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**Muzdalifah Sahib, Irnawati, Muh. Amin Sahib, Nur Asiah,
Nur Faizah Sahib, Saarah Jappie**
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Dahlan
*Countering Islamophobia to Live in a Harmony in America After the
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Diaspora and Implementation of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassarī's Religious Moderation Teachings in South Sulawesi and Kalimantan

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Abstract

Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassarī (1626-1699) is a worldwide figure from Gowa-Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, a reformer in the Islamic mystical world and a moderate ṣūfī whose teachings spread among his followers up today. This research investigates the diaspora and dissemination of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassarī's teachings on religious moderation in South Sulawesi and Kalimantan. Employing a qualitative descriptive method and a phenomenological approach, the study seeks to elucidate the process of diaspora development, assess the perceptions of al-Makassarī's followers, especially Ṭarīqa Khalwatiyya Yusufiyya followers regarding religious moderation, and analyze the implementation of his teachings. The findings of this research reveal that the diaspora of al-Makassarī's religious moderation teachings has emanated and proliferated from Gowa through three teachers (murshids) and his descendants (1940s-2022), notably Sheikh K.H. Sahib



Sultan (d.2022), and his parents across South Sulawesi and Kalimantan, extending even to the entirety of the archipelago. Throughout four to five generations, the diaspora has become entrenched through these murshids. While a significant portion of al-Makassari's followers may remain unfamiliar with the term "religious moderation," his teachings have been effectively implemented, resulting in improved social well-being, enhanced safety, and increased tranquility. Notably, these adherents distance themselves from any form of religious extremism. This research underscores the substantial impact of the *ṣūfī* Order (*Tarīqa*) in mitigating radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia. Consequently, understanding and practicing al-Makassari's teachings on religious moderation emerge as crucial for fostering a safer, more prosperous, and peaceful future for Indonesians.

Keywords: Diaspora; Implementation; Religious Moderation Teachings; Sheikh Yusuf's al-Makassari

المخلص

الشيخ يوسف المكساري (١٦٢٦-١٦٩٩) شخص مشهور عالمياً من غووا مكسار، سولاويسي الجنوبية، إندونيسيا، مجدد في عالم التصوف الإسلامي، وصوفي وصطي تنتشر تعاليمه بين أتباعه حتى اليوم. هذا البحث يركز على انتشار وتنفيذ تعاليم الوسطية الدينية للشيخ يوسف المكساري في سولاويسي الجنوبية وكاليمانتان. ويستخدم الباحثون فيه منهجاً نوعياً وصفيًا ومدخلاً ظاهرياً لمعرفة العملية في تطوير الانتشار، وتقييم تصور أتباع المكساري، خاصة أتباع الطريقة الخلوتية يوسوفية حول الوسطية الدينية وتحليل تنفيذ تعاليمه. أظهرت النتائج على أن تعاليم الوسطية الدينية للمكساري قد تم تطوير وانتشارها من غووا من قبل ثلاثة مرشد وأحفادهم (١٩٤٠-٢٠٢٢)، وخاصة الشيخ الحاج صاحب سلطان (المتوفي سنة ٢٠٢٢) مع والديه في جميع أنحاء سولاويسي الجنوبية وكاليمانتان، وحتى في جميع أنحاء الأرخبيل نوسانتارا. من خلال هؤلاء المرشدين الثلاث، قد بلغ تطور الانتشار ما بين أربعة إلى خمسة أجيال. على الرغم من أن معظم أتباعه لا يزالون غير معتادين على مصطلح الوسطية الدينية، إلا أن تعاليم المكساري قد تم تنفيذها جيداً بشكل عام، وتجعل حياتهم الاجتماعية أفضل في رفع الرفاهية الاجتماعية والأمن والاطمئنان. إنهم بعيدون عن أن يكونوا فوضويين. هذا البحث يركز على الأثر الجوهرية للطريقة

الصوفية في درء التطرف والإرهابية في إندونيسيا. فمن المهم معرفة وممارسة
تعاليم الوسطية الدينية للمكاسري حتى يتمكن الشعب الإندونيسي من العيش
بأمان ورخاء وسلام.

مفتاح البحث: تعاليم الوسطية الدينية; انتشار; تنفيذ; الشيخ يوسف
المكسري

Abstrak

Syeikh Yusuf al-Makassarī (1626-1699) adalah seorang tokoh terkenal dunia, seorang pembaru dalam dunia mistik Islam sekaligus seorang shūfī moderat yang ajarannya tersebar di kalangan para pengikutnya hingga saat ini. Penelitian ini menyelidiki diaspora dan penyebaran ajaran Syekh Yusuf al-Makassarī tentang moderasi beragama di Sulawesi Selatan dan Kalimantan. Dengan menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif dan pendekatan fenomenologis, penelitian ini berupaya menjelaskan proses perkembangan diaspora, menilai persepsi pengikut al-Makassarī, khususnya pengikut Tariqat Khalwatiyyah Yusufiyyah mengenai moderasi beragama, dan menganalisis implementasi ajarannya. Temuan penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa diaspora ajaran moderasi beragama al-Makassarī terpancar dan menjamur dari Gowa melalui tiga orang guru (mursyid) dan keturunannya (1940-an-2022), khususnya Syeikh K.H. Sahib Sultan (w. 2022), dan kedua orang tuanya hingga tersebar melintasi Sulawesi Selatan dan Kalimantan, bahkan hingga ke seluruh nusantara. Selama empat hingga lima generasi, diaspora telah mengakar melalui para mursyid ini. Meskipun sebagian besar pengikut al-Makassarī mungkin masih asing dengan istilah "moderasi beragama", ajarannya telah diterapkan secara efektif, sehingga menghasilkan peningkatan kesejahteraan sosial, peningkatan keamanan, dan peningkatan ketenangan. Khususnya, para penganutnya menjauhkan diri dari segala bentuk ekstremisme agama. Penelitian ini menggarisbawahi dampak substansial Tarekat shūfī (Ṭarīqa) dalam mitigasi atau mengurangi resiko radikalisme dan terorisme di Indonesia. Oleh karena itu, memahami dan mengamalkan ajaran al-Makassarī tentang moderasi beragama menjadi hal yang penting untuk menciptakan masa depan yang lebih aman, sejahtera, dan damai bagi masyarakat Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Ajaran Moderasi Beragama; Diaspora; Implementasi; Syekh Yusuf al-Makassarī

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A. Introduction

Religious moderation refers to the practice of adopting a balanced and temperate approach within a particular religious belief system or community. This concept in general involves advocating for tolerance, inclusivity, and a measured interpretation of religious doctrines. In Indonesia, religious moderation has emerged as a prominent topic of discourse. The concern regarding the contemporary state of the Indonesian nation frequently intersects with challenges associated with radicalism. Indonesia stands out for its multidimensional diversity, encompassing a rich tapestry of ethnicities, nationalities, languages, cultures, customs, and religions.

Religious diversity stands out as the most influential factor shaping radicalism in Indonesia. The proliferation of extremist groups, extending their influence through various channels are attributed to several factors, including the heightened sensitivity to religious life, the infiltration of extremist groups from international sources, and the entanglement of political and governmental issues. Amidst the complex landscape of radicalism issues, the concept of religious moderation has surfaced as a response.

In addressing the aforementioned challenges, it is imperative to engage with the teachings of past Islamic scholars, notably al-Makassari's renewal, with a particular focus on religious moderation. This proactive approach aims to mitigate the risk of conflicts and radicalism within our nation. The diffusion of these teachings within the diaspora and their subsequent implementation within communities are crucial aspects that warrant thorough investigation.

