

# HERITAGE OF NUSANTARA

International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage Vol. 1 No. 1 June 2012



Center for Research and Development of Religious Literature and Heritage Office for Research and Development and Training Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic Indonesia

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ISSN: 2303-243X

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#### International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage

Vol. 01, No. 1, June 2012

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Address : Puslitbang Lektur dan Khazanah Keagamaan

Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI

Jl. M. H. Thamrin No. 6. Lt. 18

Jakarta

Telp and Fax. 0062 - 21-3920713 / 3920718

Email: puslitbang lektur@yahoo.co.id

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#### **Editorial Notes**

This Journal is concerned with issues on religious literatures and heritages in Indonesia or Nusantara. The purpose of the publication of this journal then is to promote the religiously based heritages of Nusantara (historical term of the past Indonesia) in particular and the world in general. In another world, the journal is certainly to develop ideas relating to the development of the Nusantara religious heritages in order to be widely known, read and reviewed by the academic community at large. For this purpose, Center of Research and Development for Religious Literature and Heritage, of the Office of Research and Development and Training, Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, in this regard, considers it important to publish a journal of religious heritages. This is because of such heritages have not socio-politically received adequate attentions yet in the discourse of the cultural development in Indonesia and in the world-wide.

Indonesia -- as the plural country with more than 80 % Islam, and Catholicim, Protestant, Hindhuism, Budhism, Khonghucu, and local faiths for the rest -- is the very rich country of cultural legacies. The golden age of some Nusantara Budhist and Hinduist kingdoms, for instance, had culturally enriched the nation's legacies. Further, the religious life of Nusantara in the past, in fact, not only the products of the *sui generis* of the genuine religion itself, but most of them were the acculturative and hybridal forms adapted to the local tradition or culture. As an illustration here, Islam as a revealed religion has special characteristics of Indonesia. Islam has culturally adapted cultures and social life and thoughts of Indonesian society. It does not mean that Islam in Indonesia is not rooted in Islamic teachings from the early period of the Prophet Muhammad pbh.

Moreover, it can be said that the continuity of thought of Islamic scholars (ulama) of Indonesia from the early advent of Islam in Indonesia to the present has its deep roots in Islamic teachings. Nevertheless, Indonesia's Islamic style of course, is different from the style of Islam in other countries, such as the Middle East. This does not mean that Islam in Indonesia is not genuine, but, more than that it shows that Islam in Indonesia has its long history to adapt to local cultures in order to be more easily accepted by the local people. It should be noted, the process of adaptation is not entirely eliminates the essence of Islam which is monotheistic one. In relations to this, history of Islamic scholars and their thoughts, as well as their Islamic discourses being recorded in archaeological sites, manuscripts, and heritage need to be promoted and raised in a more serious study. For this reason, this journal is an effort to achieve this goal.

Studies on the first edition of this journal include a few posts related to Qur'anic archeology, history of Sheikh Yusuf al Makassary as an Islamic scholar and a hero of humanism, the discourse on secularism and Islam in the conflict in Aceh, the strengthening of Islamic jurisprudence schools (Fiqh) and Sufism in Islamic historiography, and about Sufis Jihad in Aceh at the end 19th century and early 20th century.

The first article is Ali Akbar on Qur'anic archeology. This study offers the Quranic archeology as one of the branches of archeology. This study offers an illustration of the idea that peoples or early nations enunciated by the Qur'an to be the initial source for the development of Islamic archeology. Akbar argues that the verses of the Qur'an that explains the history of the followers of the previous archaeological truth can be traced from the Qur'anic verses that explain it. Based on that, the Qur'an archeology substantially meets the criteria to be a branch of archeology such as to have historical reconstruction of the culture, to have the reconstruction of the thought of the actor in history, to have a

description of the event and to have the cultural reconstruction of the birth and disappearance of a civilization.

Al Qur'an is the Muslims' way of life. As the first and primary sources, it contains of values, norms, and other teachings system which have to be consistently applied in the daily life of the Muslim world. Related to this importance, the second article of Choirul Fuad Yusuf attempts to unpack and elaborate of how far al Qur'an has an aplicable teachings on tolerance and peace needed by the world-wide for the sake of building the world security and peace culture.

Further study is written by Erman Erwiza which focuses on the role of Islamic scholar and a hero in the history of Islam in particular Indonesia and Indonesia during the Dutch colonial history in general, Sheikh Yusuf al Maqassary. Sheikh Yusuf al Maqassary is a hero of humanity, because he opposed the tyranny and oppression of the Dutch. Erman rightly argues that the award given to Sheikh Yusuf al Makassary as an Indonesian and South African hero becomes very important to be realized in a concrete way. According to Erman, it can be made by giving him a title of national hero, building a museum and education that could promote the teachings of Sheikh Yusuf. In addition to that, it is also important to create the programs to establish cooperation between both countries, Indonesia and South Africa as an important part of the history of Sheikh Yusuf struggle.

