكْرِي

“He is Allāh, then Whom there is *lā ilāha illā Huwa* (none has the right to be worshipped but He)” (Qur’ān, 59:22).

When performing *dhikr*, or remembering God, one must know that God is with His servants according to the Words of God in *Surat al-Ḥadīd*: *وَهُوَ مَعَكُمْ أَيْنَ مَا كُنْتُمْ*

“... And He is with you (by His knowledge) wheresoever you may be...” (Qur’ān, 57:4).

Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqasasārī can be referred to as a reformer in the Islamic mystical world in the seventeenth century through his purification of beliefs and his *ṣūfism* in which he reconciled *sharī’a* and *ḥaqīqa*.

With regard to this renewalism, Islam in the Malay-Indonesian world in the seventeenth century was not simply a *taṣawwuf* oriented (mystical) Islam, but also a *sharī’a* oriented (legal) one. This was a major shift in the course of Islam in the archipelago, for in previous centuries mystical Islam was predominant because of the people’s predisposition to animism. Having studied in the centre of academic and spiritual networks in the middle East, Shaykh Yūsuf and other Malay-Indonesian scholars from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards launched conscious, if not concerted, efforts to spread neo-*sūfism* in the Indonesian archipelago. In addition and contrary to the earlier type of *ṣūfism* which tended to draw *ṣūfis*

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

into passivity, neo-*ṣūfism* preached activism. Involvement in worldly affairs was considered one of the crucial steps toward fulfilment of mystical aspiration. Therefore, it is not surprising that his Islamic *ṣūfism* was more oriented to the *sharī'a*, where he tried hard to reconcile *sharī'a* (divine law) and *ḥaqīqa* (divine Reality) to the Muslim communities in Gowa-Macassar as well as in Cape of Good Hope, South Africa.

The *taṣawwuf* of Shaykh Yūsuf is classified as neo-*ṣūfism*. He called this *taṣawwuf*, *al-Ṭarīqat al-Muḥammadiyya* (the Way of Muḥammad or Muḥammadan path) which constitutes the Right Path "*al-Ṣirāt al-Mustaqīm*." as has been mentioned in *Sirr al-Asrār*. Throughout his writing, he made it clear that the mystical way can only be navigated through a total commitment both outwardly and inwardly to the legal doctrine of Islam. He maintains that committing oneself simply to the *sharī'a* is better than practising *taṣawwuf* while ignoring Islamic legal precepts. He even goes so far as to classify those who believe that they will be able to get closer to God without practicing such rituals as prayer and fasting as *zindīq* (free-thinkers) and *mulḥid* (heretics). These can be seen especially in his *Zubdat al-Asrār*.

It seems that Shaykh Yūsuf was very enthusiastic in his efforts to reconcile the divine law (*sharī'a*) and divine reality (*ḥaqīqa*) in Islam. In this regard, he repeatedly narrated statements of unnamed authorities who assert that those who keep only the *sharī'a* without the *ḥaqīqa* are *fāsiq* (sinful men), and those who practise *taṣawwuf* while ignoring *sharī'a* are *zindīq* or heretic. He also quoted the words of Gnostic men with Allāh (*al-'Arif bi Allāh*) in *Tāj al-Asrār* that: "All *sharī'a* (divine law) without *ḥaqīqa* (divine reality) is vanity and all *ḥaqīqa* (divine reality) without *sharī'a* (divine law) is imperfect." The best thing to do is to harmonise both as such has been recorded in his *Sirr al-Asrār*: "Let it be known, my followers, divine law or exoteric devotion without divine or esoteric reality is like a body without a soul or a spirit (*rūh*), whereas divine reality or esoteric occupation without divine law or exoteric devotion is like a spirit without a body." Finally, he cites the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet SAW who said the Prophet (SAW) was sent by God in order to bring both *sharī'a* and *ḥaqīqa*. Thus, Shaykh Yūsuf insisted that everyone who wants to take the path of God or enter the *ṭarīqa* has to first practise all the teachings of the *sharī'a*.

Furthermore, Shaykh Yūsuf encouraged ways to approach God. The first means was by the pattern of the *akhyār* (the chosen people); which is by performing a lot of prayers, fasting, reading the *Qur'ān* and the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet SAW, and reading about those who struggled in the way of Allāh (*al-jihād fī sabīl Allāh*), and engaging in other exoteric devotions. The second way is the way of the people *mujāhadāt al-shaqā'* (those who struggle against adversity or hardship) by way of rigorous training to break away from bad habits and purify the mind and

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

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 types of devotion.

In one of his treatises, Shaykh Yūsuf was referred to as Abī al-Maḥāsin al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Shāfi'ī al-Ash'arī Tāj al-Khalwatī. This indicated that he followed the Shafi'ī *madhhab*, Ash'arī theology and was considered the crown of the *Khalwatī* Order who bestowed on him a title of a father of goodness. He was a great *ṣūfī*, a prolific writer who wrote more than fifty treatises, which were then developed and published by his students and his progeny up to his great-great grandsons. His style was very clear while his soft-spoken manner aroused the interest of people.

As for his literary works' contribution in general is that although his mystical works cover similar topics, the contents complement each another. He, for example, repeatedly encouraged his adherents to sincerely believe in the Oneness of God, remember and repent to Him abundantly, combine *sharī'a* and *ḥaqīqa*, emulate *Sunna* inwardly and outwardly, have good rapport with all creation, have a good opinion about people and Allāh, fear the Divine plan and be satisfied with Divine decree (but not with sin). Other examples include occupying a position between fear and hope in this life; knowing yourself before knowing your Lord; practising self-observation; knowing how to thank God; knowing the four kinds of *Qibla*; praising Our Lord; knowing the methods of *dhikr*, their types and meanings; knowing the meanings of existence (*wujūd*), knowing true prayer; understanding *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*; understanding *Wājib al-al-Wujūd*, *Understanding the real form of God and shadow*; knowing the twenty attributes of God, knowing the light of Muḥammad SAW from which all creation arose, knowing the soul Reality, knowing about *al-'Ubudiyyat al-Muṭlaqa* [absolute servitude]; knowing about *mu'jiza*, *irḥāṣ*, *karāma* and *istidrāj*; and knowing how to become a perfect person.

All these lessons should be obtained from qualified spiritual masters only, even though one probably could find some of these lessons in Islamic teachings. This indicates how important a spiritual master is for a spiritual traveller in this life because it is said that the one who has no spiritual master has Satan for a master. All his teachings above are inspired by the teachings of his masters who resided in the heart of *Sunni* orthodoxy and also the result of his spiritual journey to Allāh.

Furthermore, he took the essence of all lessons from his teachers and established his own system that combines elements of various orders he had learned which became known as *Yūṣufiyya* or *Khalwatīyyat al-Yūṣufiyya* through his students, his sons as well as his great-great grandsons. This *ṭarīqa* was developed and popularised by his great-great grandson in Gowa-Macassar from the line of Shaykh al-'Alam Muḥammad Djaelānī from his nine wife of

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION FOR THE FUTURE RESEARCH

Ceylon ('Afīfa bt. 'Abd Allāh Serendib), Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣulṭān Bayt Allāh (d. 1648). Then it is continued by his son Shaykh K.H. Saḥīb al-Khayr Ṣulṭān Krg. Nompo who is called Shaykh K.H. Sahib Sultan or Krg. Nompo. This shaykh also leads *Ṭārīqat al-Muktabara Al-Nahdliyya* in South Sulawesi Indonesia (the Head of *Shūro* board). He is not only a *murshid*, but also a prolific writer in Islamic philosophy and history especially regarding Shaykh Yūsuf and his works.

The impact of Shaykh Yūsuf's teaching in Indonesia and South Africa which stressed purification of beliefs made all followers to be fervent Muslims. In South Sulawesi, the Macassarese and Buginese more dominantly followed and practised *Khalwatiyya Yūsuf and Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya or Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī* Orders, while in the Cape, the Capetonian Muslims more predominantly followed and practiced his *Bā 'Alawiyya Ṣūfī* Order. Both have the same roots viz. Tuan Yūsuf of Macassar's teachings.

Although Shaykh Yūsuf was not considered the founder of Islam in Cape of Good Hope, South Africa, he was no doubt a pioneer of the Muslim community there. He brought and preached his Islamic *ṣūfism* which was more oriented to the *sharī'a*, as well as instilled anti-racism and anti-tribalism in the heart of community there until he died on May 23rd, 1699 or 22nd of *Dhul Qa'da* 1110 A.H. in Faure, Zandvliet Cape Town. Therefore, ex-President Nelson Mandela and South Africans have considered him a father of community in South Africa up to today. Because of his meritorious service to Indonesia and South Africa, he has become a national hero in both these countries. Now, he has two shrines that are visited, viz in Faure, Zandvliet, Cape Town, South Africa and in Lakiung Funeral Complex, Gowa Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia.

Lastly, in various treatises like *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* Shaykh Yūsuf seems to focus purely on *tasawwuf* (mysticism). Nevertheless, this does not hide his main concern, namely the renewal of belief and practice of the Islamic community in the archipelago (Indonesia) through his mysticism which is more oriented to the unity of *sharī'a* and *ḥaqīqa*. Despite the variety of *Ṣūfī* orders which are associated with Shaykh Yūsuf and also according to his own testimony, the *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya or Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī Order* are well received; especially in South Sulawesi and its surrounding areas. If the people of South Sulawesi and West Java, as well as in the Macassar area of Cape Town, are commonly known as fervent Muslims, it is no exaggeration to say that Shaykh Yūsuf had an important role in developing their identity through the spread of his religious and mystical ideas in both countries; so we have to give him the highest accolades for his exemplary services.

6.2 Recommendations for Future Research

In general, it is hoped that this thesis - with all its limitations - would provide a workable point of departure for future studies in this area. In this respect some key tasks this thesis has set itself were:

- a) to present a well-researched, more accurate version to a number of presumed inaccuracies in the historical data of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī as well as his works and teachings and some of the prevailing historical works dealing with similar subject matter.
- b) to provide a well-informed insight on his literary contribution either on his general literary works or specifically on his treatise *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*.
- c) to provide new information and insights into his own *ṣūfī* order *Khalwatiyya Yūsuf*, and *Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī Orders* which are flourishing in South Sulawesi and surrounding areas in Indonesia.

By far the most important academic challenge that remains is to engage a study of individual Shaykh Yūsuf as well as his teachings which have contributed significantly to the culture of *ṣūfism* [*taṣawwuf*] in Gowa, Macassar, South Sulawesi as well as in Macassar, Cape Town, South Africa.

It seems further research is needed regarding his intellectual inspiration in relation to the link between his treatises and his spiritual masters in completing what has been started in this research.

Finally, the author asks Allāh's (SWT) forgiveness if she has made a mistake in writing this thesis as well as in presenting the ideas of Shaykh Yusuf al-Maqassarī. All her flaws in this regard, since the Perfect One is only Himself, and in His hands all truth and perfection lie. *Lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi Allāh al-'Alīyy al-'Aḍīm* [There is no might and power except with Allāh, the Most High, the Supreme (in Glory)].

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Secondary Data References

(A) *Risālāt* [Microfilms & Manuscripts]

Collections at Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden and Perpustakaan Nasional (National Library) Jakarta

Microfilms

Leiden Universiteit Bibliotheque. (n.d.). *Kitāb Taṣawwuf [Some of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī's Works]*. Document Reproduction Service (MSKBG 101, F Or A13d [1/11 & 14/21]).

Leiden Universiteit Bibliotheque. (n.d.). *Kitāb Taṣawwuf [Some of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī's Works]*. Document Reproduction Service (MSKBG 108, F Or A13b [1,3/10 & 14,18/20, 25-33]).

Leiden Universiteit Bibliotheque. (n.d.). *Kitāb Taṣawwuf of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī's Works*. Document Reproduction Service (MSKBG 45, F Or A14b [1/2]).

KITLV Library of Leiden (1971) *The Collection of Seven Works of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī*. Document Reproduction Service (MSKBG of KITLV [1/7]).

Manuscripts

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). *Al-A'yān al-Thābita [The Permanent Archetypes or the Established Archetypes or Eternal Essences]*. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 101 [21]*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). *Al-Dhikr wa al-Du'ā [Remembrance and Du'ā]*. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Arabic Manuscript Or 7025 [7]*. Leiden: Universiteit Bibliotheque.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). *Asrār al-Ṣalā [The Secrets of Prayer (Ṣalā)]*. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 108 [19]*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). *Baḥr al-Lāhūt [Ocean of Divine Nature]*. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 108 [20]*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (c1222A.H./1806). *Al-Barkat al-Saylāniyya [The Blessing from Ceylon]*. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 108 [5]*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (c1221A.H./1806). *Bidāyat al-Muḥtadī [The First Step of the Novice]*. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 108 [25]*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). *Buginese Kitāb*. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 108 [28]*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). *Buginese Kitāb as Shaykh Yūsuf's Risālah for Sulṭān Fakhruddīn 'Abd. Jalīl (the 15th King of Gowa as his brother in law)*. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 108 [29]*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Buginese Kitāb (refers to the teaching of master of his masters Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī). Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 108 [30]*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Buginese Kitāb. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 108 [28]*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Daf’u al-Balā’ [Repelling Calamity]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 108 [27]*. Leiden: Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Faṭḥ Kaifiyyat al-Dhikr [The Explanation concerning the Ways of Doing Dhikr or Introduction to the Method of Dhikr]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Arabic Manuscript Or 7025 [5]*, Leiden: Universiteit Bibliotheque.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Faṭḥu al-Raḥmān [The Revelation of the Merciful]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 108 [1]*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Al-Fawā’ih al-Yūsufiyya fī Bayān Taḥqīq al-Şūfiyya [The Utterances of Yūsufiyya [Based on Shaykh Yūsuf] in Explaining the Verification of the Şūfīs]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 108 [6]*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Hādhihi Fawā’id Aẓīma (al-Dhikr) [These are the Great Benefits (of Dhikr)]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Arabic Manuscript Or 7025 [6]*, Leiden: Universiteit Bibliotheque.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Ḥaqīqat al-Rūḥ [The Reality of the Soul]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 101 [20]*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Ikhtisāş al-Dhikr [The Specification of Remembering God]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 101 [16]*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Ishrīn al-Şifa [Twenty Attributes]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 101 [19]*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Kaifiyyat al-Nafī Wa al-Ithbāt bi al-Ḥadīth al-Qudsī [The Way of Negation and Affirmation (Dhikr) via the Ḥadīth Qudsī]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 108 [7]*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Kitāb al-Anbāh fī l’rāb Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh [The Book of Instruction with Respect to the Declaration Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Arabic Manuscript Or 7446 [6]*, Leiden: Universiteit Bibliotheque.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Kitāb Inbāh al-Inbāh fī l’rāb Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh [The Book of Annotations of Kitāb al-Inbāh fī l’rāb Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh]. Manuscript submitted for publication. Leiden: Universiteit Bibliotheque.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Ma’nā Qawli lā ilāha illa Allāh [The meaning of the words lā ilāha illa Allāh]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 101 [18]*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Ma’nā al-Wujūd [The Meaning of Existence]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 101 [17]*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Al-Maḡassarī, S.Y. (c1186A.H/1772). Maṭālib al-Sālikīn [The Quest of the Spiritual Seekers]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 101* [7] and *Manuscript A 108* [3]. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maḡassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Muḡaddimat al-Fawā'id al-latī mā lā budda min al-'Aqāid [Introduction to the Benefits which emanate from Beliefs]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Arabic Manuscript Or 5472*, and *Jakarta Manuscript A 108* [18]. Leiden: Universiteit Bibliotheque and Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maḡassarī, S.Y. (1216A.H/) Al-Nafḡat al-Saylāniyya [Providential Gift: a Breeze from Ceylon or the Fragrance of Ceylon]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 101* [1]. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maḡassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Risāla Ghāyat al-Ikhtišār Wa nihāyat al-Intizār [The Excellent Treatise in Brevity and the Ultimate Vision or the Concise Treatise on the Goal and Outcome of Wakefulness]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 108* [9]. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maḡassarī, S.Y. (c1186A.H/1772). Qurrat al-'Ayn [Consolation for the Eyes]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Arabic Manuscript Or 7025* [4], and *Jakarta Manuscript A 101* [3]. Leiden: Universiteit Bibliotheque and Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maḡassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Sirr al-Asrār [The Secret of Secrets]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Arabic Manuscripts Or 5706: 3-17* as well as *Arabic Manuscript Or 7025* [3]: 67-104, and *Jakarta Manuscript A 101* [8] and *Jakarta Manuscript A 108* [10]. Leiden: Universiteit Bibliotheque and Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maḡassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Šūra [The Image (of Tawḡīd)]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 108* [24a]. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maḡassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Shurūt al-'Ārif al-Muḡaqqaq [Conditions of the Verified Gnostic]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 101* [4]. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maḡassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Taḡsīl al-'Ināya wa al-Hidāya [The Implication of Help and Guidance or the Acquisition of Divine Providence and Guidance]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 108* [8]. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maḡassarī, S.Y. (c1186A.H./1772). Tāj al-Asrār fī Taḡqīq Mashārib al-'Ārifīn [The Crown of Secrets in regard to Verification of the Extasy of the Gnostics]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Arabic Manuscript Or 7025* [1]; and *Jakarta Manuscript A 101* [5]. Leiden: Universiteit Bibliotheque and Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maḡassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Talkhīš al-Ma'ārif [The Synopsis of Divine Knowledge]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 108* [26]. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maḡassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Tartīb al-Dhikr [The Sequence of Dhikr]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 101* [14]. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (c1186A.H./1772). Tuḥfat al-Abrār li Ahl al-Asrār [The gift of the Good Ones to the People of Secrets or the Gift of the Pious to the People of Secrets]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 101* [9]. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (c1186A.H./1772). Tuḥfat al-Amr fī Faḍīlat al-Dhikr [The Gift of the Divine Command concerning the Virtues of Dhikr]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 101* [6]. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Tuḥfat al-Mursala [The Manifest Gift]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Arabic Manuscript Or 7026*, Leiden: Universiteit Bibliotheque.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Tuḥfat al-Ṭālib al-Muḥtadī wa Minḥat al-Sālik al-Muḥtadī [The Gift of the Novice Student and the Gift of the Novice Seeker]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 45* [1]. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Al-Wājib al-Wujūd [The Essential, Indispensable Existence] in *Jakarta Manuscript A 101* [15]. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). Al-Waṣiyyāt al-Munjiyyāt ‘an al-Muḍarrat al-Ḥijāb [Advices for Protection from the Harm of Veiling or entitled it as the Saving Bequest]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Jakarta Manuscript A 101* [11]. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (1087A.H./1674;c1186A.H./1772). Zubdat al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Ba‘ḍi Mashārib al-Akhyār [The Essence of Secrets in Investigating Some Drinking Places of the Chosen Ones]. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Arabic Manuscript Or 7025* [2]; and *Jakarta Manuscript A 101* [2]; *Jakarta Manuscript A 101* [32] and ; *Jakarta Manuscript A 45* [2]. Leiden: Universiteit Bibliotheque and Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional.

Collections by al-Tīmī, Jami’ al-Dīn b. Ṭālib al-Khalwatī

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (c1145A.H./1735). Al-Tuḥfat al-Saylāniyya [A Gift from Ceylon]. Ed. al-Timi, Jami’ al-Dīn, Makassar. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Al-Majmu‘a min Muallafāt al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqāṣṣarī*. Jakarta: the National Museum or Library.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (1099 A.H./1687; c1145A.H./1735). Ḥabl al-Warid Li Sa‘adat al-Murid [Ray of inspiration for the happiness of the Disciple]. Ed. al-Timi, Jami’ al-Dīn, Makassar. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Al-Majmu‘a min Muallafāt al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqāṣṣarī*. Jakarta: the National Museum or Library.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (c1145A.H./1735). Al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya [The Divine Revelations] or is called also as Al-Tuḥfat al-Rabbāniyya [The Divine Gift]. Ed. al-Timi, Jami’ al-Dīn, Makassar. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Al-Majmu‘a min Muallafāt al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqāṣṣarī*. Jakarta: the National Museum or Library.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (c1145A.H./1735). Zubdat al-Asrar, another version [The Essence of Secrets]. Ed. al-Timi, Jami’ al-Dīn, Makassar. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Al-Majmu‘a min Muallafāt al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqāṣṣarī*. Jakarta: the National Museum or Library.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (c1145A.H./1735). Tuḥfat al-Labib billiqai al-Ḥabib [The Valuable Gift concerning the Meeting with the Beloved or The Gift of the Essence in Meeting with the Beloved]. Ed. al-Timi,

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jami' al-Dīn, Makassar. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Al-Majmu'a min Muallafāt al-Shaykh al-Hājj Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqāṣṣarī*. Jakarta: the National Museum or Library.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (c1145A.H./1735). Risāla ilā Sulṭān Wazīr Karaeng Karunrung 'Abd al-Ḥamid [Shaykh Yusuf's letter to Mangkubumi/the High Administrator Karaeng Karunrung 'Abdul- Ḥamid]. Ed. al-Timi, Jami' al-Dīn, Makassar. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Al-Majmu'a min Muallafāt al-Shaykh al-Hājj Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqāṣṣarī*. Jakarta: the National Museum or Library.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (c1145A.H./1735). Safinat al-Najah [The Ark of Safety or the Vessel of Salvation]. Ed. al-Timi, Jami' al-Dīn, Makassar. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Al-Majmu'a min Muallafāt al-Shaykh al-Hājj Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqāṣṣarī*. Jakarta: the National Museum or Library.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (c1145A.H./1735). Al-Minḥat al-Saylaniyya fi al-Minḥat al- Raḥmaniyya [The Gift from Ceylon regarding the Gifts of of the Most Merciful]. Ed. al-Timi, Jami' al-Dīn, Makassar. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Al-Majmu'a min Muallafāt al-Shaykh al-Hājj Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqāṣṣarī*. Jakarta: the National Museum or Library.

Collections at the Libraries of Berlin and Princeton University USA

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (Shawāl, 1066 A.H./1656). The short version of 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Jāmī's al-Durrat al-Fakhira. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Sprenger 677*. Berlin: Berlin library.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (Rabī' al-Akhir, 1075 A.H./1664). The long version of al-Jāmī's al-Durrat al-Fakhira, Manuscript submitted for publication in *Yahuda 3827*. USA: Garret Collection Princeton University Library.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (Rabī' al-Akhir, 1075 A.H./1664). Risāla fī al-Wujūd. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Yahuda 3827*. USA: Garret Collection Princeton University Library.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (Rabī' al-Akhir, 1075 A.H./1664). 'Abd al-Ghafūr al-Lāri's commentary (sharḥ) on al-Durrat al-Fakhira. Manuscript submitted for publication in *Yahuda 3827*. USA: Garret Collection Princeton University Library.

Other Private Collections

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). *Al-Risalat al-Naqshabandiyya [The Naqshabandiyya Treatise]*. This text is kept by Hawash Abdullah's family. Unpublished Manuscript.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). *Fath al-Raḥman [The Opening of the Most Merciful]*. This text is kept by Hawash Abdullah's family. Unpublished Manuscript.

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). *Al-Ḥaqīqat al-Bayaniyya [The Clear Reality]*. This text is kept by 'Abdu l-Kahar Daeng Tompo, Galesong. Unpublished Manuscript

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). *Ma'ādin al-Asrār [The Sources of Secrets]*. This text is kept by K.H.Abd. Qadir Daeng Sutte, Pattalassang. Unpublished Manuscript

Al-Maqassarī, S.Y. (n.d.). *Al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm [The Straight Path]*. This text is kept by H. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Muhammad Alwi Arief Daeng Massikki, Takalar. Unpublished Manuscript.

(B) Notebooks, Handbooks, Silsilas and the Like

Baitullah, Muhammad. (n.d.). Passalak Kaniakkanna Tuanta Salamaka Syeikh Yusufu. In *Sembangon*. Handwriting. Gowa.

Kamaluddin, P. Raden Muhammad Daeng Tombong. (n.d.) *Riwayat Shaykh Yūsuf dan Silsilah Keturunannya*. Handwriting. Takalar.

Sultan, Sahib. (2018) *Ritual Thariqat Khalwatiyyah Yusufiyyah*. A Handbook, Ditulis dan Diterjemahkan oleh Hj. Muzdalifah Sahib, 28 of January 2018, Makassar.

Sultan, Sahib. (2015). Silsilah Keturunan Syeikh Yusuf dari Isteri ke-5, puteri Sulthan Ageng Tirtayasa. In *Syeikh Yusuf al-Maqassariy: Riwayat Hidup, Karya & Ajarannya*: 206-210. Edited by Hj. Raodah Sahib. Makassar: Al-Mahasin.

Sultan, Sahib. (2015). Silsilah Keturunan Syeikh Yusuf dari Isteri ke-9, puteri Abdullah Sarnadib (Ceylon). In *Syeikh Yusuf al-Maqassariy: Riwayat Hidup, Karya & Ajarannya*: 220-220a/220d. Edited by Hj. Raodah Sahib. Makassar: Al-Mahasin.

Sultan, Sahib. (2013). *A Notebook of Dhikr and Du'ā*. Handwriting, Makassar.

Sultan, Sahib. (2012). *Silsilah Thariqat Khalwatiyah Yusuf*. Penulis & Pewaris. Revisi. Makassar.

Sultan, Sahib. (2008). Silsilah Keturunan Syeikh Yusuf Tuanta Salamaka. In *Allah dan Jalan Mendekatkan Diri Kepada-Nya dalam Konsepsi Syeikh Yusuf*: 349-369. Makassar:YAPMA.

Sultan, Sahib. (n.d). *A Notebook of Dhikr and Du'ā*. Handwriting. Gowa-Makassar.

(C) Printed Books

Abdullah, H. (1930). *Perkembangan Tashawwuf dan Tokoh-Tokohnya di Nusantara*. Surabaya: al-Ikhlās.

Abdullah. R. (2015). *Kerajaan Islam Demak. Api Revolusi Islam di Tanah Jawa*. Solo: Al-Wafiq Publishing.

Afifi, A.E. (1980). *Fūsus al-Ḥikām li al-Shaykh al-Akbār Muḥy al-Dīn*. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī

Amansyah, A. M. (1975). *Tentang Lontarak Sjeikh Yūsuf Taj al Khalwati*. Ujung Pandang: Perpustakaan UNHAS.

Arifin Miftah. (2011). *Sufi Nusantara Biografi, Karya Intellektual & Pemikiran Tasawwuf*. Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzmedia.

Attarmizi, Yooga Adiana and Muhammad Yajid Kalam. (2002). *Kamus Sufi*. Bandung: Pustaka Kasidah Cinta.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Al-Attās, Sayyid Muḥammad Naquib. (1966). *Raniri and the Wūjudiyyah of 17th Century Aceh*. Singapura: Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- Azra, A. (2007). *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII. Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*. Jakarta: Kencana.
- al-Baghdādī, A.K. (1964). *Al-Farq Bayn al-Firāq*. Ed. M.M. 'Abd Hamid. Cairo: Publisher Unknown.
- Bakri Oemar & Abdullah bin Muhammad. (1974). *Kamus Arab-Indonesia*. Jakarta: Mutiara
- Berg, van den L.W.C. (1873). *Codicum Arabicorum in Bibliotheca Societates Artium et Scientiarum Quae Bataviae Floret Asservatorum Catalogus*. Batavia-Den Haag: Wijt & Nijhoff.
- Bruinessen, M. van. (1992). *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan.
- Bruinessen, M. van. (1991). *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat. Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan.
- Cassiem, Nusrah. (2004). *Muhammad the Pathway to the Garden, Based on the Riwaya's as Practiced by Sheikh Yusuf of Macassar*. South Africa: Hijrah Production.
- Cence, A.A. (1979). *Pemujaan Syeikh Yūsuf di Sulawesi Selatan in Sejarah Lokal di Indonesia*. Editor by Taufiq Abdullah. Yogyakarta: UGM.
- Cense, A.A. (1 Augustus 1950). De Verering van Sjaich Jusuf in Zuid Celebes. In *Bingkisan Budi*. Edited by Prof. Dr. Philippus Samuel van Ronkel. Amsterdam: A.W. Sijtoffs Uitg. N.V.
- Da Costa Y. and Davids A. (1994). *Pages from Cape Muslim History*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.
- Daeng Magassing, Nuruddin. (1933). *Riwayatna Tuanta Salamaka Sehe Yūsufu*. Makassar: Volkedrukkerij.
- Daeng Patunru, Abd. Razak. (1967). *Sejarah Gowa*. Makassar: Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara.
- Dangor, S.E. (1995). *Sirr al-Asrār. The Secret of Secrets by Shaykh Yusuf*. Durban: Centre for Research in Islamic Studies, University of Durban-Westville.
- Dangor, S.E. (1994) In the footstep of the Companions: Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar (1626-1699). In *Pages from Cape Muslim History*: 19-46. Edited by Yusuf da Costa and Davids. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.
- Dangor, S.E. (1990). *Zubdat al-Asrār, The Essence of Secrets by Shaykh Yusuf*. Durban: Centre for Research in Islamic Studies, University of Durban-Westville.
- Dangor, S.E. (1982). *Shaykh Yūsuf*. Durban: Kat Bross Prince Edward.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Darries, F & GT.Darries. (2014). *Zandvliet. Cape Town's Islamic Heritage*. Wynberg, South Africa: Faizal Darries Foundation.
- Davids, A. (1994). My Religion is Superior to the Law: The Survival of Islam in Cape of Good Hope, in *Pages from Cape Muslim History*: 57-79. Editor by Yusuf da Costa and Achmad Davids. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.
- Davids, A. (1980). *The Mosques of Bo-Kaap*. Athlone, Cape: The South African Institute of Arabic and Islamic Research.
- Daudy, Ahmad. (1983). *Allah dan Manusia dalam Konsepsi Syekh Nuruddin ar-Raniry*. Jakarta: CV. Rajawali.
- Du Plessis, I.D. and C.A. Lucckhoff. (1953). *The Malay Quarter of Its People*. Cape Town.
- Du Plessis, I.D. and C.A. Lucckhoff. (1972). *The Cape Malay*. Cape Town: AA Balkema.
- al-Ghazālī, A.H. (2017). *Miskat Cahaya-Cahaya*. Edisi Kedua. Terjemahan dari *Mishkat al-Anwār*, terbitan al-Mathba'ah al-Arabiyyah, Mesir. Cetakan I 1343 H oleh Muhammad Bagir. Bandung: Mizan.
- al-Ghazālī, A.H. (1973). *Al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl*, Edisi Muḥammad Abū al-A'lā. Cairo: Publisher Unknown
- al-Ghazālī, A.H. (1961). *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah*. Edisi Sulaiman Dunya. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif.
- al-Ghazālī, A.H. (1962). *Al-Iqtishād fī al-'iḳāḍ*, Ed. Dr. Ibrahim Agah Cubuku and Dr. Husseyin Atay. Cairo: Ankara University.
- al-Ghazālī, A.H. (1939). *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-Dīn*. Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bāb al-Ḥalabī.
- Gibb, Hamilton A.R. (ed.). (1960). *Encyclopedia of Islam*. 5 vols. Leiden: E.J.Brill.
- Hamka. (2017). *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama*. Bandung: Gema Insani
- Hamid, A. (1994 & 2005). *Syekh Yusuf, Seorang Ulama, Sufi dan Pejuang*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Hamka. (1976). Shaykh Yūsuf Taj al-Khalwaty. In *Sejarah Ummat Islam*: 300-311. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang.
- Hamka. (1963). *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama*. Medan: Maju.
- Humam, K.A.W. (2013). *Satu Tuhan Seribu Jalan. Sejarah, Ajaran, dan Gerakan Tarekat di Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: FORUM.
- Ibn al-'Arabī. Muḥyiddīn. (1972). *Al-Futuḥat al-Makkiya*. Cairo: al-Maktab al-'Arabiyya.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Djalaluddin, Sjech, H. Dr. (1961) *Al-Ṭarīqat al-Naqshabandiyya*. Djakarta: Pustaka Hamba Allah:
- Djalaluddin, Sjech, H. Prof. (1964) *Ṭharīkat Naqsyabandiyyah*. Djakarta: Pustaka Hamba Allah
- al-Jili. (1884). *Al-Insān al-Kāmil fī Ma'rifat al-Awākhir wa al-Awāil*. Cairo: 'Isa al-Halabī
- J, Noorduyn. (1972). *Islamisasi Makassar*. Djakarta: Bhatara.
- Juratmoko, T and Samsul M. (2005). *Kamus Ilmu Tasawwuf*. Jakarta: Amzah.
- Ligtvoet. (1877). *Transcriptie Van De Lontara Bilang of Het Dagboek der Vorsten Van Gowa en Tallo*. S. Graven Hage: Volksdrukkerij.
- Lubis, Nabilah. (1996). *Syeikh Yusuf al-Taj al-Makassari. Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia*. Bandung: Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia & Ecole Franchaise of Extrême Orient Mizan.
- Lubis, Nabilah. (1994). *Shaykh Yūsuf from Indonesia to Cape Town: The Life and Time of Shaykh Yūsuf*. Jakarta: The Ministry of Tourism and Culture Republic of Indonesia.
- Makkarausu, Amansyah. (1975). *Tentang Lontara' Syekh Yusuf, Tajul Halwatiah*. Perpustakaan Unhas: Ujung Pandang.
- Al-Makki, Abu Talib. (1961). *Quṭul Qulub fī Mu'ammalat l-Maḥbūb wa Waṣfi Ṭarīqi al-Murīd ilā Maqāmi l-Tawḥīd*. Kairo
- Masyhuri, A. Azis. (2011). *Ensiklopedi 22 Aliran Tarekat dalam Tasawwuf*. Surabaya: IMTIYAZ.
- Matthes, B.F. (1885). Boeginische en Macassarische Legeden. In *BKI Vierde Volgreeks deel*. Leiden: KITLV
- Mattulada. (1982). *Menyususri Jejak Makassar dalam Sejarah*. Jakarta: Bhakti Baru-Berita Utama.
- Mattulada. (1976). *Islam di Sulawesi Selatan*. Jakarta: Leknas.
- Mayson, J S. (1865). *The Malays of Cape Town*. Manchester, UK.: Cave and Sever.
- Muḥy al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī. (1946). *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikām*, Edition A.E. Affifi. Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī.
- Mulyati Sri. (2004). *Mengenal dan Memahami Tarekat-Tarekat Muktabarah di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Prenada Media.
- Nasution, Harun. (1978). *Falsafat dan Mistisisme dalam Islam*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang
- Perlas, Christian. (1985). Religion, Tradition and the Dynamics of Islamisation in South-Sulawesi, part I of II. the L'Islamisation, Phenomene De Temps Long L'exemple the Celebes–Sud. In

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Archiple* 29. Editeur: Association Archiple. Paris: de Institut National Des Langues et Civilisation Orientales.
- Ramly, Andi Muawiyah. (2006). *Demi Ayat Tuhan. Upaya KPPSI menegakkan Syariat Islam*. Jakarta: OPSI (Open Society Institute).
- Sahib, Muzdalifah (2017). *Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī. A National Hero of Two Countries, a Ṣūfī Saint and a Reformer in the Islamic Mystical World of the Seventeen Century*. Jakarta: Orbit Publishing.
- Sahib, Muzdalifah. (2011 & 2014a). *Sheikh Yusuf al-Maqassary: His Life Story as a National Hero from Gowa, South Sulawesi to Cape Town, South Africa and a Reformer in Islamic Mystic World*. Revised Edition. Makassar: Alauddin University Press.
- Sahib, Muzdalifah. (2014b). *Commentaries on the Work of Sheikh Yusuf al-Maqassary in Zubdat al-Asrār "The Essence of Secrets."* Makassar: Alauddin University Press.
- Salim, F. (2010). *Kritik terhadap Studi Al-Qur'an Kaum Liberal*. Jakarta: Perspektif.
- Al-Sarraj, Abu Nashr. (1960). *Al-Luma'*. Edisi. A. H. Mahmud, Kairo.
- Sasmita, Uka Tjandra. (1976). *Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa*. Jakarta: Proyek Biografi Pahlawan Nasional PDK.
- Schimmel, Annemarie. (1975). *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Schimmel, Annemarie. (2000). *Dimensi Mistik dalam Islam*. Diterjemahkan oleh Supardi Djoko Damono dkk. Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus.
- Section of Integration, Processing and Dissemination of Statistical Center Agency (BPS) of Gowa Regency (Editors). (2014). *Gowa in Figures 2014*. Gowa: BPS Statistic of Gowa Regency.
- Selamat, Kasmuri and Ihsan Sanusi. (2011). *Akhlak Tasawuf. Upaya Meraih Kehalusan Budi dan Kedekatan Ilahi*. Jakarta: Kalam Mulia.
- Sibali, M. B. (1989). *Syeikh Yusuf Tuwanta Salamaka. Ulama Pejuang Abad ke 17*. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Solichin, S. (2004). *Syekh Yusuf "Singa dari Gowa" (Ulama Kaliber International)*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pembina Generasi Muda Indonesia bekerjasama Gema Salam.
- Statistic South Africa. (2015). *Mid Year Population Estiamtion*. Pretoria.
- Sultan, Sahib. (2018). *Dzikir dalam Thariqat Khalwatiyyah*. Makassar: Yayasan Almahasin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sultan, Sahib. (2016). *Syeikh Yusuf Tuanta Salamaka. Ulama Sufi, Pejuang Abad ke17 dan Pahlawan Nasional Dua Negara*. Edisi Revisi. Makassar: Yayasan Almahasin.

