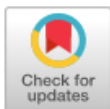
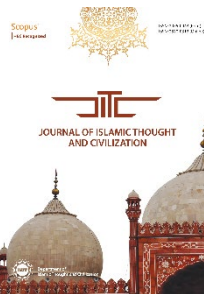


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Tracing the Intellectual Connections of Shadhili Sufi Order Associated with Sheikh Yusuf al-Jawi from Indonesia to Africa in the 17th Century

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Abstract

Sheikh Yusuf al-Jawi who was known as Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari was a scholar of Shadhili Sufi order who lived in the 17th century during the rule of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa in the Sultanate of Banten. He is recognized not only as a local religious figure but also as a key actor internasional with Islamic intellectual connections linking Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Afrika. The intellectual connections of Sheikh were frequently mentioned by scholars who lived during the period, especially in relation to his scholarly sanad and the transmission of *Shadhili* sufi teachings that he introduced and developed. Therefore, this study aims to explore and analyze how the intellectual connections developed across the ocean from Indonesia to Africa. The research employs a literature-based method using a historical-philological approach to primary and secondary sources (references), particularly manuscripts and works written by scholars contemporary with Sheikh Yusuf that document his intellectual and spiritual activities. Among the main sources analyzed are *Tsabat al-Shuffuri* and *Musamarat al-Zharif*. The results showed that Sheikh Yusuf successfully established Shadhili order intellectual connections from Indonesia to Middle East and Africa. This was supported by numerous records written by contemporary scholars such as *Tsabat al-Shuffuri* and *Musamarat al-Zharif* that recorded the intellectual connections. This study highlights the significant role of Sheikh Yusuf in International Islamic intellectual connections during the 17th century, and contributes to broader discussions on Islamic intellectual history and internasional sufi networks.

Keywords: Africa, Indonesia, intellectual connections, Shadhili, Sheikh Yusuf al-Jawi

Introduction

The Islamic Sultanate of Banten led by Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa was a strong and prosperous kingdom in Indonesia in the 17th century in addition to the Aceh Darussalam Kingdom.¹ This was because the reign of the sultan led to a significantly strong relationship between the rulers (umara) and scholars (*ulama*).² The trend was observed between Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa and his *qadi*, Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari, at the time. The relationship further motivated the advancement and development of the Islamic intellectual connections in the Sultanate of Banten, particularly in relation

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¹Kenneth R. Hall, "European Southeast Asia Encounters with Islamic Expansionism, circa 1500–1700," *Journal of World History* 25, no. 2 (2014): 229–262; Uka Tjandrasmita, *Banten Abad XV–XXI Pencapaian Gemilang Penorehan Menjelang [15th-21st Century Banten: Glorious Achievements Approaching]*, vol. 1 (Jakarta: Puslitbang Kemenag, 2011).

²Syamsuddin Arif, "Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar (d. 1111 AH/1699 CE): A Bio-Bibliographical and Doctrinal Survey," *Intellectual Discourse* 32, no. 1 (2024): 31–54, <https://doi.org/10.31436/id.v32i1.2079>.

to Sufism. It was also stated that Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari contributed significantly to the spread of *Shadhili* Sufi order in Banten.³

Aminah reported that Sheikh Yusuf was recognized as a propagator of the Khalwatiyah order in addition to *Shadhili* Sufi order in the archipelago during the same period.⁴ The scholar was also the spreader of the *Syathariyah* order which was developed by his teacher, Sheikh Abdurrauf al-Singkili in Aceh. The lineage of this order was traced to his teachers, Sheikh Ahmad Qusyayi and Ibrahim Kurani in Medina.⁵

The spiritual intellectual connections developed by Sheikh Yusuf were a continuation of the trend established by earlier Nusantara scholars such as Sheikh Abdurrauf al-Singkili,⁶ Sheikh Nuruddin ar-Raniri,⁷ and Muhammad Zain bin Faih Jalaluddin.⁸ An example of the records was explained in a manuscript written by one of his students in *Tsabat al-Shuffuri al-Damasyqi* that Sheikh Yusuf had *Shadhili* connections. Therefore, the novelty of this study is to explain *Shadhili* intellectual connections between Sheikh Yusuf and scholars in the Middle East during the 17th century.

The objective is different from previous studies, such as the focus of Rosi on the role of *Shadhili* order in promoting individual and social piety.⁹ Hajam also analyzed the Sufism of Imam Ghazali in Islamic moderation,¹⁰ while Martin examined *Shadhili* as part of the Sufi orders spread in Indonesia.¹¹ Imawan studied Sheikh Abdurrauf al-Singkili as a pioneer in spreading the *Syathariyah* order in Indonesia¹² and analyzed the Nusantara scholars' intellectual connections in the Haramain.

³Dzulkifli Hadi Imawan, *The History of Islam in Indonesia: Ulama's Contribution to Building Civilization and Islamic Thought in Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Diva Press, 2021).

⁴Aminah Azis, "The Authority of Khalwatiyah Tariqa of Sheikh Yusuf Al-Makassari on Fostering Religious Moderation in South Sulawesi," *International Journal of Islamic Thought* 25 (2024): 15–26, <https://doi.org/10.24035/ijit.25.2024.282>.

⁵Dzulkifli Hadi Imawan, "The Contribution of Shaikh Abdurrauf As-Singkili to the Establishment of Islamic Law in the Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam in the 17th Century AD," *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies* 21, no. 3 (2022): 797–820, <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol21.iss3.art7>.

⁶Dzulkifli Hadi Imawan, "Shaykh Nuruddin Ar-Raniri's Contribution in His *As-Shirath al-Mustaqim* to Popularizing Islamic Law in the Nusantara," *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization* 12, no. 1 (2022): 225–238, <https://doi.org/10.32350/jitc.121.16>.

⁷Mohd Noh Abdul Jalil, and Majdan Alias, "Nur al-Din al-Raniri's Selected Commentaries on Other Religions in the 17th Century Malay World," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun* 15, no. 1 (2020): 147–55, <https://doi.org/10.22452/JAT.vol15no1.10>.