The third article is written by Mohammad Hasan Ansori entitled "Secularism and the Issue of Islam in the Aceh conflict: A Framing Process Approach" which provides an overview and analysis of the conflicts that occurred between GAM (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka/Free Aceh Movement) in Aceh and the government of Indonesia. According Ansori, the theme of the struggle which GAM carried is not Islamic values, but rather secular values such as independence (self determination, and human rights). Further Ansori argues that the connotation made by the government of

Indonesia addressed is an attempt to discredit GAM as part of the global terrorism using the name of Islam.

Further article is by Ajid Thohir which highlights the importance of persona studies in the historiography of Islam in the formation of schools of thought in the Islamic world, both in the field of fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence and Sufism). Therefore, to understand the significance of the studies in the historiography of Islam means to understand the Islamic community which is in fact is divided into separate communities. Each community embraces and follows the teachings of Islam through the character of the leader as the role model. The phenomenon is very crucial and useful to understand the psychological conditions and religiousity of the diverse Muslim community.

Further article written by Hamdar Arraiyyah is about the role of Daud Ismail in the preching of Islam in South Sulawesi and his effort to write the Qur'anic interpretation in Buginese language. This article explains the effort done by Ismail is very important and precious to give guidance to the Buginese Muslims who do not understand the Qur'an in Arabic language by the reading the meaning of the Qur'an in Buginese language. This effort is certainly help the Buginese Muslims to understand easily the Qur'an.

The next article is written by Fakhriati which discusses Sufis action in the form of Jihad in Aceh in the early 19th and 20th centuries. This study suggests that the Sufis and the religious leaders in Aceh played an important role in the formation of thought of the Muslim community in Aceh. The establishment of the Islamic community in Aceh which is very religious has very strong roots in the teachings of the scholars, teachers and their religious leaders. It is because the religious leaders in Aceh taught the religion as the whole concept of life. It is not just relating to God and worship rituals but also to justice, and the struggle against the oppression. This can be seen in the case of Sufis in Aceh who do the struggle against the Dutch colonialism. Several studies

above are expected to provide a preliminary description to understand the importance of Islam in Indonesia in the perspective of history, archeology and the manuscripts left by the Islamic scholars. Apart from that, it is hoped these studies may encourage the emergence of other studies in the development of Islamic or other religious thoughts in Indonesia based on the historical or archeological data in the Nusantara and the worldwide.

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# REMEMBERING AND FORGETTING: THE HISTORY OF SHEIKH YUSUF STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS<sup>1</sup>

#### Erwiza Erman

#### Abstract

For 300 years, the name of Sheikh Yusuf, son of Macassar was missing from the government's attention and public intellectual as But when Nelson Mandela, President of South Africa, commemorated 300 years of the arrival of Sheikh Yusuf in Cape Town in 1994, since that time, government institution, civil society and academics from Indonesia and South Africa have been paying to attention to remember, understand and study him from various perspectives. By using concept of remembering and forgetting, this article shows that the process of remembering by the two countries did not take place in the empty space, but rely on psychological consideration of the individuals, communities and socio-political condition from the two countries. The process of forgetting constructed by the Dutch colonial state in 17th century became inversely proportional to the action of remembering the Sheikh Yusuf by African and Indonesian officials in 20th century. The proces of remembering shows its own dynamics, ranging from individuals, communities to public memory. When remembering Syekh Yusuf reached state memory or public memory, it became a

This article is based on my paper presented at international seminar, entitled 'The Struggle of Syekh Yusuf in South Africa", held by University of Hasanuddin in collaboration with the General Consulate of Indonesian Republic in Cape Town, Macassar, November 10, 2011.

power that can define and plan a socio-political and economic agenda for the future by the countries.

Keywords: remembering, forgetting, Sheikh Yusuf, power, sociopolitical agenda.

#### 1. Introduction

"He is a son of South Africa and the inspiration for the antiapartheid struggle. He was the initiator of the establishment of the
South African community. I got inspiration from him that the black
and white are the same, that the nobles and slaves are no different.
What makes different men before the God is the value of their
faith" This is the statement of Nelson Mandela, anti-apartheid
fighter, a legendary figure of South Africa. The knowledge of
Nelson Mandela about the struggle of Sheikh Yusuf in shaping a
democratic society three centuries ago has become a strength for
him to realize his ideas. In tracing highly racist political condition
and creating a democratic society for South Africa in the future,
the forgotten history of Sheikh Yusuf is relevant to be reproduced.