Sultan, Sahib. (2015). *Syeikh Yūsuf, Riwayat, Karya dan Ajarannya*. Makassar: Yayasan Almahasin.

Sultan, Sahib. (2014). *Manusia Sebuah Mikrokosmos Bergerak dan Berfikir (Dari Mana dan Hendak Ke Mana)*. Editor: Muzdalifah Sahib. Makassar: YAPMA.

Sultan, Sahib. (1989 & 2008). *Allāh dan Jalan Mendekatkan Diri kepada-Nya dalam Konsepsi Syeikh Yūsuf*. Makassar: YAPMA.

Sultan, Sahib. (2006). *Syeikh Yusuf Tuanta Salamaka. A Sūfi Islamic Scholar, A Fighter in the 17th Century and A National Hero of Two Countries*. Translated and Edited by Muzdalifah Sahib. Makassar: YAPMA.

Theal, McCall, G. (1909). History of South Africa III, Vol. II of 3 vols. In *History and Ethnography of Africa South of the Zembesi*, London: Swan sonnenschein.

Theal, McCall, G. L.L.D. (1897). *History of South Africa under the Administration of the Dutch East Indian Company (1652-1705)*, vol. I, II. London: Swan sonnenschein

Tudjimah. (1997). *Shaykh Yūsuf Makassar Riwayat dan Ajarannya*. Universitas Indonesia (UI Press): Jakarta.

Voorhoeve, P. (1957). *Handlist and Arabic of Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands*. Leiden: Leiden University Press.

Webster, Meriam. (1983). *Webster Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*. Merriam-Webster Inc.

Wehr, Hans. (1974). *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, Arabic-English*. Edited by J Milton Cowan. Beirut: Library Du Liban.

Zuhri, Saifuddin, KH. (1983). *Sejarah Kebangkitan Islam dan Perkembangannya di Indonesia*. Bandung: PT. al-Ma'arif.

(D) Tafāsīr and Aḥādīth Printed Tafāsīr

Al-Alūsī, al-Sayyid Maḥmūd Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl al-Baghdādī. (1414 A.H./1993). *Rūḥ al-Ma'ānī fī tafsīr al-Qur'an al-'Aẓīm wa al-Sab'i al-Mathānī*. Vols. 3, 4, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15. Beirut: Dār-lhyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī.

Al-Hilali, Taqiuddin Muḥammad, and Muḥammad Muhsin Khan. (1995). *Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur'an in the English Language*. Riyadh-Saudi Arabia: Dar-us-Salam Publications.

Kasīr, Ibn. (1981). *Tafsīr Ibn Kasīr*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Printed Aḥādīth

Al-Ajalūnī, Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad. (1993). *Kashf al-Khafā wa Muzīl al-Albās*. Beirut: Dār- Ihyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī.

Al-Ajalūnī, Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad. (1351 A.H.). *Kashf al-Khafā wa Muzīl al-Albās*. Cairo: Maktabat al Muqaddasī.

Al-Aṣbahānī, Abū Nu'aym. (1974). *Hilyat al Awliyā*. Egypt: Al-Sa'āda.

Al-Bayḥaqī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn. (1344 H). *Al-Sūnan al-Kubrā*. Ḥayḍīr Abād: Majlīs Dāirāt al-Ma'ārif.

Al-Bukhārī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl. (1422 A.H) *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*. Beirut: Dār Ṭawq al-Najā'.

Al-Bukhārī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl. (1989). *Al-Adab al-Mufrad*. Beirut: Dār al Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyya.

Al-Bukhārī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl. (1862). *Al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Edited by Ludolf Krell. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill.

Abū Dāwūd. (n.d.). *Sūnan Abū Dāwūd*. Beirut: Maktabat al-'Athriyya.

Ibn al-Athīr, Majd al-Dīn Abū al-Sa'ādāt. (1969 – 1972). *Jāmi' al-Uṣūl*. Maktabat al-Ḥalawānī.

Ibn Abī Dunya, Abū Bakr 'Abd Allah al-Baghdādī al-Quraishī. (1997). *Al-Amru bil Ma'rūf wa al Nahyu an al-Munkar*. Madīna: Maktabat al-Ghurabā' al-Athariyya

Ibn Ḥanbal, Aḥmad. (2001). *Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal*. Beirut: Muassasāt al-Risāla.

Ibn Māja, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Qazwīnī. (1952). *Sunan*. ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī. 2 vols. Beirut: 'Isā al-Bābī al-Halabī.

Ibn Ishāq al-Ḥarbī, Ibrāhīm. (1999). *Garīb al-Ḥadīth*. Makkat al-Mukarrama: Jāmi'a Ummul Qurā'

Mālik ibn Anas, Abū 'Abd Allāh. (1971). *Muwatta' al-Imām Mālik*. Edited by Aḥmad Rātib. 'Armūsh. Beirut: Dār al-Nafā'is.

Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, Abū al-Ḥusayn. (1954) *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. Beirut: Dar Iḥya al-Turath al-Arabī.

Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, Abū al-Ḥusayn. (1998). *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. vol. 8. Saudi Arabia: Bayt al-Afkār al-Dawliyya.

Muslim Ibn al-Hajjāj. (n.d.). *Al-Jāmi' al-Sahih*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr.

al-Tirmidhī, Muḥammad b. Abū 'Isa. (1975). *Sunan Tirmidhī*. Egypt: Muṣṭafa al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī.

al-Tirmidhī, Muḥammad bin Abū 'Isā. (1974). *Al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Edited by 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Abd al-Latīf. 4 vols. Madīna: al-Maktabat al-Salafiyya.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(E) Journal Articles, Printed Media [Magazines and Newspapers]

Cassiem Armien. (2014). Shaykh Yusuf of Macassar; Scholar, Sufi, National Hero: Towards Constructing Local Identity and History at the Cape. *Kawalu: Journal of Local Culture*, Vol 1, No. 2 (July-December).

Drewes, G.W.J. (1926). Sjech Joesoef Macassar, *Djawa*, VI: 83-88.

Hamka. (15/04/1977 & 1/05/1977). Shaykh Yūsuf Taj al-Khalwaty. *Majalah Harmonis*, No. 130 dan 131.

Hamka. (1959/1960). Perjuangan Shaykh Yūsuf Taj al-Khalwati. *Almanak Muhammadiyah*, XX.

Howel, J.D. (2012). Sufism and Neo Sufism in Indonesia Today. *Rima* 46(2): 1-24.

Keraan Mustapha & Muhammed Haron. (2008). 'Selected Sufi Texts of Shaykh Yūsuf: Translations and commentaries.' *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde*, 45, 1. South Africa: University of Pretoria.

Seedat, Hassim. (July 14-18, 1982). The First Recorded Settler was a Political Prisoner. *Post Natal*, Durban.

Usman, Zuber. (15/10/1974). Syekh Yūsuf Taj al-Khalwati. *Panji Masyarakat* No. 161.

(F) Dissertations, Theses, Reports and Papers

Abdulgani, Ruslan. (1994). *The History of Struggle of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassary*. Paper presented at Hasanuddin University on the 2nd April 1994. Ujung Pandang: UNHAS

Ahmad, Abd. Kadir. (1981). *Study tentang Islamisasi di Gowa*. Skripsi (Scription). Fakultas Adab IAIN Alauddin: Ujung Pandang.

Asba, A. Rasyid. (2008). *Syekh Yūsuf dalam Perspektif Historiografi Sulawesi Selatan*. Paper presented at Gowa Regency Office on July 4. Gowa: Sungguminasa

Azra, A. (2005). *Shaykh Yūsuf: His Role in Indonesia and South Africa*. Paper presented for "One-day Seminar on Slavery and Political Exiled." at the Slave Lodge, the Iziko Museums. South Africa: Cape Town.

Azra, A. (1992). *The Transmission of Islamic Reformism to Indonesian: Networks of Middle Eastern Malay-Indonesian "Ulama" in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. Columbia University, UMI.

Cajee, Z. A. (2003). *Islamic History & Civilization in South Africa, the Impact of Colonialism, Apartheid and Democracy (1652-2004)*. A paper. Johannesburg, South Africa.

Dadoo Yousuf. (2014). *Da'wah in South Africa: Its Link to Governance & Democracy*. The 1st International Conference on University Community Engagement held in Makassar. Conducted by Islamic State University Alauddin Makassar in co-operation with SILE/LLD Project on November 25-28.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Darusman, Lukmanul Hakim. (2008). *Jihad in Two Faces of Shariah, Islamic Jurisprudence and Islamic Sufism (Fiqh and Tashawwuf). Case Studies of Sheikh Yusuf al-Maqassary and Sheikh Daud al-Fatani of Thailand*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Australia: The Australian National University, Anu.
- Hamid, A. (1990). *Syeikh Yusuf Tajul Khalwati, sebuah Kajian Antropologi Agama*. Doctoral Dissertation. Makassar: Hasanuddin University.
- Hendricks, Seraj. (2005). *Taşawwuf (Şūfism): Its Role and Impact on the Culture of Cape Islām*. Master Dissertation. Pretoria: UNISA.
- Jappie, Saarah. (2006). *Makam Syeikh Yūsuf di Madura: Sejarah Lisan dan Persepsi Masyarakat Talanggo*. Reporting Research. Australia-Malang: Australian Consortium for 'In-Country Indonesian Studies' (ACICIS) & Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Muḥammadiyah Malang.
- Lubis, Nabilah. (2005). *The Role of Shaykh Yūsuf in Establishing the Muslim Community in Cape Town*. Paper presented on the Celebration the Making of Cape Muslim Culture. Cape Town: South Africa.
- Lubis, Nabilah. (2004). *Socio Culture Relationship between Indonesia-South Africa. Syekh Yūsuf and His Role in Establishing the Muslim Community in Cape Town, South Africa*. A Paper in one Seminar at Hasanuddin University: Makassar, South Sulawesi.
- Mustafa, M. (2009). *Etika Religious Syekh Yusuf dan Relevansinya bagi Dakwah Islam di Indonesia*. Doctoral Dissertation. Yogyakarta: Program Pasca Sarjana Fak. Ilmu Filsafat.
- Paka, Abu Bakar. (1980). *Syeikh Yusuf dan Pengaruhnya*. Skripsi (Scription). Ujung Pandang: IAIN Alauddin.
- Perlas, C.H. (1973). *Sumber-sumber Kepustakaan Eropah Barat tentang Sulawesi Selatan*. Paper presented on Dies Natalies XX Fakultas Hukum UNHAS: Ujungpandang
- Sultan, Sahib. (1982) *Penilaian dan Penghargaan Masyarakat Gowa terhadap Shaykh Yūsuf*. Skripsi (Scription). UIN Alauddin: Ujungpandang.

II. Primary Data and Some Online References

(A) Personal Communication

Personal Interviews

Abrahams, Jamiel Sh. (25 April 2017). *The Ṣūfī Orders that are Practiced in Johannesburg. South Africa*. Personal Interview.

Baharuddin, K.H. (5 December 2017). *Ṣūrah [An Image of Tawḥīd]*. Personal Interview.

Baharuddin, K.H. (5 December 2017). *Hādhihi Fawā'id 'Aẓīma [These are the Great Benefits]*. Personal Interview.

Darwis, Burhanuddin. (16 November 2017). *Tafsīr al-Alūsī (Qur'an 16: 40 & Qur'an 12: 18)* Personal Interview and E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.

Hamid, Abu with Sahib Sultan (27 September 2005). *About Zamāniyya's descendants living in London*. Personal Interview.

Johennesse, Imam Malick (25 April 2017). *The Mawludan Nabī Celebration in Bosmont Johannesburg, South Africa*. Personal Interview.

Luthfi, Habib Muhammad bin Yahya with Sh. K. H. Sahib Sultan and Habib 'Abd Rahim Jamāl al-Dīn al-Saqāf, (18 January 2018). *The Origin of Shaykh Yūsuf's Father*. The Central of Java, Pekalongan. Group Interview.

Pallawagau, Baso. (18 & 25 August 2016). *Tafsīr al-Alūsī (Qur'an 4; 126; Qur'an 36:82; Qur'an 36:82; Qur'an 31:13; Qur'an 112:1-4; Qur'an 28: 88; Qur'an 55: 26-27)*. Personal Interview.

Paramma, Abd. Azis with Sahib Sultan. (1 March 2017). *About Zamāniyya's descendants living in Galesong Gowa, South Sulawesi*. Personal Interview.

Philander, Imam Adam. (25 April 2017). *About all the crews and the Dutch captain of the Voet Bough ship who brought Shaykh Yūsuf from Ceylon to Cape of Good Hope eventually embraced Islam*. Personal Interview.

Philander, Imam Adam. (21 April 2017). *Sammak as the First Zawīa for Shaykh Yūsuf in Zandvliet*. Personal Interview.

Philander, Imam Adam. (20 April 2017). *Mawludan Nabī Celebration in Cape Town as well as a special Mawlud, barzanjī and dhikr for Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī a month after the Krāmat festival every year*. Personal Interview.

Philander, Muh. Zain and M. A. Baderoen. (30 April 2014). *How Shaykh Yūsuf Taught to Recite al-Qur'an by Using the Traditional Indonesian Method*. Personal Interview.

Sahib, Amin and Sultan, S. (12 May 2018). *The Translation of Du'ā Prophet Khidr AS*. Group Interview.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Syamsul Bahri. (12 May 2018). *Al-Raḥmān*. Personal Interview.

Sultan, S. (1 April 2018). *The different between a servant and creation in a poem of Shaykh Yūsuf's master Sri Naradireja or Datuk ri Panggentungan*. Personal Interview.

Sultan, S. (4 April 2018). *The Ijmā' (the Consensus) of Allāh's Saints and Ṣūfīs*. Personal Interview.

Sultan, S. (17 May 2018). *Ḥaqīqat al-Bayaniyya [The Manifest Reality] or Bayān Allāh [The Explanation of Allāh]*. Personal Interview.

Sultan, S. (8 July 2019). *About the meaning of visibly for Spiritual Seekers*. Personal Interview.

Tahir, A. Ridwan. (6 October 2019). *The Discussion about Lā Ta 'ayyun wa Ta 'ayyun*. Personal Interview.

Tahir, A. Ridwan. (28 June 2019). *The Discussion about Some Ḥadīths and Arabic*. Personal Interview.

Tahir, A. Ridwan. (15 June 2019). *The Prophetic Tradition about the Shade*. Personal Interview.

Tahir, A. Ridwan. (10 May 2019). *The Meaning of a Sacred Ḥadīth in al-Fawā'ih al-Yūsufiyya*. Personal Interview.

Other Referenced Personal Communication

Abrahams, Jamiel Sh. (21 October 2017). *Tafsīr al-Alūsī (Qur'an 36:82 and 16:40)*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.

Abrahams, Jamiel Sh. (21 October 2017). *Tafsīr al-Alūsī (Qur'an 28:88)*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.

Ali, Mufti. (23 September 2016). *Shaykh Yusuf's Works in Banten and Gowa*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.

Dadoo. (27 September 2017). *The Translation of the Title of Zubdat al-Asrār*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.

Dangor, (24 August 2017). *The Translation of the Title of Shaykh Yusuf's Works*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.

Dangor and M. A. Rafudeen. (25 July 2017). *Tāj al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Mashārib al-ʿArifīn [The Crown of Secrets with regard to the Verification of the Ecstasy of the Gnostics from among the people of Perseverance]*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.

Darwis, Burhanuddin. (16 November 2017). *Tafsīr al-Alūsī (Qur'an 16: 40 & Qur'an 12: 108)*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Haron, Mohammed. (8 November 2012 & 23 March 2017 & 3 May 2019). *Sharing about Shaykh Yūsuf and His Works*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.
- Hartley, Moeghamat Gielmie (25 June 2019). *Some pictures about Isrā' Mi'rāj Celebration in CPT*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.
- J.A.N. Frankhuizen. (30 November 2017). *The meaning of MSKBG*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.
- Kammidien, Mohammad Kammie. (21 June 2019). *About Religious Practises of the Cape Muslim Community Regarding to the Teaching of Shaykh Yūsuf in Zandvliet*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.
- Pallawagau, Baso. (25 August 2016). *Tafsīr al-Alūsī (Qur'an 4: 126; Qur'an 36:82; Qur'an 36:82; Qur'an 31:13; Qur'an 112:1-4; Qur'an 28: 88; Qur'an 55: 26-27)*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib
- Rafudeen, M. A. and Dangor. (7 September, 2017). *Zubdat al-Asrār [The Essence of Secrets]*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.
- Rafudeen, M. A. (12 August, 2017). *Fidelity of Shaykh Yūsuf to Sunni Orthodoxy*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.
- Rafudeen, M. A. (12 August, 2017). *The Prominent Themes in His Works*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.
- Rafudeen, M. A. (23 May, 2017). *Tuḥfat al-Amr fī Faḍīlat al-Dhikr [The Gift of the Divine Command regarding the Virtue of Dhikr]*.E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.
- Rafudeen, M. A. (10 May, 2017). *Shurūṭ Al-Ārif Al-Muḥaqqaq [Conditions for the Verified Gnostic]*.E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.
- Rafudeen, M. A.. (13 April, 2017). *Kayfiyyat al-Dhikr [The Method of Remembering Allāh]*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.
- Rafudeen, M. A. (13 April, 2017). *Tuḥfat al-abrār li ahl al-asrār or the Gift of Goodness to the People of Innermost Secrets*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.
- Rafudeen, M. A. (13 April, 2017). *Wasīyyat al-Munjīyya [A Saving Bequest]*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.
- Rafudeen, M. A. (12 April, 2017). *Al-A'yān al-Thābita [The Permanent Archetypes]*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.
- Rafudeen, M. A. (06 April, 2017). *Haqīqat ul Rūḥ [The Reality of the Soul]*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.
- Rafudeen, M. A. (06 April, 2017). *Ishrīn Şifa [Twenty attributes]*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.
- Rafudeen, M. A. (23 March, 2017). *Ma'nā Qawl Lā ilāha illā Allāh [The meaning of the phrase Lā ilāha illā Allāh "There is no God but Allāh"]*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Rafudeen, M. A. (23 March, 2017). *Ma'nā al-Wujūd [The Meaning of Existence]*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.

Rafudeen, M. A. (8 March, 2017). *Ikhtiṣāṣ al-Dhikr [The Specification of Dhikr]*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.

Rafudeen, M. A. (3 March, 2017). *Tartīb al-Dhikr (The Sequence of Dhikr [Remembering Allāh])*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.

Rafudeen, M. A. (17 February, 2017). *Wājib al-Wujūd [The Essential and Indispensable Existence]*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.

Rafudeen, M. A. (16 February, 2017). *Consolation for the Eyes*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.

Rafudeen, M. A. (14 February, 2017). *Al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya fī al-Minḥat al-Raḥmāniyya [Providential Gift: A Breeze from Ceylon]*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.

Tahir, A. Ridwan. (20 June 2019). *The Indonesian Translation of Baḥr al-Lahūt*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.

Tahir, A. Ridwan. (13 May 2019). *The Indonesian Translation of al-Fawā'ih al-Yūsufiyya*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.

Taliep, Ighsaan & S. Sasman. (12 November, 2016). *The Arriving of Tuan Matura at the Cape*. E-mail to Muzdalifah Sahib.

(B) Online Sources

<https://www.desiringgod.org/articles/what-is-the-doctrine-of-the-trinity>, Jan 23, 2006.

[https://www.irfi.org/articles3/articles_4801_4900/ibn arabi and](https://www.irfi.org/articles3/articles_4801_4900/ibn%20arabi%20and%20....) or
http://familyofheart.com/05/June0505/Farzana_Hassan.htm.

<http://surfingbehindthewall.blogspot.co.za/2017/03/shaikh-yusuf-of-makasar-17thcentury.html>.

<https://www.thoughtco.com/god-the-father-701152> by Jack Zavada, updated December 31, 2018.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE FIGURES OR IMAGES REGARDING SOME TEXTS OF CHAPTER TWO

Part A



Images Nos. 1a-c

Abū al- Maḥāsin al-Shaykh al-Hājj Yūsuf al-Shāfi‘ī, al-Ash‘arī, Hadiyat Allāh Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Jāwī, al-Maqassarī (1626-1699)

Images Nos. 2a-b

Mawang Lake



The place where Shaykh Yūsuf, his teacher Sri Naradireja bin ‘Abd al-Makmūr, Dato *ri* Panggentungan and his colleague were fishing as well as smoking their cigarettes. It shows their shrines as a proof of their deep knowledge as well as the blessing of their Lord.

APPENDICES



Image No. 3

'Abd al-Fattāh bin Abū al-Ma'ālī bin Abū al-Mufākhīr (Sulṭān Ageng Tirtayasa), the King of Banten as well as a father in law of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassāī

Images Nos. 4a-c:



[a] Cape Town; [b] Cape of Good Hope or Tanjung Harapan
[c] The white wave on the sea is the meeting place of two oceans, the Indian and Atlantic oceans in Tanjung Harapan

Images Nos. 5a-b & 6



[5a-b]The Voetboog ship that brought Shaykh Yūsuf and 49 followers from Ceylon to Cape of Good Hope, South Africa in 1693. Taken from GS Smitthard's illustration in Jan van D colvin's the Romance of Empire, 1909 by Faizal & GT. Darries. This similar illustration with what H.M. Rusdy Khalid, M.A. brought from the archieve in Leiden the Netherlands (on the right side)

[6] Simon van der Stel who royally welcomed Shaykh Yūsuf and stationed him at Zandvliet [Courtesy Zandvliet by Faizal Darries]

APPENDICES

Image Nos. 7 a-d



[a] A supposed area near the mouth of the Eerste River where Shaykh Yūsuf and his retinue of 49 was banished; [b] The Sammak with the Kuils River and the area around the Date Tree as the place preaching of Shaykh Yūsuf; [c] The Kuils River around Sammak as it appeared in the end of April, 2014; [d] The last remaining Date Tree which served as a beacon for scholars in search of knowledge courtesy from “Zandvliet Cape Town’s Islamic Heritage” by Faizal Darries (2014).

SOME IMAGES REGARDING SHAYKH YŪSUF’S SHRINES IN
CAPE TOWN

Images Nos. 8a-l



[a-b] The out side and inside of *Kramat al-Maqassarī* in Faure, Zandvliet, Cape Town (2014); [c] Shaykh Yūsuf’s Minaret in Faure, Zandvliet Cape Town (2011); [d] The bastion cannon of the six cannons around the Shrine of Shaykh Yūsuf in front and the right side of his shrine in Faure, Zandvliet, Cape Town (2011)



[e-f] The Four Tombs of Shaykh Yūsuf’s Followers outside His Shrine in Faure, Zandvliet, Cape Town (2011); [g-h] Plaque & Voetboeg Ship Plaque which brought Shaykh Yūsuf and his followers to Cape Town in 1693-1694. These can be seen on the Minaret (2011)

APPENDICES



[i-j] The upper and the lower entrance of the Kramat Funeral Complex (2011); [k] The Erste River besides the lower entrance of the *Kramat* Funeral Complex of Tuan Yūsuf of Macassar; [l] The place of the Qur'an and other religious books as well as the drinking place with water from the Erste River in a bottle inside Shaykh Yūsuf's Shrine (2011)

SOME IMAGES REGARDING SHAYKH YŪSUF'S SHRINES IN MACASSAR AT LAKIUNG FUNERAL COMPLEX

Images Nos. 9a-k



[a-b] The entrance of Shaykh Yūsuf's Tomb in La kiung Macassar; [c-d] The Shrine of Shaykh Yūsuf and his Wife, I Sitti Daeng Nisanga in a big dome Lakiung Funeral Complex (2018 & 2016)



[e] The first and the second tombs of the left side of Shaykh Yūsuf's tomb are the tomb of Sulṭān 'Abd al-Jalīl and his wife and the third one is the tomb of Shaykh 'Abd. Baṣīr al-Raffānī (Shaykh Yūsuf's student) as they appeared in 2016; [g] At the right side of Shaykh Yūsuf's dome, some people in South Sulawesi consider it as the dome of his son's tomb, Muḥammad Maulana Yūsuf (his *ṣūfī's* son), and some others consider it as the dome of his son's tomb Muḥammad Jaylānī (al-Shaikh al-'Alām), as it appeared in 2016

APPENDICES



[h-i] To the left of Shaykh Yūsuf's dome is the dome of the tomb of three of his offspring, Shaykh al-Hājj Muhammad Sultan Baitullah (who developed his *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* or *Yūsufiyya* in Gowa/Macassar) with his wife Shaykha Hj. Nur al-Sufiyya (Hj. Nurung Dg. Singara). In front of their tombs is his son's tomb, H. Hasan Sultan (as they appeared in 2018); [j-k] Shaykh Yūsuf's street (in front side) & Shaykh Yūsuf's Mosque (on the right side) of his funeral complex in Lakiung, Gowa

SOME IMAGES REGARDING THE KRAMAT FESTIVAL IN 2014, FAURE ZANDVLIET, CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA WITH TWO DELEGATION COMING, INDONESIAN AND AMERICAN DELEGATION

Images Nos. 10a-o



[a-d] The welcoming to the Indonesian delegation, the ninth generation of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī and one of *Dār al-Qur'an's* Members, Jakarta during the opening of the festival



[e-g] The American delegation visiting the shrine of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī leading by Mr. Ebrahim Rasool, the Ambassador of SA Embassy in the US. of America

APPENDICES



[h-i] The meeting and socialising between American delegation and Indonesian delegation during the *Kramat Festival*; [j-l] People from South Africa camping around the shrine of Tuan Yūsof Macassar during the *Kramat Festival*



[m-o] The speech of the Imām of New York City Mosque and the Ambassador of SA Embassy of US in the Nurul Latief Mosque and the final speech of American delegation before closing the *Kramat Festival*

Images Nos. 11 & 12



[11] A Certificate of a National Hero. Awarded to Shaykh Yūsof Tāj al-Khalwaṭī, by the President of Republic of Indonesia, Suharto, on August 7, 1995

[12] The Honour Certificate Adipradana Mahaputera Star. Awarded to Shaykh Yūsof Tāj al-Khalwaṭī, a National Hero of Republic of Indonesia by the President of Republic of Indonesia, Suharto, on August 7, 1995

APPENDICES

Images No. 13 a-b



The former Presidents of South Africa
Nelson Mandela Thabo Mbeki

Images Nos. 14a-b



[a] Certificate

The Order of the Supreme Companions of O.R. Tambo in Gold. Awarded to Shaykh Yūsuf for Exceptional Contribution to the Struggle against Colonialism, by the President of the Republic of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki on 27 September 2005



[b] Shaykh Yūsuf (1626-1699)

THE ORDER OF THE COMPANIONS OF OR TAMBO IN GOLD AWARDED TO SYEIKH YŪSUF FOR EXCEPTIONAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIALISM

Appendix I Part B

Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī [His Names, His Origin & His *Silsilah*]

The complete name of Shaykh Yūsuf in Arabic is Abū al-Maḥāsin al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Ash‘arī al-Shāfi‘ī Hadiyat Allāh Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Jāwī al-Maqassarī bin walī Allāh Abī al-Jalāl ‘Abd Allāh al-Khiḍr bin Abī al-Khayr Yaḥya bin ‘Alawī al-Ḥaḍramī. (Muḥammad Sulṭān Baitullah [Bayt Allāh], n.d: 1-2; see also Nicholas Heer: 2013: 1-3 as well as *Ra‘īs ‘Ām Jam‘iyya ahl al-Ṭarīqat al-Muktabara an-Nahdliyya* of RI, Ḥabīb Muḥammad Luṭfi bin Yaḥya with Sh. K.H. Sahib Sultan and Ḥabīb ‘Abd. Raḥīm Jamāl al-Ḍīn al-Saqāf, personal communication in the residence house of *Ra‘īs ‘Ām* in Pekalongan the Central Java, 18 January 2018). Another title of Shaykh Yūsuf can be found in his treatise *Tuḥfat al-Mursala* is Abū al-Ḥarkānī (al-Maqassarī, n.d: 31)

- 1) Abū al-Maḥāsin (the father of goodness) is his title since he did many goodness for Muslims community either when he still in Ḥāramayn and after he returned to His country.

APPENDICES

- 2) Abū al-Ḥarkānī [the father of motion] is his another title (as an appreciation from all his disciples and his followers to him) since he has made a movement in fighting as a defender of human rights.
- 3) Shaykh is his title after he completed his study in Yemen, Ḥāramayn as well as in Damascus, Syria.
- 4) Al-Ash'arī and al-Shāfi'ī since he is a Sunnī *Ṣūfī* and a follower a Shāfi'ī *mazḥab*.
- 5) Hadiyat Allāh Tāj al-Khalwatī is the highest title given by his *Khalwatiyya Ṣūfī* master in Damascus, Syria, Shaykh Abū I-Barakāt Ayyūb bin Aḥmad bin Ayyūb al-Khalwatī al-Qurayshī
- 6) Al-Jāwī is represent name of Indonesia in the seventeenth century as well as the place where he had lived before he wandered overseas for seeking Islamic knowledge.
- 7) Al-Maqassarī is the place where he was born.
- 8) Abū al-Jalāl is a title of his father (see Heer, 2013: 1; see also Muhammad Sultan Baitullah n.d.: 2 & 4). As a saint of Allāh who has character *Jalāl*, therefore he called as a great saint of Allāh (*walī quṭb*).
- 9) 'Abd Allāh is the origin name of his father.
- 10) Al-Khiḍr is another title (additional name) of his father. He is known as *Wālī Allāh*, a great saint of Allāh; his *kramat* was similar to the *mu'jizāt* of Prophet Khiḍr A.S. as he could emerge and dissappear as a quick as lightening based on the will of God; he could *tajassum* (appear in multiple body, in other words, he could appear in several places at the same time to do good. An instance of this ability was when he could honour all invitations of opening fasting in different places at the same time, to be present in different *majāliz al-dhikr* at the same time and to perform *ṣalāt al-Jum'a* in several mosques at the same time. In addition, he also had extraordinary skills in *gardening*, and he was the fastest in harvesting and sometimes his achievements were beyond the capabilities of the common farmers; lastly, it was reported that sometimes his feet did not touch the ground when he was walking.¹ According to Ḥabīb Luṭfi bin Yaḥya that Ḥabīb or Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Khiḍr was a great saint of Allāh as well as an agricultural expert who made Makassar flourish in agriculture at the time.²
- 11) Abū al-Khayr is a title of his grandfather. According to Ḥabīb Luṭfi bin Yaḥya that Abū al-Khayr, in his old note book, is Yaḥya bin 'Alawī³ This Shaykh was from banū Aḥmad bin Yaḥya who had been famous in Ḥaḍramawt as a very generous person whose land and most of his income were given for the benefit of the *umma*. Therefore, This Shaykh then called as Abū al-Khayr since he made many good deeds everywhere or wherever he lived and the title Abū al-Maḥāsīn for his grandson. Sayyid 'Abd Allāh bin Yaḥya was the first of his family from Ḥaḍramawt Yemen through Gujarat India coming to the archipelago spreading Islam after the period of *Wālī Songo* in Java by the end of sixteenth century or in the early part of seventeenth century. His other families spread in Ḥaḍramawt and Ḥāramayn. In addition, Shaykh Yūsuf bin 'Abd Allāh bin Yaḥya bin 'Alawī also had a close relationship with Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Idrūsiyya, a great walī Allāh (a master of his master in India Bā' Shaybān). He was still a great grandson from this Shaykh from the line of his grandmother of his father. That is why Shaykh Yūsuf visit Aden in India first before he went to Ḥaḍramawt, since he had to visit the shrine of his grand uncle Sayyid Abū Bakr al-'Adlī.⁴

The following is the *silsila* of Prophet Muḥammad SAW until the 29th generation of his descendants through the line family of Muḥammad Jaylānī bin Muḥammad Yūsuf or also known as Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī. This *silsila* is written based on *Sembangan*⁵ of Muḥammad Sultan Baitullah (died 1948) from al-Maqassarī.

¹Ḥabīb Luṭfi bin Yaḥya and Shaykh K.H. Sahib Sultan, personal communication in Pekalongan, 18 January 2018.

²Ḥabīb Luṭfi bin Yaḥya, personal communication, 18 January 2018.

³See an old note book of Ḥabīb Luṭfi bin Yaḥya (n.d.); also Ḥabīb Luṭfi with Ḥabīb 'Abd. Raḥīm Jamāl al-Ḍīn al-Saqāf and Shaykh K.H. Sahib Sultan, personal communication, 18 January 2018.

⁴Ḥabīb Luṭfi bin Yaḥya, personal communication in Pekalongan, 18 January 2018.

⁵This *sembangan* is like *warkah* or messages in the form of paper rolls [roll scripts] of certain materials (not plain papers) containing a written form of something important in this life, such as *silsila*, *du'ā* and other Islamic teachings as a heirloom from Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī (d. 1699) to his great-great grandson Muhammad Sultan Baitullah. This *Sembangan* was kept by his mother Hj. Nūr al-Ṣūfiyyah (Nūr al-Ṣūfi) or in Macassar called as Hj. Nurung Dg. Singara until she gave it to him before she died in July 1st 2017. Following this, Sh. K.H. Sahib Sultan knew the origin of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī, but he continued his research until he found some other sources which supported it. That is why we can reveal the true origin of the Shaykh after long deliberations.