Sheikh Yusuf (1626-1699) transcended the traditional role of a *ṣūfī* solely concerned with the afterlife, actively participating in worldly affairs. Despite being exiled by the Dutch to the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa, his commitment to religion and human rights, showcased his unwavering dedication. Noteworthy is his constructive approach, refraining from not taking up arms and returning to his spiritual struggle until he succeeded in forming a Muslim community in South Africa by instilling the teachings of *ṣūfīsm*-oriented *shari'a*, as well as purifying the belief without any distinction of race and skin color. His teachings are always providing balance both in worship aspects and human relations. He, therefore, is known as a national hero of Indonesia and South Africa as well as a neo *ṣūfī*¹ or a reformer in the mystical world of Islam²

All concepts related to religious moderation articulated by al-Makassari, spanning various works within his extensive collection of over 50 *ṣūfī* texts have not only been theoretically elucidated but also actively applied in his personal life. As a *ṣūfī* and advocate for truth and human rights, al-Makassari's principles continue to

¹ Azra Asyumardi, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII. Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*.

² Sahib Sultan, "Allah and the Way for Approaching God in Sheikh Yusuf's Conception."

find a practical expression among certain Indonesian individuals, particularly his followers. The challenge lies in understanding the propagation of these teachings through the diaspora across South Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and the entire Archipelago, and assessing the contemporary perspectives of his adherents regarding religious moderation along with the implementation of al-Makassarī's teachings in this context.

This research assumes significance as it addresses a hitherto unexplored dimension. While considerable scholarly attention has been devoted to the topic of diaspora, notably in works by Caccagne and Tuno,³ Ninh,⁴ Karayianni, Hadjielias, and Glyptis,⁵ as well as discussion on the implementation of religious moderation by scholars such as Indainanto et.al,⁶ Kustati et.al,⁷ Mulyana⁸ Naim et. al.⁹, Nasir and Rijal¹⁰, and Solahudin et. al.,¹¹ the specific nexus between al-Makassarī's teachings, diaspora, and the practical application of religious moderation remains uncharted. This research is distinct in content and geographic location diverges from existing studies, with the commonality shared only in the themes of diaspora and the application of religious moderation.

Some other considerable scholarly attentions have been devoted to the topic of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassarī, notably such as in works Martin van Bruinessen (1992)¹² who discussed *Ṭarīqa Naqshabandīyya* in Indonesia which was first introduced by al-Makassarī then in 1995,¹³ he tried to explore his work '*Kitab Kuning, Islamic Boarding School, Ṭarīqa (ṣūfī order), and Islamic Traditions in Indonesia,*'

³ Ceccagno and Thunø, "Digitized Diaspora Governance during the COVID-19 Pandemic: China's Diaspora Mobilization and Chinese Migrant Responses in Italy."

⁴ Ninh, "Holy Mothers in the Vietnamese Diaspora: Refugees, Community, and Nation."

⁵ Karayianni, Hadjielias, and Glyptis, "Family across Borders Social Capital and Diaspora Entrepreneurial Preparedness."

⁶ Indainanto et al., "Islamic Communication in Voicing Religious Moderation as an Effort to Prevent Conflicts of Differences in Beliefs."

⁷ Kustati et al., "The Effect of National Insight and Religious Moderation on Radical Behavior of Secondary School Students."

⁸ Mulyana, "Religious Moderation in Islamic Religious Education textbook and Implementation in Indonesia."

⁹ Naim, Aziz, and Teguh, "Integration of Madrasah Diniyah Learning Systems for Strengthening Religious Moderation in Indonesian Universities."

¹⁰ Nasir and Rijal, "Keeping the Middle Path: Mainstreaming Religious Moderation through Islamic Higher Education Institutions in Indonesia."

¹¹ Solahudin et al., "Implementation of Religious Moderation Values in the Learning of Islamic Education."

¹² Van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia*.

¹³ Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat, Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia*.

and a little bit of discussion of Sheikh Yusuf in some other Martin's works which cannot be mentioned one by one in this research. Nabilah Lubis in 1994¹⁴, tried to explore the history life of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari as a Sufi and a great 'alim from Indonesia, and in 1996¹⁵ she wrote her philological research on the two versions of 'Zubdat al-Asrar' (the Essence of Secrets) from A 101 and A 45. Hadarah and A Ghani (2019)¹⁶, focus on the implementation of *Ṭarīqa Naqshbandiyya's ṣūfism* values in South Celebes which has a close relationship with al-Makassari as the first one who was considered to introduce this *ṭarīqa* in Indonesia. Ismail Mamat (2020)¹⁷ focuses on *taṣawwuf's* thought of al-Makassari while Muhaemin Latief (2020)¹⁸ tried to introduce or explore the principal teachings of Khalwatiyya Sheikh Yusuf Ṭarīqa in South Sulawesi which he divided into three parts, namely the inner purity including the purity of beliefs, the concept of God (Allah), and the issue of the human being. Meanwhile, Azra (2021)¹⁹ focuses on the history of scholarly and religio-political networks of al-Makassari on one side. Suleman Essop Dangor (2021)²⁰ focuses on the themes of Select Sufi Texts of al-Makassari, and Yousuf Dadoo (2021)²¹ focuses on one of al-Makassari's treatises (the Breath from Ceylon) as Fountain of Spiritual values in other sides. Furthermore, Baharuddin 'Abd Rahman (2021)²² focuses on God's Appearance (Tajallī) in Sheikh Yusuf's conceptions through 'Tuḥfat al-Talib al-Mubtadī wa Minḥat al-Sālik al-Muhtadī treatise.' Meanwhile, Alhusni, Dody Sulitio and Edi Kurniawan (2023)²³ focus on the intersection of *Ṣūfism and ḥadīth* in *Shurūṭ al-ʿĀrif al-Muḥaqqiq* by Sheikh Yusuf. All these showing related, otherwise the specific nexus between al-Makassari's teachings, diaspora, and the practical application of religious moderation remains uncharted. This research is distinct in focus, geographic location, and methodology from the existing studies.

¹⁴ Lubis, "Min A 'lāmi Indūnīsīya: Al-Shaykh Yūsuf Al-Makassari (1626-1699)."

¹⁵ Lubis, *Syeikh Yusuf Al-Taj Al-Makassari. Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia*.

¹⁶ Hadarah, "The Implementation of Tariqa Naqshbandiyah's Sufism Values in South Celebes."

¹⁷ Mamat, "Tasawuf's Thought of Sheikh Yusuf Al-Makassari."

¹⁸ Latief, "EXPLORING THE PRINCIPAL TEACHINGS OF KHALWATIAH SYEKH YUSUF TARIQAH IN SOUTH SULAWESI."

¹⁹ Azra, "Shaykh Muhammad Yusuf Al-Makassari (1037-1111/1627-99) Scholarly and Religio-Political Networks."

²⁰ Dangor, "Themes in Select Sufi Texts."

²¹ Dadoo, "Shaykh Yusuf's Al-Nafḥa Al-Saylaniyya Fi l-Minḥa Al-Raḥmaniyya: A Fountain of Spiritual Values."

²² Abd. Rahman, "Syaiikh Yusuf Makassar: Penampakan Diri Tuhan."

²³ Alhusni, Dody Sulitio and Edi Kurniawan. PERSINGGUNGAN TASAWUF DAN HADIS DI NEGERI BAWAH ANGIN PADA ABAD KE-17: Telaah *Shurūṭ al-ʿārif al-Muḥaqqiq* Karya Syaikh Yusuf al-Makassari.