For 300 years, the name of Sheikh Yusuf, son of Macassar was missing from the government's attention, and public intellectual. However, since 1994, the year of Nelson Mandela commemorated 300 years of Sheikh Yusuf's arrival in Cape Town. Since then the attention of the government, civil society and academics from both countries to Sheikh Yusuf has increased as well. Both countries are interested in understanding and remembering the struggle of Sheikh Yusuf. The process of remembering by the two countries' people did not take place in the empty space, but rely on psychological considerations of the individuals, communities and socio-political conditions of the

countries. Therefore, remembering and forgetting, narrating or not narrating an issue of the past are influenced by complicated factors.

Remembering or forgetting past experience is an imaginative act, a creative, and constructive process. According to Edmund Blair Bolles (1988: xiii) the act of remembering is to understand. Understanding is to notice, and the noticement is something to be desired about the positive correlation between the past, present and future (Blair Bolles, 1988: xii). Furthermore, David Middleton and Steven D. Brown (2005) emphasize more on remembering and forgetting issues from the perspective of psychology and sociology. Someone will remember or forget the memory of the past based on the consideration of social relations and psychological burden with members of other communities. It is important to note that remembering or forgetting the memory of the past is the product of consciousness at the level of individuals, communities, and countries.

This article will explain that the process of remembering the struggle of Sheikh Yusuf does not show a linear line. Remembering and forgetting which had been constructed from the 17th century to the 20th century by the Dutch authorities and followed by the South African government and then the Indonesian government have its own reasons, primarily based on the political development of the country. The process of forgetting that was constructed by the Dutch colonial state becomes inversely proportional to the action of remembering the Sheikh Yusuf by African and Indonesian officials. This article will explain the dynamics of remembering, ranging from individuals, and communities in each country as a collective remembering.

This article consists of four sections. The first part focuses on the short description of the biography of Sheikh Yusuf, his experience in studying Sufism, his political activity in Banten, and the influence of his preaching in Indonesia and in exile. The sociopolitical developments of the 17th century in Indonesia and South Africa will be discussed in this section to see how far the process of dialogue between the activities of Sheikh Yusuf with his surrounding socio-political situation took place. The second part will depict the remembering and forgetting as constructive and creative processes based on their own needs at the level of the individual, society and the state. The third section will see how remembering the struggle of Sheikh Yusuf and its evidence as well as his actions as imaginative and creative processes. The fourth part is the conclusion.

#### 2. Sheikh Yusuf and Socio-Political Contexts

Sheikh Yusuf was born on July 3, 1626. His father Abdullah, the Acehnese Sufi and Arab descent. His mother Sitti Amina Itulbiani Daeng Kunjung Karaeng Baji, the daughter of nobility Gallarang Moncong Loe in the reign of Sultan Alauddin, King of Goa XIV. He gained religious education in Macassar until the age of 17 years. Originally he learned tajweed from Tassamang Daeng, a popular tutor at the palace of Goa. After that he continued his studies at the Islamic boarding school (Pesantren) of Cikoang. Then he studied Arabic, islamic law and Sufism from Sayyid Balawi bin Abdul Al-Allamah Attahir and Jalaluddin Al-Aydit. Before going to Aceh and Banten at the age of 18, he married the daughter of Sultan of Goa. In Aceh, he studied with Sheikh Nuruddin Ar-Raniri, a well-known sufis and explored Qadariyah order. After returning from Mecca, he bulit a friendship with the Sultan of Banten Ageng Tirtayasa in Banten. He did not return to Macassar. In Banten, he was appointed as a mufti or adviser to Sultan of Banten and then got involved in politics in helping the Sultan against VOC (Jamalaluddin A Aziz, 2005: 18-19).

The long journey of Sheikh Yusuf to gain religious knowledge occurred in a relatively young age, 23 years (1649). He

studied theology in Yemen, Mecca, Medina, and Damascus. He studied the Khalwatiya order in Damascus with al-Ahmad al-Qurashi Khalwati, a prayer leader and preacher. Other orders that he studied are the Qadiriyya, the Naqshbandiyya, the Shattariyya, and the Ba 'alawiyya. This article will not explain about the journey in more detail, but it can be concluded that Sheikh Yusuf knowledge in the field of religion is highly respected. One of the orders that he mastered so well is Khalwati congregation. Because of that, he was named as at-Tajal-Khalwati, "Crown of the Khalwatiyya (Van Bruinessen, 1991:251-259). According to Martin van Bruinessen, the order of Khalwatiyya was probably introduced by Sheikh Yusuf into Indonesia, and in Macassar it has remained closely associated with his name. In addition to learning various orders in the places mentioned above, Sheikh Yusuf also opened a religious teaching in the Haram mosque, Mecca. In Mecca, he reunited many people from Indonesia.

