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## SHEIKH YUSUF OF MAKASSAR AS AN INTERCONTINENTAL PREACHER: POLITICAL COMMUNICATION, TAREKAT AND MODERATE DA'WA

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### Abstract

*Business activities between business partners cannot be separated from disputes that may arise from the business activities themselves. Mediation can be a resourceful tool to settle disputes between parties. The research aims to discuss the history and development of mediation as a means to dispute settlement in Indonesia. This research is normative legal research using secondary data. Findings and discussion proved that mediation has been known since a long time ago in Indonesia. It is the most known alternative dispute resolution to be used in Indonesia.*

**Keywords:** *Challenge; Da'wa; Form; Moderate; Preacher, Political Communication, Tarekat*

### Introduction

Featuring the figure who plays the role as a preacher (*dā'ī*) between continent at this moment is not extraordinary thing. However, when today we try to track footsteps Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassarī who acted as an intercontinental preacher five centuries ago it is truly something marvellous. Appearance in international world at that time is not easy because it must involve various international components, such as national, regional and international security. Besides that, it required support of international power. In addition, it must be also supported with availability of transportation tool, between countries and even between continent.

Various title pinned to al-Makassarī, such as a leading ulama, Sufi expert, national heroes of two countries, main figure in three countries: Indonesia, Sri Lanka and South Africa, the pioneer of Islam in South Africa and the founder of Sufi order (*tarīka*). The South African government awarded him the title national hero due to his contribution in struggling to oppose invaders. Formally this title bestowed to him by the President of South Africa, Jacob Zuma. Nelson Mandella, the first black skin president and leader of antiapartheid mentioning al-Makassarī as

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an inspirational figure for South African in their struggle towards invaders as well as the apartheid system. Azyumardi Azra sees al-Makassarî as a pioneer of Islamic renewal in Indonesia, together with other scholars. Among internal Sufi himself, al-Makassarî is known as a great Sufi leader. This matter is based on his broad and deep knowledge of Sufism as well as in practical life of Sufi and their influence in development mysticism studies.

As a great scholar, al-Makassarî can be viewed from variety perspectives in Islamic studies. Writings that can accessed this moment from miscellaneous source, whether books, journal papers, theses, dissertations and internet articles generally discussed the position of al-Makassarî as mentioned in titles attributed to him above. In connection with his position as a preacher, especially between continent is still very few writings that can be reviewed. Moreover, those writings also seem to be limited in analyzing and interpretation in contemporary perspective of *da'wa* studies, especially *Rijâl al-Da'wa*.

The absence or limited writing about al-Makassarî's gait in the international *da'wa* arena is very contrast with the position that he played. Al-Makassarî is a *da'wa* figure in meaning as given individual respect on his involvement in field of *da'wa* and giving a big contribution in development of Islam. Since the beginning Gowa royal party and scholars at that time wanted al-Makassarî to become a preacher. For this purpose, they recommended him to leave Gowa to seek religious sciences. Al-Makassarî spent up 26 years for deepening religious sciences as a preparation to undertake an Islamic proselytizing task that is a preacher.

In accordance his greatness and fame as a great Sufi scholar many writings should have been exist in the form of undergraduate thesis, MA. Thesis and dissertation that discussed his position and contribution in world of *da'wa*. A lot of things in which communities are eagerly to know whether in Indonesia, Sri Lanka or South Africa regarding al-Makassarî's capacity as a preacher between continent. This paper meant as a preliminary effort in uncover mystery of the roles that have been played by al-Makassarî in proselytizing rink between continent.

This study aims to explore and reveal the position of al-Makassarî as a preacher among continents, in particular about challenge, form and moderate nature of his *da'wa* in four countries, namely Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka and South Africa. As for question that will be answered in this paper are: 1. How al-Makassarî's challenge of *da'wa* in Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, and South Africa?, 2. How the forms of *da'wa* packaged by al-Makassarî? 3. How character of moderate nature of al-Makassarî's preaching?

A number of scholarly works related to al-Makassarî and *da'wa*. Mustari Mustafa (2011: 98) in his book entitled *Agama dan Bayang-bayang Etis Syaikh Yusuf al-Makassâi*, 2017 prepared one tiny sub discussion entitled "Etika Religius Syaikh Yusuf al-Makassari dalam *Da'wa*." One of the ethics emphasized on preaching is harmony among speech and behavior. In *da'wa* studies, this religious

ethic is the main ethics of *da'wa* which reflects integrity and charisma of a preacher. This ethics is based on QS. al-Baqarah (2): 44 and QS. al-Shaf (61): 2 - 3. (Jafar, 2011, p. 192 – 208).