This research is hoped to not only show an overview of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassarī and his religious moderation teachings through his works that exist from the 17th century to today, but also introduce the charisma of al-Makassarī's descendants in distributing al-Makassarī's religious moderation teachings in Suburban lands, South Sulawesi, and Kalimantan. Then those are implemented well by his followers in those areas although most of them are estimated as *'awwām* people or law-educated persons. This research also introduces the importance of the role of al-Makassarī's *Ṭarīqa* in countering radicalism and terrorism.

B. Theoretical Reviews

1. Concept of Diaspora, Implementation as well as Religious Moderation

The term 'diaspora' originates from the ancient Greek words "*dias*" (through) and "*speiro*" (spread or sow over). Contrary to connotations related to globalization, diaspora primarily pertains to specific groups or communities. Presently, the term 'diaspora' encompasses diverse meanings, as elucidated by Vertovec,²⁴ including its characterization as a social form, a type of consciousness, and a mode of cultural production.

According to Manzenreiter diaspora research is related to the multitude of social relations, political processes, and cultural practices simultaneously, that took place in two or more locations and across these spaces. Diaspora is also concerned with migration, emigration, and remigration of some people in a given community and their cultures, such as Japanese origin in Latin America, Indonesian diaspora in South Africa, or Indian diaspora in London and vice versa. The diaspora is also structured by spaces and institutionalized forces of power grounded in the ideas and ideologies that a certain community has about itself and given shape through performative behavior, including ritual practice, worship, habitual behavior, and spontaneous interaction providing them with meaning.²⁵ This is the more relevant diaspora concept to this research.

Meanwhile, the implementation according to Apval and Bourgault is a 'noun' meaning 'the doing of an action,' and is often associated with business or community practices. Its synonyms include accomplishment, enactment, and fulfillment while its antonyms refer to nonfulfillment or nonperformance of an action.²⁶ In other words, implementation means the doing of an action to accomplish or fulfill its object.

Furthermore, Afifuddin et al. expound that religious moderation is conceptually linked to the Arabic term "*al-waṣatiyya*," signifying moderation or being

²⁴ Vertovec, "Three Meanings of 'Diaspora,' Exemplified among South Asian Religions."

²⁵ Manzenreiter, "Living under More than One Sun: The Nikkei Diaspora in the Americas."

²⁶ Upvall and Bourgault, "De-Implementation: A Concept Analysis."

in the middle. The practice of religious moderation seeks to establish equilibrium within the realm of religion, fostering values of mutual respect and tolerance among adherents of different belief systems. This approach serves as a countermeasure against the prevalence of radicalism and terrorism, particularly in countries characterized by diverse cultures and religions, exemplified by the case of Indonesia.²⁷

In addressing the issue, some ways could be held such as through Islamic education both in state and private schools, in Islamic boarding schools (*Pesantren*), and by attaining *Tariqa* such as *Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatiyya Yusufiyya* as one of *Ṭarīqat al-Muktabara* in Indonesia, etc. to not engaging in anarchist deeds. This *Tariqa* has an important role in spreading and implementing the teachings of Islamic scholars such as al-Makassarī.

2. Sheikh Yusuf's al-Makassari and His Religious Moderation Teachings

Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassarī was one of the Malay-Indonesian scholars who were part of the cosmopolitan scholarly networks centered in Makka and Madīna and he played a substantial role in popularizing Islamic reformist ideas by way of teaching and writing some literary works in the seventeenth century.²⁸ 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 Amina I Tubiani Daeng Kunjung and grew up in the Gowa Palace. Following extensive research into Sheikh Yusuf's paternal lineage, it is determined that he is a descendant of the Ahl al-Bayt, with a lineage traceable through twenty generations to our Holy Prophet Muḥammad SAW. The complete name of Shaykh Yūsuf in the Arab tradition, is Abū al-Maḥāsīn al-Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Shāfi‘ī al-Ash‘arī, Hadiyyat Allāh Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Jāwī al-Makassarī 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.²⁹

²⁷ Amri Tajuddin et al., “Strengthening Counter-Terrorism Religious Moderation through Traditional Islamic Education Based on Kitab Kuning Literacy at Pesantren Ma’had Aly in South Sulawesi.”

²⁸ Azra Asyumardi, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII. Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*.

²⁹ Sahib, “Shaykh Yūsuf Al-Maqassarī’s Literary Contribution with Special Attention to His Maṭālib Al-Sālikīn [The Quests of the Spiritual Seekers].”

Sheikh Yusuf is considered a reformer in the Islamic mystic world because he brought new ideas in *ṣūfism*, through the purifying of *tawḥīd*.³⁰ Like al-Rānīrī and Abd Rauf al-Sinkili, Sheikh Yusuf developed his teachings by frequently visiting places that previously hosted *ṣūfī* 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.³¹

Sheikh Yusuf's writings exhibit a high proficiency in Arabic, a skill likely honed during his extensive travels in the Middle East. The reformist concepts and teachings attributed to Sheikh Yusuf have been referenced in academic works, notably, Azra's 1992 dissertation.³²

For the comprehensive theoretical review within the scope of this study on the *ṣūfistic* teachings by al-Makassarī and the implementation of religious moderation in South Sulawesi and Kalimantan, a select subset of his writings has been chosen for analysis. These chosen writings are instrumental in elucidating key aspects that contribute to the understanding of *ṣūfistic* principles and the practical application of religious moderation within the specified regions. The following excerpts are particularly pertinent to the study's objectives:

- a. The essence of his *ṣūfistic* teachings is that the purification of beliefs, including *tawḥīd*, *ma'rifa*, and worship is only aimed at the Oneness of Allah, not at others. He was a pioneer of the ideology *Waḥdat al-Ṣamadiyya*³³ (The Unity of Dependent Directions) until he earned the title *Qutb al-Rabbānī wa al-'Arif al-Ṣamaḍānī*.³⁴ This understanding leads to panentheism, not to pantheism or transcendentalism because it is between absolute transcendence and absolute immanence. He said that the nature of His knowledge encompasses everything, while His *Huwiyya* with all His perfect attributes are with His servants. Therefore, His *Tajallī* on His servant is not by incarnation (like al-Hallaj) or physical union (*Ittiḥād al-Bistāmī*) or *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* 'Ibn Arabi.³⁵ For him '*al-'Abd 'Abd. wa*

³⁰ Sahib, "Tawhid Impeccable Lustre: Essential Teaching of Sheikh Yusuf in Evaluating Sheikh Yusuf Al-Makassari and Imam 'Abdullah Tidore's Ideational Teachings. Reinforcing Indonesia-South Africa's Education."

³¹ Azra Asyumardi, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII. Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*.

³² Azra Asyumardi, "The Transmission of Islamic Reformism to Indonesian: Networks of Middle Eastern Malay-Indonesian 'Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries."

³³ Al-Makassarī, "Al-Nafḥat Al-Saylāniyya [Providential Gift: A Breeze from Ceylon or the Fragrance of Ceylon],"p. 11

³⁴ Daeng Magassing, 1933

³⁵ Sahib, "Shaykh Yūsuf Al-Maqassarī's Literary Contribution with Special Attention to His Maṭālib Al-Sālikīn [The Quests of the Spiritual Seekers]."

lau taraqqī wa al-Rab Rab. wa law tanazzulī,³⁶ meaning that a servant remains a servant even though he ascends and is characterized by God's character, and God is still God even though He descends and is characterized by a servant's character.