هذه سلسلة من نسب النبي ﷺ (ال محمد جيلاني بن محمد يوسف) بسولاويسى الجنوبية

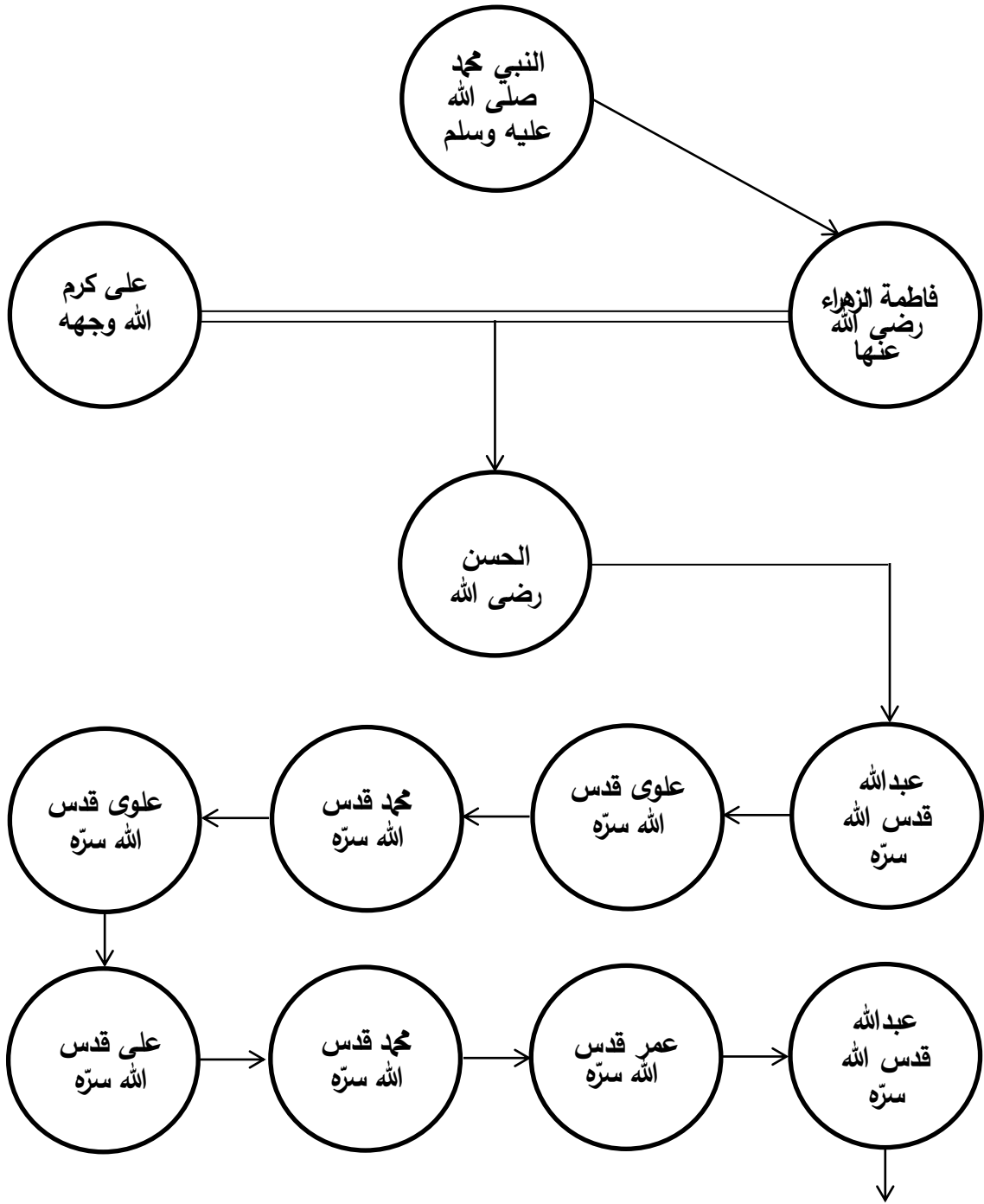
This is a *silsila* of the Descendants of Prophet Muḥammad SAW.[pbuh.] from [the family line of Muḥammad Jaylānī bin Muḥammad Yūsuf] which exists in South Sulawesi

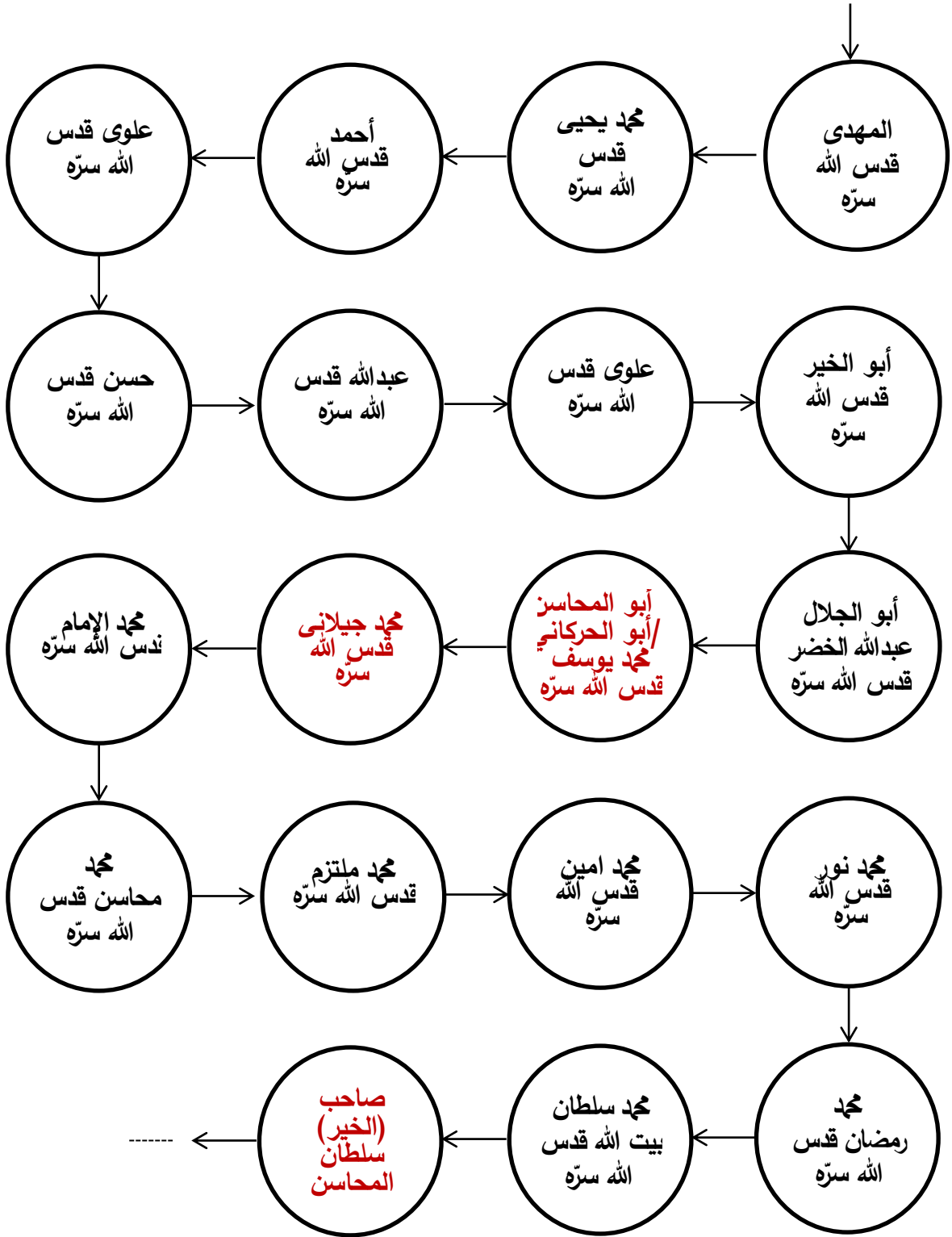
- ١- النبي محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم
- ٢- فاطمة الزهراء رضى الله عنها وعلي بن أبى طالب كرم الله وجهه
- ٣- الحسن بن علي رضى الله عنه
- ٤- عبدالله بن حسن قدس الله سره
- ٥- علوى بن عبدالله قدس الله سره
- ٦- محمد بن علوى قدس الله سره
- ٧- علوى بن محمد قدس الله سره
- ٨- علي بن علوى قدس الله سره
- ٩- محمد بن علي قدس الله سره
- ١٠- عمر بن محمد قدس الله سره
- ١١- عبدالله بن عمر قدس الله سره
- ١٢- المهدي بن عبدالله قدس الله سره
- ١٣- محمد يحيى بن المهدي قدس الله سره
- ١٤- أحمد بن محمد يحيى قدس الله سره
- ١٥- علوى بن أحمد قدس الله سره
- ١٦- حسن بن علوى قدس الله سره
- ١٧- عبدالله بن حسن قدس الله سره
- ١٨- علوى بن عبدالله قدس الله سره
- ١٩- أبو الخير بن علوى الحضرمى قدس الله سره
- ٢٠- أبو الجلال عبدالله الخضر بن أبى الخير قدس الله سره
- ٢١- محمد يوسف بن عبدالله الخضر قدس الله سره
- ٢٢- محمد جيلاني بن محمد يوسف قدس الله سره
- ٢٣- محمد الإمام بن محمد جيلاني قدس الله سره
- ٢٤- محمد نور بن محمد الإمام قدس الله سره
- ٢٥- محمد امين بن محمد نور قدس الله سره
- ٢٦- محمد ملتزم بن محمد امين قدس الله سره
- ٢٧- محمد محاسن بن محمد ملتزم قدس الله سره
- ٢٨- محمد رمضان بن محمد محاسن قدس الله سره
- ٢٩- محمد سلطان بيت الله بن محمد رمضان قدس الله سره
- ٣٠- صاحب (الخير) سلطان المحاسن بن محمد سلطان بيت الله

APPENDICES

هذه سلسلة من نسب النبي ﷺ (ال محمد جيلاني بن محمد يوسف) بسولوايسى الجنوبية

Diagram 1





No. 2b Image No. 16

This is a *silsila* of the Descendants of Prophet Muḥammad SAW.[pbuh.] from [the family line of Muḥammad Jaylānī bin Muḥammad Yūsuf] which exists in South Sulawesi in English

1. **Prophet Muḥammad SAW.**
2. 'Ālī bin Abī Ṭālib KW. [Allāh's Glory to Him] and Fāṭimat al-Zahra RA.
3. Ḥasan bin 'Ālī RA.
4. 'Abd Allāh bin Ḥasan QS.
5. 'Alawī bin 'Abd Allāh QS.
6. Muḥammad bin 'Alawī QS.
7. 'Alawī bin Muḥammad QS.
8. 'Ālī bin 'Alawī QS.
9. Muḥammad bin 'Ālī QS.
10. 'Umar bin Muḥammad QS.
11. 'Abd Allāh bin 'Umar QS.
12. Al-Mahdī bin 'Abd Allāh QS.
13. Muḥammad Yaḥya bin al-Mahdī QS.
14. Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Yaḥya QS.
15. 'Alawī bin Aḥmad QS.
16. Ḥasan bin 'Alawī QS.
17. 'Abd Allāh bin Ḥasan QS.
18. 'Alawī bin 'Abd Allāh QS.
19. Abū al-Khayr [**Yaḥya**] bin 'Alawī al-Ḥaḍramī QS.
20. Abū al-Jalāl 'Abd Allāh Khiḍr bin Abī al-Khayr QS.
21. Muḥammad Yūsuf bin 'Abd Allāh al-Khiḍr QS.
22. Muḥammad Jaylānī bin Muḥammad Yūsuf QS.
23. Muḥammad al-Imām bin Muḥammad Jaylānī QS.
24. Muḥammad Nūr bin Muḥammad al-Imām QS.
25. Muḥammad Amīn bin Muḥammad Nūr QS.
26. Muḥammad Multazam bin Muḥammad Amīn QS.
27. Muḥammad Maḥāsin bin Muḥammad Multazam QS.
28. Muḥammad Ramaḍān bin Muḥammad Maḥāsin QS.
29. Muḥammad Sulṭān Bayt Allāh bin Muḥammad Ramaḍān QS.

Notes:

Both *silsilas* above (Arabic and English) are based on *Sembangan* of Muhammad Sultan Baitullah (d. 1948) as has been mentioned before. It is the one from Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī which has been completed by Sahib Sultan, one of his descendants, who is the owner of this current *Sembangan*. The Arabic version did not use the name Yaḥya as it appeared in *Sembangan*, but the English version has used it to reflect the notions of the three Islamic scholars who discussed it in length in Pekalongan. In addition, it will also make it easy for one who wishes to identify which version is from the *Sembangan* and which one is not (See also the notebook of Sultan n.d.: 11).

Two Arabic Manuscripts in the Handwriting of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj

Nicholas Heer

August 2013

Two Arabic manuscripts copied by Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj during his residence in the Middle East have survived to the present day. They are Sprenger 677 in the Berlin Library¹ and Yahuda 3872 in the Garrett Collection in the Princeton University Library.²

Sprenger 677 contains a single work, the short version of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Jāmī's *al-Durrah al-Fākhira*.³ The colophon of the manuscript reads as follows:

وكان الفراغ من نساخة هذه النسخة المباركة
في يوم الثلاثاء في سلح شهر الشوال سنة ١٠٦٦
وذلك على يد الفقير الراجي الى عفو
ربه العالي يوسف بن المرحوم
ابي الجلال عبد الله الجاوي

¹See Ahlwardt, Wilhelm, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin 1887-1899, vol. II, p. 535.

²See Mach, Rudolf, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts (Yahuda Section) in the Garrett Collection, Princeton University Library*, Princeton 1977, p. 265, no. 2393, 1(3872), no. 2394, 1(3872), and p. 267, no. 3123, 1(3872).

³See al-Jāmī, Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ahmad, *al-Durrah al-Fākhira*, translated by Nicholas Heer together with al-Jāmī's glosses and the commentary of 'Abd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī under the title *The Precious Pearl*, Albany 1979. For the Arabic texts of these works see al-Jāmī, Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ahmad, *al-Durrah al-Fākhira*, with the Arabic commentary of 'Abd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī and the Persian commentary of 'Imād al-Dawīn, edited by Nicholas Heer and A. Musavi Bebbahānī, *Wisdom of Persia Series XIX*, Tehran 1980.

المقاصري لطف الله
بهما وبالمسلمين اجمعين

Yahuda 3827 contains three works: the long version of al-Jāmī's *al-Durrah al-Fākhira*, his *Risalah fi al-Wujud*,⁴ and 'Abd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī's commentary (*sharh*) on *al-Durrah al-Fākhira*. Images of the colophons of these three works will be found at the end of this article. The colophon of *al-Durrah al-Fākhira* is on folio 23a and reads as follows:

تمت الرسالة بعون الملك الوهاب
واليه المرجع والمآب
كان الفراغ من كتابة هذه النسخة المباركة ليلة الاربعاء بعد صلوة
العشاء ثاني ليلة هلال ربيع الثاني في المدينة المنورة على ساكنها
افضل الصلاة واتم السلام بظاها عند رباط الامام علي رضي الله عنه
سنة ١٠٧٥ يقول الكاتب كتبت هذه برسمي شيخي ومرشدي
المحقق الرباني الملا ابراهيم الكوراني نعمني الله به
والكاتب اخضع العباد يوسف التاج بن عبد الله
بن ابي الخير الجاوي
المقاصري الطعي (٧)
المنجلاوي
عفي عنه

The colophon for *Risalah fi al-Wujud*, on folio 27b, reads as follows:

تمت الرسالة في اثبات
وجود الكلبي الطبيعي للفاضل المحقق مولانا و سيدنا
نور الدين عبد الرحمن الجامي قدس الله امراره العزيزة
وكان الفراغ من نساخة هذه النسخة المباركة بعد العشاء ليلة الجمعة
الثالث من هلال ربيع الثاني بظاها المدينة المنورة
على ساكنها افضل الصلاة والسلام عند رباط
الامير الامام علي المرتضى عليه السلام
وكان ذلك على يد اقل

⁴See Heer, Nicholas, "Al-Jāmī's Treatise on Existence" in *Islamic Philosophical Theology*, edited by Parviz Morewedge, Albany 1979, pp. 223-256.

APPENDICES

العباد يوسف
التاج بن عبد الله بن
ابي الخير
الجاوي
عفي عنه

And the colophon for al-Lārī's commentary, on folio 39a, is the following:

..... تمت الرسالة بعونه وتوقيقه سبحانه
وكان الفراغ من كتابة هذه النسخة المباركة ليلة الخميس بعد صلاة العشاء
التاسع من شهر ربيع
الآخر سنة ١٠٧٥ من الهجرة النبوية بظاهر المدينة المنورة على ساكنها افضل
الصلوة والسلام عند رباط الامام علي المرتضى رضي الله عنه وذلك على يد
اضعف العباد واقل المزاد علي وجه الاستعداد وقبول الامداد يوسف
التاج بن عبد الله بن ابي الخير المقاصيري الجاوي غفر الله (له) ولوالديه
ولمشايخه في الدين ولاحيابه ولجميع
المسلمين آمين

★ ★ ★

The copy of Nicholas Heer's work was given by Shaykh Jameel Abrahams in Bosmont Johannesburg as a gift on the 25/26 of April 2017.

No. 4b

Image No.18

The End Page of Tuḥfat al-Mursala



The five certificates of *ṣūfī* orders that Shaykh Yūsuf obtained during the period 1646 until 1661 are written in the family tree of each *ḫarīqa*. They are as follows:

Image no. 19

The Family Trees of the Five of Shaykh Yūsuf's *Ṣūfī* Orders
[*Qādiriyya, Naqshabandiyya, Bā'Alawiyya, Shattariyya, and Khalwatiyya*]
From the Most Recent to the Earliest

- 1) Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī, received from
- 2) Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn bin Ḥasanjī bin Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-'Urshā al-Rānīrī, received from
- 3) Shaykh 'Umar bin 'Abd Allāh bin 'Abd al-Rahmān Bā' Shaybān al-Ḥaḍrāmī al-Burhanfūrī, received from
- 4) Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-'Aydarūs, received from
- 5) Shaykh Sayyid Abū Bakar bin 'Abd Allāh al-'Aydarūs al-Kabīr al-Ḥaḍramī, received from
- 6) Shaykh Muḥammad bin Aḥmad Fuḍayl al-Yamanī, received from
- 7) Shaykh Muḥammad bin Mas'ūd bin Abī Shukayl al-Anṣārī, received from
- 8) Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'īd Kabbunī al-Ṭabrānī al-Yamanī, received from
- 9) Shaykh Abū Baḥr al-Raddād al-'Siddīqī al-Bakrī, received from
- 10) Shaykh Abū Ma'rūf Ismā'īl bin Ibrāhīm bin 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-'Ukaylī al-Yamanī al-Zabīdī, received from
- 11) Shaykh Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Bakar bin Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm al-Yamanī al-Salāmī, received from
- 12) Shaykh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣāmit bin Yūsuf al-Asadī, received from
- 13) Shaykh Abū Bakar Muḥammad bin Nu'aym, received from
- 14) Shaykh Muḥammad bin 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣāmit, received from
- 15) Shaykh al-Imām Quṭub al-Anām 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣāmit, received from
- 16) Shaykh al-Imām Yūsuf al-Asadī al-Madhkūrī, received from
- 17) Shaykh al-Imām Quṭub al-Rabbānī al-Ghawth al-Ṣamad Abī Sulṭān Muḥy al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir bin Shaykh al-Imām al-Jankirūt al-Jaylānī, received from
- 18) Shaykh Abū Sa'īd al-Mubārak bin 'Alī al-Makharramī, received from
- 19) Shaykh Ḥasan 'Alī bin Aḥmad bin Yūsuf al-'Urshā al-Hakkārī, received from
- 20) Shaykh Abū al-Farij Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭartūsī, received from
- 21) Shaykh 'Abd al-Wāḥid bin 'Abd al-'Azīz bin al-Ḥārith, received from
- 23) Shaykh Abū Bakrī bin Jahdar al-Shibfī al-Baghdādī, received from
- 24) Shaykh Sayyid al-Qāsim al-Junaydī bin Muḥammad al-Qawārīrī al-Baghdādī, received from
- 25) Shaykh Sariyyu ibn al-Ṭayyibī al-Baghdādī, received from
- 26) Shaykh Abū al-Maḥfuz bin Fayruz al-Baghdādī, received from
- 27) Shaykh Dāwud bin Naṣir al-Ṭāṭ, received from
- 28) Shaykh Ḥabīb bin Muḥammad al-'Ajamī, received from
- 29) Shaykh al-Imām Ḥasan ibn Basār al-Baṣarī ['Alī], received from
- 30) Sayyidina 'Alī bin Abī Ṭalib RA received from
- 31) al-Mustafā Rasūl Allāh SAW received revelation from Allāh 'Azzā wa Jallāh through Angel Jibrīl (Gabriel) (Sultan 2015: 111-112; see also Al-Tīmī 1735: 130-133 in the last appendix)

Naqshabandiyya Ṣūfī Order

- 1) Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī, received from
- 2) Shaykh Muḥammad al-Bāqī bin al-Shaykh al-Kabīr al-Mazjājī al-Yamanī al-Zaydī al-Naqshabandī, received from
- 3) Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Zakariyya al-Uthmānī al-Naqshabandī, received from
- 4) Shaykh al-Imām Mullā al-Khawājakī, received from
- 5) Shaykh Mullā Darwīs, received from
- 6) Shaykh Khūjah Mullā Muḥammad Zāhid, received from
- 7) Shaykh Khūjah 'Ubayd [Muḥammad 'Ubayd Allāh al-Abrarī al-Samarkandī], received from
- 8) Shaykh Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Jarḥī, received from
- 9) Shaykh Khūjah Bahā al-Dīn Muḥammad Naqshabanda al-Ḥusaynī, received from
- 10) Shaykh al-Kabīr Mawlāna al-Sayyid Mīr Kulāl, received from
- 11) Shaykh Khūjah Bāba Muḥammad al-Samāsī, received from
- 12) Shaykh Khūjah 'Azīz 'Ālī al-Ramītanī, received from

APPENDICES

- 13) Shaykh Khūjah Bāba Maḥmūd Anjīri al-Faghnaḥwī, received from
- 14) Shaykh Khūjah Sayyid 'Ārif Ghulām/Muḥammad 'Ārif al-Rīwakirī, received from
- 15) Shaykh 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Ghujduwānī, received from
- 16) Shaykh Abū Yūsuf Ya'qub bin Ayyūb al-Hamdānī, received from
- 17) Shaykh 'Alī al-Farmidhī, received from
- 18) Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kharraqānī, received from
- 19) Shaykh al-Kabīr Yāzid bin Rustam al-Bustāmī, received from
- 20) Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, received from
- 21) Al-Imām al-Qāsim bin Muḥammad bin al-Siddīq al-Akbar Khalīfah Rasūl Allāh SAW, Abū, Bakr al-Siddīq RA., received from
- 22) Imām Salmān al-Fārisī al-Ṣaḥābī, received from,
- 23) al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn Abū, Bakr al-Siddīq RA,
- 24) Mustafā Rasūl Allāh SAW received revelation from Allāh SWT (Sultan 2015: 128-129; see also Al-Tīmī 1735: 134-135 in the last appendix)

Bā'Alawiyya Ṣūfī Order

- 1) Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī bin 'Abd Allāh, received from
- 2) Sayyid 'Alī bin Abī Bakr, received from
- 3) Sayyid Abū Bakr bin 'Abd Allāh, received from
- 4) Sayyid 'Abd Allāh bin 'Umar, received from
- 5) Sayyid 'Umar bin al-Shihāb, received from
- 6) Sayyid al-Shihāb bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān, received from
- 7) Sayyid 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Alī, received from
- 8) Sayyid 'Alī bin 'Abd Allāh, received from
- 9) Sayyid 'Abd Allāh bin 'Umar al-Muḥdar, received from
- 10) Sayyid 'Umar al-Muḥdar bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Saqāf, received from
- 11) Sayyid 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Saqāf, received from
- 12) - Sayyid Muḥammad Mawlā al-Dawīlah,
- Sayyid Muḥammad al-Imām Quṭb al-Kabīr Sayyid 'Abd Allāh al-Mulaqqab, both received from
- 13) Sayyid Muḥammad al-Mulaqqab al-Muqaddam bin 'Alī, received from
- 14) Sayyid 'Alī bin 'Alwī, received from
- 15) Sayyid 'Alwī bin Muḥammad, received from
- 16) Sayyid Muḥammad bin 'Alwī, received from
- 17) Sayyid 'Alwī bin 'Abd Allāh, received from
- 18) Sayyid 'Abd Allāh bin Ḥasan, received from
- 19) Sayyid Ḥasan bin 'Alī, received from
- 20) Sayyidinā 'Alī bin Abī Talīb R.A., received from
- 21) Sayyidinā Muḥammad al-Mustafā Rasūl Allāh SAW received revelation from Allāh Azza wa Jalla wa 'alā. (Sultan 2015: 145; see also Al-Tīmī 1735: 137-138 in the last appendix)

Shattariyya Ṣūfī Order

- 1) Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī, received from
- 2) Shaykh Burhān al-Ḥaqq wa al-Dīn al-Mullā al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm Ḥasan bin Shihāb al-Dīn al-Kurdī al-Kawrānī al-Madanī, received from
- 3) Shaykh al-Qushāshī Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Yūnus al-Muqallib, received from
- 4) Shaykh Aḥmad al-Dujānī
- 5) Shaykh Aḥmad bin 'Alī bin Muḥammad al-Qurayshi 'al-'Abbāsī al-Miṣrī, received from
- 6) Al-Shaykh Sayyid Shibghat Allāh bin Sayyid Ni'mat Allāh al-Hindī al-Burūj, received from
- 7) Shaykh Wajīh al-Dīn al-'Alwī Aḥmad Abādī al-Kujrātī, received from
- 8) Shaykh Muḥammad Ghawts al-Hindī al-Kujrātī, received from
- 9) Shaykh al-Kabīr Hājj al-Huḍūrī, received from
- 10) Shaykh Abū al-Faṭḥ Hidāyat Allāh, received from
- 11) Shaykh 'Abd Allāh, received from
- 12) Shaykh Qāḍīn al-Shattārī, received from
- 13) Shaykh Afīf al-Dīn ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Shattārī, received from
- 14) Shaykh Muḥammad 'Ārif al-Shattārī, received from

APPENDICES

- 15) Shaykh Muḥammad 'Ashīq, received from
- 16) Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Khuḍaqaḷī
- 17) Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kharrafānī
- 18) Shaykh Abū al-Muẓaffar al-Ṭūsī, received from
- 19) Shaykh Yāzid al-Ishqī, received from
- 20) Shaykh Muḥammad Al Maghribī, received from
- 21) Shaykh Abū Yāzid al-Bustāmī, received from
- 22) Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, received from
- 23) Al-imām 'Ālī Zaynal 'Ābidīn bin Ḥusayn, received from
- 24) Al-imām Ḥusayn bin 'Ālī al-Shahīd, received from
- 25) Al-imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Ālī bin Abī Ṭālib, received from
- 26) Prophet Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā SAW received revelation from Allāh SWT (Sultan 2015: 158-159; see also Al-Tīmī 1735: 135-137 in the last appendix)

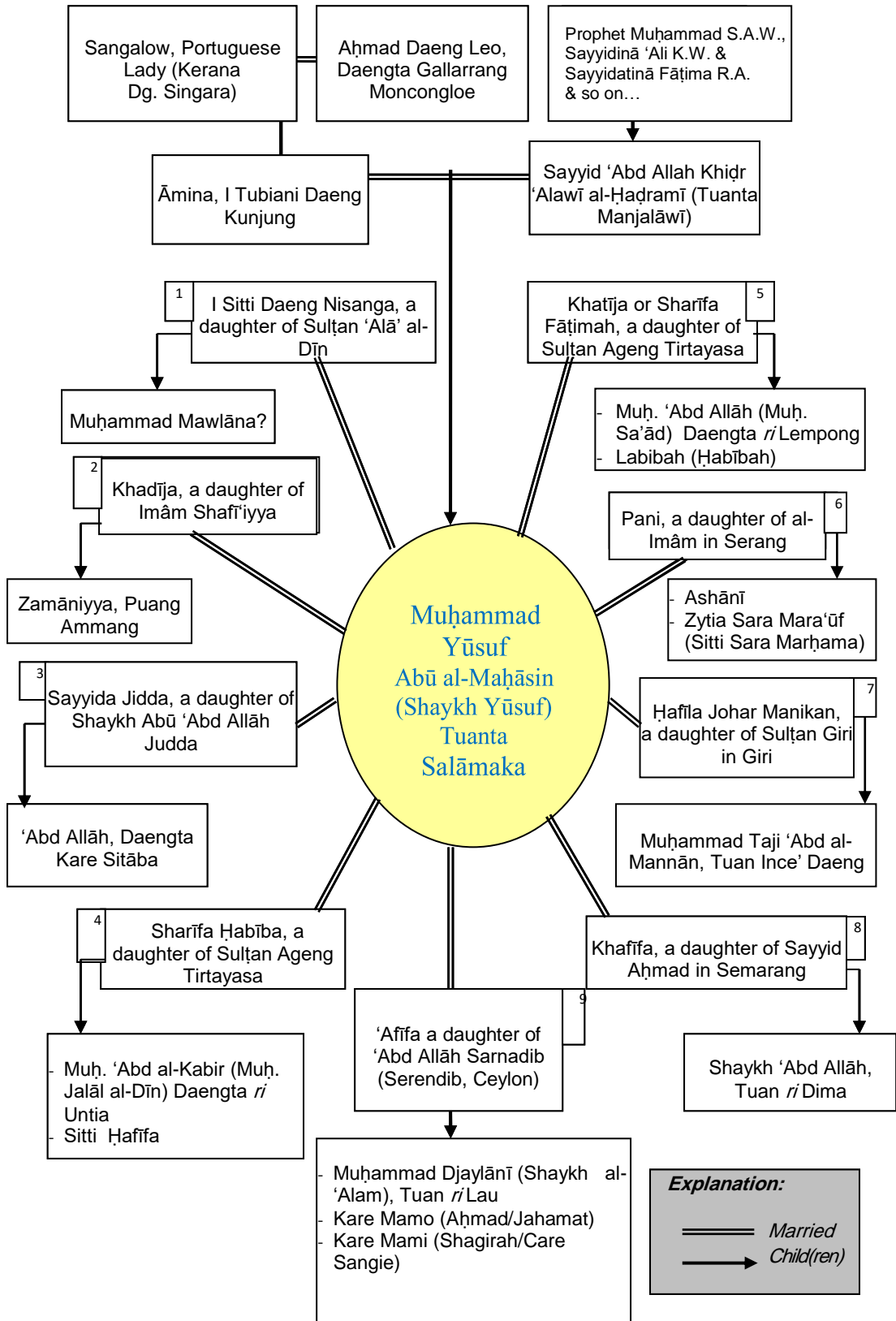
Khalwatiyya Ṣūfī Order

- 1) Shaykh Abū al-Maḥāsin Muḥammad Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqassarī, received from
- 2) Shaykh Abū al-Barakāt Ayyūb bin Aḥmad bin Ayyūb al-Khalwatī al-Quraishī al-Dimashqī, received from
- 3) Shaykh Shihāb al-Ḥaqq wa al-Dīn Aḥmad bin 'Umar bin 'Ālī bin 'Ālī al-Ḥusaynī al-Harīrī al-Shāmī, received from
- 4) Shaykh al-Halabī al-'Ajamī, received from
- 5) Shaykh Aḥmad al-Rūmī, received from
- 6) Shaykh Abū Yūsuf Ya'qub al-'Antābī, received from
- 7) Shaykh Darwīsh al-Rūmī, received from
- 8) Shaykh Shāms al-Dīn al-Rūmī, received from
- 9) Shaykh Uwāis al-Qarnī al-Thānī al-Rūmī, received from
- 10) Shaykh Muḥammad al-Aqṣarāṭī, received from
- 11) Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Afandī al-Arkazānī bin 'Umar al-Rūmī, received from
- 12) Shaykh al-Imām al-Kabīr Mawlānā al-Sayyid Yahya al-Shirwānī, received from
- 13) -Shaykh Afandī Ṣawra al-Dīn bin 'Umar al-Rūmī al-'ibdīnī al-Khalwatī, received from
-Shaykh Mawlānā Afandī Dadah 'Umar al-Khalwatī al-Rūmī, received from
- 14) Shaykh Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Shirwānī, received from
- 15) Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Zāhid al-Jilānī, received from
- 16) Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn al-Tibrīzī, received from
- 17) Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Tibrīzī, received from
- 18) Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn al-Sinjāsī, received from
- 19) Shaykh Muḥammad al-Abharī
- 20) Shaykh Abū al-Najīb Abū al-Qāhir ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Bakrī al-Suhrawardī, received from
- 21) Shaykh Wajiyat al-Dīn 'Umar bin 'Abd Allāh al-Ma'rūf al-Suhrawardī, received from
- 22) Shaykh Mūḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Suhrawardī
- 23) Shaykh Abū Aḥmad Aswad al-Daynūrī, received from
- 24) Shaykh Mumshād al-'Uluwwī al-Daynūrī, received from
- 25) Shaykh Sayyid al-Ṭāifa Junayd al-Bagdādī, received from
- 26) Shaykh Sarī al-Saqī, received from
- 27) Shaykh Abū Maḥfuz Ma'rūf al-Karkhī received from
- 28) Shaykh Dāwūd al-Ṭāṭī, received from
- 29) Shaykh Ḥabīb al-'Ajamī, received from
- 30) Shaykh al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, received from
- 31) Sayyidinā 'Alī Karamallāhu wajhahū, received from
- 32) Sayyidinā Al-Muṣṭafā Rasūl Allāh SAW received revelation from Allāh, the Exalted through angel Gabriel called al-Qur'ān; and directly called a *ḥadīth Qudsī* or a sacred *ḥadīth*, (Sultan 2015: 176-177; see also al-Tīmī: 1735: 134-135 and some complimentary texts by Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Khalwatī al-Maqassarī: n.d: 23-25; see also, Hamid (2005: 223-224) and Humam (2013: 85-86).

Because both Shaykh Afandī Ṣawra al-Dīn bin 'Umar al-Rūmī al-'ibdīnī al-Khalwatī and Shaykh Mawlānā Afandī Dadah 'Umar al-Khalwatī al-Rūmī are both referred to as Afandī 'Umar al-Khalwatī, most Indonesian scholars only mention the one name of Mawlāna Afandī 'Umar al-Khalwatī. To avoid this misunderstanding; I have inserted both names explicitly without breaking the *silsila* that has been written and stipulated by some Indonesian scholars.

Chart 2

THE FAMILY TREE OF THE OFFSPRING OF SHAYKH YŪSUF TUANTA SALĀMAKA



(Sahib 2017: 57 & Sultan 2016: 70)

APPENDICES

Explanation of the Composition of the Family Tree of Shaykh Yūsuf Offspring:

- A1: Daengta Gallarang Moncongloe, Aḥmad Dg. Leo, B2's father
 A2: Kerana Dg. Singara, Sangalow Portuguese Lady, B2's mother
 B1: Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Khiḍr 'Alawī al-Ḥaḍramī (Tuanta Manjalāwī), Shaykh Yūsuf al-Macassarī's father
 B2: I Tubiani Daeng Kunjung, Āmina, Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī's mother
 B3: Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn, I Manga'rangi Daeng Manrabbia, C1's father
 B4: Imām in al-Ḥarām Mosque, Imām Shafī'iyya, C2's father
 B5: Shaykh Abū 'Abd Allāh Judda, C3's father
 B6: Sulṭān Ageng Tirtayasa, Abd al-Fattah bin Abū al-Ma'ali, C4 and C5's father
 B7: Muslim Leader in Serang, al-Imām, C6's father
 B8: Sulṭān Giri or Indra Giri, C7's father
 B9: Sayyid Aḥmad Semarang, C8's father
 B10: 'Abd Allāh Sarnadib (Sarnadib is another previous name of Ceylon or al-Saylaniyya) C9's father
 B11: Tuanta Salamaka, Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī, married 9 times:
 C1: I Sitti Daeng Nisanga, the first wife of B11, a daughter of B3.
 C2: Khadīja, the second wife of B11, a daughter of B4
 C3: Sayyida Jidda, the third wife of B11, a daughter of B5
 C4: Sharīfa Ḥabība, the fourth wife of B11, a daughter of B6
 C5: Khatīja or Sharīfa Fāṭima, the fifth wife of B11, a daughter of B6
 C6: Pani, the sixth wife of B11, a daughter of B7
 C7: Hafīla Johar Manikan, the seventh wife of B11, a daughter of B8
 C8: Khafīfa, the eighth wife of B11, a daughter of B9
 C9: 'Affa, the ninth wife of B11, a daughter of B10
 D1: Puang Am Mang, Zamaniyya, a daughter of his wife (C2)
 D2: Daengta Kare Sitāba, 'Abd Allāh, a son of his wife (C3)
 D3: Muḥammad 'Abd al-Kabīr (Muḥ. Jalāl al-Dīn), dan Sitti Hafīfa (Asma), a son & daughter of his wife (C4)
 D4: Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh (Muh. Sa'ad) and Ḥabība , a son & daughter of his wife (C5)
 D5: a) Ashāni, and probably b) Zytia Sara Mara'ūf (Sitti Sara Marḥama), daughters of his wife (C6)
 D6: Tuan Ince Daeng, Muḥammad Tājir 'Abd al-Mannān, a son of his wife (C7)
 D7: Tuan ri Dīma, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh is a son of his wife (C8)
 D8: a) Al-Shaykh al-'Alam, Muḥammad Djaylānī ('Ālī), b) Care Mamo (Aḥmad), c) Care Mami (Shagīra), sons and daughters of his wife (C9)
 D9: 'Abd al-Basi Sulṭānia, the Rajah of Tambora arrived in the Cape of Good Hope in 1697, a husband of Zytia Sara Marauff (D5b)
 D10: Sulṭān Ismail, Karaeng Anak Moncong the 20th of Gowa King (1709-1712) as well as the 19th of Bone King (1718-1721), a husband of D4 (Ḥabība)
 D11: Shaykh Aḥmad, a husband of D5a
 E1: Ḥabība, a daughter of D3 ('Abd al-Kabīr/Jalāl al-Dīn) and wife of F1
 E2: Fāṭima (A'isha), a daughter of D3 and wife of F1
 E3: I Basse, a daughter of D3 (Abd al-Kabīr/Jalāl al-Dīn) and wife of F2
 F1: Sulṭān 'Abd al-Rāzak-Zain al-Dīn, La (I) Temmassonge' (ng), the 22nd of Bone King (1749-1775) and the 28th of Gowa King (1770-1778), a husband of E1 and E2
 F2: Sulṭān Sirāj al-Dīn, I Mappaurangi, the 23rd of Gowa King (1729-1735), a husband of E3

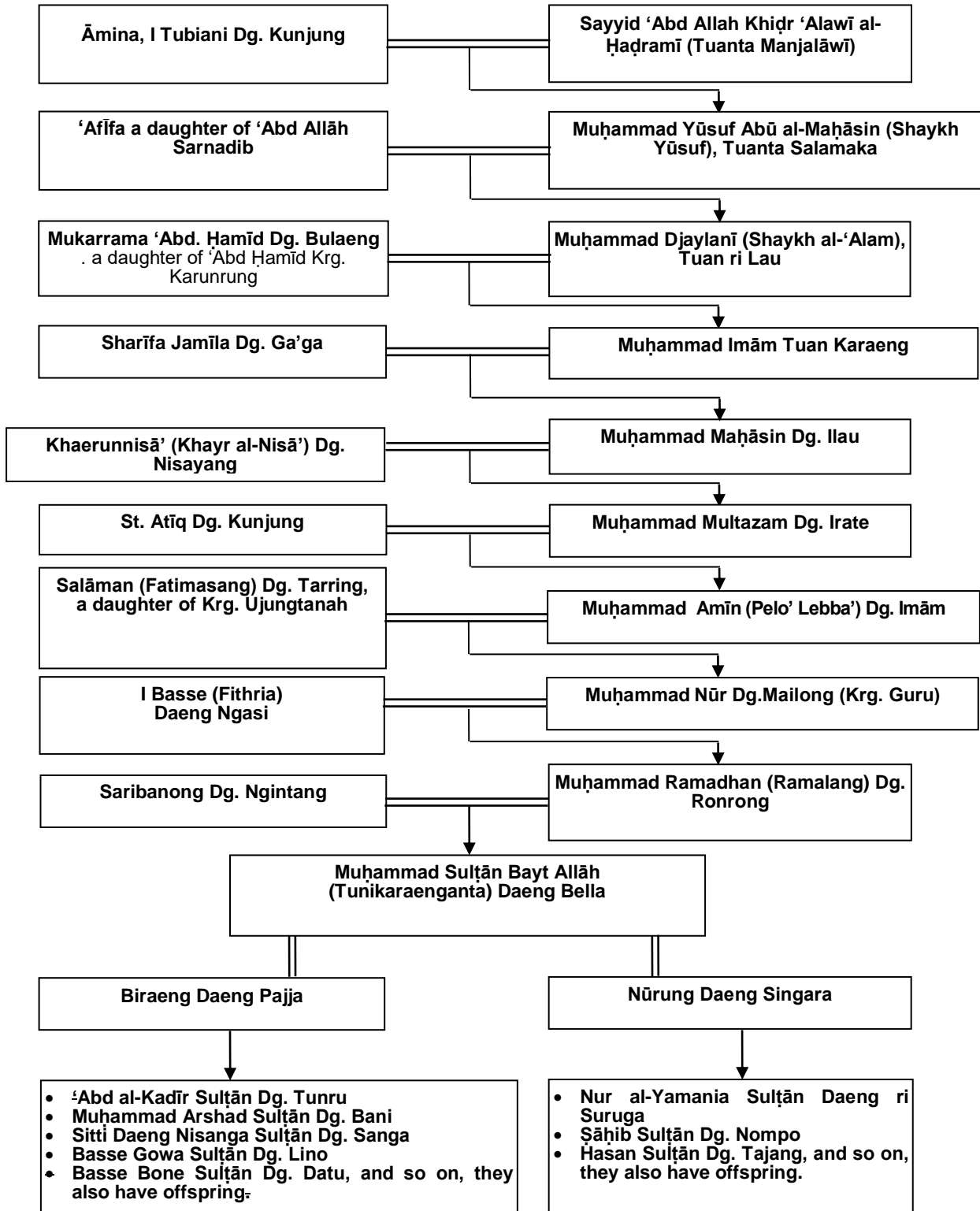
(Sahib 2017: 58-59 & Sultan 2016: 71)

APPENDICES

The following is our *silsila* from Shaykh Yūsuf’s wife in Ceylon. To find the complete ones of *silsilas* (family trees) of Shaykh Yūsuf’s offspring refer to Sultan (2015) in his book entitled: *Syeikh Yusuf al-Maqassariy. Riwayat Hidup, Karya dan Ajarannya*.