Other scholarly works is “Gerakan Dakwah Shekh Yusuf al-Makassari.” The paper is written by St. Rahmatiah (2019, p. 12 – 28) and published in the *Sulesana Journal*, 2014. This paper discussed al-Makassari’s 10 *taṣawuf* principles and 6 *taṣawuf* thoughts. This Sufi order teachings is certainly very important as a message of *da'wa* in the development of community. Unfortunately, the study of *da'wa* movement as paper title does not collaborate in discussion except revealed at a glance in the introduction section. *Da'wa* movement (*al-da'wa bi al-ḥaraka*) means *da'wa* conducted with or through movement system. This form of *da'wa* is more emphasized on action rather than discourse (theorizing). (Ismail, 2011: 233; Faizah, 2009: xvi).

The final paper “Syekh Yusuf al-Makassari Studi: Sejarah Dakwah dan Intelektual di Indonesia.” This paper is written by Samsina (2012, p. 157 – 174), and published through *Journal of al-Misbbah*. As the second paper above the title of the third treatise is not in accordance with its contents. Contents did not discuss al-Makassari’s history of *da'wa* except only see at a glance his intellectuality and religious thought, in particular the issue of monotheism (*tawḥîd*) and the concept of Sufism. The history of *da'wa* in essence reflects barrage of the past events that took place relating to exclamation or invitation to Islam, people reaction and the changes that occur as a consequence of *da'wa* directly or indirectly. The writer did not show *da'wa* events which happened in the footsteps of al-Makassari in Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Saudi Arabia and South Africa.

## METHODES

The study is a qualitative descriptive research. A literature review based on the theory of figures especially proselytizing figures commonly referred to as *rijâl al-da'wa*. A number of theory figure used namely:

### Charisma Theory

This theory considered as a process where leader chooses a certain behavioral patron to adapt professional environment that can guide community by awesome and effective towards goal achievement. (marketing91.com, 2019). Moreover, charisma theory indicates "a high quality of individual." This means the theory is very suitable pinned to al-Makassari, considering his personal quality as a scholar whose depth and breadth religious knowledge. Robert Tucker added that the use of this term on the *Webster Dictionary* reflects charismatic authority that is leaders: religion, politics, military and others, are the essence as a savior leader. Al-Makassari fully fulfill this criterium because certainly he is a religious, political and military figure. He is a savior of nation from grip colonizers, in Indonesia, Sri Lanka as well as South Africa.

### The path-goal Theory

This theory was developed by Robert House in 1970 and revised in 1996. According to House and Mitchell, this theory has focused on “directive, supportive, participative, and achievement-oriented behaviors.” (Hejres, 2017, p. 694-709). This theory emphasizes empowerment and motivation to someone or group so that they could more involved, active, efficient and productive. The theory advocates the main role of a leader is to encourage people they lead towards betterment. (marketing91.com, 2019). The theory is very appropriate used in take pictures leadership *da'wa* of al-Makassarî, particularly in mapping his *da'wa* format in four countries: Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka and South Africa.

## RESULTS

### Birth, Education and Treatise

Muhammad Yusuf was born in Gowa, South Sulawesi, on 8 Shawâl 1086 H. coincidence with July 03, 1626, and died in Cape Town on July 23, 1699 M. (Amrullah, 1972, p. 37). The name is a gift of Sultân 'Alâ al-Dîn, King of Gowa. Kingdom of Gowa and the whole the people already embraced Islam for 20 years. Al-Makassarî born, grew up and educated in the Royal Palace of Gowa under the tutelage of Sultân 'Alâ al-Dîn. He was indeed an adopted son in the kingdom. He was born from couple Abdullah and Aminah. Siti Aminah is a family member of Gallarang Monconglo'e, a noble family. His father, Abdullah himself was not from the nobility. The giving name at once ordained little al-Makassarî to be the adopted as a son of the king.