- b. In his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* (the Quests for the Spiritual Seekers)³⁷ he says that there are two types of *tawhīd*: 1) *Tawhīd Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, 2) *Tawhīd al-Ikhlāṣ* or the immaculate *tawhīd*. Furthermore, he describes *tawhīd* or monotheism as a tree with branches and leaves. *Ma'rifa* is the branches and leaves, while worship is the fruit. If someone has reached the station of *tawhīd*, he will reach the state of *ma'rifa* and if he has reached the state of *ma'rifa*, he will arrive at the state of *'ibāda* (worship). If one does not find the branches and leaves, it is impossible to hope for the fruit (unless the branches and leaves grow again, then one can hope for the fruit). Only people who believe in monotheism and have a good understanding of *ma'rifa* are expected to have good worship.
- c. As for *ma'rifa*, that is, know yourself that you come from Him and will return to Him in the same way. It's like overflowing sea water, flowing into the river, then a condensation process occurs, then the river water returns to the sea where the water doesn't change like the previous water. Water is still water, so God is still God, He is One even though He combines opposite qualities such as He who is the Beginning, He is also the Last, the Born and the Inner, He who gives directions, He also allows people to go astray. We should look at God with all of his attributes based on His Oneness alone, not anything else.³⁸
- d. Similarly, worship should be directed towards *wahdat al-wujud* (the existence of the One). This means that when we worship God, our whole body and soul should be focused only on the Supreme Being.³⁹
- e. Positive thinking on other people, proven among his many treatises or works, not one of his works criticized the Dutch people, who had tortured and thrown him very far from his hometown all this time; until he died in South Africa.⁴⁰
- f. Be kind to others and God, because having a good opinion of others will lead us to be kind to God. The word of God in a hadith Qudsi states "I am according to my servant's opinion, so think of me as good".⁴¹

³⁶ Al-Maqassarī, "Sūra [The Image (of Tawhīd)]."

³⁷ Al-Makassarī, "Maṭālib Al-Sālikīn [The Quest of the Spiritual Seekers],"p. 1-2

³⁸ Al-Makassarī.

³⁹ Al-Makassarī.

⁴⁰ Azra Asyumardi, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII. Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*.

⁴¹ Al-Makassarī, "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]."

- g. As for his teachings about ethics and morals, such as patience, *tawaddhu*, *tawakkal*, not allowing *riya*, *envy*, *sum'a*, or feeling always on top, etc., all of them are included in his treatise *al-Fawāih al-Yusufiyya*.⁴²
- h. Respect your guest, even if he is an infidel.⁴³
- i. Always ask God's forgiveness every day,⁴⁴ and forgive other people's mistakes, before they apologize.
- j. Always remember the mistakes and sins you have committed and forget your goodness, on the other hand, remember the goodness of other people and forget their bad.
- k. Fear and Hope. A person must have fear and hope in Allah in the same position in his heart and not despair because Allah's mercy always precedes his anger. It is said in the book *Sirr al-Asrār* that the same goes for our dependence on Allah, we should be between absolute fear and absolute hope. In the sense that we fear Allah outwardly, but we hope in Him internally. And we fear Him in a position of hope, as we hope in Him in a position of fear. Because fear is contrary to the words of Allah: "Do not despair of Allah's mercy. Indeed, Allah forgives everyone's sins. Indeed, He is the Most Forgiving, the Most Merciful."⁴⁵ Just like uncontrolled hope contrary to His decree⁴⁶ In *al-Nafhat al-Saylāniyya*, he told his students: you have to occupy a position between fear and hope. Even if these two sentiments are desired alone, they must be combined in one's heart. Fear without hope leads to incompetence, as does hope without fear leads to excess. These two qualities are undesirable according to *ma'rifat* experts (may Allah make them beneficial for us). Inadequacy causes an action to fail to achieve its goal, while excess causes an action to exceed its limits. Such actions are not entirely beneficial and will not lead to achieving the goal. As long as people are characterized by both simultaneously, they are fine (safe).⁴⁷
- l. Combining or balancing between *shari'a* (outer) and *ḥaqīqa* (inner), like body and soul, humans are said to be human if they have both.⁴⁸

⁴² Al-Makassarī, "Al-Fawā'ih al-Yusufiyya Fī Bayān Taḥqīq al-Ṣūfiyya [The Utterances of Yusufiyya [Based on Shaykh Yusuf] in Explaining the Verification of the Ṣūfis]."

⁴³ Al-Makassarī, "Zubdat al-Asrār Fī Taḥqīq Ba'di Mashārib al-Akhyār [The Essence of Secrets in Investigating Some Drinking Places of the Chosen Ones]."

⁴⁴ Al-Makassarī, "Sirr al-Asrār [The Secret of Secrets]."

⁴⁵ Al-Makassarī.

⁴⁶ Al-Makassarī, "Qurrat al-'Ayn [Consolation for the Eyes]."

⁴⁷ Al-Makassarī, "Al-Nafhat al-Saylāniyya [Providential Gift: A Breeze from Ceylon or the Fragrance of Ceylon]."

⁴⁸ Al-Makassarī, "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]."

- m. As for dhikr, there are only 3 main ones, namely dhikr *Nafiy itsbāt* (لا إله إلا الله), verbally (oral dhikr); dhikr *ism al-Jalāla* (الله - الله), with the tongue and heart, finally, dhikr *ism al-ishāra* (هو - هو), goes from the mouth to the heart which is also called the dhikr of the spirit or secret.⁴⁹ The three dhikrs have their methods, but the movements remain simple, and with sounds that are not too loud, even though they are done in the congregation.

C. Research Methods

The research methodology incorporated individual and group interviews conducted with members of the congregation, as well as interactions with relevant government personnel in various coastal/outskirt areas spanning South Sulawesi, the islands of Tarakan, the Northern Part of Kalimantan, and Samarinda Seberang in the Eastern part of Kalimantan.

This immersive field approach aimed to provide a comprehensive overview of the topics under investigation. Furthermore, the research drew upon secondary data sources, including study texts, dissertations, books, journals, and other scholarly materials, to augment and substantiate the primary findings derived from direct field interactions.

D. Results and Discussion

The following research results are supported by Schultz and Hegel's theory in Moustakas⁵⁰ which states that the object of social science research is related to the interpretation of reality, which describes what, is received, felt, and known through direct awareness and experience or phenomena that exist in society.

Based on systematic observations and interviews conducted in the field between January and May 2022, it is evident that the diaspora and propagation of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassarī's teachings on religious moderation, particularly within the Ṭarīqat Khalwatiyya Yusufiyya, originated in Gowa and subsequently expanded across Sinjai, Maros, Pangkep, and Takalar, encompassing the entirety of South Sulawesi. A notable migration trend was observed, with individuals relocating to Tarakan Island in North Kalimantan, Samarinda in East Kalimantan, and extending further across the Indonesian archipelago. This observation aligns with insights derived from interviews, particularly those conducted on January 25 with the Chairman of the *JATMAN Shuria* Council of South Sulawesi Province, as well as the late *Murshid Khalwatiyya Yusufiyya* on February 4, 2022.

⁴⁹ Al-Makassarī, "Kaifiyyat Al-Nafī Wa Al-Ithbāt Bi Al-Ḥadīth Al-Qudsī [The Way of Negation and Affirmation (Dhikr) via the Ḥadīth Qudsī]."

⁵⁰ Moustakas, *Phenomenological Research Method*.