⁸Idris Masudi, and Didin Saepudin, "The Controversy of Wujūdiyyah Sufism," *Ulumuna* 28, no. 2 (2024): 770, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujs.v28i2.1081>.

⁹Rosi Islamiyati, "Tarekat Syadziliyah dalam Dimensi Kesalehan Individual dan Kesalehan Sosial serta Pengaruh Modernisasi dan Globalisasi [The Syadziliyah Order in the dimension of individual piety and social piety as well as the influence of modernization and globalization]," *Refleksi: Jurnal Filsafat dan Pemikiran Islam* 22, no. 1 (2022): 131–150, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ref.v22i1.3256>.

¹⁰Hajam Hajam et al., "The Contribution of Al-Ghazali in Promoting Islamic Moderate Thought in Indonesia," *Sunan Kalijaga: International Journal of Islamic Civilization* 3, no. 2 (2020): 133–159, <https://doi.org/10.14421/skijic.v3i2.1894>.

¹¹Martin van Bruinessen, *The "Kitab Kuning," Islamic Boarding Schools (Pesantren), and Sufi Orders* (Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing, 2012).

¹²Imawan, "The Contribution of Shaikh Abdurrauf As-Singkili to the Establishment of Islamic Law in the Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam in the 17th Century AD."

The study showed that *Shadhili* order had already spread in Indonesia, particularly in Banten, during the time of Syarif Hidayatullah who was known as Sunan Gunung Jati, the father of Sultan Hasanuddin, the founder, and first king of the Sultanate of Banten in the 16th century.¹³ However, this present study focuses on *Shadhili* order intellectual connections of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari al-Jawi in the Middle East as documented in the 17th-century manuscript *Tsabat al-Shuffuri al-Damasyqi*.

2. Methods

Literature review and philological methods were used in this study to achieve the stated objective. Literature review explored the theoretical framework and historical context related to the material under study. This stage involves a comprehensive examination of both primary and secondary sources related to Sheikh Yusuf al-Jawi al-Makassari Shadhili order, and his intellectual connection (networks) linking Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Cape Town, Afrika. And secondary sources include scholarly books (ulama), peer-reviewed journal articles that discuss the intellectual biography of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari, and *Shadhili* Sufi Order Intellectual Connections of Sheikh Yusuf al-Jawi in Indonesia, and the Middle East to Africa during the 17th Century.

Meanwhile, the philological aspect was conducted by observing and recording the manuscript of *Tsabat al-Shuffuri al-Damasyqi* as a primary source documenting the Intellectual Connections of Sheikh Yusuf al-Jawi. This contains several stages; manuscript identification and description, textual analysis and interpretation, and historical corroboration. Data obtained from *Tsabat al-Shuffuri* are cross referenced with other contemporary works, including Musamarat al-Zharif, to verify consistency and to reconstruct the patterns of intellectual connections across regions.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Biography of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari

According to Arif in his work “Shayk Yusuf of Makassar (d. 1111 AH/ 699 CE) a biobibliographical and doctrinal survey,” Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari was one of the most internationally recognized scholars in Indonesia. He was born in Makassar, Sulawesi, on 8 Shawwal 1036 H which corresponded to July 3, 1626.¹⁴ And according to Tudjimah, Sheikh Yusuf was the son of Abdullah while his mother was named Putri Gallarang Moncongloe who was also known as Aminah.¹⁵

Moreover, Abu Hamid explained that the scholar was raised in a family shaped by a love for knowledge. Therefore, he started studying the Quran with Daeng Ri Tasa mmang from a young age and later studied under Sheikh Sayyid Ba Alawi bin Abdullah as-Segaf in Bontoala, Makassar.¹⁶ Sheikh Sayyid was a great scholar from the Haramayn who had been preaching in Makassar since 1625. He was also under the tutelage of Sayyid Jalaluddin al-Aidid who was a scholar and preacher from Hadramawt that arrived in Aceh in 1645. These two scholars of Alawiyyin descent were

¹³Dzulkifli Hadi Imawan, *The Path of Da'wah of Nusantara Scholars in Haramain in the 17th-20th Centuries AD* (Jakarta: Pustaka Compass, 2018).

¹⁴Arif, “Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar (d. 1111 AH/1699 CE).”

¹⁵Tudjimah Tudjimah, *Shaykh Yusuf of Makassar: His Life and Teachings*. (Jakarta: UI Press, 2005).

¹⁶Abu Hamid Hamid, *Shaykh Yusuf: A Scholar, a Sufi, and a Freedom Fighter* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2005).

significant in motivating Sheikh Yusuf to continue further studies with scholars in the Middle East.
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Mustari reported that Sheikh Yusuf traveled to Banten and Aceh where he studied under Sheikh Nuruddin al-Raniry (d. 1658).¹⁸ However, Azra presented another perspective by stating that al-Raniry had returned to Randir, India, in 1644 when Sheikh Yusuf just started his journey to the Middle East in the same year. There was a possibility that Sheikh Yusuf met al-Raniry in India¹⁹ or probably received the *Qadiriyyah* order from Sheikh Umar bin Abdullah Ba Syaiban who was al-Raniry's teacher.²⁰

Tudjimah cited *Safinah al-Najah* and reported that Sheikh Yusuf studied under Sheikh Abu Abdillah Muhammad bin Abdul Baqi al-Mizjaji al-Yamani al-Zabidi al-Naqsyabandi who was a disciple of the great scholar Imam Qutb Sheikh Taj Muhammad bin Zakaria al-Ustmani al-Makki. This great scholar was taught by Imam Mulla Khajaki and he transmitted the Naqshbandi order obtained from him to others.²¹ The book *al-Nafais al-Ulwiyya fi al-Masail al-Shufiyyah (Alawite Valuables in Sufi Matters)* by Habib Abdullah al-Haddad also affirms that Sheikh Yusuf was a disciple of Imam Abdullah al-Haddad (1044–1132 H/1634–1720M).²² This was further corroborated by Habib Umar Hafid who reported that Sheikh Yusuf contributed to teaching the works of al-Haddad such as *Ratib al-Haddad* to the community in Cape Town, South Africa, during his exile there by the Dutch.²³