Chart 3

**THE SILSILA OF SYEIKH YŪSUF’S FAMILY
WITH HIS 9TH WIFE, ‘AFĪFA A DAUGHTER OF ‘ABD ALLĀH SARNADIB
(CEYLON)**



Explanation Married Child(ren)

APPENDIX II

Part A

THE LIST OF SHAYKH YŪSUF'S LITERARY WORKS IN SOME COLLECTIONS AS WELL AS THE PLACES THEY WERE COMPOSED

1. MSKBG 101 F Or A13d, Arabic Microfilm of UB Leiden and Jakarta Manuscript A 101

- 1) *Al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya fī al-Minḥati al-Raḥmāniyya* of¹ Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī, p. 1-29 [29 pages].
- 2) *Zubdat al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Ba'di Mashārib al-Akhyār* by² al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf Abū al-Maḥāsīn al-Tāj, p. 30-49 [19 pages].
- 3) *Qurrat al-'Ayn* of al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj al-Khalwatī, p. 50-63 [13 pages].
- 4) *Shurūṭ al-'Arif al-Muḥaqqaq* of Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 65-69 [5 pages].
- 5) *Tāj al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Mashārib al-'Arifīn* by al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf Abū al-Maḥāsīn al-Tāj, p. 71-79 [9 pages].
- 6) *Tuḥfat al-Amr fī Faḍīlat al-Dhikr* of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī, p. 81-83 [3 pages].
- 7) *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* by al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p.85-89 [5 pages].
- 8) *Sirr al-Asrār* by al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 91-107 [17 pages].
- 9) *Tuḥfat al-Abrār li Ahl al-Asrār* of Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 109-111 [3 pages].
- 10) *Kaifiyyat al-Dhikr* of Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 112-113 [2 pages].
- 11) *Al-Waṣiyyāt al-Munjīyyāt 'an al-Muḍarrat al-Ḥijāiba* of Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 115-119 [5 pages].
- 12) *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, p. 121-148 [28 pages]. It is not Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī's work.
- 13) *Mir'at al-Muḥaqqiqīn*, p. 149-164 [16 pages]. It is not Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī's work.
- 14) *Tartīb al-Dhikr* of Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 165-173 [9 pages].
- 15) *Al-Wājib al-Wujūd* of Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 175-177 [3 pages].
- 16) *Ikhtisāṣ al-Dhikr* of Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 179-181 [3 pages].
- 17) *Ma'na al-Wujūd* of Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, sarī, p. 183-190 [8 pages].
- 18) *Ma'na qauli Lā ilāha illā Allāh* of Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 191-192 [2 pages].
- 19) *Ishrīn Ṣifa* of Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 193-197 [5 pages].
- 20) *Ḥaqīqat al-Rūḥ* of Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 199-202 [4 pages].
- 21) *A'yān al-Thābiṭa* of Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 203-206 [4 pages].

2. MSKBG 108, F Or A 13b UB Leiden and Jakarta Manuscripts A 108

- 1) *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān* of Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, written in Bone by Aḥmad Ṣālih Shams al-Milla wa al-Dīn, p. 1-32 [32 pages]
- 2) *Muṭli'i al-Sarāir wa al-Ḍawāhir*, p. 33-47 [15 pages]
- 3) *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, p. 49-58 [10 pages] by al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj.
- 4) *Faṭḥ Kaifiyyat al-Dhikr* of Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 59-63 [5 pages].
- 5) *Barkat al-Saylāniyya* of Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 65-76 [12 pages].
- 6) *Al-Fawā'ih al-Yūsufiyya* of Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 77-88 [12 pages].
- 7) *Kaifiyyat al-Nāfi wa al-lḥbāt bī al-ḥādīth al-Qudsī* of Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 89-108 [19 pages].
- 8) *Taḥsīl al-'Ināya wa al-Hidāya* of Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 109-114 [6 pages].
- 9) *Risāla Ghāyat al-Ikhtisār Wa Nihāyat al-Intizār* of Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 115-121 [7 pages].
- 10) *Sirr al-Asrār*, p. 123-138 [16 pages], by al-Shaykh Yūsuf Raḥmat 'Alaih in the end of the text.
- 11) *Daqāiq al-Asrār* by Abū Yaḥya Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Abd al-Bashīr al-Ḍarīr, p. 137-162 [26 pages].
- 12) *Baḥḥat al-Tanwīr* by Abū Yaḥya Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Abd al-Bashīr al-Ḍarīr, p. 163-204 [42 pages].
- 13) *Faṣl Ḥikmat al-Ilāhiyya*, p. 205-244 [40 pages]. This is not Shaykh Yūsuf's work.

¹The word 'of' here indicates that this work is attributed to Shaykh Yūsuf Al-Maqassarī although the text did not mention his name directly. This attribution is substantiated by the following facts: 1) the content of the text mentioned the name of his masters or one of his masters; 2) the place where it was composed; 3) the language style of the text was similar to his own unique language style, and 4) the contents of the text consist of a collection of some of his works or a synopsis of some of his works.

²The word 'by' here indicates that it is Shaykh Yūsuf's work in which he mentioned his name directly.

- 14) *Al-A'yān al-Thābita* by Yūsuf al-Tāj al-Khalwatī, p. 245-249 [5 pages].
- 15) *Tuḥfat al-Mursala*, p. 351-363 [13 pages]. It contains the name of al-Shaykh Muḥammad bin Shaykh Faḍl Allāh, who died in 1031A.H/1620 (See also another text of *Tuḥfat al-Mursala* in Or 7326 in which the scribe's name is given as al-Shaykh al- Ḥāj Yūsuf al-Tāj Abū al-Ḥarkānī al-Manjalāwī). In addition, there is an extra text about *al-janāzah* prayer [3 pages] and another about *Nawāfil* prayer [2 pages], but both are incomplete.
- 16) *Risālat al-Wudū*, p. 273-358 [88 pages]. This is not Shaykh Yūsuf's work.
- 17) *Ma'rifat al-Tawḥīd*, p. 359-398 [40 pages]. This is not Shaykh Yūsuf's work.
- 18) *Muqaddimat al-Fawā'id al-latī mā lā budda min al-'Aqā'id* of Shaykh al-Ḥāj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 399-403 [5 page].
- 19) *Asrār al-Ṣalā fī Bayān Muqāramāt al-Niyyāt* of Shaykh al-Ḥāj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 405-414 [10 pages].
- 20) *Baḥr al-Lāhūt*. This text may be considered as Shaykh Yūsuf's work who called himself as 'Abd Allāh al-'Arīfīn, moreover a part of its content is similar with a part of the content of *Wājib al-Wujūd*, and *Tahsīl al-'Ināya wa al-'Hidāya*, p. 415-420 [6 pages].
- 21) *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* by Muḥammad al-Makkī, p. 421-424 [4 pages]. This is not Shaykh Yūsuf's work.
- 22) *Al-Ghawth al-A'zām*, p. 425-433 (9 pages).
- 23) *Bayān Allāh* by al-Shaykh al-Imām al-'Arif al-Faqīr al-Ḍa'if Raḥmat Allāh 'Alayh Yūsuf Ibn Muḥammad Makkī, p. 435-440 [6 pages]
- 24) *Al-Nūr al-Hādī* of Shaykh al-Ḥāj Yūsuf al-Tāj, written by Aḥmad Ṣālih Shams al-Milla wa al-Dīn, p. 441-453 [13 pages].
- 24a) *Ṣūra* Shaykh Yūsuf, p. 453-454.
- 25) *Bidāyat al-Mubtadī* by Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 455-456 [2 pages].
- 26) *Takhliṣ al-Ma'arīf* of Shaykh al-Ḥāj Yūsuf al-Tāj. He mentioned the name of his master, Maulānā Shaykh Muḥammad Bāqī al-Naqṣabandī al-Yamanī, p. 457-460 [4pages].
- 27) *Daf'u al-Balā'* of Shaykh al-Ḥāj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 461-471 [11 pages].
- 28) *Buginess Kitāb* by Shaykh Yūsuf, p. 473-478 [6 pages].
- 29) *Buginess Kitāb* by Shaykh Yūsuf's work too, p. 479-495 [17 pages].
- 30) *Buginess Kitāb* (the author is not clear, but on the first page, the name of al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī the master of his masters and founder of *Ṭarīqat al-Qādiriyya* was mentioned p. 496-505 [10 pages].
- 31) *Al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyya* of Shaykh al-Ḥāj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 507-525 [19 pages] plus additional texts of al-ḥadīth, p. 527-530 [4 pages].
- 32) *Buginess Kitāb* of Shaykh al-Ḥāj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 531-553 [23 pages].
- 33) *Zubdat al-Asrār* of Shaykh al-Ḥāj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 555-592 [37 pages].

3. MSKBG 45 F Or A14b or Jakarta Manuscript A45:

- 1) *Tuḥfat al-Ṭālib al-Mubtadī wa Minḥat al-Sālik al-Muhtadī* of Shaykh al-Ḥāj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p. 1-136
- 2) *Zubdat al-Asrār* of Shaykh al-Ḥāj Yūsuf al-Tāj, p.137-361

4. Manuscript Cod. Or. 7025 by Shaykh Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqassarī:

- 1) *Tāj al-Asrār fī taḥqīq Mashārib al-'Ārifīn*, p. 1-18
- 2) *Zubdat al-Asrār fī taḥqīq ba'di Mashārib al-Akhyār*, p. 19-66
- 3) *Sirr al-Asrār*, p. 67-104
- 4) *Qurrat al-'Ayn*, p.105-148. In this treatise he mentioned the name of the author clearly as Abū al-Maḥāsīn al-Shaykh al-Ḥāj Yūsuf al-Tāj al-Shafī'ī al-Ash'arī al-Khalwatī
- 5) *Fath Kayfiyyat al-dhikr*, p. 149-160
- 6) *Hadhihi fawā'id 'azīma*, p. 161-166
- 7) *Al-Dhikr wa al-Du'ā*, p. 167-173

5. Other Manuscripts of UB Leiden which contain one of Shaykh Yūsuf's works:

- 1) *Tuḥfat al-Mursala* (Or 7326) by Shaykh al-Ḥāj Yūsuf al-Tāj Abī al-Ḥarkānī Manjalāwī Raḥmat Allāh 'Alayh
- 2) *Asrār al-Ṣalā* by Shaykh al-Ḥāj Yūsuf al-Tāj
- 3) *Kitāb al-Anbāh fī l'rāb lā ilāha illā Allāh* (Or 7446 [6]) by Sayyidinā al-Sharīf al-'Ālim al-Muḥaqqiq al-'Arīf bi Allāh Ta'ālā al-Shaykh Yūsuf bin 'Abd Allāh al-Jāwī al-Makāssarī Qaddasa Allāh sirrahu. The author also found another text of this work in one photographed UB Leiden Manuscript. The title of the Manuscript remains unclear, but it is referenced under *Kitāb Inbāh al-Inbāh fī l'rāb lā*

ilāha illā Allāh. This text does not mention Shaykh Yūsuf's name directly, but refers to his master, Al-Shaykh Ibrahīm ibn Ḥasan al-Kūrānī al-Madanī, but both seem similar in contents.

6. Other Manuscripts that the Author had not Collected:

- 1) *Sirr al-Asrār, Tuḥfat al-Amr fī Faḍīlat al-Dhikr* in Or 5706.
- 2) *Muqaddimat al-Fawā'id al-laī mā lā budda min al-'Aqāid* in Or 5472. The contents of these manuscripts exist in the Microfilms and the Manuscripts mentioned above.

7. *Al-Majmu'a min Muallafāt al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqāṣṣarī* as well as its copy in the Arabic Microfilm at KITLV Library, Leiden

This collection was collated and re-typed by al-Shaykh Jami' al-Dīn bin Ṭālib al-Tīmī al-Khalwatī al-Maqāṣṣarī and completed on the 29th of Ramaḍan 1145 A.H./1735. The last compiler was Achjarniss, who was a graduate of Arabic Department of Literature Faculty University of Indonesia in 1971, and who was funded by Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde [KITLV] in Leiden. This is due to the text being old and broken. The Microfilm of these works is preserved in Leiden and its Copy in the National Museum of Jakarta and all of them have been translated into Indonesian on 1 March 1975 (Tudjimah, 1997: 111-112). The collection is arranged as follows:

- 1) It is probably *Tuḥfat al-Saylāniyya*,³p. 7-9
- 2) *Habl al-Warīd li Sa'ādat al-Murīd*, p. 29-68
- 3) *Al-Futuḥāt al-Rabbāniyya*, p. 69-86
- 4) *Zubdat al-Asrār fī taḥqīq ba'd Mashārib al-Akhyār*, p. 87-105
- 5) *Tuḥfat al-Labīb bi Liqā' al-Ḥabīb*, p. 106-115
- 6) *Ṣūra ilā al-Sultān al-Wazīr Karaeng Karunrung*, p. 116-121
- 7) *Safīnat al-Najāh*, 123-138
- 8) *Al-Minḥat al-Saylaniyya fī al-Minḥat al-Raḥmāniyya*, p. 138-147; and two additional texts such as: *Hadiyat al-Khiḍr 'alayhi al-Salām ilā Ibrāhīm al-Tīmī li Muḥammad 'abd al-Wāḥid 'Abd al-Gaffār al-Maqāṣṣarī al-Khalwatī* and *Ṭabaqāt al-Awliyā' al-Kubrā li al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rawī* as well as some other unclear fragmented texts⁴ (Al-Tīmī 1735).

8. Collection at the Libraries of Berlin and Princeton University USA

There are four Arabic Manuscripts (Sprenger 677 and Yahuda 3872) which were copied by Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj during his stay in the Middle East, especially in Madīna, have survived to the present day.

- 1) The short version of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī's *al-Durrat al-Fakhira* by Yūsuf bin Abī al-Marḥūm Abī al-Jalāl 'Abd Allāh al-Jāwī in [Shawāl, 1066 A.H./1656] in Sprenger 677 at Berlin library.
- 2) The long version of al-Jāmī's *al-Durrat al-Fakhira*.
- 3) *Risāla fī al-Wujūd*.
- 4) 'Abd al-Ghafūr al-Lāri's commentary (*sharḥ*) on *al-Durrat al-Fakhira*. The last three works are written by Yūsuf al-Tāj bin 'Abd Allāh bin 'Abī al-Khayr al-Maqāṣṣarī al-Jāwī in Rabī' al-Akhir, 1075 A.H./1664) in Yahuda 3827, Garret Collection Princeton University, USA (Heer 2013: 1-3).

9. Other Private Collections

- 1) The collection of Hawash Abdullah

In the book "*Perkembangan Tashawwuf dan Tokoh-Tokohnya di Nusantara*" (1930: 75-82) Hawash Abdullah stated that he acquired five *risāla* of Shaykh Yūsuf as a gift from H. Muḥammad Nur (an offspring of one Khatib in Bone who was probably also a descendant of Shaykh Yūsuf while he was an imam in Pungur, West Kalimantan).⁵

The five *risāla* are as follows:

³The front pages are missing from this treatise making it difficult to identify this treatise, but Tudjimah alleged that al-Tīmī was the first to retype *Tuḥfat al-Saylāniyya* in this *Majmu'a* (1997: 13); see also Hamka (2017: 41).

⁴One fragmented text is on page 1-5, while the last two other *risāla* [treatises] and two other fragmented texts are mentioned on page 10-28 which are probably not from Shaykh Yūsuf, since they never mentioned by Indonesian scholars as his works, refers to Tudjimah (1997: 111); see also al-Tīmī (1735: 1-28 and 151).

⁵This book is available as a private collection of Sahib Sultan.

- a. *Al-Risalat al-Naqshabandiyya* [The *Naqshabandiyya* Treatise]
 - b. *Fath al-Rahmān* [The Opening of the Most Merciful]
 - c. *Zubdat al-Asrār* [The Essence of Secrets]
 - d. *Asrār al-Ṣalā* [The Secret of *Ṣalā*]
 - e. Another treatise about which the author is not clear since some front and end pages are missing.
- 2) The collection of ‘Abdu l-Kahar Daeng Tompo, Galesong:
 - *Al-Ḥaqīqat al-Bayānīyya* [The Clear/the Explanation of Reality] or *Bayān Allāh* (The Explanation of Allāh – (Sultan, personal communication, 18 of May 2018; see also A Ridwan Tahir, personal communication, 10 of May 2019).
 - 3) The collection of K.H.Abd. Qadir Daeng Sutte, Pattalassang.
 - *Ma’adin al-Asrār* [The Sources of Secrets].
 - 4) The collection of H. A. Muḥammad Alwi Arief Daeng Massikki, Takalar
 - *Al-Ṣiraṭ al-Mustaqīm* [The Straight Path].

10. His Other Works

Besides the works of Yūsuf mentioned above, there are others in Javanese, Buginese and Makassarese which are translated from *Arabic* by his students, sons and his great grandson.

As an example of such works, we have a literary work of Shaykh Yūsuf in Javanese called *Barka Seh Yūsuf Saking Banten*. From its title, it is clear that it is one of Shaykh Yūsuf’s treatises, but it is not known whether it was written directly in the Javanese language, or whether it is a translation from an unknown Arabic treatise and who translated it (Noorduyn 1964: 33).

It was mentioned in chapter one that his other works have been reproduced, translated and published by his student and his great grandson. So, besides the above-mentioned *al-Majmu’a min Muallafāt*, Shaykh Abū al-Fath ‘Abd al-Bashīr al-Ḍarīr al-Khalwatī al-Raffānī (also known as Tuan Rappang) wrote *Daqāiq al-Asrār* in Arabic whereas *al-Nūr al-Hādī* and *Tajeng Patinroanng Lao ri Laleng Malempu’e* were written by Sulṭān Aḥmad Ṣāliḥ in Arabic and Buginese. It is uncertain if the Javanese works attributed to him are his own or his students’ (Sultan 2008: ix).

Other works that have been reproduced and taught by his sons in Macassarese are: *Tamparang Taenayya Sandakanna* (the Unexpected Sea). Another book that signifies his vast knowledge is written by Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Kabīr and known as *Tuwang ri Takalarak*. Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh, known as *Ance Daeng*, and his son Muḥammad Ḥanafī Tuan ri Beba have composed *Langik Taenayya Birinna* (the Infinite Sky). Here, Shaykh Yūsuf’s knowledge is compared to a sky without horizons. Another student was Muḥyi al-Dīn, or perhaps ‘Abd Allāh Tuan ri Dīma, the son of Shaykh Yūsuf, who was delegated to Bima. He composed *Biseang Taenayya Gulinna* (the Boat without a Rudder). This title again signifies Shaykh Yūsuf’s immense knowledge which can guide anyone to the correct destination. Although the names of his teachings vary, their essences remain the same, because they are inspired by the *taṣawwuf* teaching of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī (Sibali 1989: 37).

Shaykh Yūsuf’s Arabic Literary Works with regards to the places in which they were composed

The following works are listed based on the places of composition only and not on the timeline when they were written.

1. Composed in Banten (estimated between 1670-1680)

Shaykh Yūsuf’s literary works, especially in Arabic which were composed or thought to be composed in Banten during his stay there of about eleven years (Tudjimah 1997: 14-20; see also M. Sahib 2017:

44-45), are as follows:⁶

- 1) *Al-A'yān al-Thābita* (الأعيان الثابتة), the Permanent Archetypes or the Established Archetypes or Eternal Essences.
- 2) *Al-Dhikr wa al-Du'ā* (الذكر والدعاء), Remembrance and *Du'a*.
- 3) *Asrār al-Ṣalā* (أسرار الصلاة), the Secrets of Prayer (*Ṣalā*).
- 4) *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* (بحر اللاهوت), Ocean of Divine Nature.
- 5) *Bidāyat al-Mubtadī* (بداية المبتدى), the First Step of the Novice.
- 6) *Daf'u al-Balā'* (دفع البلاء), Repelling Calamity.
- 7) *Fath Kaifiyyat al-Dhikr* (فتح كيفية الذكر), the Explanation concerning the Ways of Doing *Dhikr* or Introduction to the Method of *Dhikr*
- 8) *Fathu al-Rahmān* (فتح الرحمان), the Revelation of the Merciful
- 9) *Al-Fawā'id al-Yūsufiyya fī Bayān Taḥqīq al-Ṣūfiyya* (الفوائد اليوسيفية في بيان تحقيق الصوفية), the Utterances of Yūsufiyya [Based on Shaykh Yūsuf] in Explaining the Verification/Realisation of the *Ṣūfīs*
- 10) *Hādhihi Fawā'id Aẓīma* (هذه فوائد عظيمة), these are the Great Benefits.⁷
- 11) *Al-Ḥaqīqat al-Bayāniyya* (الحقيقة البيانية), the Explanation of Reality or *Bayān Allāh* (بيان الله), the Explanation of Allāh.
- 12) a. *Kitāb al-Anbāh fī l'rāb Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh* (كتب الأنباه في إعراب لا إله إلا الله) the Book of Instruction with Respect to the Declaration *Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh*.
b. Another text called it as *Kitāb Inbāh al-Inbāh fī l'rāb Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh*.
(كتب إنباه الإنباه في إعراب لا إله إلا الله) the Book of Annotations of *Kitāb al-Inbāh fī l'rāb Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh*.
- 13) *Ma'ādīn al-Asrār* (معادن الأسرار), the Sources of Secrets.
- 14) *Ma'nā Qawli lā ilāha illa Allāh* (معنى قول لا إله إلا اله), the meaning of the words *lā ilāha illa Allāh*.
- 15) *Muqaddimat al-Fawā'id al-laṭī mā lā budda min al-'Aqāid* (مقدمة الفوائد اللاتي مالا بد من العقائد), Introduction to the Benefits which emanate from Beliefs.
- 16) *Qurrat al-'Ayn* (قرة العين), Consolation for the Eyes.
- 17) *Risāla ilā Sulṭān Wazīr Karāeng Karunrung 'Abd al-Ḥamīd*. (رسالة الي سلطان الوزير كرايغ كرنرغ عبد الحميد), Shaykh Yūsuf's Letter to the High Administrator (*Mangkubumi*) Karaeng Karunrung 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.
- 18) *Al-Risālat al-Naqshabandiyya* (الرسالة النقشبندية), the *Naqshabandiyya* Treatise.
- 19) *Al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* (الصرراط المستقيم), the Straight Path.
- 20) *Sirr al-Asrār* (سر الأسرار), the Secret of Secrets.
- 21) *Sūra* (سورة) Yūsuf's letter' to Abd al-Ḥamīd Karaeng Karunrung, Mangkubumi or the high administrator of Gowa Kingdom under the government administration Sulṭān 'Abd Jalil 1677-1709
- 22) *Ṣūra* (صورة), the Image (of *Tawḥīd*)
- 23) *Taḥsīl al-'Ināya wa al-Hidāya* (تحصيل العناية والهداية), the Implication of Help and Guidance or the Acquisition of Divine Providence and Guidance.
- 24) *Tāj al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Mashārib al-'Arīfīn* (تاج الأسرار في تحقيق مشارب العارفين), the Crown of Secrets in regard to Verification of the Extasy of the Gnostics.

⁶Most of the English translations of the titles of the texts in this section, are based on personal communication between the author and the team research project on Shaykh Yūsuf and his works, especially Dr. Muḥammad Auwais Rafudeen and Prof. Suleman Essop Dangor as well as Prof. Yousuf Dadoo in 2017 and some others are from A. Ridwan Tahir, Lc., M.A.

⁷This is the original title of this *risāla*, but considering the contents of it which discusses the three *dhikrs* by Shaykh Yūsuf, therefore, it may also be titled as "*Hādhihi Fawā'id Aẓīmat al-Adhkār (al-Dhikrs)*" or "These are the Big Benefits of Dhikrs", but not *هذه فوائد عظيمة ذكر لا إله إلا الله* as has been known so far. See the copy of the images nos. 25a-c of the Arabic Text, the second from the end of part A and its translation at the end of part B No. 3.

- 25) *Talkhīṣ al-Ma‘ārif* (تلخيص المعارف), the Synopsis of Divine Knowledge.
- 26) *Tuḥfat al-Abrār li Ahl al-Asrār* (تحفة الأبرار لأهل الأسرار), the Gift of the Good Ones to the People of Secrets or the Gift of the Pious to the People of Secrets.
- 27) *Tuḥfat al-Amr fī Faḍīlat al-Dhikr* (تحفة الأمر في فضيلة الذكر), the Gift of the Divine Command concerning the Virtues of Dhikr.
- 28) *Tuḥfat al-Labīb bi Liqā’ al-Ḥabīb* (تحفة اللبيب بلقاء الحبيب), the Valuable Gift concerning the Meeting with the Beloved or the Gift of the Essence in meeting with the Beloved.
- 29) *Tuḥfat al-Mursala* (تحفة المرسلّة), the Manifest Gift.
- 30) *Al-Wājib al-Wujūd* (واجب الوجود), the Essential, Indispensable Existence.
- 31) *Al-Waṣiyyāt al-Munjiyyāt ‘an al-Muḍarrat al-Hijāb* (الوصيات المنجيات عن المضرة الحجاب), Advices for Protection from the Harm of Veiling or entitled it as the Saving Bequest.
- 32) *Zubdat al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Ba‘dī Mashārib al-Akhyār* (زبدة الأسرار في تحقيق بعض مشارب الأخيار), the Essence of Secrets in Investigating Some Drinking Places of the Chosen Ones.

2. Composed in Ceylon, Sri Lanka (between 1684 and 1693)

- 1) *Al-Barkat al-Saylāniyya* (البركة السيلانية), or the Blessing from Ceylon.
- 2) *Al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya* (الفتوحات الربانية), the Divine Revelations or is called also as *Al-Tuḥfat al-Rabbāniyya* (التحفة الربانية), the Divine Gift.
- 3) *Ḥabl al-Warīd Li Sa‘ādat al-Murīd* (حبل الوريد لسعادة المرید), the Jugular Vein for the happiness of the Disciple.
- 4) *Kaifiyyat al-Nafī Wa al-Ithbāt bi al-Ḥadīth al-Qudsī* (كيفية النفي والإثبات بالحديث القدسي), the Way of Negation and Affirmation (*Dhikr*) via the *Ḥadīth Qudsī*.
- 5) *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* (مطالب السالكين), the Quest of the Spiritual Seekers.
- 6) *Al-Minḥat al-Saylāniyya fī al-minḥat al-Raḥmāniyya* (المنحة السيلانية في المنحة الرحمانية), the Gifts of Ceylon in relation to the Gifts of the Merciful
- 7) *Al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya* (النفحة السيلانية), Providential Gift: a Breeze from Ceylon or the Fragrance of Ceylon
- 8) *Risāla Ghāyat al-Ikhtisār Wa nihāyat al-Intizār* (رسالة غاية الإختصار ونهاية الإنتظار), The Excellent Treatise in Brevity and the Ultimate Vision or the Concise Treatise on the Goal and Outcome of Wakefulness.
- 9) *Safīnat al-Najāh* (سفينة النجاه), the Ark of Safety or the Vessel of Salvation.
- 10) *Al-Tuḥfat al-Saylāniyya* (التحفة السيلانية), a Gift from Ceylon.
- 11) *Tuḥfat al-Ṭālib al-Mubtadī wa Minḥat al-Sālik al-Muhtadī* (تحفة الطالب المبتدى و منحة السالك المهتدى), the Gift of the Novice Student and the Gift of the Novice Seeker; and some others that were probably composed in Ceylon too such as:
- 12) *Ḥaqīqat al-Rūḥ* (حقيقة الروح), the Reality of the Soul.
- 13) *Ma‘nā al-Wujūd* (معنى الوجود), the Meaning of Existence.
- 14) *Ikhtisās al-Dhikr* (إختصاص الذكر), the Specification of Remembering God.
- 15) *Ishrīn al-Ṣifa* (عشرين الصفة), twenty Attributes.
- 16) *Shurūt al-‘Ārif al-Muḥaqqaq* (شروط العارف المحقق), Conditions of the Verified Gnostic.
- 17) *Tartīb al-Dhikr* (ترتيب الذكر), the Sequence of *Dhikr*.⁸

Regarding the four *Buginese Kitāb*, no data is found about where they were written or whether the

⁸As for the English translations of all the titles of the texts in this section refers to M. A. Rafudeen, personal communication, January to July, 2017; see also Dangor, personal communication, 24 August, 2017.

Shaykh himself or his disciples wrote them. Shaykh Yūsuf could have written them in Banten or Ceylon or partly in both regions or he could have dictated them to his disciples from Makassar and Bugis due to the war at the time [*Wa Allāh a'lam bi al-Ṣawāb*].

3. Composed in Madīna (between 1656 and 1664)

As has been mentioned above, there are four of Shaykh Yūsuf works which are now preserved at Berlin and Garret Collection at Princeton University Libraries. They were composed in Madīna under the direction and guidance of Al-Shaykh Ibrahīm ibn Ḥasan al-Kūrānī al-Madanī, they are:

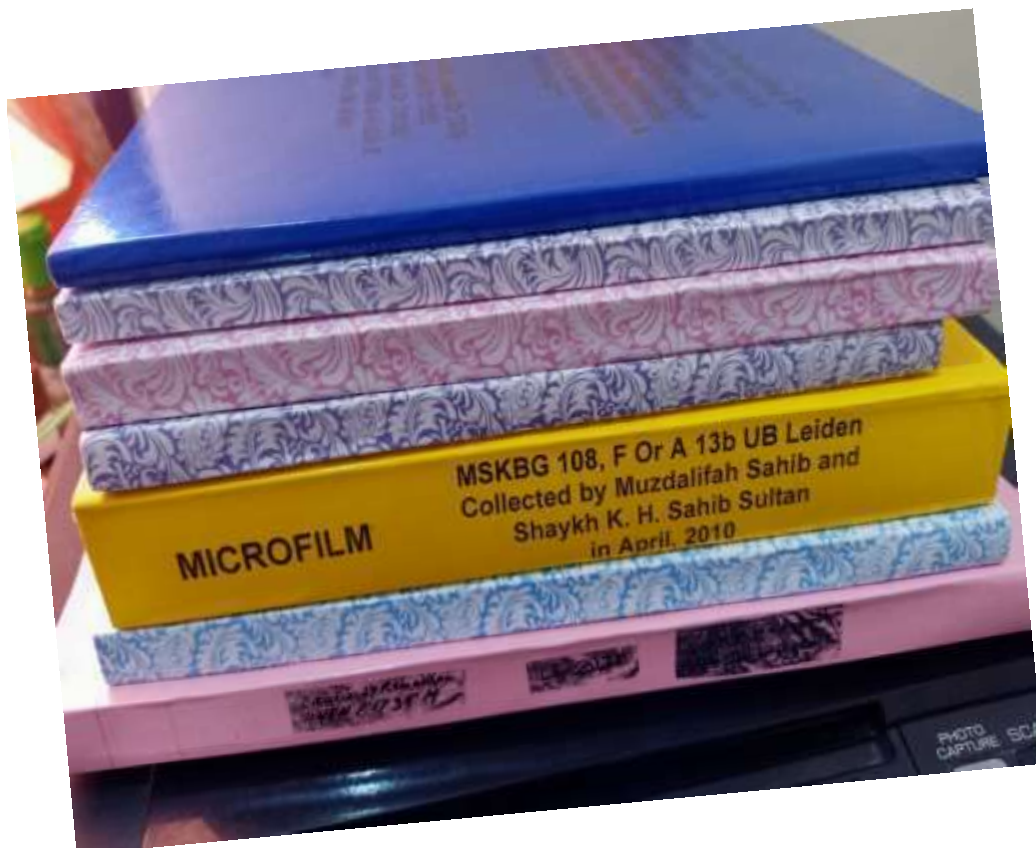
- 1) The short version of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī's *al-Durrat al-Fakhira*. It was completed in Shawwāl, 1066 A.H./1656.