“Do you (Pak Kiyai) who conveyed the teachings of religious moderation of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassarī as stated above to the followers of al-Makassarī who are spread across several coastal areas or outskirts of South Sulawesi to Kalimantan?”

Then he answered, “Yes because it is my duty as a murshid to convey to all of them that after they took Bai’at, their *aqīda*, *ma'rifa*, and worship are stable and they will automatically behave with noble morals. Thus, this teaching can be said to have originated in the Gowa area, where al-Makassarī originated, and then spread to South Sulawesi to Kalimantan, even throughout the Indonesian Archipelago, and further afield to Malaysia, Cape Town, and Egypt. I also always emphasize to them that good ethics and morals will lead them to good worship and safety in this world and the hereafter. Although I am not the only one who teaches the teachings of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassarī in South Sulawesi, other murshids do the same thing, namely Sheikh Abd. Rahim al-Saqaf Puang Makka in Makassar & Sheikh Muhammad Rijal al-Saqaf Puang Ngawing in Maros, even though they are both only murshids of *Ṭarīqat Khalwatiyya Yusuf* and not *Yusuḥfiyya* (which is the essence of all the teachings of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassarī’s *Ṭarīqa*, especially from the five certified *Ṭarīqa* i.e., *Qādirīyya*, *Naqshabandīyya*, *Bā 'Alawiyya*, *Sattarīyya*, and *Khalwatiyya*).”⁵¹

It is true that the two murshids mentioned also teach similar things, only the areas and methods are probably different. However, this research only focuses on the diaspora and the implementation of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassarī’s religious moderation teachings, especially among the followers of *Ṭarīqat Khalwatiyya Yusuḥfiyya* including the perception of his followers in this regard so the object of our research is around the dissemination and implementation of his teachings among the followers of *Ṭarīqat Khalwatiyya Yusuḥfiyya*, and not *Ṭarīqat Khalwatiyya Yusuf* or *Khalwatiyya Samman*, along with his murshid.

Discussing the diaspora of al-Makassarī’s religious moderation teachings which has existed since the 17th century until now, and then developed by one of al-Makassarī’s descendants, Sheikh H. Muhammad Sultan Baitullah (d. 1948) and Sheikha Hj. Nur al-Sufi (d. 2017), both of them are the 8th generation of al-Makassarī, and his son Sheikh K. H. Sahib Sultan Krg. Nompo, the 9th generation of al-Makassarī (d. 4 February 2022 correspondence with 1 Rajab 1443 H), as previously mentioned. As for the diaspora before the three Sheikhs, the only thing that can be traced is the movement of the Prophet Muḥammad. down to the murshid and the next murshid. However, we can no longer trace their followers as shown in the following genealogy:

سلسلة العامة الخلوتية اليوسفية

Silsila 'Āmma (General) Khalwatiyya Yusuḥfiyya

- Allāh Azza wa Jalla wa 'Alā:
- Jibril AS;

⁵¹ Krg.Nompo, “Personal Communication (Interview).”

1. Al-Muṣṭafa Rasuḷullāh SAW;
2. Al-Imam ‘Ali KW;
3. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī;
4. Ḥabīb al-‘Ajamī;
5. Daud al-Thāī;
6. Abū Mahfuzh Ma‘ruf al-Karkhī;
7. Sirriy (Sāriya) al-Saqathī;
8. Junayd al-Baghdadī;
9. Mumshād al-Daynūrī;
10. Abū Aḥmad Aswad al-Daynūrī;
11. Muḥammad bin ‘Abdullah al-Bakrī al-Shiddīqī;
12. Wajīya al-Dīn ‘Umar bin Abdullah al-Bakrī al-Shiddīqī;
13. Abū al-Najīb ‘Abd al-Qāhir bin ‘Abdullah al-Suhrawardī;
14. Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Sinjāsī;
15. Rukn al-Dīn al-Sinjāsī;
16. Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tibrīzī;
17. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tibrīzī;
18. Abū Ishaq Ibrāhīm al-Zahīd al-Jilānī;
19. Abū ‘Abdullah Muḥammad al-Shirwānī al-Khalwatī;
20. Afandy ‘Umar al-Khalwatī;
21. Aḥmad Yahya al-Shirwānī;
22. ‘Abdullah Affandy Zubayr al-Arkazānī;
23. Muḥammad al-Aqṣarāī ‘Abdullah al-Qarnī;
24. Uways al-Qarnī al-Tsānī al-Rūmī;
25. Shams al-Dīn al-Rūmī;
26. Darwīsh al-Rūmī;
27. Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb al-Antābī;
28. Aḥmad al-Rūmī;
29. Al-Halabī al-‘Ajamī;
30. Aḥmad al-‘Alī bin ‘Umar al-Harīrī al-Shāmī;
31. Abū al-Baraka Ayyūb bin Ahmad bin Ayyūb al-Khalwatī al-Quraishī;
32. Abū al-Maḥāsīn Muḥammad Yūsuf Taj al-Khalwatī al-Makassarī;
33. Abū al-Fath ‘Abd al-Baṣīr al-Dharīr al-Khalwatī al-Raffānī;
34. Jami’ al-Dīn bin Ṭālib al-Tīmī al-Khalwatī al-Makassarī
35. ‘Abd al-Qādir Karaeng Majannang
36. Muḥammad Jaylānī bin Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Khalwatī;
37. Muḥammad al-Imam bin Muḥammad Jaylānī;
38. Muḥammad al-Maḥāsīn bin Muḥammad al-Imam;
39. Muḥammad Multazam bin Muḥammad al-Maḥāsīn;

40. Muḥammad al-Amin bin Muḥammad Multazam
41. Muḥammad Nūr bin Muḥammad al-Amin
42. Muḥammad Ṣultān Baitullāh al-Makassarī;
43. Nūr al-Sūfī al-Makassarī
44. Ṣāhib Sulthān bin Muḥammad Sulthān Baitullāh^{52, 53}

Thus, the author can only trace the teachings that reached his followers under the guidance of the three murshids from the early 20th century until now which his followers can detect to this day. Furthermore, the author calls the followers of Sheikh H. Muhammad Sultan Baitullah the first generation and the followers of Sheikh Hj. Nur al-Sufi and Sheikh K.H. Sahib Sultan as the second generation and so on up to the fifth generation in each village we studied. However, there is one village whose first generation was even given *Bai'at* by Sheikh K.H. Sahib Sultan, who lived in Tompobulu/Bulu-Bulu situated at the foot of Mount Bulusaraung.⁵⁴

1. The Development Process of Diaspora of Sheikh Yusuf's Religious Moderation Teachings in South Sulawesi and Kalimantan

After exploring several coastal areas in South Sulawesi and interviewing the elder ones and some others of al-Makassarī's followers in several coastal or peripheral areas in South Sulawesi, especially East Sinjai, Takalar, Maros, and Pangkep show that the process of diaspora develops and spread from Gowa to those areas. The development of the diaspora or the spread of al-Maqassarī's religious moderation teachings is taking place well, smoothly, and safely. These teachings of religious moderation were developed by one of al-Maqassarī's descendants, Sheikh H. Muhammad Sultan Baitullah (d. 1948), followed by Sheikh H. Nur al-Sufi (d. 2017) and their son Sheikh K. H. Sahib Sultan Krg. Nampo (d. 4 February 2022 correspondence with 3 Rajab 1443 H). These three people were the most instrumental in developing al-Maqassarī's religious moderation teachings, especially Sheikh K. H. Sahib Sultan Krg. Nampo (Former Shuria Chairman of *Jam'iyya Ahl Ṭarīqat al-Nahdiyyin*, South Sulawesi Province, and one of the Chairman of the MUI, Gowa Regency until the end of his life). He has also compiled many books and scientific works about Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassarī, his works, and teachings, which now enable the followers of *Ṭarīqat Khalwatiyya Yusuf & Yusufiyya* and *Khalwatiyya Samman* to live side by side peacefully and eliminate existing differences. Glory be to God, it is through his work that the followers of Ahl al-Ṭarīqat, especially in South Sulawesi and Kalimantan, can unite. The development of the diaspora of al-Maqassarī's religious moderation teachings that we examined are only in certain areas such as coastal/peripheral areas of South Sulawesi including the Mangngottong area, Saukang Village, Mangngara

⁵² Krg. Nampo, *Awrād (Wirid-Wirid/Litanies) Khalwatiyyat al-Yusufiyya*.