Around 1669, Sheikh Yusuf returned to Indonesia. As described earlier, he did not go directly to Macassar, but settled in Banten, where he became a spiritual adviser and son-in law to Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, and the charismatic leader of the numerous Makasarese and Buginese living in Banten. It is useful to note that since the Bongaya agreement was signed by Sultan Hasanuddin in 1669, the kingdom of Goa subjected to the rules of VOC. For the nobles who did not approve the agreement Goa, the their followers, they migrated outside Sulawesi, kept doing holy war against the Dutch in various areas, such as in Banten, Mataram and Jambi.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sultan Hasanuddin had no choice but to recognize the authority of the VOC and signed the Bongaya agreement in 1669, the nobles who were not in line with this policy, migrated out from Sulawesi to West Borneo, Java, Sumatra, and even to Malayan Peninsula. In Banten, they met with Sheikh Yusuf and joined the local king in the Island of Jawa to fight against VOC. See Mukhlis PaEni, 2008; J.Kathirithamby-Well, 1970, "Ahmad Shah Ibn Iskandar and the Late 17th Century 'Holy War' in Indonesia', in *JMBRAS*, part I, pp.48-49.

When the Banten crown prince rebelled against the aging sultan and enlisted the support of the East India Company (which had been waiting for such an opportunity), Sheikh Yusuf sided with the father. Even after the Sultan had been captured. Sheikh Yusuf continued his resistance and led a band of followers through the mountains of West Java, persecuted by Dutch Troops.

In December 1683, they were finally captured. The Dutch Exiled the Sheikh Yusuf to Ceylon but allowed (some of) his followers to return to Macassar. In Ceylon, Sheikh Yusuf did not stop preaching and writing religious books. Within about 10 years, Sheikh Yusuf gained hundreds of students. Preaching is not just limited to the community in Colombo, but also to Islamic societies from different parts of India who came to Ceylon. VOC officials who controlled Ceylon regarded him as a dangerous person to create political instablity. Therefore, the Dutch officials found it necessary to remove him once again and took him to the Cape Town. The Cape Town is a city built by the Dutch colonial employing political prisoners and slaves were brought from various regions in Africa, India and Indonesia

On July 7, 1693, Sheikh Yusuf along with 49 people consisting of family members and followers were transported by the ship of de Voetboog to Cape Town. The ship arrived in Cape Town in 1694(Keraan and Haron 2008:104). In Cape Town, Sheikh Yusuf was placed in an isolated farm area, the so-called Zandvliet, with the intention that he and his followers cannot relate to other political prisoners who were prior exiled to Cape Town. Zandvliet farm land is owned by a Dutch official. Here, Sheikh Yusuf created Kampoeng Macassar, or in Dutch is called de Macassarsche Duinen, which represents the cultural identity of his hometown. Five years in exile in Zandvliet, Sheikh Yusuf still devoted all his efforts to organize social systems, public morality and religious environment of community until he died on May 23, 1699 at the

age of 73. In 1705, Yusuf remains were finally repatriated to Macassar together with his family members. The king of Goa took care of the reinterment in Lakiung (Cense 1950:53-4).

Judging from the socio-political conditions, at least there are three main aspects that happened in the living period of Sheikh Yusuf (1626-1705). First is the period of VOC history, a period marked by VOC's struggle to monopolize the spice trading by conquering the indigenous kings. Second, the period of the indigenous kings of resistance known as the Holy War against the politics of monopoly of VOC, that coincided with the period of spreading of Islamic teaching. Third, Sheik Yusuf period is the period in which slavery and the slave trading was showing a high intensity. Macassar was an exporter of slaves to the port of Batavia and Cape Town. In this city, VOC faced.

Batavia, Ceylon and Cape Town are the cities controlled by the VOC. Through these three cities the flow of goods and people (slaves) and political prisoners were brought from Batavia, Ceylon and Cape Town or vice versa. The VOC brought slaves, political exiles and Convicts from Indonesia and India, Including Bengal and the Malabar coast to Cape Town. Therefore these Easterners, who had a long tradition of Islam behind them, were responsible for the introduction, establishment and spread of Islam at the Cape Town.