The following three works were completed in Rabī' al-Ākhir, 1075 A.H./1664:

- 1) The long version of al-Jāmī's *al-Durrat al-Fākhira*
- 2) *Risāla fī al-Wujūd*
- 3) 'Abd al-Ghafūr al-Lāri's commentary (*sharḥ*) on *al-Durrat al-Fakhira*

Images Nos. 20a-h

Our Collections of the Copy of Shaykh Yusuf's Works from Universiteit of Bibliotheque Leiden as well as Jakarta Manuscripts

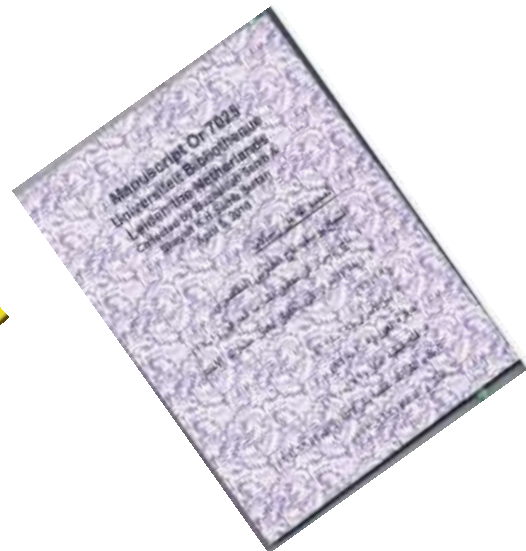


[a]

APPENDICES

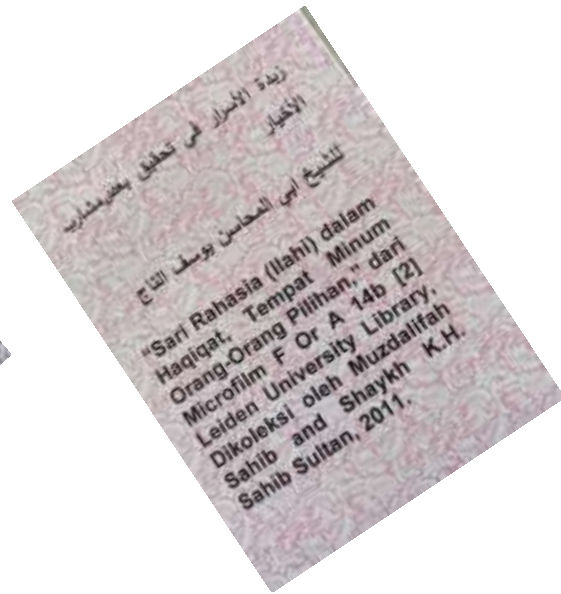


[b] A copy of *Kitab Majmu'a* from Jakarta Manuscript [c] A copy from MSKBG 101 of UB Leiden

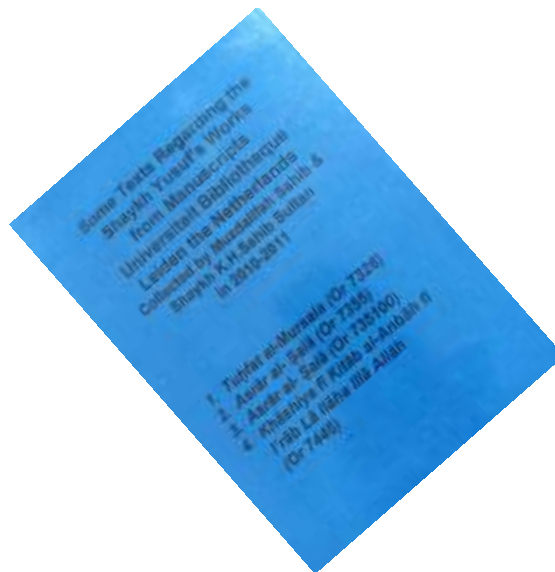


[d] A copy from MSKBG 108 of UB Leiden [e] A Copy from Or 7025 of UB Manuscript Leiden

APPENDICES



[f] A Copy from MSKBG 45 F Or A14b[1] of UB Leiden [g] A Copy from MSKBG 45 F Or A14b[2] of UB Leiden



[h] A Copy from four Manuscripts of UB Leiden

The following are only images of some texts of the Microfilms and the Manuscript of UB Leiden:

Images Nos. 21a-b

The Copy of *Ikhtisās ul Dhikr* (The Specification of *dhikr*) of Arabic Microfilm MSKBG101 13d [16]

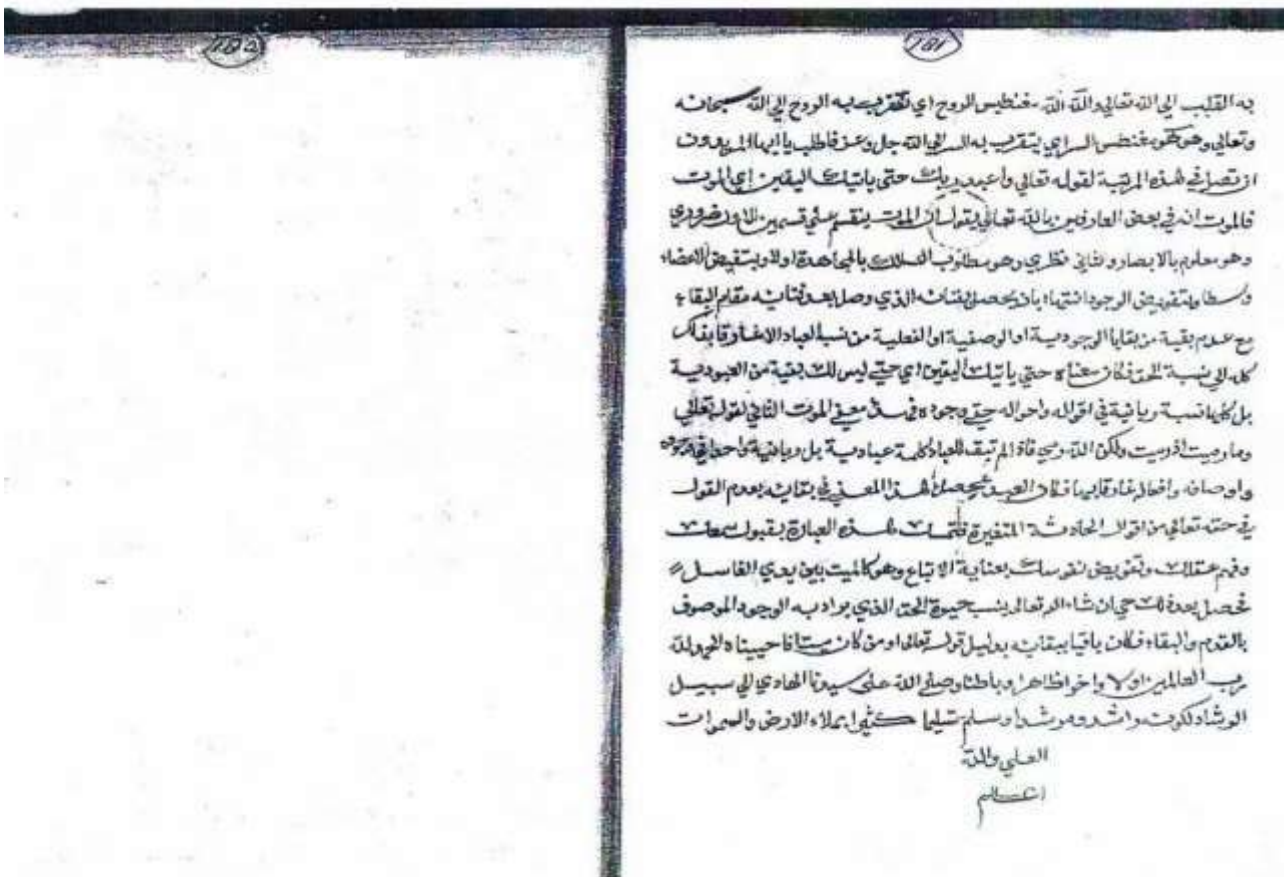
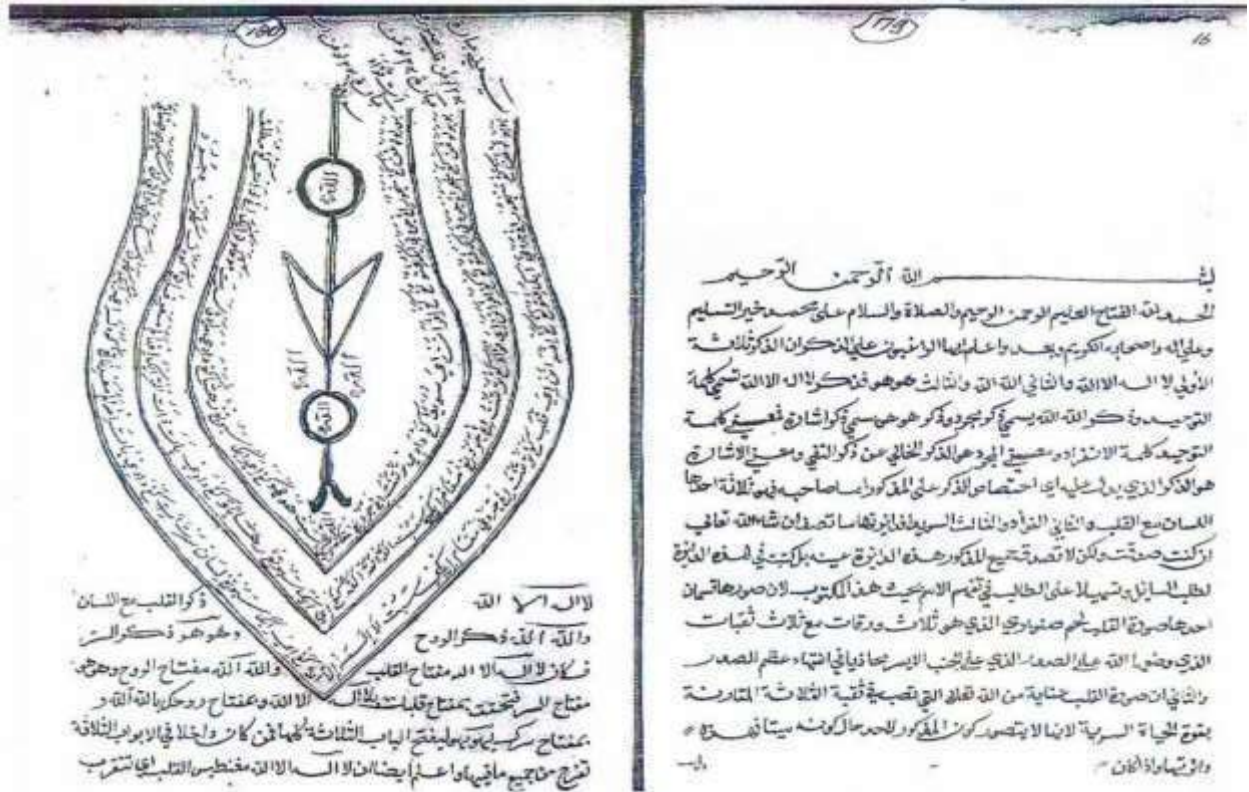
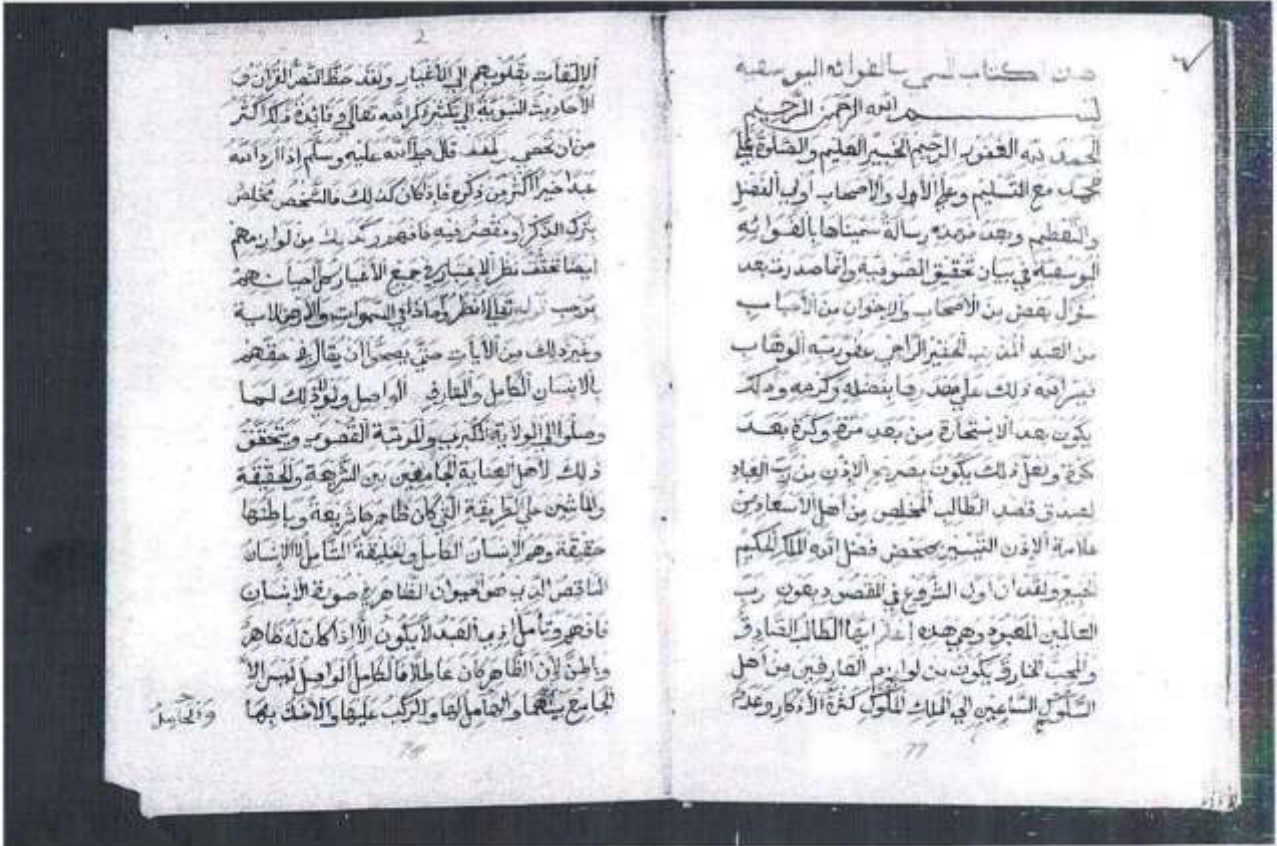


Image Nos. 22a-b

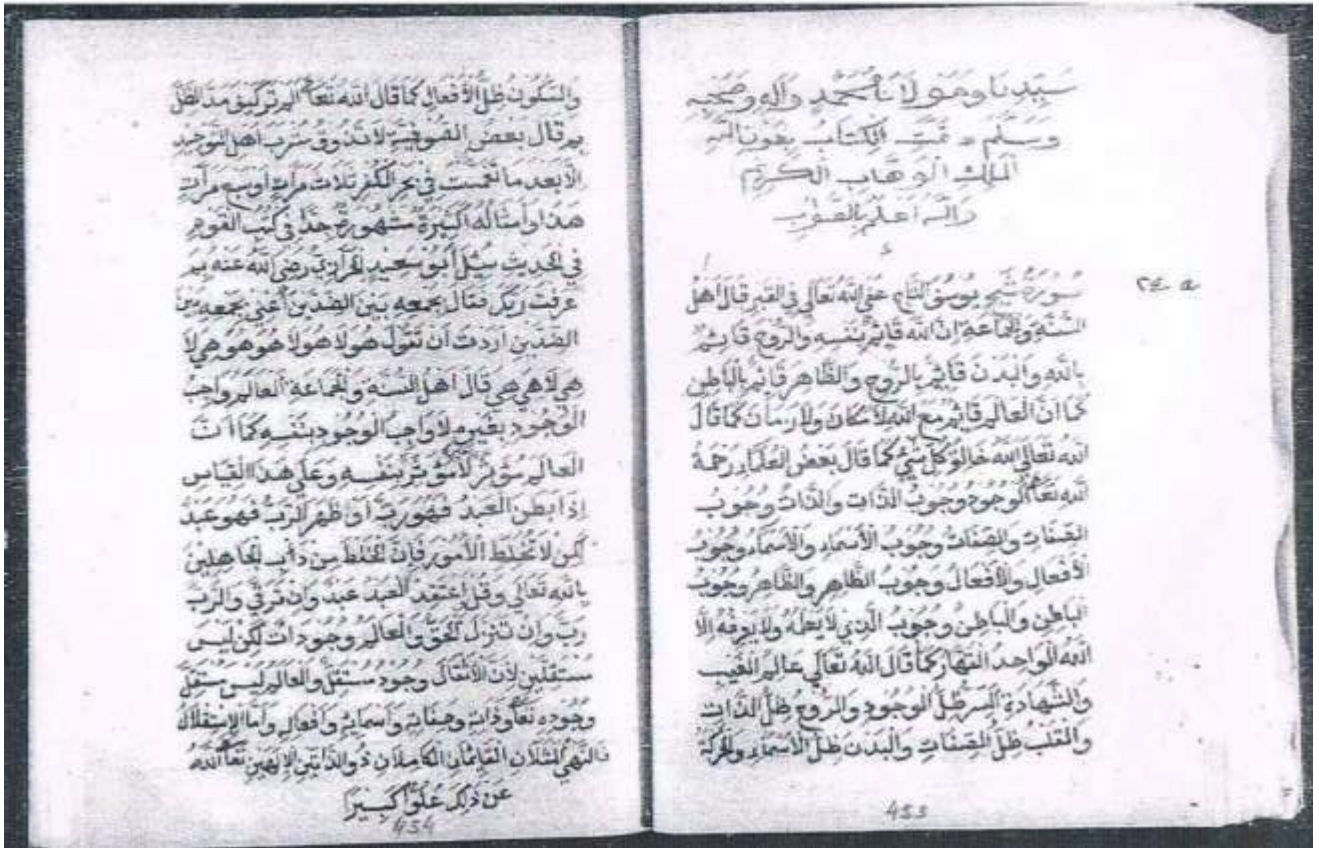
A copy of *al-Fawā'ih al-Yūsufiyya* of MSKBG 108 F Or A13b [6]

The following images are only the first and the last pages. The first page is only used to prove the title '*al-Fawā'ih*' and not '*al-Fawā'id*'; while the last pages showing the *ḥadīth qudsī* mentioned after he ended his treatise.



Images Nos.23-24:

The Copy of Arabic Microfilm MSKGB 108 F Or A13b [24a] & [25]



Şūra Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj



Bidāyat al-Mubtadī by Shaykh al-Ḥajj Yūsuf al-Tāj

Images Nos. 25 a-c

The Copy of *Hadhihi Fawā'id 'Azīma* of Arabic Manuscript of Cod Or 7025 [5]





Image No. 26

The following image showing the origin of the term of *Waḥdat Ṣamad*. This term is derived from the word *Waḥdat Ṣamadiyya* in one of his treatise, *al-Nafḥat al-Saylāniyya*, p. 28, lines 11 as it appeared below:



Part B
Number 1

Ṣūra (صورة or An Image [of Tawhīd])⁹
By Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj

صُورَةٌ شَيْخُ يُوسُفُ النَّاجِ عَفَى اللهُ تَعَالَى فِي الْقَبْرِ. قَالَ أَهْلُ السُّنَّةِ وَالْجَمَاعَةِ إِنَّ اللهُ قَائِمٌ بِنَفْسِهِ وَالرُّوحُ قَائِمٌ بِاللَّهِ وَالْبَدَنُ قَائِمٌ بِالرُّوحِ وَالظَّاهِرُ قَائِمٌ بِالْبَاطِنِ كَمَا أَنَّ الْعَالَمَ قَائِمٌ بِاللَّهِ لَا مَكَانَ وَلَا زَمَانَ كَمَا قَالَ اللهُ تَعَالَى اللهُ خَالِقُ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ

Ṣūra Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj, may Allāh forgive him in his tomb, [reported that] *Ahl Sunna wa al-Jama'a* said: "Verily, Allāh is independent while the soul subsists with Allāh, the body subsists with the soul, and the outward subsists with the inward; just as the universe subsists because of Allāh. He is not confined by place and time, in accordance with the words of Allāh, the Exalted:

"Allāh is the Creator of all things." (Qur'ān, 39:62).

كَمَا قَالَ بَعْضُ الْعُلَمَاءِ رَحِمَهُ اللهُ [رَحِمَهُمُ اللهُ] تَعَالَى: الْوُجُودُ وَجُوبُ الدَّاتِ وَالذَّاتُ وَجُوبُ الصِّفَاتِ وَالصِّفَاتُ وَجُوبُ الْأَسْمَاءِ وَالْأَسْمَاءُ وَجُوبُ الْأَفْعَالِ وَالْأَفْعَالُ وَجُوبُ الظَّاهِرِ وَالظَّاهِرُ وَجُوبُ الْبَاطِنِ وَالْبَاطِنُ وَجُوبُ الَّذِي لَا يَعْلَمُهُ وَلَا يَعْرِفُهُ إِلَّا اللهُ الْوَاحِدُ الْقَهَّارُ كَمَا قَالَ اللهُ تَعَالَى عَالِمُ الْغَيْبِ وَالشَّهَادَةِ.

Some scholars, may Allāh, the Exalted bless them,¹⁰ said: The existence is the result¹¹ of Divine essence and the Divine essence is the result of Divine attribute, the Divine attribute is the result of *al-asmā'* or the Divine Names, and the Divine names are the result of *al-af'āl* or Divine deeds, *al-af'āl* or Divine deeds are the result of *al-zahir* or Divine External manifestation and *al-zahir* is the result of *al-baṭīn* or Divine internal and the inward direction is the result of something that is not known except by Allāh [only known to Allāh], the One; the Most Powerful in accordance with the words of Allāh, the Exalted:

عَالِمُ الْغَيْبِ وَالشَّهَادَةِ.

"... the All-Knower of the unseen and the seen (open)" (Qur'ān, 59:22).

السِّرُّ ظِلُّ الْوُجُودِ وَالرُّوحُ ظِلُّ الدَّاتِ وَالْقَلْبُ ظِلُّ الصِّفَاتِ وَالْبَدَنُ ظِلُّ الْأَسْمَاءِ وَالْحُرُوكَةُ [٢] وَالسُّكُونُ ظِلُّ الْأَفْعَالِ كَمَا قَالَ اللهُ تَعَالَى أَلَمْ تَرَ [إِلَى رَبِّكَ] كَيْفَ مَدَّ الظِّلَّ.

Sirr or the inner recesses is the shadow of existence, the soul is the shadow of the essence, the heart is a shadow of the attribute and the body is a shadow of *asmā'* or the names, and movement [2] and inactivity are the shadows of *af'āl* (or deeds), in accordance with the words of God, the Exalted:

أَلَمْ تَرَ [إِلَى رَبِّكَ] كَيْفَ مَدَّ الظِّلَّ

"Have you not seen how the Lord¹² spread the shadow" (Qur'ān, 25:45).

بِمَ قَالَ بَعْضُ الصُّوفِيَّةِ لَا تَذُوقُ شَرْبِ أَهْلِ التَّوْحِيدِ إِلَّا بَعْدَ مَا تَعَمَّسَتْ فِي بَحْرِ الْكُفْرِ ثَلَاثَ مَرَّاتٍ أَوْ سَبْعَ مَرَّاتٍ هَذَا وَأَمَّا لَهُ كَبِيرَةٌ مَشْهُورَةٌ جِدًّا فِي كُتُبِ الْقَوْمِ فِي الْحَدِيثِ. سَأَلَ أَبُو سَعِيدٍ الْخَرَّازِيُّ رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ بِمَ عَرَفْتَ رَبَّكَ قَالَ بِجَمْعِهِ بَيْنَ الضِّدِّينِ أَعْنَى بِجَمْعِهِ بَيْنَ الضِّدِّينِ أَرَدْتُ أَنْ تَقُولَ هُوَ لَا هُوَ هُوَ هُوَ هِيَ لَا هِيَ لَا هِيَ لَا هِيَ هِيَ.

⁹صُورَةٌ [literally means an image], but some Indonesian scholars called it as an image [of *tawhīd*]. This is probably because this treatise discuss about *ma'rifat al-Tawhīd* or the knowledge of *Tawhīd*.

¹⁰There is a transcription error in this text. It should be read رَحِمَهُمُ اللهُ.

¹¹This word literary means obligation, but we prefer to translate the word وجوب "the result" in this context as the result of in-depth discussion on the 5 December 2017 with Dr. K. H. Baharuddin, M.Ag. [The Head of the Office of the Local Area of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of South Sulawesi Province as well as the Arabic Lecturer at Master and Doctoral Program UIN Alauddin Makassar]. Another suitable translation is "proof." Or it could be a mis-transcription of وجود.

¹²This verse must be read as أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى رَبِّكَ كَيْفَ مَدَّ الظِّلَّ.

Some *ṣūfīs* say: "You will not taste the drink of *Ahl al-Tawhīd*, except after you submerge yourself into the sea of infidelity three or seven times." Abū Zaid al-Kharrāz was asked: "How do you know God?" He said, "By His ability to unite two incompatible things. Uniting two incompatible things is that you say "He is not He, it is not He is He; She is not She, it is not She is She [*Huwa Lā Huwa, La Huwa Huwa, Hiya Lā Hiya, La Hiya Hiya*]."

قَالَ أَهْلُ السُّنَّةِ وَالْجَمَاعَةِ الْعَالَمُ وَاجِبُ الْوُجُودِ بَعْدَهُ لَا وَاجِبُ الْوُجُودِ بِنَفْسِهِ كَمَا أَنَّ الْعَالَمَ صَوْرَةٌ لَا مُؤَثَّرٌ بِنَفْسِهِ وَعَلَى هَذَا الْقِيَاسِ إِذَا بَطَّنَ الْعَبْدُ فَهُوَ رَبٌّ أَوْ ظَهَرَ رَبٌّ فَهُوَ عَبْدٌ لَكِنْ لَا تُخَلِّطُ الْأُمُورَ فَإِنَّ الْخَلْطَ مِنْ دَابِّ الْجَاهِلِينَ بِاللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَقَالَ أَعْتَقِدُ الْعَبْدُ عَبْدٌ وَإِنْ تَرَقَّى وَالرَّبُّ رَبٌّ وَإِنْ تَنَزَّلَ

The *ahl al-Sunna wa l-Jamā'a* said: "Nature or the universe has to exist for extrinsic reasons (*wājib al-wujūd bi ghayrih*); not for intrinsic reasons (*wājib al-wujūd bi nafsih*); the universe is influenced by others (*mu'aththar bi ghayrih*); not influenced by itself (*mu'aththar bi nafsih*)." And using this analogy, if the servant turns inward, he becomes God or if God turns outwards He becomes the servant or 'abd. But this issue should not be confused or misunderstood, because the confusion or misunderstanding becomes the action of those who are ignorant of God. Say, "Believe, that a servant remains a servant, even though he ascends [to the highest station], and God remains God even though He descends."

الْحَقُّ وَالْعَالَمُ وَجُودَاتُ لَكِنَّ لَيْسَ مُسْتَقَلِّينِ لِأَنَّ اللَّهَ وَجُودٌ مُسْتَقَلٌّ وَالْعَالَمُ لَيْسَ مُسْتَقَلٌّ وَجُودُهُ **وَجُودِهِ [كُوجُودِهِ]** ¹³ تَعَالَى وَذَاتِهِ وَصِفَاتِهِ وَأَسْمَائِهِ وَأَفْعَالِهِ وَأَمَّا الْإِسْتِقْلَالُ فَيُنْهَى الْمُتَلَانَ الْقَائِمَانَ الْكَامِلَانَ ذَا الدَّائِنِينَ الْإِلَهِيْنَ تَعَالَى اللَّهُ عَنْ ذَلِكَ عُلُوًّا كَبِيرًا

The Divine Being and the universe are existents. But (both) are not independent because Allāh's existence – with His Being, Attributes, Names and Actions - is independent whereas the existence of the universe is not independent. Independence prevents (the existence) of two divine models (that are) self-subsisting, perfect and possessing two beings. Allāh is vastly supreme over that.

¹³There is a transcription error in this text, it should be read

لِأَنَّ اللَّهَ وَجُودٌ مُسْتَقَلٌّ وَالْعَالَمُ لَيْسَ مُسْتَقَلٌّ وَجُودُهُ **كُوجُودِهِ** تَعَالَى وَذَاتِهِ وَصِفَاتِهِ وَأَسْمَائِهِ وَأَفْعَالِهِ.

Number 2

هَذَا كِتَابُ الْمُسَمَّى بِبِدَايَةِ الْمُبْتَدِي

This book is entitled *Bidāyat al-Mubtadī* [The first stage of Novice]
By Shaykh al-Hājj Yūsuf al-Tāj

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

[1]. In the name of Allāh the Beneficent and the Merciful God.

أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَحْدَهُ، وَالصَّلَاةُ عَلَى مَنْ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدَهُ، وَبَعْدُ.

Praise be to God alone, and salutation be upon the one after whom there is no Prophet to be sent. Furthermore:

فَأَمَّا الْمَعْرِفَةُ فِي حَقِّهِ تَعَالَى فَهُوَ أَنْ يَعْرِفَ الْعَبْدُ بِأَنَّ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى مُتَّصِفٌ بِجَمِيعِ الْكَمَالَاتِ، وَأَنَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ خَالِقُ الْكُلِّ مِنَ الْمَوْجُودَاتِ ذَوَاتِهِمْ وَصِفَاتِهِمْ وَأَحْوَالِهِمْ وَأَفْعَالِهِمْ مِنَ الْخَيْرِ وَالشَّرِّ، وَالْكُلُّ تَحْتَ قُدْرَتِهِ وَإِرَادَتِهِ، وَقُدْرُهُ وَقَضَائِهِ.

As for the knowledge (*ma'rifa*) about the reality of God the Exalted, the servant should know that Allāh, the Exalted has the attributes of all perfection. And He, Glory be to Him, is the creator of all things; their essences, their qualities, conditions and deeds of good and evil. And all remain under His Power and Will, and His Ability and Judgement.

غَيْرَ أَنَّهُ لَا يَأْمُرُ بِالسُّوءِ وَإِنْ كَانَ هُوَ خَالِقُ الْكُلِّ مِنَ الْأَشْيَاءِ صُورَةً وَمَعْنَى، وَأَنَّهُ لَا يَضُرُّ وَلَا يَنْفَعُ مُطْلَقًا إِلَّا اللَّهُ تَعَالَى فِي جَمِيعِ الْأَحْوَالِ، فَافْهَمُ.

It is clear that He does not enjoin evil, even if He is the creator of all things, explicitly and implicitly; and that none could provide absolute harm or benefit except Allāh the Exalted, in all circumstances. So understand.

وَأَمَّا الْإِعْتِقَادُ فِي حَقِّهِ تَعَالَى، فَإِنَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ لَيْسَ كَمِثْلِهِ شَيْئًا، وَإِنَّهُ وَاحِدٌ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ فِي ذَاتِهِ وَصِفَاتِهِ وَأَفْعَالِهِ، فَكُلُّ مَا تَخْطُرُ فِي الْبَالِ، وَتَصَوَّرَ فِي الْخِيَالِ [فِي الْخِيَالِ]، فَهُوَ سُبْحَانَهُ بِخِلَافِ ذَلِكَ، وَجَمِيعُ الْإِعْتِقَادَاتِ مَرْدُودَةٌ إِلَى سُورَةِ الْإِخْلَاصِ، فَافْهَمُ

And as for the belief (*'Aqīda*) in the reality of the Exalted, indeed He, Glory be to Him, there is nothing like Him (*Qur'ān*, 42:11); and He is One, without partner in His essence, His attributes and His deeds. Then all that comes to mind and are conceived by the imagination,¹⁴ know that He, Glory be to Him, differs from them. And all beliefs (*'Aqīda*) are based on *Sūrat Al-Ikhlāṣ* (*Qur'ān*, Ch. 112). So, understand [this].

فَأَمَّا التَّوَجُّهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى، فَهُوَ أَنْ يَتَوَجَّهَ الْعَبْدُ بِقَلْبِهِ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى تَوَجُّهًا [٢] كُلِّيًّا فِي جَمِيعِ حَالَاتِهِ وَأَوْقَاتِهِ، لَا يَخْطُرُ فِي بَالِهِ سِوَاهُ بِأَنَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى يَنْظُرُ إِلَيْهِ وَيَرَاهُ فِي جَمِيعِ حَالَاتِهِ وَخَطَرَاتِهِ، وَيَعْلَمُهُ الْحَقُّ حَقَّ الْمَعْرِفَةِ كُلِّيًّا وَجُزْئِيًّا، وَأَنَّهُ تَعَالَى لَا يَحْبُبُهُ شَيْئٌ عَنِ الْكُلِّ، فَافْهَمُ.

Then for approaching hisself to God, the Exalted, the slave should turn his face with all his heart to God the Exalted [2] completely, in all cases and circumstances. Nothing should occupy his mind but Allāh. He, Glory be to Him and Exalted is He, sees him in all circumstances and fallibilities or weaknesses. And He [*al-Haqq*] teaches him the true knowledge [*ma'rifa*] completely and partially. And He, the Exalted, does not hide anything at all. So, understand [this].

وَأَمَّا تَنْوِيرُ الْقَلْبِ فَلَيْسَ أَنْفَعُ مِنْ كَثْرَةِ ذِكْرِ كَلِمَةٍ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مَعَ نَسْيَانِ الْخَلْقِ عِنْدَ ذِكْرِهِ، وَيَعْرِفُ بِأَنَّ مَعْنَى هَذِهِ الْكَلِمَةِ أَنْ لَا مَعْبُودَ بِحَقِّ إِلَّا اللَّهُ، وَلَا مَقْصُودَ، وَلَا مَطْلُوبَ، وَلَا مَحْبُوبَ، وَلَا مَوْجُودَ حَقِيقَةً إِلَّا اللَّهُ الْحَيُّ الْوَاحِدُ الْقَدِيمُ الَّذِي لَا يَضُرُّ وَلَا يَنْفَعُ إِلَّا هُوَ، سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى، فَافْهَمُ إِنْ كُنْتَ ذَا فَهْمٍ.

And as for the enlightenment of the heart, nothing is more useful than the increase in the recitation of the phrase (لا إله إلا الله) by forgetting the creation when remembering Him. And (the servant) should know that the meaning of this phrase is that none is to be worshipped truly except Allāh. None is the object of attention, none is needed, none is loved and none exists except God, the Living, the One, the Eternal without

¹⁴There is an error transcription in this text. It should be read في الخيال.

beginning. None can bring harm and benefit except He, Glory be to Him and Exalted. So please understand, if you are of the people who understand.

تَمَّتِ الرَّسَالَةُ الْمُسَمَّاهُ بِبِدَايَةِ الْمُبْتَدِيِّ الَّتِي أَلْفَهَا الشَّيْخُ الْحَاجُّ يُوسُفُ التَّاجُ، عَفَرَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى جَمِيعَ ذُنُوبِهِ، وَسَتَرَ عُيُوبَهُ. آمِينَ

So ends the treatise entitled *Bidāyat al-Mubtadī* [the First Stage of the Novice] written by Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj. May God, the Exalted, forgive all his sins and cover all his flaws, amen.

وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ

May Allāh bless and grant peace to our Prophet Muḥammad, his family and companions.

Number 3

Hādhihi Fawā'id 'Aẓīma [These are the Great Benefits]¹⁵

By Shaykh Yūsuf

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذه فوائد عظيمة

In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent and the Merciful. These are (the) great benefits of:

ذكر لا إله إلا الله

فاعلم يجبُ على القائل ان يلاحظ مقصود تلك الكلمات ومعناها بحسبِ مقام القائل فالمعنى المقصود من تلك الالفاظ هو لا معبود او لا مقصود او لا مطلوب او لا محبوب و لا موجود و لا يضرّ و لا ينفع حقيقة الا الله.

Dhikr Lā ilāha illā Allāh

Know that it is incumbent on a person who utters [*Lā ilāha illā Allāh*], to pay attention to the intent and meaning of the phrase based on the station of one who utters it; namely, that none is worshipped or none is intended or none is needed or none is loved or none exists and none harms and benefits in reality except Allāh.

Dhikr Allāh-Allāh

فاعلم ذلك ذكر الله الله **فيجب** على القائل ايضا ان يلاحظ مقصود هذه الكلمة الجلالة وهو من له الوجود المطلق التام والمتصف بجمع الكمالات الذاتية والصفاتية وهو أنه لا يتقيد بالا كوان عند ظهوره فيها. كيف لا يكون كذلك وهو ليس كمثل شئ. وهو الجامع بين الضدين لانه هو الاول و لا بداية لأوليته وهو الآخر و لا نهاية لأخريته وهو الظاهر و ليس فوقه شئى وهو الباطن وليس دونه شئى كان الله و لا شئى معه وهو الأن على ما عليه كان.

Then know that it is incumbent also for one who utters **Allāh-Allāh** to pay attention to the intent [the meaning] of these majestic [*Jalālah*] words; namely, that He has a perfect and absolute existence, and perfect attributes. And He is not bound by the universe with His manifestation in it. How can it not be like that since He is **ليس كمثل شئى**, "There is nothing comparable unto Him." (*Qur'ān*, 42:11) He is a Unifier of two opposite things, because He is the First with no starting point to His beginning; He is also the Last with no end point to His last status. He is Manifest without anything above Him and He is concealed without anything nearer to Him. Allāh existed without anything with Him, and He is now as He was in the past.

Dhikr Huwa-Huwa

فاعلم ذكر هو هو ايضا **يجب** على القائل ان يلاحظ مقصد إشارة تلك الكلمة وهو من **سرت** [سريت] هوئته في الكل من الموجودات من غير حلولٍ ولا اتحادٍ فكيف لا يكون كذلك وهو سبحانه محيط بالكل وهو مع الكل وهو الفاهر فوق عباده وهو غالب غير مغلوب مغلوب ومع هذا كله هو ليس كمثل شئى بنصّ الاية الشريفة والخير منه والشر ليس اليه والكل منه واليه.

Then know that it is incumbent on one who utters *Huwa-Huwa* to pay attention to the intent of the words. And

¹⁵This is the original title of this *risāla*, but considering the contents of it which discusses the three *dhikrs* by Shaykh Yūsuf, therefore, it may also be titled as "*Hādhihi Fawā'id 'Aẓīmat al-Adhkār (al-Dhikrs)* or "These are the Big Benefits of Dhikrs" as has been mentioned previously.

He is One Whose His identity [*Huwiyya*] infiltrates¹⁶ everything [all existences]¹⁷ with no *Hulūl* [incarnation]¹⁸ and no *ittiḥād* [union]¹⁹. And how can it not be like that since He, Glory be to him, encompasses all things and is together with everything. He has Power above all His servants and He wins and never fails. Moreover, there is nothing comparable unto Him (*Qur'ān*, 42:11) according to the text of the noble verse. And good is from him and wickedness does not return to Him, and all are from Him and then return to Him.²⁰

ثم اعلم يا أخي أنّ جميع الإعتقادات كلها هي راجعة الى هذه الاية. خذ هذه واترك الكل تسلم في الدنيا والآخرة إنشاءً لله تعالى فاعلم ذلك وتأمل فإنه سرٌّ نفيسٌ والله اعلم بصواب واليه المرجع والمآب

Then know O my brother, that all beliefs are traced back to this verse (*Qur'ān*, 42:11). Take this and leave all else; you will be safe in this world and the hereafter, if Allāh the Exalted wills. Know that and contemplate please, since it is a valuable secret. Allāh knows the truth and to Him is the place of return.

شغل العظيم من الاشغال اخذناه من بعض مشائخنا الكرام نفعا الله بهم امين وهو ان الشخص بان قلبه كان بمنزلة ولد طير الحمامة يرضع من فم امه وهو كان بمنزلة الام التي ترضع ولدها بفمها فاتصل فمه بفمها والطعام الذي تطعمه بفمها هو ذكر الجلالة سرا ولا جهرا وهكذا كان شغله دائما في جميع اوقاته وساعته حتى يحصل له سعادة الدارين بحرمة سيد الكونين عليه الصلاة والسلام وهو المطلوب في الامور كلها ثم ولا يظهر النتيجة إلا بالشغل الكلي على الدوام مع اخلاص النية لله تعالى ولا يشتغل بشيء الا له سبحانه لا للدنيا ولا للآخرة فإذا لازم الشخص على هذه الاذكار كلها مع شروطها وعلى هذا الشغل العظيم يرجي له ان يكون داخلا في دائرة الاولياء اهل الله المقربين و رثة النبيين قدس الله اسرار الجميع من الاولين والآخرين والله اعلم بالصواب واليه المرجع والمآب.