On September 12, 1684, al-Makassarî was banished to Sri Lanka. Exile was a punishment for his involvement in the resistance to the Dutch government. After nearly a decade, he was transferred to Cape Town in July 1694. (tirto.id, 2017). This exile was based on concerns of its growing influence on the struggle of the people against colonialism. Five years in Cape Town was the last time or moment of his life in the world. Although briefly, his contribution in the formation of the people was enormous. His teachings were able to interpret the movements and struggles of African peoples so that they were free from colonization and then also from the apartheid system. He died on 23 May 1699 and was buried in Faure, Cape Town. His grave monument in Cape Town was built in the 1920s and declared a national heritage site by the South African government. (Keraan and Haron, 2008, p. 101 – 123).

### Education of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassarî

Education of al-Makassarî began by learning recitation of the Qur'an on Daeng Ri Tasammang, a government teacher. Education continued by the deepening of the Arabic language, in particular Nahwu, Sharaf, and Ma'ani. He also studied Science of *Fiqh* and *Tasawwuf*. However, presumably he was more inclined to Science of Sufism. (Lubis, 1994, p. 149 - 178). He also studied under the famous sheikh in Makassar at the time that is Sayyid Ba'lawi bin 'Abd al-'Allâmah al-Tâhir. At the age of 15 he studied in Cikoang from one expert in mysticism, religious

teacher, and wandering preacher, Jalâl al-Dîn al-Aidid. (Young Sufi, 2008). Al-Aidid is a scholar whose Arab origin from Aceh and got married by Makassar women. Cikoang is one of the best religious education center, be place living for religious teachers.

At the age 18, September 22, 1645 AD. al-Makassarî began his journey to seek knowledge. However, he did not go to the holy city directly, but stopped in the Kingdom of Banten. From Banten the journey continued to Aceh and then to Yemen. (Lubis, 1994, p. 149 - 178). In Banten he befriended the crown prince of the Kingdom of Banten, Pengeran Surya. In Aceh he studied under Sheikh Nûr al-Dîn al-Rânîrî, until he received a certificate (*ijâza*) in Qodiriyah Order (*ṭarîqa*). From Aceh he went to Yemen and studied under Sheikh ‘Abdullâh Muḥammad bin ‘Abd al-Bâqî until he received a certificate of Naqṣabandiyah Order. In Yemen, al-Makassarî also learned Sufi Order from Sheikh Mawlâna Sayyid ‘Ali al-Zâhilî. From this Sheikh al-Makassarî gained a certificate of Ba’lawiyah Order.

The next academic odyssey is Saudi Arabia, starting with the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*). In Medina al-Makassarî studied with Sheikh Ibrâhîm Ḥasan ibn Şahâb al-Dîn al-Kurdî al-Kuranî. From this Sheikh he obtained a diploma of the Shattariyah Order. The highest title, al-Taj al-Khalawati Hadiatullah, was given to him when he addressed Sheikh Abû al-Baraka Ayyûb ibn Aḥmad al-Khalwatî Al-Qurayshî of Shâm (Damascus). (santri.net, 2014). From this Sheikh al-Makassarî got a certificate of the Khalwatiyah Order. In Saudi Arabia, al-Makassarî seems to have studied for a considerable length of time the sciences of religion as an instrument to gain proficiency in Arabic, Islamic Sciences, such as the Qur'an, Ḥadîth, and Fiqh. (Dangor, 1981, p. 5). According to Yon Machmudi (2011), for almost 25 years of settling in the Arab World: Yemen, Saudi Arabia and Shâm, al-Makassarî studied Islamic Sciences and began to spread influence upon returning to his place of origin and indicted Islam in Sri Lanka and South Africa.

### The Treatises of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari

Al-Makassarî is a prolific writer. His passion for writing has been seen since he was still serving as mufti in the Sultanate of Banten. Many of his works up to this day are stored in the Leiden Library, the Netherlands Library and the Jakarta National Museum. The works of al-Makassari generally discuss the issue of *taṣawwuf*, especially the *ṭarîqa*. There are variations in identifying al-Makassari's writings. Dangor, whom Najma Moosa (2020, p. 192 – 241) believes to be the first author to write MA. thesis on al-Makassarî, did not quote any of his works. He only listed a few books and articles about him in his thesis bibliography, such as: *The Malay Tombs of the Holy Circle in Naturalist*, 1939 by Jeffrey KM, *The Religion of the Cape Malays*, 1949 by David Lewis, and *Die Verering van Sjaich Jusuf in Zuid*, 1950 by Cense A. A.