To narrate the history of slavery and the slave trading by VOC requires more special attention. The author does not want to describe this aspect in detail, the more important aspect is the global trading of Indonesian slave brought by the Dutch from Macassar and other areas to its colony at Cape Town have important meaning to build the city, producing various commodities, and ultimately creating the plurality of ethnic and racial groups. An example of the first circuit of etnich group was reported that several hundred Bantu-speaking slaves imported from

West Africa to the Dutch colony at the Cape Town after 1652, this is the first decade of the presence of the Dutch colony there.

Between the years of 1652 and 1699, the two companies sponsored the voyage to Madagascar to bring 1609 Malagasy slaves to be exported to Dahimey and Cape Town. There were 24.1% of the total number of imported slaves in Cape Town that was coming from Madagascar. Madagascar is the largest slave exporting regions compared with the other African regions. The data indicated that Madagascar has supplied approximately 70% (31 076) of 44, .394 slaves for the French colony, Mauritanius and the Reunion between 1670 and 1769. While other parts of Africa such as Mozambique and the Swahili Coast only exported 19% (8.435), India 9% (3.995) and West Africa(2% 888) people to the French colony. In the 17th century, VOC exported Malagasy slaves was more than the export of slaves by the French, Arabic, Portuguese and English. France was only able to carry about 1,000 slaves from Madagascar to the Mascarene Islands between 1670 and 1714. Arab traders exported 3000 slaves annually from Southwest Madagascar, including 800 to 1,000 slaves to Oman(Vink 2003:146) While the UK with 40 times of voyages took 17,000 slaves from Madagascar to the New World (the British colony) in 1675. Between 1670 and 1696, the VOC's ships also brought Madagascar slaves 200 to 500 people per year from Cape Town to Salido, West Sumatra and to several other mining sites in Sumatra (Erman, 2010:15).

The second circuit is slaves imported from subregion of India, such as Malabar, Coromandel, Bengal/Arakan. Between the years 1622 and 1623 there were about 1900 slaves were exported from the port of the Coromandel, and the highest rate occurred in 1659 to 1661, they brought around 8.000 to 10,000 slaves. While, Bengal / Arakan also exported slaves from the number of 1.046 in 1647 and rose to 1803 in 1655 (Vink, 2003:147). The slaves also

exported to Ceylon to build the city of Colombo and the city of Batavia, both the city of VOC's offices. It was reported that during the first 30 years of the presence of VOC in Batavia, the slaves of India and Arakan were the backbone of workforce for VOC in building Batavia. The slaves of this sub region also were exported to Cape Town, Malacca, Johor and Aceh, when VOC faced the shortage of labor force, then the slaves were taken from different parts of the archipelago.

By the end of the 17th century, the export of slaves more came from the surrounding region of Southeast Asia. At the same time, the VOC also made the Cape Town became the dumping political prisoners. The supply of slaves came from Southeast Asia, mainly from Macassar and Bali. After the defeat of the kingdom of Goa (Sulawesi), which was marked by the Bongaya agreement with the VOC in 1669, the VOC trading network was expanding to eastern part of Indonesia. The defeating of Macassar by VOC contributed significantly to slave trading, as Macassar was the gateway to eastern Indonesia and also as a major transit port for slave trade from eastern Indonesia. An historian from the University of Hasanuddin, Anwar Thosibo has analyzed the origin of slave trading, the owner and supplier of slaves from Macassar. Although focus of his study in the 19th century, Thosibo has given us a clear explanation of the slave trade from Macassar in the 17th century. The Slaves who came from different parts of Sulawesi itself (Bone, Mandar, Wajo etc.), from Buton, Borneo, and from Nusa Tenggara, such as Lombok, Sumbawa, Bima, Manggarai, Solor, and even southern parts of Philippinnes. The kingdom in Bali did not only export slaves themselves, also exported slaves from eastern Indonesia and even slaves from Papua.

Nearly 10,000 slaves from Macassar and Bali were brought to Batavia by the indigineous traders between the period 1653 to 1682, or approximately 41.66% (4.086 people) come from South Sulawesi

and 23.98% from the Bali island, the rest were from Buton (12:07%), Nusa Tenggara (6.92%) and the Moluccas (Ambon and Banda) of 6.79%.(Reid, 1983:30-32) While the export of slaves from Macassar to other areas such as the Dutch colony in Cape Town remained significantly. In the last three decades of the 17th century, Macassar (South Sulawesi) exported 46% of the total export of slaves to the Cape Town. Compared with other exporting regions, the export from Indonesia had contributed the highest percentage (30.2%) of the exported slave to Capetown, India exported slaves only 24.8%, while from Madagascar and from other parts of Africa are around 22.1%. The percentage of exported slaves from Macassar relatively high is not surprising, because in Macassar teh slave-seekers there were so active even seeking the slave to Sulu and Mindanao regions and its defeated areas.