⁵³ Sulltan, *Syeikh Yūsuf, Riwayat, Karya dan Ajarannya*.

⁵⁴ Calla (one of al-Makassarī's followers and an elder in Tompobulu), "Personal Communication (Interview)."

Bombang, and Boto Pale, Samataring Village in East Sinjai; Topejawa, Takalar; Nisombalia, Alla Ere Tanralili, Botolempangang, Maros Regency, Bangkeng Sakiang, Kassi, Balleangin, and Tompobulu/Bulu-Bulu at the foot of Bulusaraung Mountain, Pangkep Regency; as well as Tarakan Island, the North Kalimantan and Samarinda Seberang the East Kalimantan, in general can be described as follows:

The diasporic diffusion of al-Maqassari's teachings on religious moderation, as scrutinized in our examination, manifests predominantly in specific localities, notably coastal and peripheral areas of South Sulawesi, encompassing Mangngottong, Saukang Village, Mangngara Bombang, Boto Pale, Samataring Village in East Sinjai; Topejawa in Takalar Regency; Nisombalia, Alla Ere Tanralili, Botolempangang, Maros Regency; Bangkeng Sakiang, Kassi, Balleangin, and Tompobulu/Bulu-Bulu situated at the foot of Bulusaraung Mountain in Pangkep Regency. Additionally, this diasporic phenomenon extends to Tarakan Island in North Kalimantan and Samarinda Seberang in East Kalimantan.

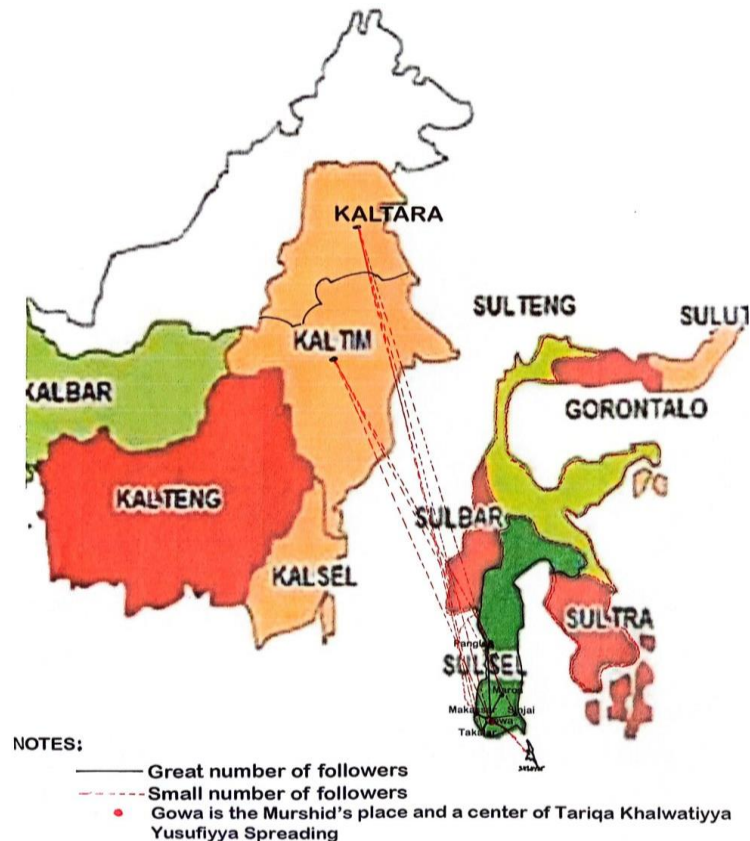
The observed diaspora patterns emanate from Gowa and traverse through specific trajectories, elucidated as follows:

- a. Diaspora from Gowa to East Sinjai, Tanete Bulukumba, Bone, Makassar, and eventually to Kalimantan.
- b. Diaspora from Gowa to Maros, Makassar, Bone, Enrekang, Palopo, and subsequently to Kalimantan, with some extending their migration to Central Sulawesi, Kendari, Southeast Sulawesi, Lombok Bali Island, Jakarta, Irian Jaya, and Malaysia.
- c. Diaspora from Gowa to Topejawa in Takalar, traversing through Makassar and Sengkang before reaching Kalimantan.
- d. Diaspora from Gowa to Pangkep, Makassar, Bone, Luwu Palopo, and onwards to Kalimantan, with certain trajectories leading to Central Sulawesi, Kendari, Southeast Sulawesi, and Irian Jaya.
- e. Diaspora from Gowa, encompassing Makassar, Tanralili Maros, Nisombalia Maros, Topejawa in Takalar, extending to Tarakan.
- f. Diaspora from Gowa to Tarakan, signifying individuals from Tarakan who traveled directly to Gowa to acquire knowledge and pledge allegiance.
- g. Diaspora from Gowa to Samarinda Seberang, Tanah Grogot Paser, Maros, and further in East Kalimantan.⁵⁵

The following map will illustrate the diasporic development process emanated from Gowa to the coastal areas of South Sulawesi to the entire South Sulawesi, even to some other parts of Celebes and then reach the Tarakan Island the North part of Kalimantan and the East part of Kalimantan.

⁵⁵ Al-Makassari's Mushid and Followers.

Figure 1. Map Diasporic Development Process of al-Makassari's Religious Moderation Teachings from Gowa through His Yusufiyya followers in South Sulawesi to Kalimantan



This diasporic propagation has unfolded across five generations under the guidance of three *murshids*, with the exception of Tompobulu/Bulu-Bulu in Pangkep Regency, situated at the foot of Bulusaraung Mountain, where the diaspora has evolved.