Azra recorded 10 books, Dangor (1981) listed 15 books, Lubis noted 25 books and Sahib recorded 40 books. Sahib (2014: p. 55 - 59) lists the titles of 40 of al-Makassarî's treatises in her *Commentary on Subdat al-Asrâr*. The differences are caused, among other things, by limitations in

accessing his works according to the time when a person conducts research. Moosa (2020, p. 192 – 241) mentions two studies by each autor: 1. Azra 1992 and 2004, 2. Hamid 1990 and 1994, 3. Lubis 1992 and 1996. It seems that the more recent the more works are brought up. Sahib's research proves this, as a result of her recent study (2019). In addition to examining the works of al-Makassarī owned by his parents, a close friend of al-Makassari, Sahib also carefully examined al-Makassari's works in the Netherlands and finally in South Africa.

However, it should be noted that not all of the writings claimed to be al-Makassarī's writings, because some of them were in fact written by his students and then attributed to him. Keraan and Haron (2008) states that if we research that book carefully, we could conclude that the style of hand writing in the book al-Nūr al-Hādī, for example is owned by a student of the Sheikh's disciples. This manuscript attributed to Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ in 1781 as notes in the end section of the book. Having been viewed 28 manuscript, listed by various author, Judge (2020, p. 517 – 546), claims that manuscripts belonging to al-Makassarī were recorded to be the most widely used compared to other writers, namely there were 10 manuscripts attributed to him. The works of al-Makassarī written in standard Arabic like those of Arabian authors. These works were categorized a literature genre, which in general written in Arabic. These texts have enriched not only the growth of literature in Southeast Asia but also substantially added to the understanding of early socio-theological thought. According to Keraan and Haron (2008, p. 101 – 123), none of al-Makassarī's works were written in South Africa.

His works almost all deal with the issue of Sufism, as well as its relation to Islamic theology (*ʿIlm al-Kalām*). As an experienced writer al-Makassarī also cites other *taṣawwuf* figures to develop his concept of Sufism, such as al-Ghazālī, al-Baghdādī, al-Junaydī, and Ibn al-'Arabī. According to Bruinessen (1991, p. 251 – 269), al-Makassarī's works were generally written during his stay in Banten. He did spend a lot of his time in this place, compared to other places. Until now, al-Makassarī's intact works in Arabic have not been translated into Indonesian. Some fragments of these works have been translated into Indonesian Language by Tudjimah (1987) in his book *Sheikh Yusuf Makassar: Riwāyat Hidup, Karya dan Ajarannya*.

His other works have also been translated into English by Mustapha Keraan and Muḥammad Haron in their book *Selected Sufi Texts of Shaykh Yusuf al-Makassari*. According to Keraan and Haron (2008, p. 106), the manuscripts of al-Makassarī are not so easily translated into English for two reasons: 1. Manuscripts usually have variant scripts so in order to translate them, the translator needs a specific translation method. 2. Al-Makassarī's writings are somewhat philosophical and mystical. In addition, Dangor has translated 6 manuscripts of al-Makassarī, such as: 1. *Sirr al-Asrār* (the Secret of Secrets), 2. *Maṭālib al-Sālikîn* (the Quest of the Spiritual Seekers), and 3. *Shurūt al-'Arif al-Muḥaqqaq* (Conditions of the Verified Gnostic.)

### **The Challenge of *Da'wa***

The first proselytizing challenge was colonialism and imperialism. The three countries as the territory of al-Makassarī proselytizing all became Dutch colonies: Indonesia (1602 – 1945), Sri Lanka (1640 – 1796) and South Africa (1652 – 1795). Cape Town is halfway from Holland to the Archipelago. (Dangor, 1981, p. 33). The Dutch was the first to make Cape a colony, 1652. Originally this colony acted as a post-service for trade to Asia, supplying VOC ships with fresh water and food, and also as a stopping place for rest. (Burger, 2021). As a colony, it is certain that its residents do not feel the freedom that an independent country deserves. They are shackled politically, economically, socially and even religiously. The occupation took advantage of military superiority to gradually control more of the land and natural resources previously controlled by south Africa's indigenous population. (indyweek.com, 2010). This condition exactly influenced and affected proselytizing activities.