In the study of Thosibo (2003: 122), it is known, that by the end of 1665 there were 200 armed Macassar's ships sailed to the islands of Sulu and Mindanao, bringing back 1,000 to 1,500 slaves that were captured. Based on the report of the French and Gervaise priests, in the year 1660, it was known that two ships from Macassar brought Toraja's poor people. It seems that the ships from Macassarr was sent by the king to its surrounding regions, while waiting the slaves brought by slave traders coming from the east, such as Tanimbar, Alor, Timor and then it was distributed to other areas of the archipelago, Malaya (Malacca, Johor, Pahang) and Pattani (Thailand) and sent to Cape Town (Thosibo, 2003:121).

# 3. Sheikh Yusuf Forgetted and Remembered

In comparison with the other exile leaders or fighters in his struggle period and thereafter, the country of exile for Sheikh Yusuf and several other fighters are more far way from Indonesia. The distance of exile closely correlated to the power of influence of the exiled leader. The longer the distance of retreat, the higher the VOC officials hope that his influence is declining.

Furthermore, eventually the followers will 'forget' the exiled leader. It is the reason for the Dutch to exile Sheikh Yusuf in Ceylon for 10 years, even though it was fail to reduce the influence and in fact Yusuf expanded its network. The second exile continued to place Sheikh Yusuf even far away, to the Dutch colony in South Africa. Of course with a more distant exile, the Dutch hoped his followers would 'forget', so that the influence will gradually disappear.

Viewed from the perspective of 'VOC officials', forgetting Sheikh Yusuf is an attempt to cut off individual memory and the collective memory of the Muslim community from influencial Sufi leader that would threaten the power hegemony of the Ducth. The trick is to expel the leader from Batavia to Ceylon, then to Cape Town. According to the Dutch official thinking, the far away he was exiled, the sooner his followers and supporter to forget. At the same time, anti-colonial sentiment that he implanted through his preaching will also be weakened. This is the typical view of VOC officials to deal with Islamic leaders in their holy war against the Dutch colonialism. As an influencial religious figure and political leader, Shaiks Yusuf should be separated far from his followers. The Macassarese deeply respected Sheikh Yusuf and found even more reason to join the anti-pagan movement to roomates he lent his spiritual sanction(Cense 1950: 50-1). One of the well-known nobles from Macassar was Karaeng Galesong. He had been active with about 70 vessles off the coast of Madura, joined with Trunajaya.

To what extent the policy of VOC officials in Batavia succeeded to cut off the memory of followers of Sheikh Yusuf when he was exiled to Ceylon? During 10 years in exile in Ceylon, Sheikh Yusuf has successfully established new followers among the people of Hindustan who follow their teachings and became his supporter. His followers came from not only the common people,

he had to do with the power holders, among others emperor Hindustan, Aurangzeb. The Emperor claimed Sheikh Yusuf as his teacher (Jamaluddin A. Aziz, 2005: 41). During his exile di Ceylon, Sheikh Yusuf wrote 20 books, distributed among his followers in Colombo itself and in India. Although he was far away from his hometown, contacts with the leaders of the congregation and the royal family in Macassar and in Banten were maintained through the intermediaries of Indonesia hajj pilgrims and other traders who stopped in Ceylon. Therefore, his influence remained existed in giving inspiration to the anti-colonial movements done by Islamic leaders. The Dutch did not understand the relationship between the leaders and followers of congregation as well as with other congregations, including the networks of kings in the Archipelago.

The Dutch policy to control and eliminate the influence of Sheikhs Yusuf on his followers and supporters in fact had unintended effects. His influence spreaded widely, not only in Macassar, Banten, also in Ceylon itself. For fearing of damaging hegemony of the Dutch rule in Ceylon, then Syaikh Yusuf was transferred far way to Cape Town. To the Ducth followers will soon forget him. But in fact, his presence among slave society created new history with new memory for heterogeneous groups in Cape Town. Sheikh Yusuf did not do holy war against the Dutch to remove the slave trade and slavery in Cape Town. He succeeded in the process of Islamization and the spread of Islamic teachings of equality. He formed Macassar village which still exists at the moment and it is a representation of Malay culture in Cape Town. In his new exile, he made a new history and a new memory for the slaves who came from Indonesia, India and elsewhere in the African continent.