The Great Work or Shughl al-'Azīm

This is a great work among the works acquired from some of our honourable masters, may Allāh give benefits to us from them, Amen. A person has a heart like a chick of a pigeon that is fed with the mother's mouth (or, beak). And he later takes the position of the mother bird that feeds its chicks with its mouth. Its mouth (beak) is connected to its mother's and the food is fed by its mother's mouth. This is likened to the *dhikr* of the Majesty which is done silently and not loudly. And like this is his task at all times until he acquires happiness in the two abodes with the honour of the master of the two creations (Muḥammad) SAW. That is required in all matters. The result cannot be seen except when it is done continuously with sincere intention for Allāh, the Exalted, only. He does not do anything except for Him, Glory be to Him, not for the world and not for the Hereafter. And if one adheres to these *dhikrs* [invocations] with all the requirements for these great works, it is hoped that he will enter the place of saints who are the people of Allāh, the closest to Allāh and heirs of the Prophet-may Allāh sanctify [their] innermost recesses from beginning to end. And Allāh knows the truth and to Him is the place of return.

تم الكتاب بعون الله الملك الوهاب.. والله اعلم بالصواب.

¹⁶There is a transcription error in this text. It should be read *سريت* means infiltrates to adjust it with the context of the text, (Dr. K. H. Baharuddin, M.Ag. [The Head of the Office of the Local Area of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of South Sulawesi Province as well as the Arabic Lecturer at Master and Doctoral Program UIN Alauddin Makassar], personal communication, 5 December 2017).

¹⁷Or, He is One Whose identity is concealed in everything.

¹⁸*Hulūl* [incarnation] was popularised by Abū Maṣṣūr al-Hallāj (858-922), as the unity of two existences (God and servant), (Ahmad Daudy 1983: 90).

¹⁹*Ittiḥād* [union]¹⁹ was popularised by Abū Yazīd al-Bustāmī [d. 261 A.H./874–5], as the unity of God and servant in one manifestation [God manifestation] only (Ahmad Daudy 1983: 90).

²⁰All are from Him and then return to Him. Likewise good and bad are from Him, but good will return to Him with His Will [*Riḍā*]; while the wickedness does not return to Him with His Will [*Riḍā*], but with His Wrath, because it is forbidden by God to do.

APPENDIX III

SOME IMAGES REGARDING THE TWO TEXTS OF *MAṬĀLIB AL-SĀLIKĪN* TREATISES IN
CHAPTER FOUR

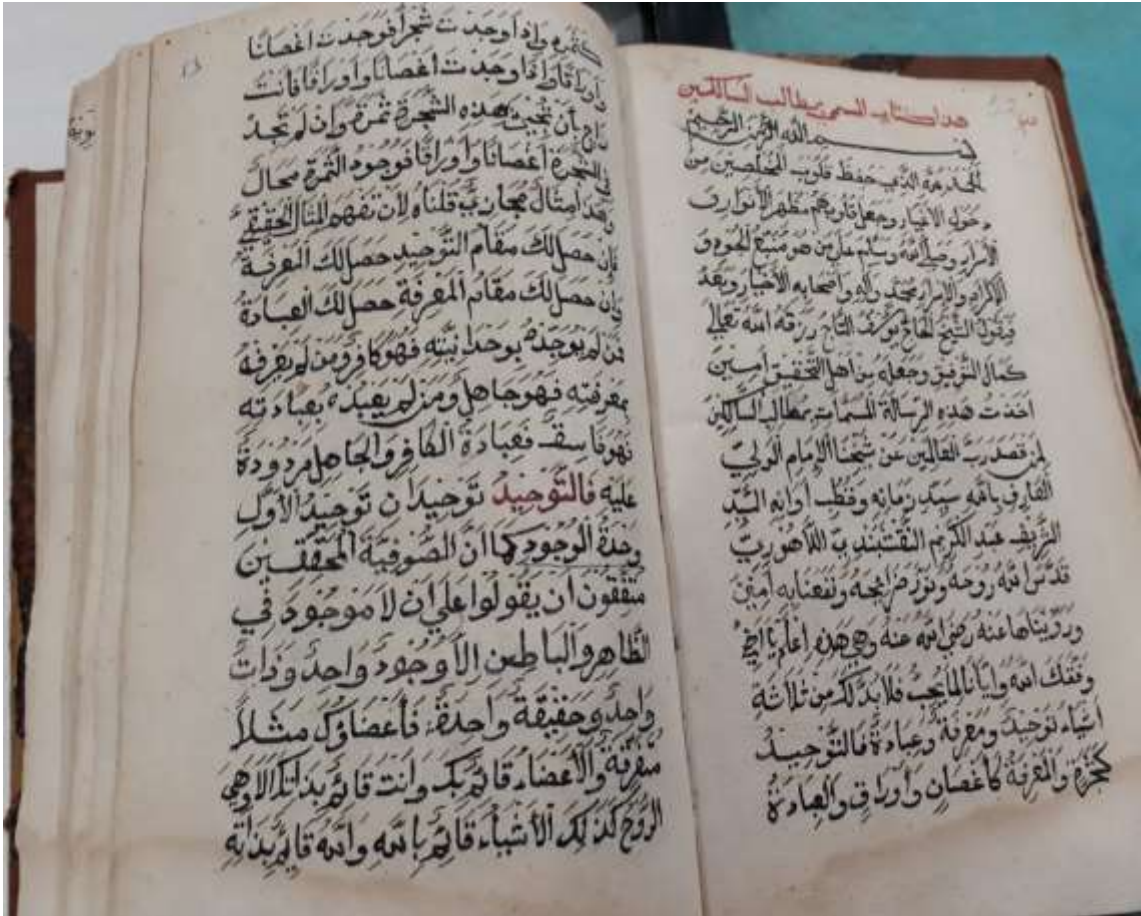
Number 1

Image Nos. 27a-c:
Jakarta Manuscript A 108 [3]

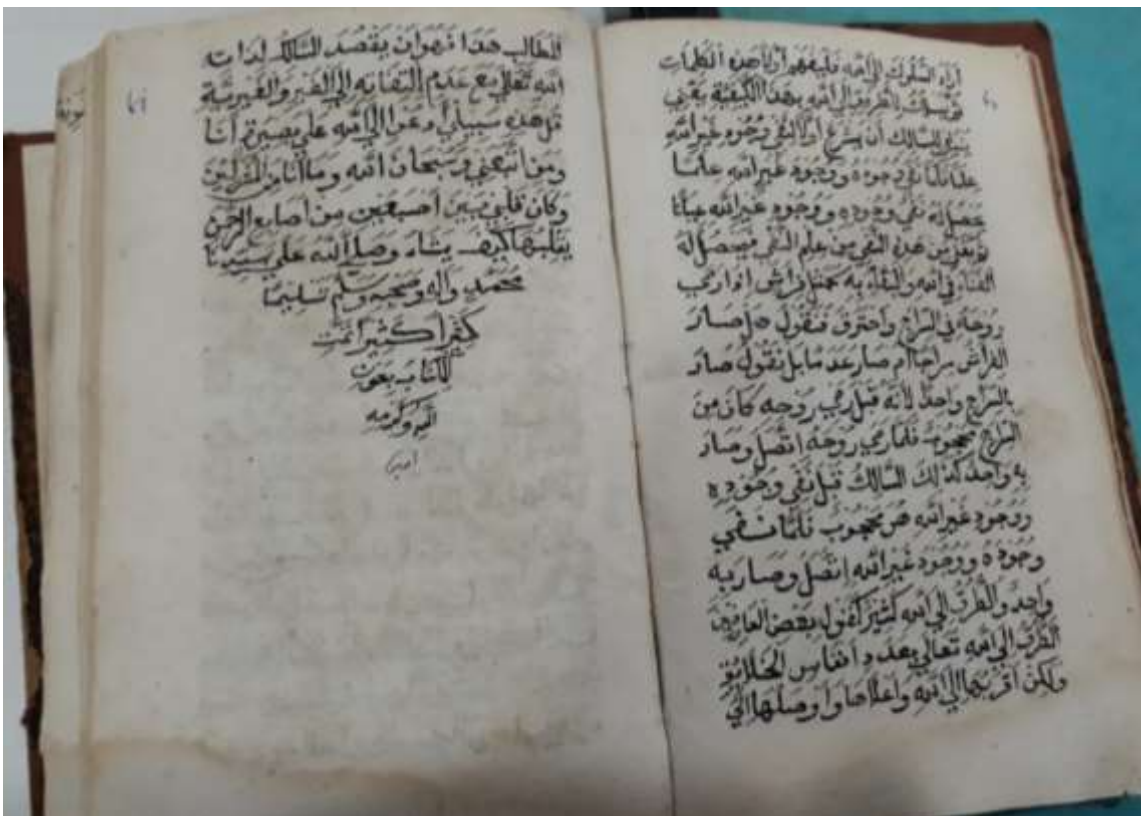


[a] The Cover of the Manuscript

The following are only the first, second and the last pages of *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* of
Jakarta Manuscripts A 101



[b]



[d]

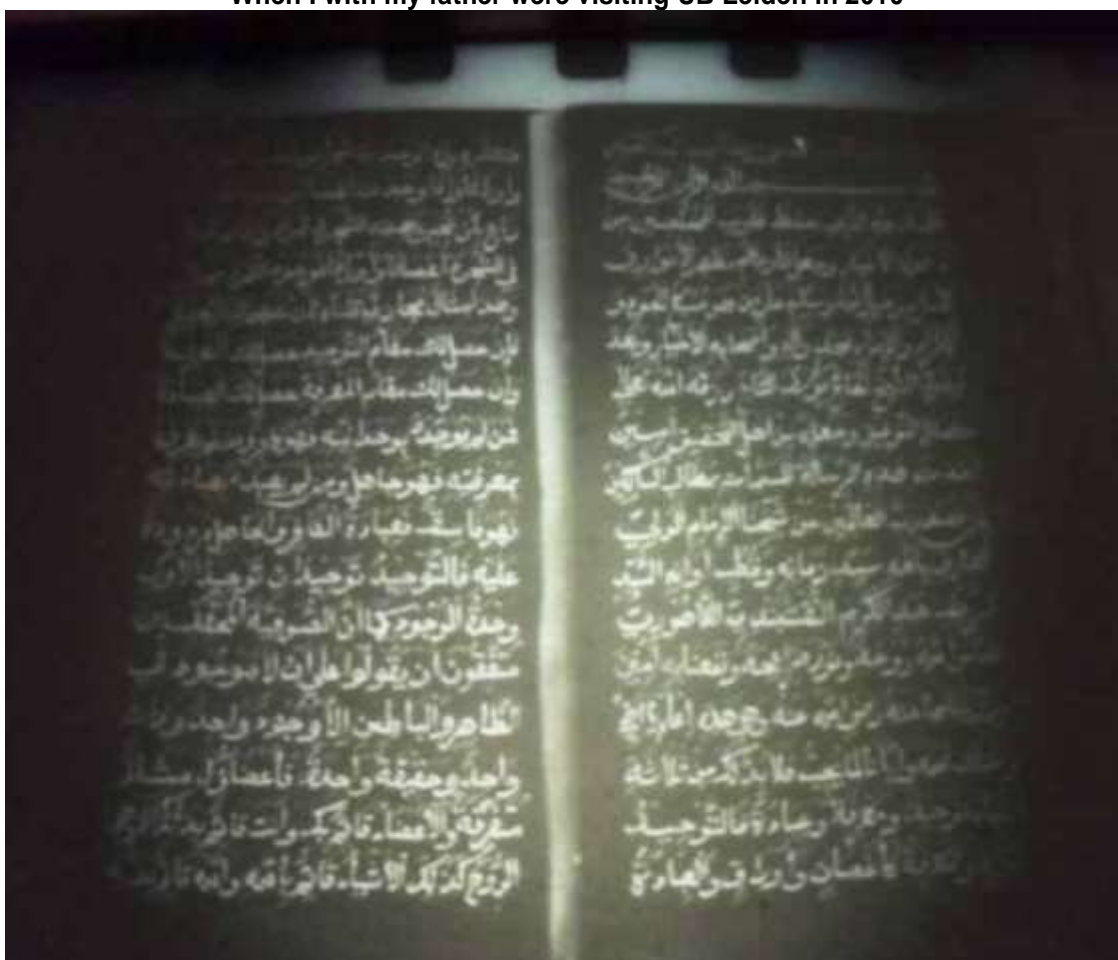
APPENDICES

Images Nos. 28a-c:

UB Leiden and to view the origin Microfilm in 2010



When I with my father were visiting UB Leiden in 2010



MSKBG 108 F Or A 13b [3]

هذا هو الذي يطالب كالتسليم
 الحمد لله الذي حفظ قلب المخلصين من
 دخول الأعداء وجعل قلوبهم مظهر الأنوار
 والأسرار وصلى الله وسام علي بن موسى
 الأمام والاسرار محمد وآله وأصحابه الأخيار وبعد
 يقول الشيخ الحاج يوسف الحاج رفته الله تعالى
 كمال التوضيح وجعله من أهل التحقيق مبين
 أخذت هذه الرسالة السماوية مطالب الكمال
 من قصد رب العالمين عن شيخنا الإمام الوكيل
 الفاروق ياقه سيد زمانه وظل وأبه السيد
 الشريف عبد الكريم القنبري بآلافه
 قد سئل منه روضه ونور صراحه ونفعنا به آمين
 ورويناها عنه رضي الله عنه وهو من أعلمنا
 وفتك الله وإيانا لما يجب فلا بد لك من ثلاثة
 أشياء نوصيك ومغربة وعباداة فالشجرة
 كثره والغربة كإغصان وأزلة والعبادة

كثره وإنه أوجدت شجرة فوجدت إغصاناً
 وأزلة فإذا وجدت إغصاناً وأزلة فانت
 راج إن تجتهد هذه الشجرة ثم وإن تجتهد
 في الشجرة إغصاناً وأزلة فوجدت الشجرة
 وهذا أمثال مجازية قلنا لأن تفهم لنا الحق
 فإن حصل لك مقام التوضيح حصل لك الغربة
 وإن حصل لك مقام المعرفة حصل لك العبادة
 فمن لم يوجد بوجدته فهو كمن لم يعرفه
 بمعرفته فهو جاهل ومن لم يعبد به عبادة
 فهو جاهل فعبادة الكافر والجاهل مردودة
 عليه فالتوضيح توحيداً وتوحيد الأول
 رضى الوجود كما أن الصوفية المحققين
 متفقون أن يقولوا على أن لا موجود في
 الظاهر والباطن الوجود واحد وذات
 واحد وحقيقة واحدة فاعضوا ذلك مثلاً
 مشرقياً والأعضاء قاربك وانت قاربنا الأرواح
 الروح كذلك الأشياء قارب الله والله قاربنا

[a]

فنسبة قيام الأتنياء بالله كنسبة قيام الجنس
 بالروح فيسمى الإنسان بالجنس والروح انسانا
 لا بالروح فقط ولا بالجنس فقط بالتجمع فكذلك
 تسمى الآلهة الكونية بالذات والصفات فالآلهة
 ثلاثة أمرف الألف واللام والهاء فالألف إشارة
 إلى وحدانيته واللام إشارة إلى كماله والهاء إشارة
 إلى صوريته فهو أحد بذاته ووحيد بصفاته وصفاته
 على الاله كالعلم والسمع والبصر والحياة والقدرة
 الإرادة وغير ذلك من الأسماء فاسماء الصفات
 الألوهية وصوريته موجود في جميعه ووحيد وهو
 موجود في جميع الأشياء كما ثبت أن الأتنياء
 قائمة به وهو قائم بذاته كما ذكرنا أن الجنس قائم
 بالروح والروح قائم بذاته فلا يتصور قيام الجنس
 إلا أن يكون الروح موجود في جميع الأعضاء كما
 إذا كان الدم موجود في الإنسان فهو جميعه إلا
 لا يتصور وجوده كذلك الله موجود في جميع الأتنياء
 فلوله يوجد الله في الأشياء لم توجد الأتنياء وهو

متركة عن كل مكان وزمان وإنما الأليف لئلا ينحصر
 أن الروح لا تتصرف بغيره من الأعضاء وهي
 موجود في جميع الأعضاء كذلك الله لا يتصرف
 في شيء واحد وهو موجود في جميع الأشياء فلما
 ثبت قيام الأتنياء بالله فلا يتصور إلا أن يكون
 موجودا في الأتنياء وهذا معنى قوله سبحانه
 رضي الله عنه ما رأيت شيئا إلا رأيت الله فيه
 فهل ترى يا حيي شيئا من الأشياء خارج عن علمه
 الأزلي فإن قلت يا حيي ما رأيت الله في شيء
 فانت جاهل بتمام يتصور للصور قبل علم الصانع
 فإن قلت نعم فهذا حال لا يتصور عن كل شيء عقل
 كالكاتب لا يتصور له الكتابة إلا بعد علمه بالكتابة
 وكذلك الله وجد العالم من الغيب إلى الشفا حدة
 بعد ما كانت الأشياء موجودة في علمه الأزلي
 بالوجود ذاته وهو معني قوله تعالى إنما أمرنا
 إذا رؤنا شيئا أن نقول له لن يكون لأن الأتنياء كانت
 موجودة في علمه الأزلي في عالم الغيب فلم يزل الله

من الغيب إلى الشهادة فظهر في الشهادة كما كان في
 الغيب فإذا رآه أن يجيبه من الغيب إلى الشئ فإنه
 يجيبه بأمرين يكون فالأشياء في علمه وعلوه صفته
 فالصفات بالذات واحدة لا يتصور انفكاك الصفا
 عن الذات كما لا يتصور انفكاك الجسد عن الروح قبل
 الموت وإنما نقول كما لا يتصور انفكاك الزبد
 عن الحليب والحليب عن الزبد قبل الزوب وهذا
 معني قوله تعالى وإن أقعبل شئ محطاً للحليب
 من صفة في الزبد والذوب من صفة في الحليب
 وهذا في الحقيقة شئ واحد لك الأشياء موجودة
 في أمره وأمه موجودة في الأشياء وهذا حقيقة
 شئ واحد كان الله في الأول ولم يكن مع
 شئ فيكون في الأبد كما كان في الأول وهذا معني
 قولهم ما شئت العلويات للعلوية من شأنت
 راحة الوجود الخارجي ولن تتأدياً فإن هذا
 صورة من صورة الأصيلة في علم الحكيم
 الأريب وهذا النقل كما لو عرف الذي يخرج منك

لأن جهة الروف الأصلية يكون ثابتة في ذات
 وجود مستعير من الأصل الحقيقي وكل مستعير
 ليس له في الحقيقة وجود فانت في عدم ولا لك
 من الوجود نصيب وانت بالعدم منصف فإن
 أوتيت بالوجود بأن يكون لك وجود سوي
 وجود الله فقد أشركت بالله وإن أشرك لظالم
 عظيم فأمس بالله الذي هو بالذات أحد
 الصفات واحد لأن كل ما ثبت وجوده لغيب
 فوجوده لغيب لا لنفسه فافهم وحقيقة
 الإيمان بأن يخرج من وجود الحمازيب العدم
 الحقيقي فالعدم الحقيقي جعله الله مرة لذاته
 وتعالى عليه بالمال الذات كلها المعتبر عن
 بالنساء الأخر فاذا صرت عند ما تصبر مرة له
 وشاهد الحرة فإذ بذاته فبكر فهو شاهد
 من حيث أنه يشاهد ذاته في هذه المرة وهو
 المشهود من حيث أنه يرب هذه المرة ومن
 عرف هذه المرة واخترق بها فهو مؤمن

موحّد حقيقي والأفهور موحّد مجازي كما ضرب
 حقيقة لأنه ما آمن بحقيقة وأما قولنا فأنش
 جاهل إن قلت نعم فليدروم من هذا إن يكون
 خلقية العال قبل عليه تعالي فليدروم من هذا
 أيضا نسبة لجاهل الاله تعالي فهذا الفرق
 اضلال فالله والخلال في حقه سبحانه وتعالى
 محال وهو جانه وتعالى منزّه عما يقولون
 الظالمون علوا كبيرا **المؤيد الثاني** معلوم
 عند كل حد من المتدين الخاصة والعامة
 فهو اسمه احد الله الصمد له يولد وله يولد
 وليرثون له كنوا احد نعموا فهم ويختلق
 في احد بينه والعرفية ان تغرض ان صمدك
 منه ومعاد لك اليه فتعود اليه بغير ما
 يدرك منه كما لو اخذ الصمد منه ما وده الى
 النهر فيعود الي البحر كما كان في النهر ولا
 يغير الماء عن الحقيقة الماء ثبته والعبادة
 بان تطيع في وحدة وصوره بان لا وجود

لغيره وهو سبحانه وتعالى واحد لا شريك له
 في الوجود ومعني العبودية في اللغة طاعة الشيء
 لشيء كما عضانك مطيعة لروحك بزخيث الأمر
 بأشئها الروح لأنك ما تفعل بشئ إلا بأشئها
 الروح ففي الظاهر أعضاءك عابدة لك وذلك
 مقبوع فالذات عابدة من حيث الظاهر
 الذات مقبوع من حيث الباطن لأن الأمر منه
 اليه فاذا أفنيت وجودك وجهف غير اسمه
 وعرفت أنت نفسك ان ذلك الكل غير اسمه
 مقبوع وم فلا ترعب الأهو ولا تشاهد الأهو
 ولا يبقى الأهو وليس لك من الأمر شيء فيصير
 هو العابد من حيث الأوصية ومقبوع من
 حيث الأمر يرجع اليه كل شيء **هال الأوجه**
 له الحكم واليه ترجعون كل من عينها فان
 ويقب وجه ريك ذوالجلال والألأم من عرف
 حقيقة التوحيد والعرفية والمعبوية فهو
 عارف موحّد مطيع والأفليس هو بشئ من

اراد التلويك الي ائمه فليعلمه اولاهن الكلمات
 نظير سالك الطريقين الي ائمه بهذا الكيفية يعني
 ينبغي للسالك ان يشعخ او لا في وجود غيره ائمه
 علما فلما في وجوده وجود غيره ائمه علما
 يحصل له في وجوده وجود غيره ائمه علما
 فبعض من هذه الثغرى من علم الثغرى يحصل له
 الفناء في ائمه والبقاء به كمثل فرانس اوارحيب
 رجاء في السراج واحترق فنقول حاصل صار
 الفرائض من اجالهم صار عدد ما بل نقول صار
 بالسراج واحد لانه قبل رعب روجه كان من
 السراج محجوب فلما رعب روجه انقل وصار
 به واحد كذلك السالك قبل في وجوده
 وجود غيره ائمه من محجوب فلما في في
 وجوده وجود غيره ائمه انقل وصار به
 واحد والطرق الي ائمه كثير اكثر بل بعض العارفين
 النظر الي ائمه تعالى بعد و انفا من الخلابون
 ولعن اقربها الي ائمه واعلامها واصلها الي

الطالب هذا فهو ان يقصد السالك لذات
 الله تعالى مع عدم التفاتنه الي الفخبر والغيرية
 قل هذه سبيلي وعن ائمه علي بصيرتنا
 ومن اتبعني وسبحان ائمه وانا من الشرايين
 وكان قلبي بين اصبعين من اصابع الرحمن
 يتلها كيف يشاء وصلى الله على سيدنا
 محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم تسليما

كثيرا كثيرا

الائمه بعبود

الله وكرمهم

الله

٥٧

الاجتماع على بالغا في وكن السبب الوجودي العالم من حيث الحقيقة لا يبعد كما لم يمت
 الاشياء من وجوده في علمه الاولي بالروح والذاتية وحسب تخوم العالم انما لا يوافق الاطلاق
 ان يفتقر له من يتكلمون لان الاشياء كالتكلم موجودة في علم الاولي في عالم الغيب فامر بالروح
 من الغيب الى الاشياء فظهر في الشاهد كما كان في الفناء فاداء الاله ان يجيبه الى انهاء
 فيجب بان يكون فيكون فالاشياء في علمه على صفة فالصناعات بالانسان وحق
 لا يتصور وان كان الصناعات من الفاسد كما لا يتصور وان كان الجسد من الروح
 قبل الموت او كما لا يتصور انما كان الزبد عن الحليب والحليب عن الوديع قبل الموت
 وهنذا معنى قوله تعالى وكان الديك شيا محيا طائفا كالحليب موجود في الزبد في
 الزبد موجود في الحليب وما في الحقيقة شيا واحد كذا في الاشياء وهو موجود
 في الدهن والدم موجود في الاشياء وما في الحقيقة شيا واحد كذا في الازل ولم يكن
 مع شيا في الازل كما كان في الازل وهنذا معنى قوله ما شمس الحكم يست
 العلمي من ثمرات الوجود الخارجي ولن تشم ابدان لان الصانع
 منقذ من الصفة الاصلية في علم الحق الازل وكلمة النقل حادث لحضور
 التي منقذ من كل الوجود في الاصلية كذا ثابت في ذلك فمجيء كل مستر
 من الاصل الحقيقي وكلمة مستقر ليس له في الحقيقة وجوده فالتكلم في العلم من
 الوجود حقيقي كانت بالعدم مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا
 وهو العلم في العلم بالعلم في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا
 وبالصناعات واحد لان العلم كذا وجوده في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا
 وحقيقة الايمان بلن يخرج من وجوده كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا
 جعل الوجود في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا
 فالحق هو العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا

٥٨

٥٨

ذاتية في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا
 للثمة واستند بها فموجود من حيث حقيقته والا فموجود من حيث حقيقته والا فموجود من حيث حقيقته
 بتجربة في القول فان كانت جاهل ان قلت نعم فليؤم من هنذا الا ان تكون خلقية
 العالم قبل خلقه تعالى ويلزم من هنذا ايضا نسبة العمل الى الدنيا في نفسنا كذا
 واضلا فالذكر والذكر في حقه سبحانه وتعالى كما هو المثل في الدنيا منة مما يتولد
 الضالمة على كبرياء النور في العالم معلوم عند كل احد من الملائكة والانس
 والعاقلات في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا
 وتحقق في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا
 كما ليس اذا منه ماء اليه في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا
 للمائية في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا
 لا شريك له في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا
 كما عضا يلم مطبوعه لو وكل من حيث الامور باشتهاه الروح في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا
 شياء الاباشتهاه الروح لا تكلمها تفعل شيئا الاباشتهاه الروح في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا
 عابدة لذاتك في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا
 حيث الباطن لا في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا
 نفسا في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا
 كذا في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا
 والمعبر منه من حيث الامور منه والمعبر منه من حيث الامور منه والمعبر منه من حيث الامور منه
 شئ في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا
 ويلتزم في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا
 فهو علم في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا مستقر فان ادعيت بان يوجد في العلم كذا

[b]

(١٥٦)

لهذه الكلمات ثم يسألنا الطوطى الى الله سبحانه الكيفية فيجب ان يجيب السائل
 ان يشيخ او لا ينبغي وجوده ووجوده غير العلم فلهذا ينبغي وجوده ووجوده غير العلم
 يحصل له من نفي وجوده ووجوده غير العلم ووجوده ووجوده غير العلم فانما يتم
 من علم النفي من علم النفي فيحصل له الفناء في الله والبقاء به كمثل فرائض اذ لا ينبغي
 ووجهه في السراج واحترق فنتقنه علمه صلوا الفرائض سراجا مصادره على قول
 واحتمل لا نفي قبل روي وكان من السراج محجوب فلما روي روجه بالسراج انقل
 وصار له واحتمل ذلك السائل قبل وجوده ووجوده غير الله هو محجوب فلما
 نفي وجوده ووجوده غير الله هو محجوب فلما نفي وجوده ووجوده غير الله انقل وصار
 به واحتمل الطريقة الى الله كثيرة لقوله بعض العارفين الطريقة الى الله بعدة انقاس
 الخوازيق ولكن اقربها الى الله واعلمها واصولها الى المطالب هذا فنزلت السائل
 لذات العلم تعالى مع عدم التثاقه الي الغيرو والغيرية لعل هذا سبيل اذ عوا
 اليه الدعوى في جبره لانا ومن التبعية و كبحان الله وما انا
 من المشركين وكان قلبي بين اصعبين من اصابع
 الرحمن وتلقينها كيف يشاء وحلي الله
 على كيمدنا محمود الم وصحبه
 و سلم تسليمها كثيرا والله
 اعلم

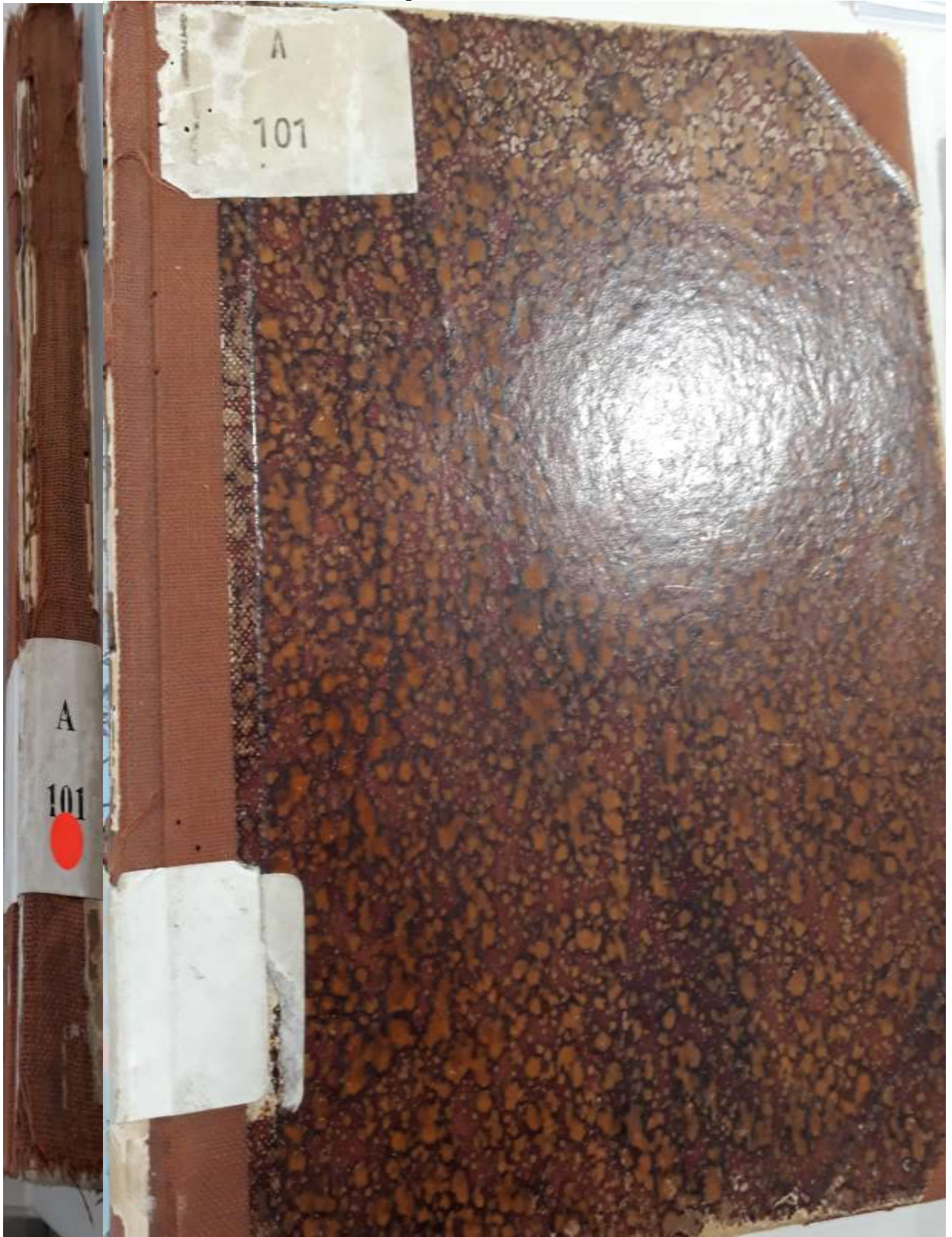
١١٨٤

(١٥٧)

APPENDICES

The following is only a picture of the cover of Manuscript A 101, because there was a request from the staff of the National Library in Jakarta not to take pictures of the text.

Image No. 31



APPENDICES

Appendix III

Number 3

MAṬĀLIB AL-SĀLIKĪN [THE QUESTS OF THE SPIRITUAL SEEKERS]

Translated By Prof. Suleman Essop Danggor

In the name of Allah the Beneficent the Merciful, whose help we seek. Praise be to Allah who protects the hearts of the sincere [servants] from the entrance of others¹ and makes their hearts an object in which lights are manifested. May Allah bless and grant peace to the one who is the fountainhead of generosity and kindness and secrets, Muḥammad and his family and his companions, the chosen ones [akhyār].

Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj [may Allah grant him complete success and make him among the people of verification] said “I acquired this treatise named مطالب السالكين لمن قصد رب العالمين from our master, the saint [walī], gnostic with Allah [ārif billah], master of his age, and axis [qutb]² of his time, the noble master `Abd al-Karīm al-Naqshbandī al-Lāhorī [may Allah sanctify his soul and illuminate his grave and may we benefit from him]”.

We have also related it from him [may Allah be pleased with him] - that is this, know oh my brother [may Allah grant you and us success as He likes and as it pleases Him] - that there are three things that are necessary for you [to know]: *tawḥīd*, *ma`rifa* and *`ibāda*. *Tawḥīd* [oneness] is like a tree, *ma`rifa* [gnosis] is like the branches and leaves and *`ibāda* [worship] is like fruit. If you find a tree you will find branches and leaves, and if you find branches and leaves, you hope [or expect] to be granted fruit by means of this tree. [However] if you do not find³ branches and leaves in this tree you will not find fruit under any circumstances. This is a metaphorical example.

We say that if you understand the real and true example [meaning that] if you attain the stage of *tawḥīd*, you will attain *ma`rifa*, and if you attain *ma`rifa*, you will attain *`ibāda*. One who does not declare the unity of Allah [*waḥdāniyya*], is a disbeliever. One who does not know about *ma`rifa* is ignorant. The worship of an ignorant person reverts to him. *Tawḥīd* is of two types.

The first *tawḥīd* is *waḥdat al-wujūd*⁴ just as the accomplished devout⁵ Sufis propound⁶ that there is no existence in the unseen and visible in form, meaning in the external and internal, except the One Being and One Essence and One Reality. For example, your organs are separate but subsist in you and you subsist in them in that manner, except that it is in the soul. Hence, there are things which subsist with Allah and Allah subsists with His Essence. With respect to things subsisting with Allah, it is like the subsistence of the body with the soul. Hence, the human being [comprising] the body and the soul is called a human being, not a soul only or body only, but entirely.

In the same manner, الله is called الله on account of containing the Essence and Attributes. الله has three letters ه ل ا. The ا is a symbolic expression of His Absolute Essence [*aḥadiyya*], the ل to His Supreme Self [*hawīyya*] and He is One in Essence [*Dhāt*] and One in Attributes [*Ṣifāt*]. His Attributes are His Perfections such as Knowledge, Hearing, Sight and Power and Attributes other than those. The Divine Attributes subsist in each Divine Name and they subsist in all things, as it was [earlier] established that things subsist in them. He subsists with His Essence as we have already mentioned.

The body subsists with the soul and the soul subsists with its essence. So the existence of the body cannot be conceived except [by understanding] that the soul subsists with all its organs just as blood exists in the body and [it] is a living organism, otherwise his life cannot be conceived. Likewise, Allah subsists in everything and if Allah is not to be found in everything, that is because He is not bound by place and time and from whatever is not suited to His Essence, just as blood does not remain in any single organ but is present in all organs. Likewise, Allah does not remain fixed in one place but He subsists in everything.

¹ because others cannot have true existence

² lit., pole; a person of extremely high spiritual level who acts as administrator in the spiritual hierarchy of the world; human conduit of spiritual power from Allah, through whom it is distributed in the world.

³ There is an error in the text here. It should read لا تجد

⁴ The Oneness of Being

⁵ I believe that there is an error in the text here. The active participle should have been متدين

⁶ The على is redundant here

APPENDICES

When you seek the subsistence of everything in Allah then do not imagine [anything] except that He subsists in everything and this is the meaning of the words of our master `Ali [may Allah be pleased with him] "I did not see anything except I saw Allah in it."⁷ O my brother, do you see anything outside of His Eternal Knowledge? If you say "certainly", then you are ignorant because⁸ the product is not conceived before the producer has knowledge of it. If you say "yes" then this is the location where it is inconceivable for any person of intellect, such as the writer, that the script should not be conceived⁹ by him after he has knowledge of what he will be writing. Likewise, Allah brought into being the world from the unseen to the seen after things were already subsisting in His Eternal Knowledge cognitively.