The second challenge is Christianization. Christianization or missionary endeavor is basically an integral part of Colonialism. Christianization marked Dutch colonial rule, in Indonesia, Sri Lanka and South Africa. In the 17th century the Dutch took over Sri Lanka and the missionaries were able to convert 21% of Sri Lanka's population to Christianity in 1622. (Wikipedia.org, 2022). The success of this religious conversion was partly due to organized evangelism. His evangelists used the schools indicting their beliefs. In the case of South Africa, Dangor added that the Dutch even ordered the Christianization of all slaves in the Cape at that time.

The third challenge was restriction. Dutch Colonial imposed restriction in religious activities, proselytizing activities are prohibited. Moosa (2021) asserts that there was no religious freedom in Cape Town during that time. It was also banned with the death penalty for anyone who openly practiced and spread Islam or converted non-Muslims to Islam. However, the same penalty is not applied to cases of conversion from Islam to Christianity. Dangor (1981: 10) mentions that al-Makassarī was not allowed to hold open religious meetings by the Dutch authorities. The Dutch also consciously objected to Islamic proselytizing and imposed restriction in proselytizing activities. There were restrictions on the implementation of proselytizing or the spread of Islam in Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and South Africa. This regulation was established in 1642 by Jan van Diemen the Governor-General in Ambon, one of the Dutch fiefdoms, now Indonesia. This regulation was reaffirmed in 1657 by Johan Maetsuiker and was also applied in other colonies including Cape Town. The regulation reads: "An attacker or rule-breaker will be sentenced to death." (Esack, 1997, p. 45).

### **Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassarī's Forms of *Da'wa***

Each preacher (*muballigh*) is ensured to have his or her own form of proselytizing that distinguishes one another. The difference is partly due to the proselytizing environment in which a preacher takes part. The following will be stated the forms of proselytizing applied by al-Makassarī. Careful research shows 6 forms of al-Makassarī proselytizing. Given the limited space for this writing, the writer will only reveal 4 forms of proselytizing, as follows:

### Preaching by Reform (*da'wa bi al-tajfīd*)

Renewal is commonly understood in two term purification and reformation. By the first term the reform is understood by updating the understanding and practice of Islamic teachings that have been mixed with superstition (*takbayyul*), and heresy (*bid'a*), then return it to original and pure Islamic teachings, based on the Qur'an and al-Sunnah. (kemuhammadiyah.com). The second term covers the reform al-Makassarī conduct in Indonesia. Azra (2004, p. 259), in his book *Muhammad Yusuf Al-Maqassari*, mentioned al-Makassarī as one of the pioneers of Islamic reform in the archipelago in the 17th century.

There are 2 reforms made by al-Makassarī, namely: 1. Purification of the creed, and 2. Sufism. Renewal in the form of purification of the creed colored the thought of renewal in Islam. Al-Makassarī himself saw the fact that some Gowa people at that time performed worship which was commonly called "*saukanga*." *Saukanga* is a place of worship, where the spirits of the ancestors were worshipped, by giving offerings (*ammuakki*) and asking the spirits for something. This worship is still widely practiced in the territory of the Kingdom of Gowa. This practice of worship is certainly prohibited in Islam. (Sahib, 2019). This practice of paganism was also a challenge for al-Makassarī because his request to the Kingdom of Gowa to eradicate the practice of heresy did not get a positive response from the royal side.

As one of the evidences of the renewal of thought in the field of Sufism is the emergence of harmonization between *Shari'a* and *Tasawuf*. (Salim, 2011, p. 17). The mutual approach between the *Fiqh* ulama (*fuqabâ'*) and the *Tasawuf* ulama (*shûfî*), which began to form since the second half of the 17th century, is a very encouraging reality for the realization of renewal in the Islamic world. Islam no longer prioritizes mystical (sufistic) factors, but rather emphasizes the combination of *Tasawuf* and *Shari'a*. Because in fact in this century it is precisely a very harmonious and dynamic time, for the development of Islamic thought and science. The fusion between these two fields is the awareness of scholars *Fiqh* and *Tasawuf*, to their existence and role. With this awareness, a new Islamic practice developed, namely what is called Neo-Sufism. (Salim, 2011, p. 109).