The trend showed that Sheikh Yusuf studied with scholars in Mecca and Medina such as Sheikh Ibrahim al-Kurani, who was an Ashari scholar, heavily influenced by the sufi ideas of Ibnu Arabi (d. 1690)²⁴ and hadith studies.²⁵ He also studied under the tutelage of Shaykh Muḥammad ibn ‘Allān, a scholar widely regarded as one of the finest commentators on Imām al-Nawawī’s *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn*, notably through his commentary *Dalīl al-Fāliḥīn*—in addition to other teachers in Yemen and India. These experiences reflected that Sheikh Yusuf possessed profound religious knowledge and made significant contributions to connecting the spiritual intellectual chains (*sanad*) of Middle Eastern scholars with the counterparts in Nusantara Indonesia.

Ricklefs reported that Sheikh Yusuf did not return to Makassar after studying in the Middle East for almost 30 years. This was because Makassar had been taken over by Arung Palakka who was the

¹⁷Dzulkifli Hadi Imawan, and Labib Najib Abdullah Ghaleb, “The Contribution of Alawiyyin Scholars in Grounding Islam in the Archipelago in the 15th–16th Century AD,” *Akademika: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 26, no. 2 (2021): 261–276, <https://doi.org/10.32332/akademika.v26i2.3665>.

¹⁸Mustafa Mustari, *Religion and the Ethical Shadows of Shaykh Yusuf Al-Makassari* (Yogyakarta: LKIS Yogyakarta, 2006).

¹⁹Azumardi Azra, *The Network of Middle Eastern and Nusantara Archipelago Scholars in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Grup, 1999).

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Tudjimah, *Shaykh Yusuf of Makassar: His Life and Teachings*.

²²Abdullāh Al-‘Alawī al-Ḥaddād, *Alawite Valuables in Sufi Matters* (Yemen: Dār Ḥawāī, 1993).

²³Jaco Beyers, “Beyond Denial and Exclusion: The History of Relations between Christians and Muslims in the Cape Colony during the 17th–18th Centuries,” *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies* 72, no. 1 (2016): a3117, <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v72i1.3117>.

²⁴Naser Dumairieh, “The Reception of Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) in Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī’s (d. 1101/1690) Works,” *Der Islam* 102, no. 1 (April 2025): 249–75, <https://doi.org/10.1515/islam-2025-0008>.

²⁵Naser Dumairieh, “Revising the Assumption that Ḥadīṭ Studies Flourished in the 11th/17th-Century Ḥiḡāz: Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī’s (d. 1101/1690) Contribution,” *Arabica* 68, no. 1 (2021): 1–35, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15700585-12341597>.

ruler of the Bone Bugis Kingdom that allied with the Dutch in 1669. The scholar went to Banten because his friend Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa had become the king of the kingdom. Sheikh Yusuf was subsequently appointed as the closest advisor and the qadi (judge).²⁶ His presence also stimulated the development of religious knowledge which made Banten a key center for learning. This was observed from the fact that he was succeeded by one of his outstanding students, Abdul Bashir, who taught the Khalwatiyah order in Rappang up to the time of his death in 1733.²⁷

According to Irina, Sheikh Yusuf was a popular scholar of Sharia and Sufism as well as a great fighter. This was observed from his active participation alongside Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa in resisting the Dutch after the betrayal and conspiracy of Sultan Haji, the crown prince, to seize the throne.²⁸ Uka Tjandrasmita reported that Sultan Haji who was also known as Sultan Abu al-Nashr Abdul Kahhar was a student of Sheikh Yusuf and a follower of his Khalwatiyah order. However, his character changed after returning from Mecca in 1671, when he was appointed as the regent and took residence in the Surosowan Palace. The division between the two palaces, Surosowan and Tirtayasa, was exploited by the Dutch to incite discord between the father and son. This led to a major war which started in 1682 when the Surosowan Palace was besieged by the forces of Sultan Ageng in an attempt to eliminate the Dutch who had interfered in the politics of Banten.²⁹

High-ranking Banten officials such as Pangeran Adipati, Pangeran Kulon, Pangeran Kidul, Pangeran Purbaya, and Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari participated in the wars. However, Sultan Haji managed to escape and counterattacked the Tirtayasa Palace on December 28, 1682 with the assistance of the Dutch. The artillery bombardment between Dutch forces and troops of Sultan Ageng severely damaged the palace which led to its abandonment.

The Dutch continued to pursue Sultan Ageng and his forces which led to guerrilla warfare in the Sundanese lands. On March 14, 1683, the Dutch finally captured Sultan Ageng after cunningly convincing Sultan Haji to lure him to the palace. It was also reported that Sultan Haji had previously killed Pangeran Kulon with his kris. The guerrilla war was continued by Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari, Pangeran Purbaya, and Pangeran Kidul by facing the forces of Van Happel in Tangerang area. After some time, Sheikh Yusuf and Pangeran Kidul moved to Muncang, later to Lawangtaji, Cidurian, and eventually to Cirebon. During the guerrilla warfare, Sheikh Yusuf served as the commander and led more than five thousand troops of individuals from Makassar, Bugis, Banten, and Melayu.

Van Happel worked hard to defeat the forces of Sheikh Yusuf and captured him using the same deceitful tactics used for Sultan Ageng. The Dutch first captured the daughter of Sheikh Yusuf in Padaherang. The daughter subsequently led the forces to Sheikh Yusuf in Ajikarang where he was successfully captured on December 14, 1683. He was moved to Cirebon, exiled to Batavia, from where he continued the exile to Sri Lanka on September 12, 1684, and finally to Cape Town on July 7, 1693. After approximately 6 years in Cape Town, Sheikh Yusuf passed away on May 23, 1699 and was buried in Faure, Cape Town, South Africa.³⁰ President Nelson Mandela stated that Sheikh Yusuf was considered part of the greatest sons in Africa because his mission inspired the resistance against apartheid.