In early 21st century, it was not only spread in the entire archipelago but also abroad, such as in Malaysia, Cape Town, and Egypt. However, those are out of our discussion since we only focus here on the process of diaspora development in South Sulawesi and Kalimantan. The result of diaspora development can be marked by the existence of Khalwatiyya Yusufiyya followers generally in South Sulawesi and Kalimantan, specifically in the coastal areas as in the following:

- a. In East Sinjai, initially around 8 to 10 persons to around 200 persons (followers) throughout five generations.
- b. In Topejawa and Takalar, initially around 10 persons or five families to around 200 persons (followers) throughout five generations.
- c. In Maros Regency (especially Nisombalia, Alla Ere, Tanralili, and Botolempang districts) initially around some families to hundreds of families or around 2000 persons

- (followers) throughout five generations.
- d. In Pangkep Regency (especially Bangkeng Sakiang, Kassi, Balleangin, and Tompobulu/Bulu-Bulu situated at the foot of Bulusaraung Mountain), initially some families to hundred families spread in those areas or around 500 persons (followers) throughout four to five generations.
 - e. In Tarakan islands, initially around 2 to 3 families to around 10 families or around 30 to 40 persons (followers), starting from 2005 until now.
 - f. In East Kalimantan, initially around 1 to 2 families to around 15 families or around 60 persons (followers), starting from 1989 until now.
 - g. In the entire South Sulawesi, there are estimated more than 6 thousand or around 6 to 8 thousands Yusufiyya followers from more than 20 thousands followers of *Khalwatiyya Yusuf* or *Khalwatiyya Sheikh Yusuf* leading by some other murshids, since in general al-Makassarī has great followers in South Sulawesi and Indonesia.⁵⁶

As far as we are concerned that there are two kinds of Ṭarīqa Khalwatiyya al-Makassarī, i.e. *Khalwatiyya Yusufiyya* or *Yusufiyya* (as the essence of all al-Makassarī's *ṣūfi* orders, especially the five *ṣūfi* orders with certificates), taught by his descendants in one side, in other sides is *Khalwatiyya Yusuf* or *Sheikh Yusuf* (as the essence of *Khalwatiyya* taught by Sheikh Yusuf) leading by one murshid centered in Makassar, and three siblings murshids centered in Maros). Another Khalwatiyya which has great followers in South Sulawesi, i.e. *Khalwatiyya Samman* (entered Indonesia in the 18th Century), and centered in Maros. Nonetheless, their murshids and followers respect each other. Their murshids always *silaturahmi* and often have discussions with each other, followed by their followers.

Despite, *Yusufiyya's* followers are not as much as the followers of other *Khalwatiyya ṣūfi* orders, surely from generation to generation, never-ending without any element of influence, let alone coercion. *Yusufiyya Tariqa* is not an organization, it develops because of Allah's guidance and only ones who have Allah's guidance can enter it or can be the followers.

2. The Perception of al-Makassarī's Followers regarding Religious Moderation

The perception of al-Makassarī's followers regarding religious moderation in several coastal/peripheral areas of South Sulawesi, Tarakan Island, North Kalimantan, and Samarinda Seberang East Kalimantan, is that most of them do not know or are still unfamiliar with this term.⁵⁷ The reality shows us that most of al-Makassarī's followers belong to the *awwām* community, and only a small number are highly educated, but their faith is steady and strong, and they are loyal to their murshid. Surprisingly, the same has to do with the village and sub-district staff in the places we mentioned, until we explained

⁵⁶ Al-Makassarī's Followers.

⁵⁷ Al-Makassarī's Murshid and Followers.

this term to them. Then they just understood. However, they all agreed that there had never been anarchist acts in the name of religion in their respective villages or towns.⁵⁸

It's just that in Tarakan and Samarinda there was a conflict between the Je'nepono people and the Bugis and Dayak tribes, that had been going on for a long time, but they had nothing to do with the Yusufiyya followers who lived there, and the conflict had long since subsided. Now in Kalimantan, especially in Tarakan and Samarinda (which comes from the word equally low, meaning that both nobles and commoners are all the same, no one is above, life is safe and peaceful).⁵⁹

3. The Implementation of Sheikh Yusuf's Religious Moderation Teachings

The results of the researchers' observations and interviews⁶⁰ by exploring several coastal or peripheral areas in South Sulawesi, especially East Sinjai, Takalar, Maros, and Pangkep as well as Kalimantan, especially Tarakan Island and Samarinda Seberang show that in general, al-Makassarī's religious moderation teachings have been implemented well by his followers, although most of them are still unfamiliar with the term religious moderation, such as:

Their belief in the Oneness of God became stronger as the main teaching of Sheikh Yusuf that was instilled in his followers since the first time they took *bai'at* (pledge allegiance) by their murshid. This is the main teaching of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassarī through his murshids who always emphasize, encourage, and call on them to worship to only one God and not others, and make sure they do all rituals because of Allah, so as not to slip on the sea of infidels. This can be shown that all of them follow the five pillars of Islam, except for *Hājj* (just some of them since *Hājj* is only for ones who have capabilities either in physical or in economic), believe in the six pillars of faith, and try to abandon things that are prohibited by the Islamic religion. They also always follow the government when Eid day comes for prayers together. They continue to carry out Islamic *shi'ar* through the commemoration of *Mawlid*, *Isra'*, and *Mi'raj* as well as commemorating the night of *nisf' sha'ban* in congregation and as an event of forgiveness for one another and reciting prayers on this blessed night before the month of Ramadan, commemorating the 10th of *Muḥarram* as a day of *Ashura* (day of rejection of evil in this world) etc. based on the *murshid* guidance.

They try to always think positively towards others, as instilled teaching by their murshids who always encouraged the followers to have positive thinking with others.

They are all generally friendly, have noble characters, and are polite in speaking. They never show their bad characters or impolite speaking in front of their guests, such as

⁵⁸ Staff, "Personal Communication (Interviews)."

⁵⁹ Some People of Tarakan Islands and Samarinda Seberang as well as al-Makassarī's Followers, "Personal Communication (Interviews)."

⁶⁰ Al-Makassarī's Murshid as well as the followers, "Personal Communication (Interviews)."

always saying 'tabe' (a permission attitude) or excuse me, sengkaki mae Daeng (*singgakhi Daeng*), or stop by please *Daeng*, maeki kaddo (please eat) or eat please, and always smile to the guests. They respect their guests, as evidenced by the fact that when we visited them from house to house in all the coastal areas and suburbs of South Sulawesi as well as on the islands of Tarakan, North Kalimantan and Samarinda, East Kalimantan, they treated us very well. Even if a non-Muslim comes to their house, they still respect him. There is a saying that says a guest is like a king who must be respected.

They try to practice Sheikh Yusuf's teachings about ethics, and morals in general, such as patience, *tawaddhu*, *tawakkal*, *not riya'*, envy, *sum'a*, or feeling like they are always on top, etc., as morals taught by al-Makassari through their murshid.

One thing they never forget is the teachings of their murshids, namely, if people are good to you, then you have to be even better to them, but if people are bad to you, then still be good to them, because if you are also not good then both of you are involved in the bad ones. This murshid's message is never forgotten, since their murshid always reminds it to them, in every meeting

Most of them ask God's forgiveness in their everyday lives by saying *Astaghfirullāh* or *Astaghfirullāh al-'Azim* or *Astghfirullāh al-'Azim al-ladhi lā ilāha illā Allāh huwa al-ḥayy al-Qayyūm wa atirbu ilaik* and are ready to forgive the mistakes of their fellow Muslims before they apologize, and only a few still harbour anger for more than three days, but they never commit religious extremists. This is because their murshid always instils these teachings into their minds and hearts in every meeting.

Most of them tries to balance *shari'a* and *ḥaqīqa* (divine law and divine reality or outer and inner). *Shari'a* and *ḥaqīqa* must be combined in every day of the follower's life since the first time they took *bai'at* (pledge allegiance). This is one of the main teachings of al-Makassarī through his murshids to them. Therefore, each follower of Yusufiyya must know the divine reality of each prayer or worship they do and will do. Then one cannot enter this *ṭarīqa* before understanding *shari'a* (divine law). *Shari'a* (outer) and *ḥaqīqa* (inner) are like a body and soul, a human is said to be a human if they have both.

They also try to always remember the mistakes and sins they have committed and forget their good deeds, instead remembering the good things of other people and forgetting their bad ones according to the teachings of Sheikh Yusuf through their *murshid*.