### Preaching by Movement (*da'wa bi al-Ḥaraka*)

After returning from the Middle East in 1670, al-Makassarī did not immediately return to Gowa, but went to Banten, which at that time was led by his friend, Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa. In this place, al-Makassarī conducted proselytizing activities with Sheikh Muhyi Pajahan. Al-Makassarī also participated in the rebellion against the Dutch with Sultân 'Abd al-Fattâh, whose title was Sultan Agung Tirtayasa (1651-1695). Before joining Banten revolt, al-Makassarī actively supported Sultân Ḥasan al-Dīn in his struggle against Dutch Colonial. According to Abu Hamid, al-Makassarī lived in Banten for 20 years. They cooperated in the struggle to maintain the kingdom and become independent from the intervention of the Dutch company, the VOC.



In Lubis's view, al-Makassarî as a major Sufi, intellectual and statesman who devoted his whole life to improving the destiny of his people. He never stopped waging a holy war (*jibâd*) against pagan worship and VOC oppression in East India. Although Sultan Agung Tirtayasa had been arrested by the Dutch, the struggle continued. His followers still controlled the entire eastern part of Banten. The leadership of the army was taken over by al-Makassarî. Al-Makassarî's division consists of 4,000 people, they are Makassarese, Buginese and Malays. Al-Makassarî also succeeded in influencing several kings in the archipelago, such as: Mataram, Aceh, Kalimantan, Minangkabau, and East Sumatra to resist and repel the Dutch invaders (Sahib, 2019). This *da'wa* movement proved that *da'wa* as Ḥasan al-Bannâ' (1906-1949), the famous performer of *da'wa* insists that *da'wa* is more than just a religious activity but is inherently political affairs. (Wiedle, 2009, p. 120-151).

### ***Da'wa* with Transformation (*da'wa bi al-taghyîr*)**

One of the contemporary studies of proselytizing is transformative *da'wa*, which is a pattern of thought that departs from social concerns towards a more just, humane and egalitarian change. This pattern of thought emerged as an alternative idea of modernization and development. (Syahputra, 2017). al-Makassarî also implemented transformative *da'wa* in Indonesia, Sri Lanka and South Africa. Since in Makassar, this transformative proselytizing has been promoted, especially in transforming Gowa society from idolatry, and other sinful deeds. Although initially these efforts were unsuccessful, they were later realized thanks to the efforts of the students who had studied with him. According to Azra, al-Makassarî's proselytizing in his homeland could go according to plan without his presence. (Sahib, 2019).

Since al-Makassarî's arrival in Cape Town, Zandervleit's agricultural territory has been used as a center for the VOC to gather slaves with migrants where al-Makassarî laid Islamic foundation. That's why many historians liken him to the early builder of Islamic society there. (Ismail, 2014). Al-Makassarî echoed the transformation from initially being limited to a Muslim presence in the Cape to becoming a novice Islamic community. Al-Makassarî's arrival was then followed by Raja Tambora, another exiled leader, 1697 to the Cape from the Indonesian archipelago. (Esack, 1997, p. 21). Although al-Makassarî was not the first Muslim in South Africa, he is considered one of the most famous figures. He revived, developed and enlivened Islam there. Wherever he was his proselytizing flourished, strengthened the religion of Islam, attracted the sympathy of the people, from the government circles to the common people.

### ***Da'wa* by Liberation (*al-dawa bi al-taḥrîr*)**

Liberation gives the effect of understanding on emancipation and transcendence. Emancipation is to elevate human dignity so that they become honorable human beings, while the transcendence movement or what can also be called sublimation is what we do always has a spiritual dimension, a dimension of worship. *Da'wa* liberation of al-Makassarî can be seen from

the following realities. His proselytizing efforts to eradicate the practice of pagan worship in three countries: Indonesia, Sri Lanka and South Africa are a reflection of *da'wa* by liberation. Pagan worship as a manifestation of polytheism (*shirk*) substantially degrades the degree of God and exalts the degree of His Creatures. In addition, instilling awareness as a colonized human being and having to break away from the grasp of the colonizers is also another form of *da'wa* by liberation. Moreover, the liberation of slaves from the shackles of slavery was also a concrete attempt of liberated proselytizing. This liberation proselytizing also contributed to liberating South African society from government with an apartheid system.