²⁶Merle Calvin Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, 4th ed., (Jakarta: Serambi, 2005).

²⁷van Bruinessen, *The "Kitab Kuning," Islamic Boarding Schools (Pesantren), and Sufi Orders*.

²⁸Irina R. Katkova, "Letters from the Malay Sultanates of the 17th and 18th Centuries: An Unknown Collection in St. Petersburg," *Itinerario* 43, no. 1 (2019): 32–46, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0165115319000044>.

²⁹Imawan, *The History of Islam in Indonesia: Ulama's Contribution to Building Civilization and Islamic Thought in Indonesia*.

³⁰Hamid, *Shaykh Yusuf: A Scholar, a Sufi, and a Freedom Fighter*.

The deep knowledge of Sheikh Yusuf is evident from the numerous works he authored during his lifetime. These works include (1) *al-Barakat al-Sailaniyyah*, (2) *Al-Fawaid al-Yusufiyyah*, (3) *Al-Washiyat Al-Munjiyat 'an Madlarrat al-Hijaiba*, (4) *Al-Nafhat al-Sailaniyyah*, (5) *Bidayat al-Mubtadi*, (6) *Daf'u al-Bala'*, (7) *Fath Kaifiyah al-Dzikr*, (8) *Hadzihi Fawaid 'Azhimah Dzikr La Ilaha Illallah*, (9) *Hasyiyyah al-Anbah fi 'Irab La Ilaha Illallah*, (10) *Kifayah al-Mughny*, (11) *Mathalib al-Salikin*, (12) *Muqaddimah al-Fawaid allati ma la budda min al-'Aqid*, *Qurrah al-'Ain*, (13) *Risalah Ghayah al-Ikhtishar wa Nihayah al-Intizhar* (14) *Sirr al-Asrar*, *Syura*, (15) *Tahsil al-'Inayah wa al-Hidayah*, (16) *Taj al-Asrar*, (17) *Tuhfah al-Abrar li Ahli al-Asrar*, (18) *Tuhfah al-Amr fi Fadlilat al-Dzikr*, (19) *Zubdat al-Asrar*, (20) *Asrar al-Shalawat*, (21) *Fath al-Rahman*, (22) *Hablu al-Warid*, (23) *Mir'at al-Muhaqqiqin*, (24) *Syuruth al-'Arif al-Muhaqqiq*, (25) *Tartib al-Wird*, (26) *Tuhfah al-Labib*, (27) *Tuhfah al-Rabbaniyyah*.³¹

3.2 Shadhili Sufi Order Intellectual Connections of Sheikh Yusuf al-Jawi in Indonesia and the Middle East during the 17th Century

According to Abdul Halim Mahmud in his work *'The Modern Shadhili School and Its Imam Abu Hasan Shadhili'*, *Shadhili* is part of the acknowledged Sufi orders with several followers among Muslims. It was founded by Imam Abu Hasan Ali al-*Shadhili* (593–656 AH/1197–1258 AD) who was originally from Morocco and passed away in Humaitsarah, Egypt.³² And according to al-Dhahabi, the order emphasizes the strengthening of the spiritual connection between the servant and Allah. The focus is on the monotheistic remembrance of Allah through dhikr, *salawat* (blessings on the Prophet), and reciting the beautiful names of Allah to attain forgiveness and pleasure. It also requires good actions by assisting the weak, the poor, orphans, and others as a manifestation of dhikr to Allah and obedience to Allah's commands in the Qur'an, as reflected in Qs. Adh-Dzariyat: 19, QS. Al-Balad: 14-16, QS. An-Nisa: 36, QS. Ad-Dhuha: 9-10, QS. Al-Baqarah: 152, and QS. Ali Imran: 191.³³ Imam Abu Hasan al-*Shadhili* compiled several dhikr collections, including *Hizb Bahr* and *Hizb Nashr*. Some of the successors of the order were Abu Abbas al-Mursi and Ibn Ataillah al-Sakandari who authored *al-Hikam al-'Athaiyyah*.³⁴

The order has a large following in Indonesia and is believed by Kyai Masykuri Qurthubi to have spread through Syarif Hidayatullah who is known as Sunan Gunung Jati. The spread of the order was continued by his son Maulana Hasanuddin followed by Maulana Manshur, Sheikh Muhyiddin Tarambu, and Sheikh Abdul Karim Ali.³⁵

Ibnu Masyhud reported wider spread in the archipelago during the 19th century, specifically through Indonesian students in Masjidil Haram that received the *ijazah* (spiritual certification) of Shadhili Order from Sheikh Ahmad Nahrawi al-Makki. Some of students were Sheikh Muhammad

³¹Imawan, *The Path of Da'wah of Nusantara Scholars in Haramain in the 17th-20th Centuries AD*.

³²Abdul Halim Mahmud, *The Modern Shādhilī School and Its Imam, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī* (Cairo: Dar Kutub Hadisah, 2001).

³³Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'* [*Biographies of Eminent Figures*] (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2006).

³⁴Syaikh Abdul Qadir Shuffuri, *Intellectual Genealogy of Syaikh Abdul Qadir Shuffuri* (Madinah: Madinah Islamic University, 1081).

³⁵KH Masykuri Qurthubi, *The Renaissance of Hearts and Meeting in Science (Hizb al-Bahr Wa al-Nashr)* (Jakarta: YPP Nurullah, 2015).