The meaning of His words verily We commanded¹⁰ "if We have willed, We but say the word `Be' and it is"¹¹ [demonstrates] that things were present in the Eternal Knowledge in the unseen world. He commanded the coming about from the unseen to the seen, then it appeared in the visible [world] as it was in the unseen [world]. If He decreed it to answer to His command to be visible, it will respond to [the command] "be and it is" because things are [embedded] in knowledge and His Knowledge is His Attributes and Attributes and Essence are one. Separation of the Attributes from the Essence cannot be imagined; the separation of the body from the soul before death cannot be imagined. Likewise, the separation of butter from milk or milk from butter before curdling cannot be imagined. This is the meaning of His [may He be Exalted] words "and Allah encompasses all things".¹² Milk is present in cream, and cream is present in milk and they are in reality one thing. Likewise, things subsist in Allah and Allah subsists in everything.

When Allah was in [the phase of] pre-eternity, there was nothing with Him and He was in eternity just as He was in pre-eternity, hence the meaning of their words "the cognitive knowledge [*ma`lūmāt*] does not emanate from [the emanation of] the fragrance of external existence and it will never emanate". This image is transmitted from the original images in the Eternal True Knowledge and this transmission occurs at the time of the letters emanating from you, not from the direction of the original letters, which¹³ remain fixed in that regard.

Your existence is established from the true origin though every established [person or thing] does not in reality exist. You are non-existent [*adam*]. You have no share in existence because you are characterised as non-existent. If you are described as existent, because existence is other than the existence of Allah, then you are participating in the register of *shirk*¹⁴ which is a great outrage. So have trust in Allah who is One in Essence and One in Attributes because as long as His existence is owing to other than Him then His existence is for others, not for Himself. So know that.

The reality of faith is to emerge from your metaphorical existence to your essential non-existence because Allah has made essential non-existence a mirror to His Essence and manifestation [*tajallī*]¹⁵ to him with His Perfect Essence, all of them passing from him into complete annihilation [*fanā*].¹⁶ If you progress to non-existence you become a mirror to Him and the Reality [*al-Ḥaqq*] will witness His Essence in you. He is a witness with respect to witnessing His Essence¹⁷ in this mirror, and He is the witnessed with respect to Him being seen in this mirror.

Whoever understands this matter and believes firmly in it, is a true believer who asserts the Unity of Allah [*muwahhid*].¹⁸ If not, he is metaphorically a true disbeliever because he is a believer in reality. As for our saying that you are an ignorant person, if you say 'certainly', pertaining to this it is now inescapable that the creation of the world was not¹⁹ before it was in His Knowledge [may He be Exalted]. It is also inescapable from this with respect to ignorance of Allah the Exalted that it is

⁷ I was unable to find this saying in the sources.

⁸ I think there is an error in the text. It should not read لان ام but لان.

⁹ There is an error in the text here. The verb should be in the feminine gender.

¹⁰ These words in the text do not form part of the verse.

¹¹ Qur'an 16:40

¹² Qur'an 4:126

¹³ There is an error in the text here. The verb should be تكون.

¹⁴ This is opposite of أهل الديوان the people of the register [of the saints].

¹⁵ Allah's unveiling of Himself to His creatures

¹⁶ the passing of the individual self into universal Being

¹⁷ The word ذاته has been repeated here and is redundant.

¹⁸ One who sees the Divine Unite in everything.

¹⁹ The ن in the text is redundant here.

APPENDICES

disbelief and misguidance and disbelief and misguidance with respect to Him [Glorious and Exalted is He] is unthinkable. He [Glorious and Exalted is He] is high above what the transgressors say²⁰.

Verily the second *tawhīd* is well-known to every Muslim specifically and generally and that is "Allah is One, Allah is Self-Subsisting, He does not beget nor is He begotten, there is no one comparable to Him",²¹ yes.

So understand and confirm [that].

Gnosis [*ma`rifā*] is to know that every beginning²² is from Him and the return is to Him, so return to Him exactly with whatever cut you off from Him, just like the sea when the water flows²³ from it to the river and it returns to the sea eventually the way it was. The water does not change from its reality as water.

`lbāda means to submit to His *waḥdat al-wujūd* that there is no existence apart from Him; He is One; He has no partner in existence. The linguistic meaning of *`ubūdiyya*²⁴ is obedience of something to something else just as your organs are obedient to your soul. In connection with the matter regarding the desire of the soul, it is because you do not do anything except through the desire of the soul²⁵. Ostensibly, your organs worship your essence and your essence is the object of devotion. The essence is the worshipper with respect to the manifest [*zāhir*] and the object of worship with respect to the hidden [*bāṭin*]²⁶ because the command is from him and to him.

If your existence and the existence of other than Allah is concealed and you know yourself and other than Allah, all that is non-existence and you will not see anything but Him and you will not witness anything but Him and nothing with remain²⁷ except Him. "Not for you [but for Allah] is the decision".²⁸ So He becomes a devotee [*`ābid*] from the perspective of the Divine Command being from Him and the object of devotion [*ma`būd*] from the perspective of the Divine Command [emanating] from Him. And He is an object of worship from the perspective of the Divine Command [*amr*] returning to Him.

"Everything will perish but He [His Face]. His is the judgement, and to Him you will be brought back"²⁹

"All that is on it [earth] will perish but the Face of your Lord will abide forever, full of Majesty and Honour."³⁰

One who knows the reality of *tawhīd*, *ma`rifā* and *`ubūdiyya* is an *`ārif*, *muwaḥḥid* and *muṭī`* [obedient], if not then he is nothing. Whoever desires a [spiritual] path to Allah let him first understand these words, then he can follow the path to Allah through this method. It is incumbent on³¹ the spiritual seeker firstly to commence with denying his existence and the existence of other than Allah through cognizance. Once he has denied his existence and the existence of other than Allah cognitively, he will attain, by denying his existence and the existence of other than Allah cognitively,³² his existence and the existence other than him through personal revelation.

Then he passes from this negation pertaining to the knowledge of negation and he attains complete annihilation in Allah and subsistence [*baqā`*]³³ with Him like the moth, if his soul is content to be in a flame and it is burnt we do not³⁴ say that the moth became a flame or that he became non-existent. Rather we say it is now one [substance] because before its soul was cast [into the flame], it was

²⁰ This is based on Quran 17:43 [Glory to Him! He is highly exalted above what they say!]

²¹ Qur'an 112.

²² There is an error in the text here. The verb should be مبدأ.

²³ I think the verb يسيل is missing in the text here.

²⁴ Servitude of the 'self' or individual consciousness by means of fulfilling its specific function and purpose of creation.

²⁵ This phrase "you do not do anythingdesire of the soul" is repeated here.

²⁶ The unperceivable reality within the perceivable manifestation

²⁷ The verb used in the present tense here is from the root *baqā`* meaning the state of "subsistence"; continuing awareness through Allah.

²⁸ Qur'an 3:128

²⁹ Qur'an 28:88

³⁰ Qur'an 55:26-27

³¹ There is an error in the text here. The preposition علي should come after the verb.

³² This is superfluous.

³³ The state of "subsistence"; continuing awareness through Allah.

³⁴ There is an error here. It should been a negative particle لا and not an interrogative particle هل.

APPENDICES

veiled [*mahjūb*] from the flame. When it cast its soul into the flame, it combined [with it] and became one with it.

Likewise, the spiritual seeker, before his existence and the existence of other than Allah, is veiled. When his existence and the existence of other than Allah is denied, it is veiled. And when his existence and the existence of other than Allah is denied, it becomes combined and becomes one with it. There are many paths to Allah as one of the gnostics said³⁵ “the path to Allah are as numerous as the souls of all created beings but the nearest among them to Allah and the highest among them and those with the closest connection among them to the quests is that³⁶ spiritual seeker of the Essence of Allah the Exalted who is inattentive to the other and otherness.

“Say³⁷ : this is my Way – I do invite you to Allah with certain knowledge, I and those who follow me. Glory be to Allah! And I will never join partners with Allah”³⁸

My pen was between two fingers from among the Fingers of the Merciful Who changed it as He pleased. May abundant blessings and peace of Allah be upon Muḥammad, his family and his Companions.

Allah knows best.

1186.

³⁵ The attached pronoun ۙ is redundant here.

³⁶ The demonstrative pronoun هَذَا is redundant here.

³⁷ There is an error in the text here. The verse starts with قل and not with هل.

³⁸ Qur’an 12:108

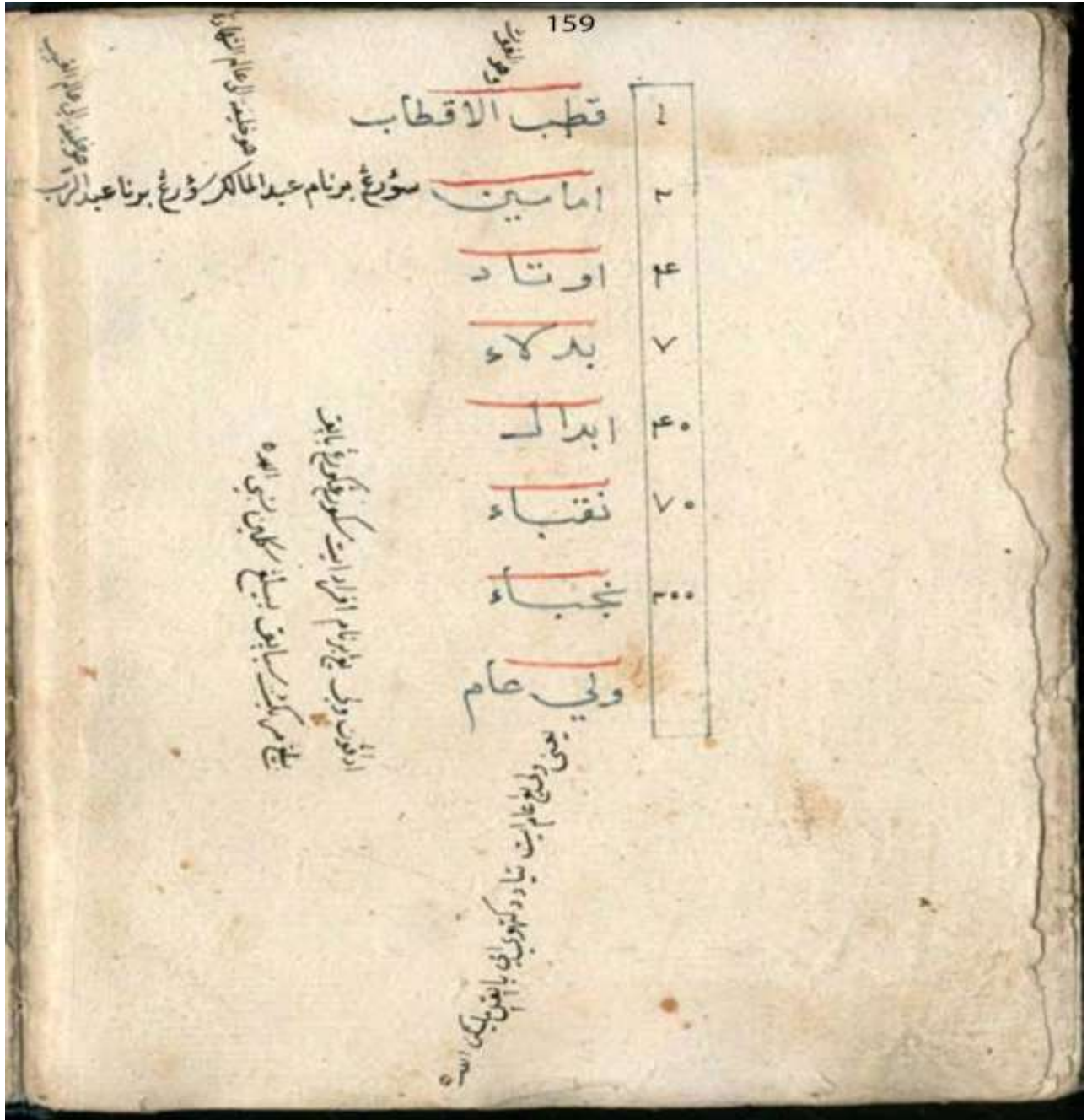
APPENDICES

Appendix III

Number 4

Image No. 32

Image Regarding the Structure of Allāh's Saints from Top to the Button in Or 7025



Notes: Above *walī qūṭb* [*al-Aqṭāb*] there is a writing *wa huwa al-Ghawst*, meaning that the head of *walī qūṭb* is *qūṭb al-Ghawst*. According to A. Ridwan Tahir that both *qūṭb al-Ghawst* and *qūṭb al-Rabbānī* are in the same position. Secondly is *imamayn* (2 *imām*) as representatives of *walī qūṭb*. Besides this there is a writing states a man whose name 'Abd al-Mālik (who has an attribute of Allāh as al-Mālik) as a caliph of *walī qūṭbs* in '*alam al-shahāda* (in a real nature); and another one whose name 'Abd al-Rabb (who has the attribute of *Rububiyya* of Allāh) as a caliph of *walī qūṭbs* in '*alam al-ghayb* (the hidden nature). Thirdly is *bidalā*'; fourthly is *Abdāl*'; fifthly is *Nuqabā*'; sixthly is *Nujabā*' and the last is *walī ʿām*. Then at the button under *walī ʿām*, there is writing states that no one knows their amount since so much except Allah. Then there is a long writing in front of it states that as for the number of *walī afrād* is as many as the number of Prophets sent by Allāh, despite the *walī afrād* is not mentioned in this hierarchy. (A. Ridwan Tahir, personal communication on 10th of May 2019).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX IV

SOME IMAGES REGARDING THE VARIOUS TEXTS & EVENTS OF CHAPTER FIVE

Part A

Images Nos. 33a-b

Silsila Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya & Khalwatiyya Yūsuf

From the Earliest to the Most Recent

- Allāh Azza wa Jalla wa 'Alā;
- Gabriel AS.;
- 1. Al-Muṣṭafa Rasūl Allāh SAW.;
- 2. Al-Imān 'Alī KW.;
- 3. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī;
- 4. Ḥabīb al-'Ajamī.;
- 5. Dāwūd al-Ṭāṭ.;
- 6. Abū Maḥfuẓ Ma'rūf al-Karkhī;
- 7. Sarī al-Saqṭī
- 8. Junayd al-Baghdādī;
- 9. Mumshād al-Daynūrī;
- 10. Abū Aḥmad Aswad al-Daynūrī;
- 11. Muḥammad bin 'Abd Allāh al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī al-Suhrawardī;
- 12. Wajiyat al-Dīn 'Umar bin 'Abd Allāh al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī al-Suhrawardī;
- 13. Abū al-Najīb 'Abd al-Qāhir bin 'Abd Allāh al-Bakrī al-Shiddīqī al-Suhrawardī;
- 14. Muḥammad al-Abḥārī;
- 15. Rukn al-Dīn al-Sinjāsī;
- 16. Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tibrīzī;
- 17. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tibrīzī;
- 18. Ibrāhīm al-Zāhid al-Jīlānī
- 19. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Shirwānī;
- 20. - Afandī Dādah 'Umar al-Khalwatī;
- Afandī Ṣawra al-Dīn bin 'Umar al-Rūmī al-'Ibdīnī al-Khalwatī.
- 21. Aḥmad Yaḥya al-Shirwānī;
- 22. 'Abd Allāh Afandī Zubayr al-Arkazānī bin 'Umar al-Rūmī;
- 23. Muḥammad al-Aqṣarāṭ 'Abd Allāh al-Qarnī;
- 24. Uwāis al-Qarnī al-Thānī al-Rūmī;
- 25. Shāms al-Dīn al-Rūmī;
- 26. Darwīsh al-Rūmī;
- 27. 'Abū Yūsuf Ya'qub al-'Antābī
- 28. Aḥmad al-Rūmī;
- 29. Al-Ḥalabī al-'Ajamī;
- 30. Aḥmad bin 'Umar al-Harīrī al-Shāmī;
- 31. Abū al-Barakāt Ayyūb bin Aḥmad bin Ayyūb al-Khalwatī al-Quraishī;
- 32. Abū al-Maḥāsīn Muḥammad Yūsuf Ṭāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqassarī;
- 33. Abū al-Faṭḥ Abd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīr al-Khalwatī al-Raffānī;
- 34. Jami' al-Dīn bin Ṭālib al-Tīmī al-Khalwatī;
- 35. Abū Sa'ād al-Faḍīl al-Khalwatī al-Maqassarī
- 35. -'Abd al-Majīd Nūr al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd Allāh - S. 'Abd al-Gaffār Walī al-Dīn al-Saqāf
- 36. Muḥammad Jaylānī bin Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Khalwatī;
- 36. S. Muḥammad 'Abd. Wāḥid ibn 'Abd Gaffār Walī al-Dīn al- Saqāf al-Maqassarī al-Khalwatī

APPENDICES

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 37. Muḥammad al-Imām bin Muḥammad Jaylānī | 37. S. Muḥammad Zayn al-Dīn bin Sh. 'Abd al-Gaffār Walī al-Dīn al-Saqāf; | |
| 38. Muḥammad al-Maḥāsin bin Muḥammad al-Imām | 38. S. 'Abd al-Qadīr al-Saqāf | 38.S. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Saqāf |
| 39. Muḥammad Multazam bin Muḥammad al-Maḥāsin | 39. S. 'Abd Raḥmān al-Saqāf | 39. S. Al-Ḥasan al-Saqāf |
| 40. Muḥammad al-Amīn bin Muḥammad Multazam | 40. S. Badī al-Samawāt al-Saqāf | 40.S. Ibn Ḥajar al-Saqāf |
| 41. Muḥammad Nūr bin Muḥammad al-Amīn | 41. S.'Abd. al-Raḥīm b. Ṭālib 'Alī b. 'Abd Raḥman al-Saqāf | 41.S. 'Abd Mālik al-Saqāf |
| 42. Muḥammad Sultān Bayt Allāh al-Maqassarī | 42.S. Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Ṭālib 'Alī b. 'Abd Raḥman al-Saqāf | 42.S. Jamāl ad-Dīn b. S Aḥmad Ḥambalī al-Saqāf |
| 43. Nūr al-Şūfī al- Maqassarī | 43.S. 'Abd Muṭṭalib b. S 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Saqāf | 43. S. 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. S. Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Saqāf |
| 44. Şāḥīb al-Khayr Şultān al-Maḥāsin bin Muḥammad Sultān Bayt Allāh | 44.a. S. Sirāj al-Dīn
b.S. Maḥmūd al-Saqāf | |
| 45. a..... | b. S. Ḥasan al-Dīn
b. S. 'Abd Muṭṭalib al-Saqāf | |
| b..... | c. S. Muḥammad Rijal b. S. 'Abd Muṭṭalib al-Saqāf | |
| c..... | | |
| d..... | | |
| 45. Imām Adam bin Yūsuf Philander | | |
| 46. Muḥammad Yūsuf bin Adam Philander | | |

Notes: This *silsila* is based on Sultan (2015: 228-229) and al-Timī (1735: 133-134 & Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn 'Abd al-Gaffār (n.d.: 23-25), see also Hamid (2005: 222-223) and Humam (2013: 85-86)

APPENDICES

Explanation:

The first list above are the holders of *silsila Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* who also taught the *Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī* Order starting from Jami' al-Dīn bin Ṭālib al-Tīmī al-Khalwatī al-Maqassarī, most notably Sh. K.H. Sahib Sultan (a *murshid* from Gowa and the ninth generation of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī)

The following images Nos. 34-40 will illustrate:

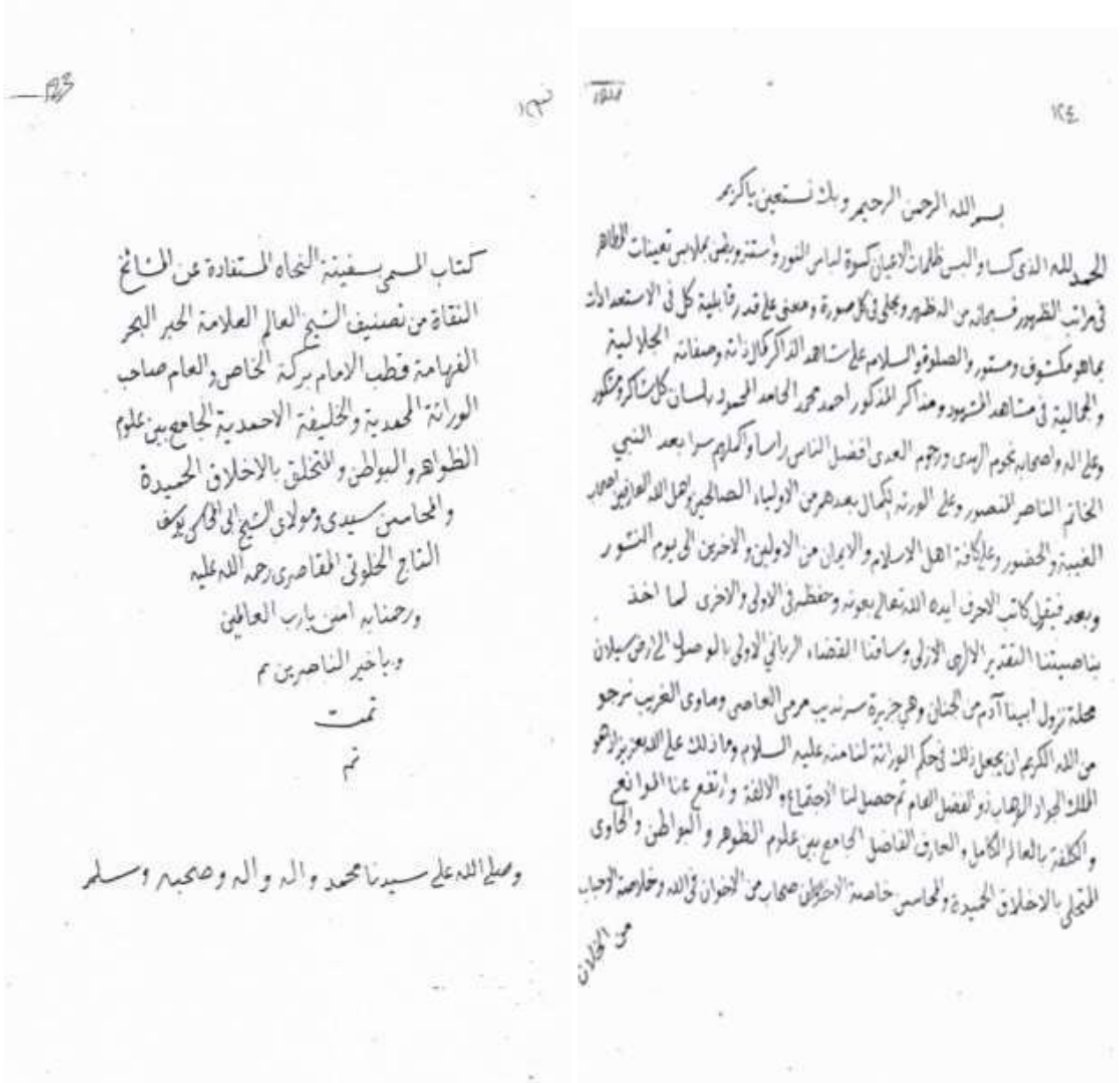
The Holders of *Silsila Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* in South Sulawesi to Cape Town South Africa

	AGH. Sh. K.H. Sahib Sultan Krg. Nompo (Gowa)		AGH. Sh. H.S. S. Sirāj al-Dīn b. Sh. Mahmūd al-Saqāf Puang Liwang (Maros)
	AGH. Sh. KH. 'Abd Rahīm Rahīm al-Saqāf Puang Makka (Makassar)		Image No. 190: AGH. Sh. K.H. Ḥasan al-Dīn Puang Tunru (Maros)
	AGH. Sh. KH. Muḥammad Rijal al-Saqāf Puang Ngawing (Maros)		
	Imām Adam Philander (Cape Town)		Muhammad Yūsuf Philander (Cape Town)

To view the complete *five silsila ṭarāiq* of Shaykh Yūsuf see the copy of al-Tīmī (1735: 123-138 and Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wāhid ibn ‘Abd al-Gaffār (n.d): 23-25) from Shaykh Yūsuf works *Safīnat al-Najāh* and another one.

Images Nos. 41a-o

Safīnat al-Najāh and Some Complimentary Texts



[a-b]

١٥٥	١٥٦
<p>من الخلق بالله زبدة الالباب السعفي عن الاضباب اعني بذلك مولاي اعني بذلك الشيخ ابا المعالي ابراهيم بن معجاني ^١ الله تعالى توضح الكمال وحقيفة تحقيق الومالي ثم التزم من العبد الفقيه والملوك المحقير ^٢ مؤمنما حتى لا ينقطع عنا صورة ومعنى والقصد بذلك الارتباط بنفق الذكر وليس الخزينة و احد العبد بالمبايعة والدخول في طيغ السادة الصوفية العظام وسلوك الشانخ الصيفية الاعلام ^٣ استخفر الله واولاده الا الله عز وجل ما كنت اخلو ذلك ولا من رجالها هناك وانما انا متطفل على عمل الالكلي واللوائد و في هذه المسارب والفوائد والسبب في ذلك ^٤ بولطن على اني من ذوي اليبسمن والصحة العظيمة واعرف ^٥ انه ذلك مني كان من ^٦ السقيم والمرض القديم لرسال الله الغفور العافية في الاولى والاخرى ثم طار اياته انه صادق في ^٧ ويخلص في قلبه تذكرت في بعض شئ مما وصاني به مشاخي من اهل الكمال والتكميل والوصول و الوصول من العارفين بالله تعالى بعد اخذ منيهم في جميع امور الطريق بتوفيق الله وبه وذلك قولهم لي اجزئك واذنت لك بان تلقى الذكر وتلبس الخزينة وتعطي العبد بالمبايعة وتدخل في الطريق كل من اراد ذلك كله منك وطلب ان ياتهم انهم قاتلون وسعدون وصادقون ومخلصون طلبهم ذلك كله ولا تحبب ذلك بالشرط المذكور فان الذي يكون عبده هاداه العبد في عن غيرهم ولا تعطوا الحكم غير اهلها فتظلمهم ولا تمنعوا عما اهلها فتظلمهم هكذا كان في الحديث</p>	<p>١) عنه ابا بحيث لا يكون في حوطك وخيالك سوى رسوم صورته المباركة فان المراد ٢) على قدر اعتقاده ومحبتة في سبحة واحترامه اياه و اربه معه و احتشاله بالوفاء لامن ٣) في طلبه والخاصه في قلبه وصفاة في سره معه و ايتا لا على غيره يحيى اليه الغرض ٤) والسر الرباني يحصل له اعلى المقام وانفس الرام من سيد الانام في الورثة عليه ٥) والسلام فلن الشيخ بار سعادة المرید ومفتاح فلاحه و يجب على المرید ان يعتقد ٦) الشيخ خليفة رسول الله كما ان رسول الله خليفة الله عز وجل الخليفة صورة للختلف ٧) للختلف مع الخليفة وصورة الشئ لظاهره ومعناه باطنه و ظاهر الشئ و ٨) شئ واحد لا غيره الا باعتبار التوفيق فقط فاخبرهم بذلك وتامل ترشدان ما قاله ٩) والعاقل تكفيه الاشارة هذا والسلام وقد اتفق اهل الله السادة الزعام و العارفون العظام اهل الكشف والوجود والاضطلاع والشهود ان يقولوا ان مبايعة الشيخ والاطاعة له هو مبايعة الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم على الحقيقة ونص الله تعالى في مبايعة الرسول والاطاعة له هو مبايعة الله والاطاعة له تعالى ١٠) ان الذين يباعدونك انما يباعدون الله يد الله فوق ايديهم ومن يطع الرسول فقد اطاع الله فما مبايعة الشيخ على الحقيقة هو مبايعة الله ورسوله والاطاعة على ١١) الحقيقة هو الاطاعة لله ورسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم كما ان العصيان على الحقيقة هو العصيان</p>
١- اعطاه	١- تغفل
٢- اعطاه	٢- ان
٣- اعطاه	٣- ان
٤- اعطاه	٤- وباطن

١٢٧

فح لا يعنى مخالفة ما ثبت في ذلك ان الخبر هو موثوق فثبت الذكرى السن الحقة
 واخذت عليه العهود بالبيعة بالخطبة الطريق بسط اهله باذن الله و ارادته (١)
 ولا يتوفيق ثم طلب ايضا بان كثر له ما يسر من سلاسل التامخ متاخنا من نوع (٢)
 المتصلة الى النبي الكريم والرسول العظيم صلى الله عليه وسلم فآثر لها في صورته رسالة (٣)
 بها يبتكر باسماء متاخنا المذكورة فيها في بعض اوقانه ان شاء الله تعالى وسبب هذه الرسالة
 بسببته النجاة المستفاد من التامخ النفاذ وقلت وبالله التوفيق وبسببه ملكوت (٤)
 وهي هذه غير ان يجب على كل كتابه السلاسل العهوية بذكر شئ مما فيه اعدائه (٥)
 واستفاد منهم وسلكنا عليه بعون الله تعالى ليكون ذلك تشبيها على سالك الطريق (٦)
 الله سبحانه بالتحقيق وهو (٧) اعلم ايها القبيل القابل والسالك الكامل ان كنت عبدا
 للامر الالهي وعلما بالحكم الرباني في قوله تعالى يا ايها الذين امنوا اتقوا الله وابتغوا اليه
 الوسيلة وجاهدوا في سبيله لعلكم تفلحون واما كما يريد اللغوي والنجاح من هذا (٨)
 الغائي وراعيها في الوصول الى عالم البقاء والوحدة الصمدية فانق الله تعالى (٩)
 حتى لا يسجل الى سبي من عالم الكفر المحيية والظلمات الغيرانية بعد استغناء الرسول بنج
 الكامل الصالح والعارف الواصل الناصح وبعد مبايعة وانتخاذه هاديا ومرسما
 الى الله سبحانه خفية قيادك (١٠) الحالات ولا تكن مع نفسك ولا
 تغفل

- (١) - وهو
- (٢) - (٥)
- (٣) - (٦)
- (٤) - (٧) هكنا
- (٥) - (٨) مملوكا
- (٦) - (٩)
- (٧) - (١٠)
- (٨) - (١١)

١٢٨

هو العصيان مع الله ورسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم من حيث ان الشيخ كان قائما بمظهرية الله
 وجل من حيث الارادة والنية والريادة بل ولا يعترض عليه فان الاعتراض كان يوجب (١)
 في الآخرة وبناتقض الارادة والتعليم فلذلك قالوا ان من اتبع افعال المرشد مع الشيخ (٢)
 عليه كيف لا يكون كذلك فهو مضى حقه ولا ياتي منه بخير اذ لو قد قال بعضهم ان الاعتراض
 التامخ يورث سوء الخاتمة نعم وهو كذلك قد سوه ذلك وما يجب على الزيد ان يكون (٣)
 والشيخ مع الله وقال بعض متاخنا فاقل ما يكون من افعال المرشد مع الشيخ ان يعتبر في (٤)
 مع الخضر عليه السلام حتى قال صلى الله عليه وسلم يا ليت لصبر موسى حتى (٥) من العيال
 كما قال ويجب عليه ايضا ان يحفظ العهد الذي قد عهده مع الشيخ ولا ينقضه اذ (٦)
 حفظ العهد مع علي الحقيقة انما هو حفظ العهد مع الله عز وجل ورسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم وان
 نقض العهد مع علي الحقيقة انما هو نقض العهد مع الله تعالى ورسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم وقد (٧)
 الذين ينقضون العهد في قوله والذين ينقضون عهد الله من بعد ميثاقه ويقطعون مما
 الله به ان يوصلهم يغتربوا في الارض وللك لرحم اللعنة والارساء الذي اودع هؤلاء و
 صدقوا ما عاهدوا ان ينزلوا من الهمس رجال صدقوا ما عاهدوا الله منهم من قضى نحبه
 ومنهم من ينتظر لا بد له من عذابا فما حصل ان القصد بالذات لا بد للمرشد انه لازم عليه
 بعد مبايعة الشيخ ان يرضى الحقوق الشرعية ويعمل قلبه في الخير فاما ما خالفه من الال
 والذين

- (١) - عمر
- (٢) - (٥) حادثة موسى
- (٣) - (٦) انتقله
- (٤) - (٧) لان
- (٥) - (٩) امر
- (٦) - (١٠) من ينظره
- (٧) - (١١) وما به لولا

١) مجموع قوله الغمام الكرم واولادكم فتنة والى مراتب النبوية والدرجات
 ٢) بل وتخرج منه ايضا كل العروق وجميع العلائق المزمومة بالانحة من ظهور
 ٣) وحدة الصفة ويتوجه بسره الى التوجه الكلي والعزيمة الكمية دون
 ٤) خاطر ولا انحاز الى الاطراف لفرقة المجعية الحقيقية الموجبة للسعادة الكبرى والبر
 استغراقها بالهول اوفانه الى ان يلغى الغاية القصوى والمكانة الرفيعة
 ٥) ووقع في الجمع والعين استغنى عليه انوار تجليات الاسماء
 ٦) واستوت عليه شمس الوحدة الحقيقية والذات باتباع اليقين فالطريق الموحى
 والسلوك الاحمدى هو الانقطاع الكلي الكلي الى الله تعالى والفرار اليه من الغير
 ٧) من الاولياء سلكو على هذا الطريق والذم من افعال الله الالهية المحمودة الاصحها
 وصلوا الى هذا التحقيق فكن في اثرهم سعدان شاء الله تعالى بتوفيقه وبعبارة قال الله تعالى
 هذه سبيل ادعوا الى الله على بصيرة لئلا تكونوا من الضالين ومن يلعب الله
 ٨) فالولئك مع الذين انعم الله عليهم من النبيين والصديقين والشهداء والصالحين وحدهم
 رفقا والله يقول الحق وهو يهدي السبيل اللهم اجعلنا منهم وارزقنا عقابهم وخيرنا
 ٩) وصيرنا باقل خدمهم لتكون عهدهم يوم القسمة قادمين عليهم وولم يسلن البلاد
 فانك رب علم غفور حلهم جواد كريم رؤوف رحيم بحق عبدك ونبيك ورسولك محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم

فالان ان اوان الشروع في القصد واوله الا الله الملك المعبود قال
 على الله عنده وايد بهونه ان اخذت طريق السادة الصوفية وسلوك المشايخ
 بتوفيق الله تكامل من غير واحد من مشايخ الطرق قدس الله اسرارهم لطريق السادة
 والمشايخ الخلوئية المشايخ النفسانية والمشايخ الشطاربية والمشايخ
 الدسوقية والمشايخ التاذلية والمشايخ المجتمعية والمشايخ الرفاعية والمشايخ
 العبدية والمشايخ الاحدية والمشايخ السهروردية والمشايخ
 والمشايخ الكبرونية والمشايخ الداريزية والمشايخ الخدمية والسادة
 والمشايخ الدينية والمشايخ الكوامية والمشايخ السادة الامن العربية
 الله اسرارهم ونفعنا بهم امين ولكن ما تيسر كتابتها وترتيبها كما لا يعون الله تعالى
 في هذه الرسالة الاخص سلاسل المتصلة الى التسع صلح الله عليهم وسلم فالاول من سلسلة
 السادة المشايخ القادرية وسلسلة السادة المشايخ الخلوئية وسلسلة السادة
 النفسانية وسلسلة السادة الشطاربية وسلسلة السادة الباطنية
 اهل البيت

واما سلسلة خلافة السادة القادرية

فاني اخذت من شفي وسندي العالم الفاضل والعارف الكامل الجامع بين علوم الشريعة والحقيقة
 والتحقيق بالعرفان والطريقة سيدي ومولاي الشيخ محمد جيل السهر المذموم بالشيخ نور
 الدين

- (١) - النبيين
- (٢) -
- (٣) -
- (٤) -
- (٥) -
- (٦) -
- (٧) -
- (٨) -
- (٩) -
- (١٠) -
- (١١) -
- (١٢) - خطا للكاتبة والصحيح: اهل

- (١) -
- (٢) -
- (٣) -
- (٤) -
- (٥) - قدس
- (٦) - خطا للكاتبة

١٤٥

١) وهو من ربه سبحانه وتعالى تارة بغير واسطة وتارة بواسطة الروح الامين عليه السلام

٢) واما سلسلة خلافه - المشايخ الخلوئية - السادة: فطهر بن زياد بن سنجي ومرتضى ومرتضى وسندي شيخ المشايخ والعزاد شيخ الفرائد قطب النورثة المحمديين واما الكمل اهل الدعا فان الموارث الخليفة الاجمدي مولانا الشيخ ابى البركات ايوب بن احمد بن ايوب الخلوئي القرطبي

٣) اله مشفى امام مسجد الشيخ محيي الدين بن عربي وخطيبه بالصالحية دمشق

٤) ونور ضريحهما ونقبايهما آئين وهو من شيخه ومرتضى امام الزمان وخطب اهل سيد عصره ورئيس زهره مولانا الشيخ سهيل الحق والدين احمد بن عمر بن علي بن علي الحسيني الحريري الشامي العالي وهو من الشيخ الكبريتاه وقره خلكي السجعي وهو من الشيخ الولي العارف بالله تعالى ابى يوسف يعقوب العسقلاني وهو من الولي العارف بالله تعالى درويش الرومي وهو من الولي العارف بالله تعالى الملقب شمس الدين الرومي من الولي العارف بالله تعالى محمد الانصاري وهو من الولي العارف بالله تعالى الشيخ الازكري وهو من الشيخ الامام الكبير مولانا السيد محمد بن شمس الدين وهو من الشيخ الامام الاكبر مولانا افندي صنور الدين سمرقندي الرومي الاذربيجاني وهو من الشيخ الامام قطب الزمان وهو من اهل الالوان صاحب الطريقة بوشنج القيقق مولانا افندي زده عمر ظهري الرومي