Sheikh Yusuf had created a Muslim community by establishing Macassar village, mosques, Macassar culture and other Malay cultures in Cape Town. After he died in exile in 1699, it does

not mean that the followers of Islam in Cape Town forget him. Since his death, the story of Sheikh Yusuf and his struggle to establish Muslim community, has become a collective memory of the Muslim community there. He is always remembered, the grave is always visited not only by Muslim community in Cape Town, but also by the pilgrims who come from Ceylon. According to one of the Muslim youths from Cape Town I interviewed in 2004 in Macassar, the person told that the story of Sheikh Yusuf always told by their parents for generations. Remembering Sheikh Yusuf and all the struggles have been done by Muslim community by narrating the history of Sheikh Yusuf orally from one to the next generation. Unfortunately, little is known about the oral tradition on the history of Sheikh Yusuf among Muslim community in Ceylon. However, the Muslim community in Ceylon who performs religious visits to the cemetery Sheikh Yusuf in the every months of Hajj from the olden times to the 21st century became a proof that the Muslim community in Ceylon always remembers Sheikh Yusuf.

For the Muslim community in Indonesian, there are many ways to remember the history of the struggle of Sheikh Yusuf. His grave in Macassar and it is also believed to exist in Banten are always visited by many followers and his congregation. The teligious visit to the grave is usually done before the month of Ramadan in Macassar and Banten which is limited in nature. In Cape Town, the Malay Muslim also visits the grave of Sheikh Yusuf ahead of Ramadhan. Some Muslim people in Ceylon while perfoming the a pilgrimage to Mecca always stop to visit the garve of Sheikh Yusuf. According to the information I got from the people of Macassar and from the descendants of Macassar in Cape Town, it can be seen that there is a process of knowledge transmission about the history of the struggle of Sheikh Yusuf from the older generation to the younger generation through oral traditions (Interview with informants in Macassar, 2008, 2011). Thus, the process of learning and understanding on the history of Sheikh Yusuf between

generations in the society of Macassar, Banten and Cape Town have occurred more orally rather than through books. Very few books that discuss Sheikh Yusuf Macassar by scientists and Indonesian scholars prior to 1990, except for the work of Nuruddin Daeng Magassing that published in 1933. During the period of anti-apartheid political struggle In Cape Town, the social scientists more focused and discussed the Malay Muslim community identity issues or Cape Malays. At this level, it may be said that the remembering Sheikh Yusuf's figure only be at the level of community and individuals that lead to bring the religious visit to his grave, explore the introduction of Khalwatiyah order, and on a small scale to narrate the story of his life.

### 4. Remembering Collectively

Nelson Mandela was released from prison in 1990. Since that time a dramatic change has occurred in remembering the Sheikh Yusuf struggle for human rights in three centuries ago. The dramatic change that actually begins with the statements of Nelson Mandela about Sheikh Yusuf who had inspired his struggle, that was followed by a celebration of 300 years of the arrival of Sheikh Yusuf in Cape Town in 1994. The emergence of Nelson Mandela as the President of South Africa (1994-1999) from the coloured community, indirectly brought a new direction in the creation of collective memory about Sheikh Yusuf in broad level. Sheikh Yusuf is not only remembered by the South African Muslim community, some hajj pilgrimages in Ceylon, the Bugis-Macassar and Banten society on the way to Macca also conduct the religious visit to his tomb.

Remembering collectively to the history of the Sheikh Yusuf is marked by involvement society and governments from Indonesia and South Africa by organizing various programs. There is a need to better understand the meaning of Sheikh Yusuf struggles and his thoughts relevant to the current problems. At this

level, the memory of state officials and the public about the meaning of the struggle of memory Sheikh Yusuf united, and appears in various activities. In this regard, mass media plays an important role in efforts to form a collective memory to Sheikh Yusuf among the broad coverage of public in both countries. The activities begin with mutual visit by state officials from the two countries, awarding him as a national hero, using the name of Sheikh Yusuf in various development programs, seminars, rewriting the biography of Sheikh Yusuf and the Malay community in Cape Town. At the same time, there is also a desire among academics to make Sheikh Yusuf as an object of study for theses, and dissertations. From all activities explained above, it can be noted that there is desire to understand further the history of Sheikh Yusuf and his Islamic teachings for human rights. The desire to understand the history of Sheikh Yusuf by state officials from the two countries are also layered with other goals.

In addition to academics, the role of journalists is very important in creating and disseminating their memory and seeing the tomb Sheikh Yusuf directly. Dissemination of their memory can be read by the public in their reports in mass media. As we have known that many journalists from the two countries visited the tomb of Sheikh Yusuf both in Cape Town and in Makassar. They documented their journey experience. Here, Iam not going to quote all of their trip reports, but it is interesting to quote one of the many expression written by Zen Teguh who came to Cape Town in April 1993 for the first time and in August 2011 for the second time.