Abdul Malik bin Qutb Arif Sayyid Muhammad Ilyas and Sheikh Ahmad Solo al-Jawi who further spread the order in Central and East Java.³⁶

Several Indonesian scholars have followed the *Shadhili* Order in the 20th century such as Sheikh Abdul Wahhab Hasbullah, Sheikh Shalih Langitan, Sheikh Ma'shum Lasem, Sheikh Khalil Bankalan, Sheikh Sahlan Karyan, Sheikh Zainuddin Mojosari, Sheikh Dilhar bin Abdurrahman Magelang, Sheikh Abdul Hamid Pasuruwan, Sheikh Muhaimin Barakan, and Sheikh Yasin al-Fadani. KH Hasyim Asyari also emphasized that Indonesian scholars have long been followers of the Sufi path provided by Imam Ghazali and Imam Shadhili.³⁷

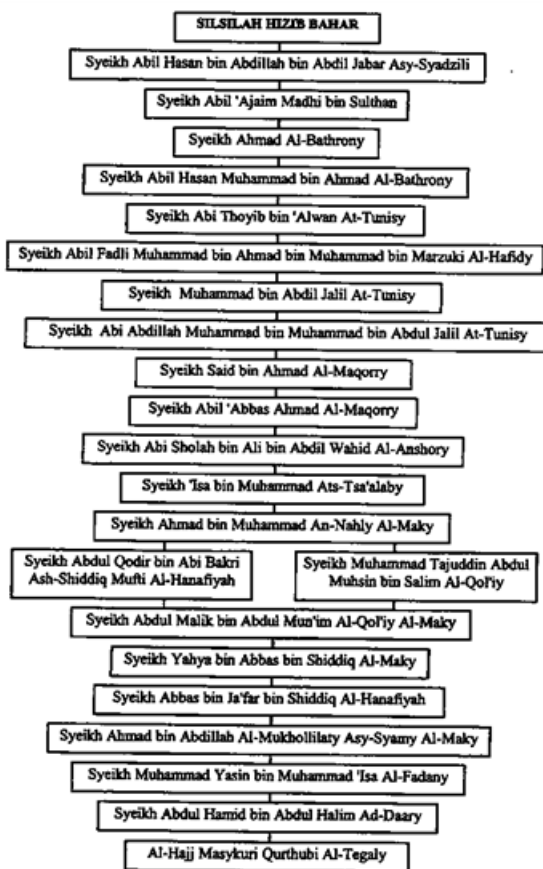


Figure 1. Sanad (Intellectual Genealogy of *Shadhili*)³⁸

³⁶Dzulkifli Hadi Imawan, "Indonesian Ulama and Their Academic and Da'wa Contribution in the Islamic World in the 19th Century," *Indonesian Journal of Interdisciplinary Islamic Studies (IJIS)* 1, no. 2 (2019): 15–220, <https://doi.org/10.20885/ijis.vol1.iss2.art8>; Ahmad Muhyiddin Ibnu Masyhud, *Nail Al-Rahmah al-Ilahiyah (Obtaining God's Mercy)* (2000).

³⁷KH Hasyim Asy'ari, *A Treatise on Ahl Al-Sunnah Wa al-Jamā'ah* (Jombang: Maktabah Turas Islamiy, 2000).

³⁸Qurthubi, *The Renaissance of Hearts and Meeting in Science (Hizb al-Bahr Wa al-Nashr)*, 2. Department of Islamic Thought and Civilization

The trend showed that *Shadhili* order intellectual connections were established in Indonesia in the 16th century during the time of Syarif Hidayatullah, continued in the 20th century, and beyond into the 21st century, despite differences in lines of *sanad* (spiritual intellectual connections) among some Nusantara scholars.

And beyond these data, the strength of the spiritual intellectual connections in the archipelago was further supported by manuscripts written by Sheikh Abdul Qadir bin Musthafa bin Yusuf al-Shuffuri who was a scholar from Syria and a disciple of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari. He received the *ijazah* of *Shadhili* order from Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari as recorded in his *tsabat* (book of intellectual genealogy) which was the official record of spiritual certification³⁹. Therefore, it is important to provide a more detailed discussion of Shuffuri and his spiritual intellectual connections with *Haramain* (Makkah and Madinah) scholars in order to reveal the intellectual connection of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari in the Middle East and Africa.

According to Muhibbi, a well-known historian of Damascus in the Ottoman era,⁴⁰ al-Shuffuri in *Khulashatu al-Atsar fi A'yan al-Qarn al-Hadi al-'Asyar* (*A Summary of Notable Figures of the Eleventh Century*) was identified as a distinguished scholar in Damascus, renowned for his expertise in different Islamic sciences, including *fiqh*, *tafsir*, *usul fiqh*, *nahwu* (Arabic grammar), and others. The scholar studied under prominent teachers, including Shamsuddin Maidani in Damascus as well as Burhanuddin Laqqani, Abu Abbas Muqri, and Sheikh Muhammad Ibn Naqib Beiruty in Egypt. He later taught at institutions such as the Balkhiyah School, Dar Hadis Asyrafiyah, and the Jami' Umawi in Damascus. His outstanding students included Sheikh Taqiyuddin bin Shamsuddin Hishni who was the author of *Kifayah al-Akhyar* as well as Sheikh Ahmad bin Muhammad Shafadi, Imam Darwisiyah, and several others. Al-Shuffuri was born in 1010 AH, passed away in Ramadan 1081 AH, and was buried at the Babu al-Shaghir cemetery.⁴¹