١) - عليه وسلم

٢) - صلى الله

٣) -

٤) -

٥) -

٦) -

٧) -

٨) -

٩) -

١٠) -

١٣٤

١) قدس الله سره ونقبايه وهو من الاستاذ الكبير ابى عبد الله محمد

٢) من الاستاذ الشيخ ابراهيم الزاهد الجلابي وهو من الاستاذ الشيخ جمال

٣) الشيرازي وهو من الاستاذ الملا مشرب الدين احمد الشيرازي وهو

٤) جمال الدين محمد الشيرازي ركن الدين الشيرازي وهو من الاستاذ الشيخ

٥) وهو من الاستاذ الامام قطب الانام مولانا الشيخ ابى العجب ضياء الدين عبد الله بن

٦) الشيرازي الصدفي البكري وهو من الاستاذ الامام شيخه وعلمه مولانا الشيخ

٧) عمر بن محمد بن عبد الله المعروف بصحة الشيرازي الصدفي البكري وهو من الاستاذ

٨) ابى احمد اسود الدينوري وهو من الاستاذ الشيخ محمد بن العلوي الدينوري وهو من

سيد الطائفة المحمدي البغدادي سنده العلوي المتصل الى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم

١) واما طريقه السادة النفسندية قدس اسرارهم: فابي لطف زاهد دخلت فيها من سنجي ومرتضى ومرتضى وسندي مرتضى حايه ومرتضى اهل الالوان قطب الامام ومرتضى الحايه العام سيدنا مولانا الشيخ ابى عبد الله محمد عبد الباقي الشيخ الكبير المرتجاني البغدادي النفسندي نزيل حبيتنا اليمان قدس الله نوره ورتبه ونقبايه آئين وهو من شيخه ومرتضى الامام الشيرازي كل الامام القطب القرطبي وكعبة المزار والقصد سيد زمان وعارف اهل الالوان سيدنا مولانا الشيخ تاج محمد بن زكريا النفسندي

١) -

٢) -

٣) -

٤) -

٥) -

٦) -

٧) -

٨) -

٩) -

١٠) -

العسقلاني

[k-1]

١٣٥

١) نزول مكة المشرفة وهو من الاستاذ الامام الملاحه احمي وهو
 ٢) ملا درويش وهو من حوخته ملا محمد زاهد وهو من الاستاذ حوخته غنيد
 ٣) وهو من الشيخ الاستاذ ابي يوسف بعقوب الخجيري وهو من الامام بركة
 الخاص والعام فخط زمانه ومرشد اهل اوانه لعنة المريدين قبله القسبي
 ٤) حوخته ابي الله محمد نقيب الحسبي السيد السبويه الطبرقة كمال الله
 ٥) وهو من الاستاذ الكبير مولانا السيد مير كلال وهو من الشيخ خجيري ابا محمد
 وهو من الشيخ خجيري عزيز بران علي الراميشي وهو من الشيخ خجيري ابي الفغوي
 وهو من الشيخ خجيري محمد عارف الرئويكري وهو من الشيخ الاستاذ خجيري عبد الخافي المجدولي
 وهو من الشيخ ابي يعقوب يوسف بن ايوب الرهداني وهو من الشيخ الاستاذ علي الغار مندي
 وهو من الشيخ الاستاذ ابي الحسن الخرقاني وهو من الامام الاستاذ الكبير يزيد بن رستم
 البساطي وهو من رحمانية الامام امير المؤمنين خجيري الصادق وهو من حوخته الاخير
 الامام الفاسم بن محمد بن الصديق الاكبر خليفة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ابي بكر الصديق رضي الله
 وهو من الامام تان الفارسي الصمائي وهو مع شرفه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم اخذ
 من الامام امير المؤمنين ابي بكر الصديق رضي الله عنه وهو من صلحيه وكرمه المصطفى رسول
 الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
 ٦) واما الطريقة الشاذلية الشاذلية فكل الامام

١٣٤

١) فاني اخذتها وادخلت بها من شيخنا وكرمتنا العالم العلامة
 ٢) محقق زمانه ومدقق اهل اوانه الجامع بين علوم الحقائق واسرار الشريعة من
 الوراثة المحمدية والحليفة الاحمدية سيدنا ومولانا ميرقان الحق والدين الذي الشيخ ابي
 الحسن بن شهاب الدين الكزويني الكوراني ثم الكندي فتح الله في مدينته وجعلنا من
 آمن وهو من شيخه ومرشده الامام بركة الخاص والعام عارف زمانه وقطب اهل
 الشهرة والشيخ الفسائي ابي محمد بن محمد بن يوسف الفقيه بعد الرسول بن الامام الكبير
 الشهير مولانا الشيخ احمد الدجاني نزيل القدس الشريف وهو من الشيخ الامام العارف
 المحقق المدقق مولانا الشيخ احمد بن علي بن محمد الفقيه العباسي المصري نزيل الديه
 وهو من الامام السيد صغرة الله بن السيد نعمه الله الرندي البروجي ثم الدين هو من
 وخدمه الدين العلوي الامام ابي الكبر ابي وهو من الامام قطب الامام بركة الخاص والعام
 مولانا الشيخ محمد غوث الرندي الكبر ابي صاحب كتاب جواهر الحسن وهو من الشيخ الكبير
 حاج حضور وهو من الشيخ ابي الفتح قدس الله سرته وهو من الشيخ عبد الله
 وهو من الاستاذ فاضل الشطاري وهو من الاستاذ غنيد الدين بن عبد الله الشطاري
 وهو من الشيخ محمد عارف الشطاري وهو من الشيخ محمد عاشق وهو من الشيخ جلال الدين
 خذ اقبلي وهو من الشيخ الاستاذ ابي الحسن الخرقاني وهو من الشيخ ابي المظفر الطبرقي وهو

من ال

- ١) -
- ٢) - من
- ٣) -
- ٤) - خط المكاتب والصحيف
- ٥) -
- ٦) - به آمن

- ١) -
- ٢) -
- ٣) -
- ٤) - اوان
- ٥) -
- ٦) -

١٣٧-١٣٨

١٣٧-١٣٨

من الشيخ يزيد العتيبي وهو من الشيخ محمد المغربي وهو من الشيخ الامام مولانا ابى يزيد
البطاحي وهو من الامام امير المؤمنين جعفر الصادق وهو من والده الامام امير المؤمنين
(١) وهو من والده الامام امير المؤمنين علي زين العابدين وهو من والده
الامام امير المؤمنين الحسين السريدي وهو من والده الامام امير المؤمنين علي ابى
طالب وهو من ابن عمه المطفى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم

واما سلسلة طريقة السادة الباعلوية فقدس الله ارواحهم
فاني اخذتها وليست حرقتهما من سيدي وبركني العلي الصالح العارف والناصح مولانا
السيد علي وهو من والده السيد ابى بكر وهو من والده السيد عبد الله وهو من والده
السيد عمر وهو من والده السيد الشرايف وهو من والده السيد عبد الرحمن وهو من والده
السيد علي وهو من والده السيد عبد الله وهو من والده السيد عمر الخضار وهو من والده السيد
الامام قطب الامام عبد الرحمن الشافعي وهو من والده السيد محمد علي الدوبلتي اولاد الثاني
من عمه الامام القطب الكبير السيد عبد الله الملقب اولاد بالعميد رسول الكبير الحضري وهو من والده
الامام يعقوب الزباني والعارف الصمداني السيد محمد الملقب المقدم صاحب تريم حضر موت
نفعا الله جميعا وهو والده السيد علي وهو من والده السيد علوي وهو من والده السيد محمد
وهو من والده السيد علوي وهو من والده السيد عبد الله وهو من والده الامام السيد
حسن وهو من والده الامام سيدنا علي زين العابدين وهو من والده سيدنا محمد المصطفى
رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وهو من الله عز وجل وعالم

[٥]

Note: The last two lines of the text above are from page 138, but both pages were combined into one page by Sultan

To complete the *silsila* of *Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* in *Safinat al-Najāh*, please see the names of all the masters of *Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* below from Muḥammad ‘Abd Wāḥid ibn ‘Abd al-Gaffār al-Maqāṣṣarī al-Khalwatī in Achjarniss (1931: 23-25), the last copier of *Kitāb Majmu‘a min Mu‘alifāt al-Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī al-Khalwatī*. Most are disciples of Abū al-Faṭḥ ‘Abd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīr al-Khalwatī, who received the instructions and *silsila* directly from Abū al-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf al-Tāj al-Khalwatī (Tudjimah 1997: 111). Based on his writing, it seems that he was the 36th of the holder of the *silsila* parallel with Muḥammad Jaylānī bin Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Tāj al-Khalwatī of the second branch of *Khalwatiyya Yūsuf*. To appreciate his work in completing the names of masters of the *silsila* that were not mentioned by al-Tīmī, therefore I put his name on the 36th line in the *silsila* (see the *silsila* of *Khalwatiyya Yūsuf* and its branches above). Although he was probably a *mufti* of Gowa Kingdom in the reign of the 30th King of Gowa, Sultan ‘Abd al-Ra‘uf (1816-1825), a younger brother of S. Muhammad Zayn al-Dīn bin S. ‘Abd al-Gaffār Walī al-Dīn al-Saqāf or the 37th of the holder of the *silsila* after his father, S. ‘Abd al-Gaffār Walī al-Dīn al-Saqāf. This *mufti* was more popular with the name Daengta Sehe who left an old book containing *ṣūfī* orders teachings, especially *Tarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yūsuf*. However, no matter what his position was as the holder of the *silsila*, either 36th or 37th, since the important fact is that he was an important writer in the Gowa Kingdom of his time, especially in continuing the teaching of Shaykh Yusuf al-Maqassarī after al-Tīmī (For more information, see Sultan 2016:

٢٣	٢٤
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ	
<p>(١) الحمد لله الذي علمنا ما لم نعلم و الصلوة و السلام على والده وصحبه الذين هم افضل الامم و بعد فيقول كاتب الاحرف غبار (٢) الوري محمد عبد الواحد ابن عبد الغفار الفاضل الحلوتي كان الله (٣) الذكر والبنت الحرة الفقيرة الولد الصالح عبد القادر مجتبخ اياه الله الترفع و بسلفه امين ثم امين و انى لفتن الذكر و بسنت الحرة من حضرة سيد روحى و باب منوحى ابن الفتح عبد البصير الضمير الحلوتي وهو من حضرة مرشده و معتداه الى الحاسن يوسف الناج الحلوتي الفاضل وهو من حضرة شيخه يوب ابن احمد الحلوتي الشامي القرشي وهو من حضرة شيخه احمد العسالى الحبري الشامي وهو من حضرة شيخه الولي الكبير شاه ولي الحلبي وهو من حضرة شيخه الشيخ احمد الرومي وهو من حضرة شيخه الشيخ يعقوب العنابي وهو من حضرة شيخه الولي العارف ملا داود الرومي وهو من حضرة شيخه الولي العارف شمس الدين الرومي</p>	<p>وهو من حضرة شيخه الولي العارف ابي القاسم الثاني الرومي وهو من حضرة محمد الفصحاء وهو من حضرة شيخه الشيخ عبد الله افندي الاركراني وهو من حضرة شيخه السيد يحيى الشرواني وهو من حضرة شيخه الامام الولي بير عمر الابديني الحلوتي وهو من حضرة شيخه الولي العارف افندي ددة عمر الحلوتي وهو من حضرة شيخه محمد الشرواني وهو من حضرة شيخه ابراهيم الزاهد الجبلاني وهو من حضرة شيخه جمال الدين التبريزي وهو من حضرة شيخه شهاب الدين محمد التبريزي وهو من حضرة شيخه ركن الدين الشجاسي وهو من حضرة شيخه قطب الدين محمد الابهرى وهو من حضرة شيخه ابي النجيب عبد القاهر ابن عمه الله البكري الرومي وهو من حضرة شيخه وجيه الدين عمر ابن عبد الله السهروردي وهو من حضرة شيخه زخية محمد ابن عبد الله السهروردي</p>
البريس وهو	
(٢)	(١)
(٢)	(٢)

وهو من حضرة شيخه ابن أحمد أسود الدينوري
وهو من حضرة شيخه ممشاد ال (١) ب
وهو من حضرة شيخه سيد الطائفة جنيد البغدادي
وهو من حضرة شيخه وخاله سري القطب
وهو من حضرة شيخه ابي محفوظ معروف الكرخي
وهو من حضرة شيخه القطب داود الطاءمي
وهو من حضرة شيخه القطب الغوث حبيب العتيبي
وهو من حضرة شيخه الحسن البصري
وهو من حضرة الامام باب مدينة العلم علي ابن ابي طالب
وهو من حضرة المصطفى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
وهو من الحضرة التي لا تكلف جنل و علمي

وعا

واوصيه بان لا ينساني في الدعاء في جميع اوقاته وان يجمع بين الشريعة و
الحقيقة ويداوم الذكر سر اوجها وعدم العفلة كلمة تجلب الحق سبحانه
وتعالى الكل وعل الكل وللكل وبالكل وعند الكل مع الكل وان لا يرتكب
الكبائر

(٢) اخطا الكاتب والصحيح الحسن

- (١)

- (٢)

Dhikr Methods in Khalwatiyya Yūsufiyya or Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī Order

It was taught that there are three ways of *dhikr*:

- (1) *al-Dhikr al-Jahr* (الذكر الجهر): A *dhikr* performed by moving the lips and articulating clearly.
- (2) *al-Dhikr al-Khafī* (الذكر الخفي): A *dhikr* performed by slightly moving the lips but not articulating clearly.
- (3) *al-Dhikr al-Sirr* (الذكر السر): A secret remembrance which is also called the *dhikr* of Qalb (الذكر القلب) or *dhikr* in the heart.

Furthermore, it is explained that the way of *dhikr* is adjusted to its level:

- (1) *Dhikr Nafī lthbat* (لا إله إلا الله), verbally (oral *dhikr*). Its method is when saying لا breath is pulled from the navel to the top (head), when pronouncing إله the head moves to the right shoulder while still holding your breath, and then when saying لا the head moves from the right shoulder to the center (of the heart); when uttering الله the movement of the head was slammed with a breath into the heart which was three fingers below the left rib. Every time to do *dhikr* لا إله إلا الله and after feeling warm to the whole body, then switch to the second *dhikr*.
- (2) *Dhikr Ismu al-Jalāla* (الله - الله) with verbal and the heart. Its method is by reciting الله - الله repeatedly until the *sālik* (inner traveler) feels the heart beating the name of الله and the exhaling and the inhaling breath with the energy of the name of الله. In other words, what comes out and what is said in the mouth is the name of الله and what comes in or in the heart is His meaning, then from the heart to the mouth. While the tongue is engaging *dhikr* (automatically) without losing its meaning; then switch to the third *dhikr*.
- (3) *Dhikr Ismu al-Ishāra* (هو - هو) departs from verbal to the heart which is also called *dhikr rūh* or *dhikr* of the innermost recess. Its method is to repeat the words of God: هو الله الذي لا إله إلا هو (He is Allāh there is no god but Him). So that there is no any energy other than Him (إلا هو) from the exhaling and the inhaling breath, which finally dissolves *fanā'* (absorbed) into the existence of Him (Allāh) and will be able to recognise His secrets (معرفة أسرارہ). The *sālik* then sees through His vision, reaches out with His hand (His power), walks with His footsteps (His will), thinks with His mind (His determination). Nevertheless, the unity of servant and God, although a servant even is spiritually able to enter the existence of God at a glance and after returning, the servant remains a servant and God is still God (العبد عبد والرب رب) (Sultan 2018: 43-46).

Notes:

If these *dhikrs* are illustrated, it may be less or more as in the following images, since actually no images of these *dhikrs* or *dhikrs* in this *ṭarīqa* left by Shaykh Yūsuf. These are only our illustration.

Images Nos. 42a-d**Dhikr in Ṭarīqat al-Yūsufiyya**

إلهي أنت مقصودي ورضاك أنت مطلوبي أعطني معرفتك و محبتك
و لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم.



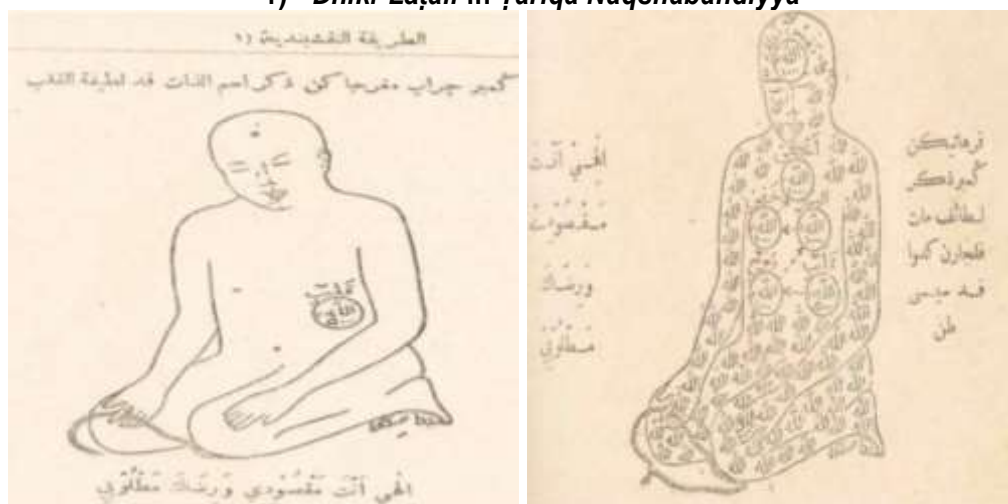
[a-b] *Dhikr Nafī lthbat Lā ilāha illā Allāh*; [b] *Dhikr Ism al-Jalāla Allāh-Allāh*; [d] *Dhikr Ism al-Shāra Huwa-Huwa*, (See also Sultan 2015: 187a & 2018: 16).

APPENDICES

The following images are from *Ṭarīqa Naqshabandiyya* and are only used as a sample of comparison with the *Dhikr of Khalwatiyya Yūsufiyya*

Images Nos. 43a-b

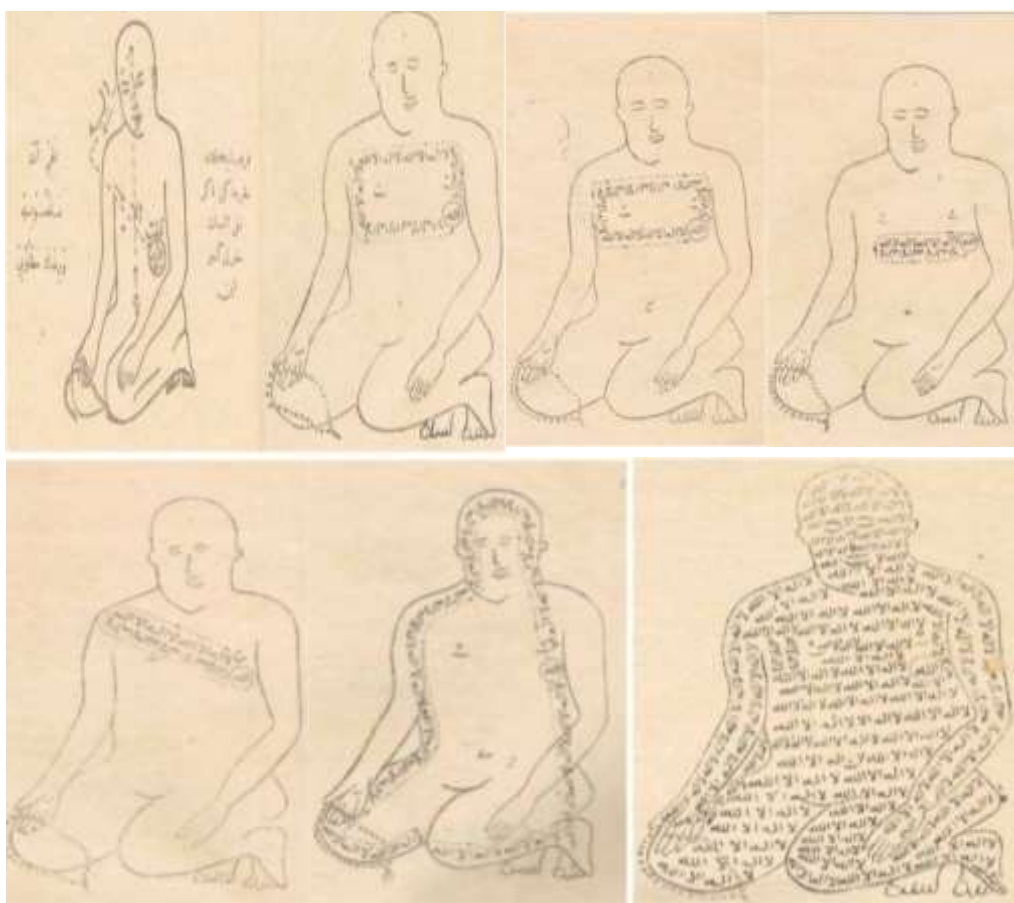
1) *Dhikr Laṭāif in Ṭarīqa Naqshabandiyya*



For more Information regarding this image, see Sjech Hadji Djalaluddin (1961: 17-61)

Images Nos. 44a-g

2) *Dhikr Nafi Ithbath in Ṭarīqa Naqshabandiyya*



For more information regarding these images see Sjech Hadji Djalaluddin (1964: 69-72)

Appendix IV Part B

An Overview of Masjid Nurun Nur Samata Gowa and some Activities Done by the Followers of *Khalwatiyya/Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī* Order with some other Islamic Community

The Mosque of Nurun Nur Samata was built in 2010 on the *Waqaf* land of Shaykhah Hj. Nurung Dg. Singara (Nūr al-Ṣūfī) for the followers of *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya* as well as for the Islamic Community in general.

This mosque has being renovated from 2017 up to today. It is used for praying and education especially for children who wish to learn how to read *al-Qur'ān*, for women who wish to learn Islamic music such as *Qasida*. This is also used for *Majlis Ta'lim*.

In addition, this mosque is filled by the followers of *Khalwatiyya/Yūsufiyya Ṣūfī* Order with some other Islamic community in the *Shi'ār al-Islām* days and in the Eid Days (either *Fitr* or *Aḍḥā*).

For example, they celebrated *Mawludan Nabī* or *Isrā' wa al-Mii'rāj* day there once every year. Not all the followers of this *ṭarīqa* attend these events, but we find one or two or more as a group representative of the broad followers around South Sulawesi, Kalimantan until Sorong, Irian Jaya that come to this mosque to celebrate the big events in Islam with their murshid. This is because these events are also celebrated in each area where those followers live.

These events are usually arranged by the mosque committee at night after prayer *'Isha* with the arrangement of events as follows:

- 1) Opening by the mosque committee with basmalah.
- 2) *Ṣalawatan Nabī*, and then followed by Islamic religious songs with women of *Majlis Ta'lim*.
- 3) Reading the verse of *Qur'ān* regarding the event celebrated
- 4) Welcome remarks or speeches from:
 - Mosque committee
 - Local government or representative
 - The *Shaykh Murshid* of the celebrated event
- 5) Special Speech by an invitation speaker regarding the significance of the celebration.
- 6) A repast where both the followers and other Islamic community enjoy some food and drink in a social setting
- 7) Closing *Du'a*.

In addition, we also present some images regarding the Blessed Night at the Residence of the *Murshid* of the *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyyat al-Yūsufiyya*. This event is celebrated every year at the residence house of the murshid in Samata Gowa, but this year it was moved to Jl. Kacong Dg. Lalang Pa'bangiang, since our murshid in Samata Gowa died in July 2017. This event included praying *maghrib* and *'Ishā* together, having a communal dinner, reciting *Sūra Yāsin*, *dzikr* and *du'ā* together and then listening to the *tawzia* of the *Shaykh Murshid* as well as doing a question-and-answer session regarding Islam and our life. Finally, they were shaking hands each others (among the followers and their *Murshid* and among his followers) for forgiveness to purify themselves and their hearts from sins before entering *Ramaḍan* month.

Finally, we present a few images regarding *Eid al-fitr* day.

APPENDICES

MASJID NURUN NUR SAMATA, GOWA, WHICH JUST BEING RENOVATED

Images Nos. 44a-b



MAWLUDAN NABĪ CELEBRATION IN THE MOSQUE NURUN NUR SAMATA, GOWA

Images Nos. 45a-e



[a-d] An Overview of *Mawludan Nabī* Celebration

ISRĀ' AND MI'RĀJ CELEBRATION IN THE MOSQUE NURUN NUR SAMATA, GOWA

Images Nos. 46a-f



[a-d] An Overview of *Isrā' And Mi'rāj* Celebration

APPENDICES

THE BLESSED NIGHT (*NISF AL-SHA‘BĀN NIGHT*) AT THE RESIDENT OF *MURSHID KHALWATIYYAT AL-YŪSUFIYYA*

Images Nos.47a-g



[a-b] The blessed Night in the Residence House of Sh. K. H. Sahib Sultan; [c-d] A memory of the Blessed Night in the Residence House of Shaykhah Hj. Nurung Dg. Singara

EID AL-FITR DAYS IN KAREBOSI FIELD AND ANOTHER PLACE IN MACASSAR

Images Nos. 48a-d



SOME IMAGES REGARDING IKSYAM OF RI

(Association of the Big Family of Shaykh Yūsof Al-Maqassarī of Republic of Indonesia) & The 385 Year Birthday Celebration of Shaykh Yūsof al-Maqassarī in Tamalate Palace Balla Lompoa on September 7, 2011 or Shawal 8, 1432 A.H

Images Nos. 49a-d



[a] Prof. Dr. H. Paturungi Parawansa (the Head of IKSYAM of RI) with Shaykh K. H. Sahib Sultan (The Vice Head of IKSYAM of RI), I with my mother; [b-d] An Overview of the celebration helds by the members of IKSYAM of RI

APPENDICES

**SOME IMAGES REGARDING THE VISIT OF IKSYAM DELEGATION OF RI TO CAPETOWN
IN APRIL 15 TO 25, 2017
Images Nos. 50a-d**

IKSYAM DELEGATION OF RI WITH MJC AND SOUTH AFRICAN PARLIAMENT



**IKSYAM OF RI IN THE KRAMAT OF TUAN YŪSUF MACASSAR AND IN THE ANNUAL
KRAMAT 2017 FESTIVAL MACASSAR, CAPE TOWN**

Images Nos. 51a-g



IKSYAM VISIT ISLAMIC SCHOOLS, IPSA & UCT

Images Nos. 52a-h

At Islamic Schools



[a-d] An overview at Islaamiyyah School as well as My Speech

APPENDICES



[e-f] An Overview of Darul Arqam School in Cape Town; [g-h] IKSAM of RI at another Islamic Elementary School in Cape Town

At International Peace College South Africa (IPSA) & CapeTown University

Images Nos. 53a-b & 54 a-b



[51 a-b] At IPSA; [52 a-b] I and Keke Parawansa with Prof. Lance van Sittert [Associate Prof. from Historical Studies Department], M. Gielmi, and Prof. Yasin Duffan [Director of School of Language and Literatures, Univ. of Cape Town (UCT)]

IKSYAM DELEGATION OF RI IN THE EVENT 'SITTING WITH THE FAMILY OF TUAN YUSUF AL-MAKASSARI (RA),' ON THE 19 OF APRIL 2017 HELD BY MJC, SA

Images Nos. 55a-d



[a-e] An Overview of the Event with the President of MJC and members of Muslim Judicial Council, SA with the Consulate of Indonesian Ambassador in CPT as well as the launching of my book

APPENDICES

MAWLUDAN NABĪ CELEBRATION IN CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA TOGETHER WITH IKSYAM OF RI

Images Nos. 56a-d



[a-f] An overview of the *Mawlūdan Nabī* Celebration in Cape Town

ISRĀ' AND MI'RĀJ CELEBRATION IN MASJID AL-BAHR CAPE TOWN WITH IKSYAM OF RI

Images Nos. 57a-e



An Overview of *Isrā' and Mi'rāj* Celebration at Masjid al-Bahr, Cape Town SA

IKSYAM OF RI IN CELEBRATING ISRĀ' AND MI'RĀJ IN BOSMONT JOHANNESBURG

Images Nos. 58a-c



An overview An overview of *Isrā' and Mi'raj* Celebration at Masjid Bosmont, Cape Town SA

APPENDICES

**SOME IMAGES REGARDING OUR VISIT TO PRETORIA AND
OUR FIRST MEMORY AT UNISA IN APRIL 2014**

Images Nos. 59a-j



[a-c] Together with Eghsan Philander family (the first family who welcome and accepted us in Pretoria and then brought us to UNISA as well as introduced Islamic cultures in Pretoria

[d-e] At Mohammed and Khatija A Carrim Islamic Center and another Institution in Pretoria



[f-h] I and my parents in front of the Museum as well as at the top of it in Pretoria

[i-j] In front of the Union Building Pretoria, SA

At UNISA

Images Nos. 60a-f



[a-f] Our first memory at UNISA after meeting my supervisor Prof. Yousuf Dadoo with his colleagues M.A. Rafudeen and Prof. Isma'il Jaffer at Islamic and Arabic Department Studies on the 23rd of April 2014

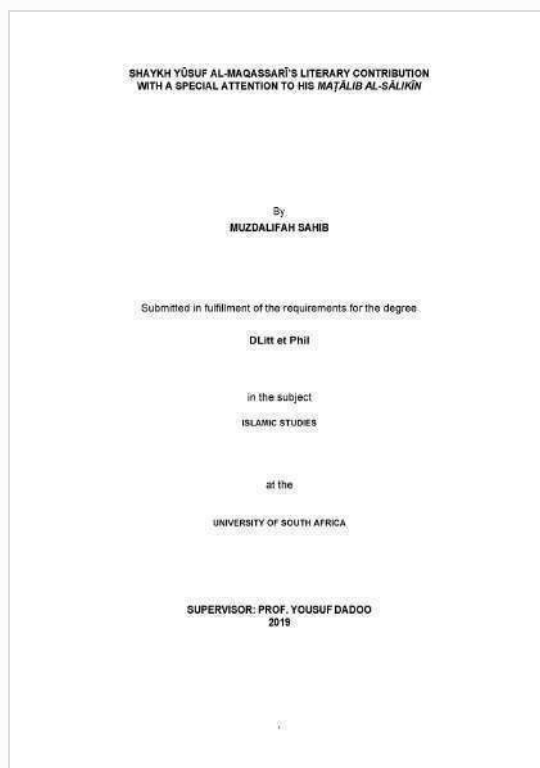


Digital Receipt

This receipt acknowledges that **Turnitin** received your paper. Below you will find the receipt information regarding your submission.

The first page of your submissions is displayed below.

Submission author: Muzdalifah Sahib
Assignment title: Revision 2
Submission title: 55754201 MUZDALIFAH SAHIB'S T...
File name: DALIFAH_SAHIB_S_THESIS_OF_S..
File size: 8.2M
Page count: 506
Word count: 193,928
Character count: 959,371
Submission date: 16-Dec-2019 04:20PM (UTC+0200)
Submission ID: 1235405055



Turnitin Originality Report

Processed on: 16-Dec-2019 19:05 SAST
ID: 1235405055
Word Count: 193928
Submitted: 1

Similarity Index	Similarity by Source
14%	Internet Sources: 11% Publications: 4% Student Papers: 5%

55754201 MUZDALIFAH SAHIB'S THESIS OF.
SH. YUSUF AL-MAQASSARI QS. [REV.ED.] By
Muzdalifah Sahib

1% match (Internet from 16-Jul-2018) https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/76743-EN-al-maiyyah-and-al-ahathah-the-accompanim.pdf
1% match (Internet from 06-Dec-2019) https://pdf.pub/the-origins-of-islamic-reformism-in-southeast-asia-networks-of-malay-indonesian-html
1% match (Internet from 29-Sep-2010) http://www.letterkunde.up.ac.za/argief/45_1/06%20Keraan%2003.pdf
1% match (Internet from 16-Aug-2014) http://www.senisilatcapetown.co.za/uploads/8/8/2/6/8826177/sy_sufi_shariah_ways.pdf
< 1% match (Internet from 25-May-2016) http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/1849/dissertation.pdf?isAllowed=y&sequence=1
< 1% match (Internet from 08-Apr-2016) http://almubin.tripod.com/taqihila.htm
< 1% match (Internet from 04-Nov-2011) http://irfi.org/articles3/articles_4801_4900/ibn%20arabi%20and%20sirhindhtml.htm
< 1% match (Internet from 28-May-2019) http://dolearning.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/History-of-Muslims-in-SA.pdf
< 1% match (Internet from 21-Aug-2018) https://ia800503.us.archive.org/5/items/en_Translation_of_the_Meanings_Quran.pdfword/en_Translation_of_the_Meanings_Quran_djvu.txt
< 1% match (Internet from 30-Apr-2013) http://www.qurancomplex.com/Quran/Targama/Targama.asp?TabID=4&SubItemID=1&l=eng&t=eng&SecOrder=4&SubSecOrder=1
< 1% match (Internet from 09-Jul-2018) http://islam2e.blogspot.com/2009/12/healing-by-rujia.html
< 1% match (Internet from 25-May-2009) http://www.islam-is-the-only-solution.com/samegod.htm
< 1% match (Internet from 08-May-2016) http://documents.mx/spiritual/glossary-of-islamic-terms-55849ecd574b0.html
< 1% match (Internet from 20-Aug-2013) http://purnayoga.ru/en/library/text/religion/The_Noble_Quran.doc
< 1% match (Internet from 11-Jan-2019) http://www.tuantasalamaka.blogspot.com/2010_12_22_archive.html
< 1% match (Internet from 09-May-2016) http://www.islamfactory.com/books/f/Tafsir-Ibn-Kathir-all-10-volumes.pdf
< 1% match (Internet from 22-Aug-2008) http://answering-islam.com/allah_as_man_rebuttal.htm
< 1% match (Internet from 11-Jun-2017) https://d1.islamhouse.com/data/en/ih_books/single2/en_Legal_Maxims_of_Islamic_Jurisprudence.pdf
< 1% match (Internet from 24-Dec-2002) http://chenab.lums.edu.pk/~arifz/quran/noble/mdn03.htm
< 1% match (Internet from 23-Jan-2014) http://www.qurandownload.com/parallel-8-quran-english.pdf
< 1% match (Internet from 02-Feb-2012) http://nmfuk.org/danfodio/Writings/MuhammadShareefIhyausSunnah.pdf
< 1% match (Internet from 31-Oct-2011) http://sufibooks.info/Sufism/Inner-secrets-of-the-path-Sayyid_Haydar_Amulii.pdf
< 1% match (Internet from 29-Jan-2010) http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Selected+Sufi+texts+of+Shaykh+Yusuf:+translations+and+commentaries-a0180555985
< 1% match (Internet from 10-Oct-2017) http://hl-128-171-57-22.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/10125/101639/1/Ubaedillah_Achmad_r.pdf
< 1% match (student papers from 20-Jan-2014) Submitted to International Islamic University Malaysia on 2014-01-20
< 1% match (publications)

Curriculum Vitae



Muzdalifah Sahib, was born in Sungguminasa, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, on September 16th, 1968. In 1981 she graduated from the State Elementary School (SDN) 1 in Sungguminsa. She then pursued her studies at the Islamic Boarding School IMMIM Puteri Pangkep for six years until 1987.

From 1987 until 1992 she studied at the Islamic State Institution Alauddin, Ujung Pandang, and obtained the degree Dra. on major Teaching English, while she taught *Ḥadīth* science and English at Islamic Boarding School Bontorea, Gowa.

In March 1994 she became an English lecturer at IAIN Alauddin UP. In 2000, she obtained her Master's degree in English at Hasanuddin University. She wrote a book "*A Cross-Cultural Study on the Use of Polite Expression in English and Macassarese*" in 2003 and many Islamic Journals regarding Shaykh Yūsuf from 2005 till 2013. In 2007 she completed a short course on 'Community Development and Social work at Mc. Gill University Canada. Furthermore, she did some research on her ancestor Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī in Leiden, the Netherlands from March 2020 till the end of 2011. In this period, she also did similar research in Cape Town, South Africa in May 2011. Following this period, she was inspired to write some books regarding the Shaykh, entitled: 1) *Sheikh Yusuf al-Maqassary, His Life Story as a National Hero from Gowa, South Sulawesi to Cape Town South Africa and as a Reformer in the Islamic Mystic World*, 2) *Commentaries on the Work of Sheikh Yusuf al-Maqassary in Zubdat al-Asrār "The Essence of Secrets,"* published by Alauddin University Press in 2011 and 2014. 3) *Syeikh Yusuf al-Maqassariy dan Pembaruannya dalam Shufisme* in Indonesian, published by Al-Mahāsin Makassar in 2016/2019 and another one published by ORBIT publishing Jakarta in 2017. She is currently a PhD student at the University of South Africa (UNISA).