### **Moderate Nature of al-Makassarî's *Da'wa***

Al-Makassarî has always reflected the values of moderation in his proselytizing work. The teachings of his *şûfî* order were able to attract the sympathy of various circles, both ordinary people and rulers. In Gowa in order to carry out his proselytizing mission, al-Makassarî cooperated with the ruler and was close to the people. This kind of position is indeed the disposition of the teachings of the Sufi Order in various regions in Indonesia. In Aceh, for example, since Iskandar Muda until today, the leaders of the order, such as: Nûr al-Dîn al-Ranîrî, Hamzah Fansuri and Syamsuddin al-Sumaterani are not only close to grassroots communities, but also have a special relationship with a number of Islamic rulers, political figures and intellectuals. (Ibrahim, 2020, p. 1 – 22).

From the very beginning of his odyssey of studying religion, al-Makassarî had shown a tendency towards moderation. He studied religious sciences, especially the teachings of Sufi Order from many sheikhs in various parts of the world until he obtained diplomas. He obtained 5 diplomas of Sufi Order, namely: 1. the Qadiriyyah Order, 2. the Naqshabandiyah Order, 3. the Ba'lawiyah Order, 4. the Shattariyya Order, and 5. the Khalwatiyyah Order. These diplomas reflect the breadth of insight into Sheikh Yusuf's Order science as well as marking his moderation. Exclusivity, radicality and extremity in religion are partly due to a narrow understanding of a religious teaching. This narrow understanding departs in part from learning only to certain people with a background in certain schools theological (*kalâm*) or jurisprudential (*fiqhîya*).

In order to renew Islamic thought, al-Makassarî established himself as a reconciliate, both in the theological and sufistic realms. In the field of *Taşavvuf*, al-Makassarî sought to reconcile between *Sharî'a* and *Taşavvuf*. He cited the growing assertion of his time that people who are only fixated on *Sharî'a* without essence are ungodly, and those who practice *Taşavvuf* but ignore *Sharî'a* are *zindiq*. Al-Makassarî tried to harmonize the two, he said: "my friends, it should be known that exoteric obedience without esoteric obedience is like a body without a soul, while esoteric preoccupation without exoteric obedience is like a soul without a body." In this case al-Makassarî established himself as a reconciliate between *Sharî'a* and *Taşavvuf*. This role of the reconciliate manifests the moderation of religious thought.

In the teaching of Sufism, especially the process of self-purification in order to get as close as possible to God, al-Makassarî emphasizes the concept of balance. He advised that a person should not abandon all his world affairs and only pursue the affairs of the afterlife. In the eyes of al-Makassarî the life of the world is not something to be forsaken but it rather must be harnessed towards God. Lust does not have to be turned off at all, but it must be controlled with discipline, self-mastery, and with divine guidance. *Tarîqa* essentially teaches the principle of balance and complementarity between the life of the world and the hereafter. It does not only deal with the issue of personal rituals, but it also drives social change in the broadest sense. Therefore, it is understandable if *Tarîqa* is able to rally radical and revolutionary political movements to fight colonialism and imperialism. In the footsteps of his sufistic proselytizing work, it can be seen that al-Makassarî practiced Sufism model of balance.

Al-Makassarî's proselytizing method emphasized the similarity of treatment of adherents of different religions and gave equal opportunities to every race and ethnicity. Tribal variants in the communities that al-Makassarî fostered in South Africa, such as: Malays, Africans, Indians, Arabs, Madagascar and Mauritania. Against adherents of other religions in the case of South Africa, according to Moosa, al-Makassarî, was consistent in the practice of QS. al-Kâfirûn (109): 6. "To you your religion and to me my religion." This statement became one of the pillars of inclusive proselytizing initiated by the writer, namely "a preacher must not intervene in other religions." In South Africa al-Makassarî lived side by side with Priest Peter Calden with his old Dutch Reform Church, but there was no friction and conflict, due to differences in beliefs. *Taşavvuf* has always displayed an image of moderation and inclusivity. Sufistic interpretation interprets Qur'anic verses of *jihâd* with the struggle against lust, while among exegetes (*mufassir*) themselves to this day there are still those who interpret it as struggle with weapons.