The biography of Shuffuri piqued the interest of the Moroccan historian Muhammad Kamaluddin Ghazzi 'Amiri (d. 1214 AH/1799 AD) who wrote about his teacher, Sheikh Abdul Ghaniy Nablusiy, in *al-Wirdu al-Unsiy wa al-Warid al-Qudsiy*. The book detailed how his teacher studied under Shuffuri who was also under the tutelage of Sheikh Yusuf. Interestingly, *tsabat* (*intellectual genealogy book*) placed Sheikh Yusuf alongside his other contemporaneous teachers such as Sheikh Islam Najm Ghazzi, Mulla Ali Kurdi, Sheikh Ibrahim Laqqani, Sheikh Ali Halabi, Sheikh Muhammad Babil, Sheikh Husain Afandi Syami Qashantiniy, Sheikh Ibrahim Kurani, Sayyid Muhammad Barzanji, Sheikh Muhaddis Hasan Ujaimi, and Sheikh Ahmad Qusyasyi.⁴² The name Sheikh Ahmad Qusyasyi belonged to a prominent scholar from Madinah who served as a mufti for both the Shafii and Maliki schools of thought. As mentioned in *al-A'lam* by Zirikli, Qusyasyi (d. 1660 AD) was a leading 17th-century scholar from Madinah. He was well-versed in different fields, including *hadith*, *fiqh*, and Sufism. The knowledge possessed was further connected to the great scholars of the time such as Musnid Abdurrahman bin Abdul Qadir bin Fahd Makki, and Sheikh

³⁹Shuffuri, *Intellectual Genealogy of Syaikh Abdul Qadir Shuffuri*.

⁴⁰Theodore S. Beers, *Paths Crossing in Damascus: Familiarity with Persian among Eleventh/Seventeenth-Century Arabic Literati* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 41, <https://doi.org/10.1163/24519197-bja10034>.

⁴¹Muhammad Amin Fadlullah Muhibbi, *A Summary of Notable Figures of the Eleventh Century* (Beirut: Dar Kutub Ilmiyah, 2000).

⁴²Muhammad Kamaluddin Ghazzi al-'Amiri, *The Intimate Litany and the Sacred Inspiration: A Biography of the Gnostic 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

Muhammad bin Ahmad Ramli Anshari who was a key disciple of Imam Zakaria Anshari who was a key disciple of Imam Ibn Hajar ‘Asqalani.⁴³

Interestingly, the intellectual connection of these scholars further strengthens their connections with Indonesian scholars through a disciple of Sheikh Ahmad Qusyasyi, namely Shaikh Abdurrauf Singkili. He was an Acehnese scholar who was one of the main students of Sheikh Qusyasyi that studied with him for more than 10 years before returning to Aceh during the reign of Sultanah Shafiyatuddin Syah. After his return, he was appointed as the *qadi* (chief judge) and was recorded to have taught Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari.⁴⁴

This connection shows the intellectual relationship between the Middle Eastern scholars and Indonesian scholars; Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari (1626-1699), Syaikh Abdurrauf Singkili (1615-1693), Imam Ahmad Qusyasyi (1583-1661), Imam Muhammad al-Ramli (919-1004/1513-1597), and Sheikh al-Imam Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani (773-852/1372-1449)⁴⁵ who was the author of *Fath al-Bari* (the commentary on *Sahih al-Bukhari*).⁴⁶

Interestingly, the name of Sheikh Yusuf was often cited in the writings of 17th-century Middle Eastern scholars such as *Nafais ‘Ulwiyyah* by Abdullah Haddad. When questioned about the difference between *nubuwwah* (prophethood) and *siddiqah* (truthfulness), Sheikh Yusuf clarified that Ibn Arabi explained the distinction as the “*maqamat qurbah*” (the station of drawing closer to Allah).⁴⁷ Another Yemeni scholar, Sheikh Abu Zain Abdul Khaliq bin Ali al-Mizjaji, also described Sheikh Yusuf in his book *Nuzhah Riyadl al-Ijazah* as a knowledgeable and noble scholar who was studying and receiving the *ijazah* of knowledge from Sheikh Muhammad Baqi al-Mizjaji, a prominent figure in the Naqshbandi order.⁴⁸

The intellectual connection with Sheikh Muhammad Baqi Mizjaji was further supported by the statement of Sheikh Yusuf in *Safinah al-Najah* that he received the Naqshbandi order from him in

⁴³Khairuddin Zirikli, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Most Famous Men and Women among the Arabs, the Arabized Peoples, and the Orientalists* (Beirut: Dar Ilmi li Malayin, 2002).

⁴⁴Imawan, “The Contribution of Shaikh Abdurrauf As-Singkili to the Establishment of Islamic Law in the Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam in the 17th Century AD.”

⁴⁵Zacharie Mochtari de Pierrepont, “Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalanī’s Texts and Contexts: Producing a Sufi Environment in the Cairo Sultanate,” in *New Readings in Arabic Historiography from Late Medieval Egypt and Syria: Proceedings of the Themed Day of the Fifth Conference of the School of Mamluk Studies*, ed. Jo Van Steenberg and Maya Termonia (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021), 291–318, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004458901_009.

⁴⁶Mustafa Macit Karagözoğlu, and Muhammed Enes Topgöl, “İbn Hacer’in Lisānu’l-Mizān’daki Şī’ī Kaynakları,” *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 64, no. 2 (2023): 315–357, <https://doi.org/10.33227/auifd.1315351>; Halit Özkan, “Hocaya Adanmış Bir Ömür: İbn Hacer ve İbn Hızır Bağlamında Memlûklerde Ulema Arası Himaye İlişkileri [Devoted to the Master: The Case of İbn Hajar and İbn Khidr as an Example of Patronage Among Scholars During the Mamluk Dynasty],” *İslam Tetkikleri Dergisi – Journal of Islamic Review* 14, no. 1 (2024): 1–32, <https://doi.org/10.26650/iuitd.2023.1341738>.

⁴⁷Al-Ḥaddād, *Alawite Valuables in Sufi Matters*.

⁴⁸Abdul Khaliq Mizjaji, *A Pleasant Excursion in the Garden of Authorizations, Mentioning the Virtues of the Shaykhs of Transmission and Companionship*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dar Fikr, 1997).