They all in general have fear and hope in Allah in the same position in their hearts so, that they never despair because for them Allah's mercy always precedes His anger. They fear Allah outwardly, but they hope in Him internally. They fear Him in a position of hope, as they hope in Him in a position of fear. According to al-Makassarī and their *murshids*, fear is contrary to the word of Allah: "Do not despair of Allah's mercy. Truly Allah forgives everyone's sins. Indeed, He is the Most Forgiving, the Most Merciful", just like uncontrolled hope that goes against His decree. This became a guideline for al-Makassarī's followers, especially in *Ṭarīqat Khalwatiyya Yusufiyya*.

They try and enjoy practicing the *dhikr* of Sheikh Yusuf, especially the *dhikr* of *Nafiy itsbāt* لا إله إلا الله verbally (verbal *dhikr*); *dhikr ism al-Jalāla* (الله - الله), with tongue and heart, finally, *dhikr ism al-ishāra* (هو-هو), starting from the word of mouth to the heart which is also called spirit or secret *dhikr*, both individually and in the congregation. It was proven that when researchers were at research sites, they asked researchers to lead *dhikr* together through reciting the *awrād* (the litanies) *Ṭarīqat Khalwatiyya Yusufiyya*. They all belong to the *awwām* community, and only a small number are highly educated, nonetheless, their unwavering faith is characterized by steadfastness and loyalty to their *murshid*.

Reciting the *awrād* only lasts around 35-45 minutes every Friday night at the *murshid's* house, then continued by the *murshid's Tawziah* for 20-30 minutes or more depending on the conditions and situation. All *dhikrs* are engaged in a certain and simple way as al-Makassarī did with not too loud in the congregation, and it is recommended that the *dhikr*, and reciting the *awrād* should be engaged either individually or in congregation in each village at least once a week or on Friday nights, for those who did not have time to come to the *murshid's* house.

E. Conclusion

Based on the aforementioned findings and explanations, several conclusions can be drawn.

The teachings of moderation are observed to be effectively, gradually, and securely imparted across generations without any coercive elements. This propagation of religious moderation originated from the descendants of al-Makassarī, specifically Sheikh H. Muhammad Sultan Baitullah (deceased in 1948), Sheikha Hj. Nur al-Sufī (deceased in 2017), and her son Sheikh K. H. Sahib Sultan Krg. Nampo (deceased on 4 February 2022, corresponding to 3 Rajab 1443 H). Among these individuals, Sheikh K. H. Sahib Sultan Krg. Nampo played a pivotal role in advancing al-Makassarī's teachings of religious moderation. His extensive literary contributions, including numerous books and scholarly works on Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassarī, have fostered an environment where followers of *Ṭarīqat Khalwatiyya Yusuf* and *Yusufiyya* as well as *Khalwatiyya Samman* coexist harmoniously, transcending existing differences. Through his efforts, followers of *Ahl al-Ṭarīqa*, particularly in South Sulawesi and Kalimantan, have found common ground, fostering unity.

A significant portion of the studied population remains unfamiliar with the concept of religious moderation. Predominantly constituting the *awwām* community, a majority lacks extensive formal education. Nonetheless, their unwavering faith is characterized by steadfastness and loyalty to their *murshid*.

In contrast, the followers of *Ṭarīqat Khalwatiyya Yusufiyya*, particularly in South Sulawesi and Kalimantan, exhibit a commendable implementation of al-Makassarī's teachings on religious moderation. This is evident in their adherence to *aqīda*, *shari'a*,

ḥaqīqa, and moral principles. Regardless of their geographic location, the teachings of their murshid endure as integral aspects of their belief system. Consequently, their lives are marked by safety and tranquillity, devoid of extremist activities such as religiously motivated violence.

Gratitude is extended to all participants who contributed to the realization of this research objective. The findings underscore the significant potential of the *ṣūfī* Order (*Ṭarīqa*) in mitigating radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia. Emphasizing the importance of understanding and applying al-Makassarī's religious moderation teachings

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When a source is cited for the first time, full information is provided: full name(s) of author(s), title of the source in italic, place of publication, publishing company, date of publication, and the precise page that is cited. For the following citations of the same source, list the author’s last name, two or three words of the title, and the specific page number(s). The word *ibid.*, *op.cit.*, and *loc.cit.* are may not be used any more.

Example in footnotes:

¹Mircea Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 8 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), h. 18.

²Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West* (Oxford: One World Publications, 1991), h. 190.

³Syeikh Ja’far Subhānī, *Mafāhim Al-Qur’ān* (Beirut: Mu’assasah Al-Tarīkh Al-’Arabī, 2010), Juz 5, h. 231.

⁴Syeikh Ja'far Subhānī, *Maḥāhim Al-Qur'ān*, h. 8-9.

Example in bibliography:

Subhānī, Syeikh Ja'far. *Maḥāhim Al-Qur'ān*. Beirut: Mu'assasah Al-Tarīkh Al-'Arabī, 2010.

Eliade, Mircea (ed.). *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 8. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995.

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Shihab, Muhammad Quraish. *Sunnah-Syiah Bergandengan Tangan: Mungkinkah? Kajian Atas Konsep Ajaran Dan Pemikiran*. Cet. III. Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2007.

Detail informations of the footnotes:

1. Holy book

Al-Qur'ān, Al-Baqarah/2: 185.

Perjanjian Baru, Mrk. 2: 18.

2. Qur'anic translation

¹Departemen Agama RI, *al-Qur'an dan Terjemahannya* (Jakarta: Darus Sunnah, 2005), h. 55.

3. Book

¹Muḥammad 'Ajjaj al-Khaṭīb, *Uṣl al-Ḥadīth: 'Ulumuh wa Muṣṭalahuh* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1989), h. 57.

4. Translation Books

¹Toshihiko Izutsu, *Relasi Tuhan dan Manusia: Pendekatan Semantik terhadap al-Qur'an*, terj. Agus Fahri Husein dkk (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2003), h. 14.

5. Voluminous book

¹Muḥammad al-Ṭāhīr b. 'Ashur, *al-Taḥrīr wa al-Tanwīr*, Vol. 25 (Tunisia: Dār al-Suḥūn, 2009), h. 76.

¹Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukharī, *al-Jam' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, Vol. 2 (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 1999), h. 77.

6. Article in book

¹Sahiron Syamsuddin, "Metode Intratekstualitas Muhammad Shahrur dalam Penafsiran al-Qur'an" dalam Abdul Mustaqim dan Sahiron Syamsuddin (eds.), *Studi al-Qur'an Kontemporer: Wacana Baru Berbagai Metodologi Tafsir* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2002), h. 139.

7. Article in encyclopaedia

¹M. Th. Houtsma, "Kufr" dalam A. J. Wensinck, at al. (ed.), *First Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 6 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), h. 244.

8. Article in journal

¹Muhammad Adlin Sila, "The Festivity of *Maulid Nabi* in Cikoang, South Sulawesi: Between Remembering and Exaggerating the Spirit of Prophet", *Studia Islamika* 8, no. 3 (2001): h. 9.

9. Article in mass media

¹Masdar F. Mas'udi, "Hubungan Agama dan Negara", *Kompas*, 7 Agustus 2002.

10. Article in Internet

¹Muhammad Shaḥrūr, “Reading the Religious Teks: a New Approach” dalam <http://www.shahrou.org/25> Februari 2010/diakses 5 Juni 2010.

11. Thesis or dissertation

¹Syahrudin Usman, “*Kinerja* Guru Pendidikan Agama Islam pada SMAN dan SMKN Kota Makassar”, *Disertasi* (Makassar: PPs UIN Alauddin, 2010), h. 200.

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