## DISCUSSIONS

Colonialism and Christianization are two integral parts like "twins." This is in accordance with the motto "3 G", namely Gold, Glory and Gospel, or often called Gold, Glory and God. This motto underlies the exploration, exploitation and ultimately colonialism and imperialism activities carried out by Europeans in the 15th to 18th centuries. Historical reality shows that almost all colonialism activities refer to the 3 goals contained in the motto. The objectives in question are: 1. To obtain wealth, 2. To spread Christianity or Catholicism, and 3. To gain glory and fame by discovering new colonies. (insanpelajar.com, 2020). Colonialism and Christianization as a challenge of proselytizing are in accordance with the theory of the terrain of proselytizing. This theory explains the theological, cultural, and structural situation of society (*mad'û*) at the time of the beginning of the implementation of Islamic proselytizing. (Nur, 2011, p. 135 – 141).

Al-Makassarî carried out his proselytizing mission by packaging it in several formats: 1. *Da'wa* by reform, 2. *Da'wa* by movement, 3. *Da'wa* by transformation, and 4. *Da'wa* by liberation. Such

forms of proselytizing are very much in line with the proselytizing environment of the 17th century, where al-Makassarī took part as preacher in several countries characterized by: backwardness in terms of: science, technology, politics, economy and military. Colonialism with its various derivatives: economic monopolies, restrictions on religious activity and Christianization.

In March 1602 the Dutch Government granted special rights to a joint company known as V.O.C (*Vreenege Oost Indische Compagnie*) and authorized it. The Company was given the full right to trade and hold power between the archipelago, Solomon Islands and the Cape of Good Hope. (artikula.id, 2018). Liberation proselytizing is basically based on liberation theology. One of the characteristics of liberation theology according to Gutiérrez, (1973) is to emphasize liberation from the shackles of economic, social, political and societal systems that deny humanity. Liberation theology concerns the fate of society and shows solidarity with those who suffer, get injustice, are poor, oppressed and become victims of history. (Jaya, 2012, p. 161 – 179).

The role as a reconciliate colored Al-Makassarī's moderate preaching. Reconciliation along history has played an important role in solving problems. Reconciliate to some extent it is needed especially in harmonize two different opinions in an issue of Islamic Studies. Furthermore, reconcile is necessary to bridge two Islamic teachings or concepts which seem to be contradictive. Moreover, the role of reconcile also needed to mediate two religious groups who involved in conflict. The concept of reconciliation in Islam is scripturally firmed. Reconciliation between people will be given a great reward (Q. 4: 114). In a *ḥadīth*, it is mentioned reconciliation between people is better than charity (Hadith narrated by Aḥmad, Abū Dāwūd, and al-Tirmidhī.

The concept of middle way “*wasāṭan*” which always marks al-Makassarī's proselytizing affairs firmly rooted from the Qur'an. QS. al-Baqara (2): 143 implies Muslims as the community of the middle way who witnessed over other previous peoples, and their position an object of witnessing. The term “*wasāṭan*” also shows balance in the context of: 1. Preacher's attitude is not contaminated with extreme religious views, both radical and terrorist. 2. Proselytizing messages emphasizes the teachings of Islam which are not excessive or lacking in the aspects of faith, worship and social interaction (*mu'amala*), upright on a solid scriptural runway.

Some characteristics of religious moderation that can be the basis for carrying out the task of proselytizing are, as follows: 1. *Tawassuth* is always being neutral, meaning that we do not behave like too extreme left or extreme right. 2. *Tawāḏyun* is always being balanced, meaning not too heavy/leaning towards one of the things. 3. *Tasāmuh* i.e. an attitude of always tolerating to anyone, it means being respectful of the beliefs of other religions. 4. *Wāqifiyah* which means basing consideration on social reality. (kompasiana.com, 2021).

## CLOSING REMARKS

Sheikh Yusuf of Makassar in his proselytizing mission in the continental world reflects the moderation of religious and social life. Why is al-Makassarî as a preacher acceptable to people with different ethnic, race and culture? The answer lies in his moderate integrity, methods and messages of proselytizing. This moderate capacity, among other things, is shaped by his broad religious insight. Thus, to become a moderate preacher, someone needs to broaden his or her religious insight, by among others: conducting a lot of research related to the message of proselytizing, reading a lot of the research results of other researchers and involving in interfaith dialogues. For researchers, it is highly recommended to conduct research on al-Makassarî's method, media and message of *da'wa*.

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