Nuhita, Yemen. The chain of transmission was also traced back to Imam Tajuddin Muhammad bin Zakaria al-Naqshabandi Makki.⁴⁹

Moreover, the intellectual connections of Sheikh Yusuf in the Middle East were strengthened by the writings of al-Shuffuri in *Tsabat al-Shuffuri* which was part of the manuscripts located at the Islamic University of Madinah (Jamiah Islamiyah Madinah) with no. 238. Al-Shuffuri explained that he was part of the disciples who studied and received the Hizb Bahr initiation from Sheikh Yusuf. He also used the manuscript to praise the dedication of Sheikh Yusuf in seeking knowledge as well as intellectual and spiritual connections with other scholars. Al-Shuffuri described him as a wise, *rahhah* (traveler), a scholar who was earnest in gathering and connecting the orders of different scholars. Moreover, he referred to him as Sheikh Jamaluddin Yusuf al-Jawi al-Maqashiri.⁵⁰

Al-Shuffuri documented the chain of his intellectual and spiritual *sanad* knowledge as often observed among scholars who received *ijazah* (authorization) from their teachers. The specific focus was on the Syaziliyah order received from Sheikh Yusuf and connected back to the founder, Imam Abu Hasan al-Syadzili. The report showed that Sheikh Yusuf learned and received the Syazili hizb from Mulla Muhammad Amin al-Shiddiqi, from Sheikh Bahauddin Muhammad al-Balghani, from Sheikh Mulla Muhammad Syamsuddin, Sheikh Muhammad bin Hafizh Ahmad, Sheikh Syihabuddin Ahmad Syihabuddin Ibn Hajar (al-Haitami) al-Makki, Sheikhu Islam Zakariya al-Anshari, Sheikh Ibn Furat, Sheikh Tajuddin Ibn Athaillah al-Sakandari, Sheikh Abu Abbas Ahmad bin Umar al-Anshari al-Mursi, and Sheikh Imam Abu Hasan al-Syadzili who was the author of Hizb Bahr.⁵¹

"وللقير بحزب البحر سلسلة من طريق أخرى وذلك أنه أخبرني به إجازة الشيخ العارف الرحال في طلب الطرق العوال ليأخذ خصال الكمال عن كمال الرجال جمال الدين يوسف الجاوي المقاصيري قال إنه أخذ عن شيخه الملا محمد أمين الصديقي اللاري قدس الله سره العزيز وهو أخذ عن شيخه بهاء الدين محمد البلغاني وهو أخذ عن شيخه الملا محمد شمس الدين وهو أخذ عن شيخه محمد بن حافظ أحمد وهو أخذ عن شيخه شهاب الدين أحمد شهاب الدين بن حجر المكي وهو أخذ عن شيخه شيخ الإسلام زكريا الأنصاري وهو أخذ عن شيخه العز ابن الفرات وهو أخذ عن شيخه تاج الدين ابن عطاء الله الإسكندري وهو أخذ عن شيخه أبي العباس أحمد بن عمر الأنصاري المرسي وهو أخذ عن شيخه الإمام أبي الحسن الشاذلي مؤلفه رضي الله عنه وعنهم أجمعين."⁵²

The important observation is that the names of scholars related to the Syadziliyah order connections showing the chain of transmission representing the finest or best *sanad*. This was because each of the scholars was a prominent figure in their respective eras. For example, Mulla Muhammad Amin al-Shiddiqi, who granted the Syadziliyah *ijazah* to Sheikh Yusuf, was a prominent Shafi'i scholar known as *al-Ustadz al-Kabir* in the 17th century. He was also contemporaneous with al-Ustadz Ayyub bin Ahmad al-Khalwati and both were known for their Sufi affiliation. Moreover, Sheikh Muhammad Amin was originally from Lar, India, and a descendant of the Sultan of Lar who later settled in Damascus up to the period of his death in 1655 CE (1066 H).⁵³

Ibn Hajar al-Haitami and Zakariya al-Anshari who were great scholars in the Shafi'i jurisprudence were part of the connections. *Tuhfah al-Muhtaj bi Syarhi al-Minhaj* by al-Haitami and *Fathu al-Wahhab* by his teacher Imam Zakariya al-Anshari further strengthened the intellectual

⁴⁹Imawan, *The Path of Da'wah of Nusantara Scholars in Haramain in the 17th-20th Centuries AD*; Tudjimah, *Shaykh Yusuf of Makassar: His Life and Teachings*; Che Zarrina Saari, Maimunah Zarkasyi, and Faizuri Abd Latif, "Genealogical Transmission of Zakariyya Al-Ansari's Thought, on Tawhid to the Malay World Scholars." *Afkar* (2020): 173–200, <https://doi.org/10.22452/afkar.sp2020no1.7>

⁵⁰Shuffuri, *Intellectual Genealogy of Syaikh Abdul Qadir Shuffuri*.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Muhibbi, *A Summary of Notable Figures of the Eleventh Century*.

network. Similarly, Ibn Athaillah al-Sakandari, who was known for the book *al-Hikam* written to beautifully show the spiritual path to Allah, was also part of the scholarly lineage.

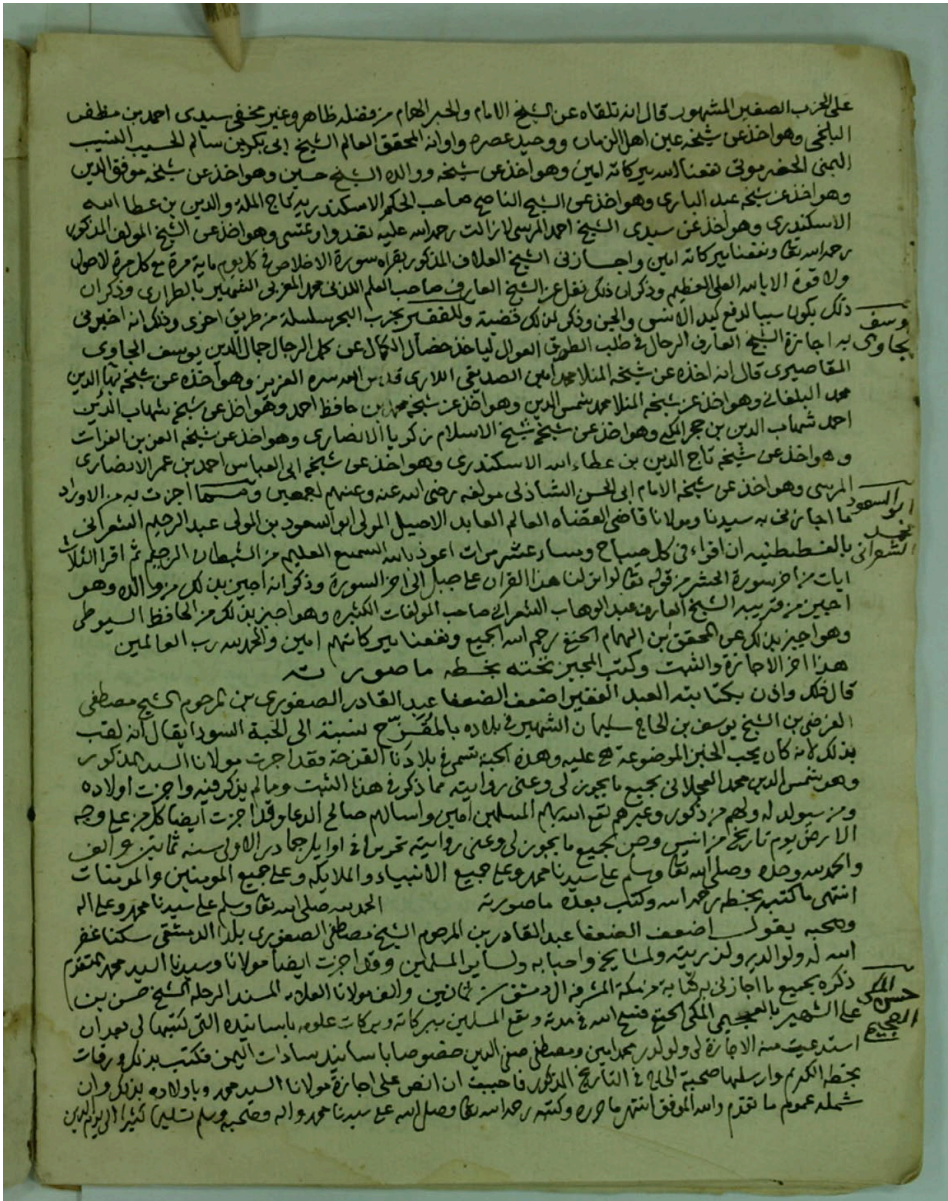


Figure 2. Tsabat Shaeikh Abdul Qadir Shuffuri⁵⁴

⁵⁴Link access: https://www.alukah.net/manu/files/manuscript_9567/sabt-alsufuri.pdf

The intellectual connections of Sheikh Yusuf to the scholars in the Middle East with extension to Morocco in Africa were further recorded in *Musamarat al-Zharif bi Husni al-Ta'rif* written by Sheikh Muhammad Utsman Sanusi. In the fourth volume, the book mentioned granting an ijazah to Muhammad Bairam Rabi' for the Hizb-hizb of Sayyidi Abu Hasan Syadzili which he received from his teacher, Allamah Abu Abdillah Muhammad bin Husain who was also known as Ibn Inabiy, the Hanafi Mufti of Alexandria. Al-Sanusi traced the chain from Abu Hasan Ali bin Abdul Qadir bin Amin, Sayyidi Ali bin Muhammad al-Arabi al-Saqqath, Abu Hafsh Umar Lukas, Muhammad bin Abdurrahman, Sheikh Hasan al-Ujaimi, Sayyidi Yusuf bin Abdullah al-Jawi, Sheikh Abdul Qadir bin Musthafa al-Shafadi, and others to Imam Abu Hasan al-Syadzili.⁵⁵

There is some variation in the naming of Sheikh Yusuf when compared to *Tsabat al-Shuffuri*. This was observed from the position of *Tsabat al-Shuffuri* that al-Shuffuri himself received the ijazah directly from Sheikh Yusuf al-Jawi. Meanwhile, *Musamarat al-Zharif* mistakenly presented the term "al-Shuffuri" as "Shafadi" which was considered incorrect. The condition was the reason for more reliance on the *Tsabat al-Shuffuri* manuscript for the analysis in this study. The mention of Sheikh Yusuf al-Jawi in *Musamarat al-Zharif* shows his significant role in bridging the intellectual connections between scholars in Indonesia and Tunisia or Morocco. The *sanad* subsequently shows the existence of intellectual connections between the scholars from the Eastern world represented by Indonesia and the Western world in the form of Tunisia and Morocco in Africa.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, Sheikh Yusuf al-Jawi al-Makassari was one of the great scholars of Indonesia who served as an advisor to Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa in the Sultanate of Banten during the 17th century. Sheikh Yusuf was known as a prominent scholar who ensured successful intellectual connections between scholars from Indonesia and the Middle East, including Mecca, Medina, Yemen, and Africa. This was evidenced by numerous books written in his time that documented his participation in ensuring intellectual connections with Middle Eastern scholars, specifically in the Syadzilyah Sufi order. The legacy of the scholar was preserved in manuscripts such as *Tsabat al-Shuffuri* and *Musamarat al-Zharif* which chronicled the contributions he made to intellectual and spiritual connections. The Indonesian government is expected to promote further studies related to the contributions of Indonesian scholars in connecting intellectually with those from the Middle East. This can be achieved by tracking or publishing their manuscripts to benefit a wider audience.

Author Contribution

Dzulkifli Hadi Imawan: sole author

Conflict of Interest

The authors of the manuscript have no financial or non-financial conflict of interest in the subject matter or materials discussed in this manuscript.

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⁵⁵Muhammad Usman Sanusi, *The Elegant One's Evening Conversations with Graceful Description*, ed. Muhammad Syadzili Naifar (Tunisia: Dar Gharb Islamiy, 1994).

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