"I was stunned, blood swishing, it feels amazed to see first hand the very tomb of respected Muslim leaders in South Africa. I am goose bumps, not from fear, but considering the greatness of Islamic leader. For a few seconds, the mind wanders in Taufik Ismail's writing (Zen Teguh, August 29, 2011).

Zen Teguh quotes then Taufik Ismail's experience which he has written in the preface to Abdul Hamid's book as follows:

"I entered to the tomb and was amazed, looking at the tomb fenced iron, covered by green cloth. At the age of 73 years, here he was buried, a scientist, sufis, author, and the commander of the battle of the 17th century, after 15 years of his exile. I bowed and mumbled Al Fatihah for this great fighter. He is Shaykh Yusuf al-Makassari al-Banteni "(Zen Teguh, August 29, 2011).

Except from the experience of journalists above show the relationship between the historical evidence and understanding of the author of the history of Sheikh Yusuf. More and more reports of journalists experiences produced through mass media, the more the public will know the history and ideas of Sheikh Yusuf.

The mutual visits by state officials began with the visit of Nelson Mandela to Jakarta in 1990 for the first time and in 1998 for the second time. Then, September 1997 President Suharto visited Cape Town, the tomb of Sheikh Yusuf, and took place a meeting with the Cape Malays, in addition to official meetings with President Nelson Mandela. Initially the Cape Malays protested the arrival of Suharto which was related to the authoritarian regime that was not in line with Islamic teachings, but finally they agreed to welcome it. Suharto could sign a memorial inscription on the tomb of Sheikh Yusuf. In the following years, some mutual visits by state officials never stopped.

President Megawati visited Cape Town in 2002 for the first time and 2005 for the second time. Her arrival was followed by the provision of assistance to build the Masjid Nurul Latief. In March 2008, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and his entourage came to South Africa and visited the tomb of Sheikh Yusuf or called *Tuan Kramat*. Meanwhile, other state officials from South Africa is the Governor of Eastern Cape province, Ibrahim Rasol. He visited Jakarta, Macassar and Yogyakarya, where the latest is the city of his ancestors. In 2008, the South African ambassador for Indonesian Republic came to Macassar, followed by a seminar discussing the history of Sheikh Yusuf and his thoughts. All these activities of state officials show us that the collective memory of Sheikh Yusuf was awaked in various forums and occasions very extensively. At the same time, the visit to the grave of Sheikh Yusuf both in Cape Town and in Macassar not only belong to the local Islamic community itself, but now belong to state officials.

Indonesia and South Africa have similar needs to remember Sheikh Yusuf in the name of struggling for human rights. Because of the similar needs, both state officials from the two countries appreciate the struggle of Sheikh Yusuf and gave him the title of national hero, firstly by the Indonesian government in 1995 (Antara, 10 April 2009) and 10 years later by the South African government. Giving a national hero by the government of Indonesia is actually based on previous events, the 300-year commemoration of Sheikh Yusuf arrival in Cape Town with great fanfare. The Sheikh Yusuf was not only remembered and recognized culturally by the Muslim community in different places, but also by political recognition of governments in both countries. Since getting political recognition, history, struggles and thoughts of Sheikh Yusuf discussed in various forums. As we will see in the description below, the Indonesian government made various programs to commemorate Sheikh Yusuf and strengthen relationships between Indonesia and South African society. The interesting thing is that September 2011, an agreement was reached between the two countries launched the stamps of Sheikh Yusuf (Wartapedia, 14 September 2011).

For the government of Indonesia, there are many different agendas to recall the history of the struggle of Sheikh Yusuf and increasing recognition among the various cultures of Indonesia in Cape Malays and people of South Africa. One of them is to establish Balla Lompoa, Goa palace, museum, and library will be filled with a variety of books and display of cultural diversity of the various ethnic groups in Indonesia. The government would provide scholarships to the Cape Malays in particular and South African students who are interested in studying Indonesian culture. The most challenging part of the program of the president is the program of collaborative research between researchers Indonesia by South African researchers to write together the history of Sheikh Yusuf (Antara, March 16, 2008). To what extent these programs to be realized is a question beyond the concern of this paper. But it is important to note here is that the process of memory formation for the history of the struggle of Sheikh Yusuf has entered wider society and cross country. In addition, the process of forming the memory of Sheikh Yusuf appeared to have broader implications with the introduction of programs of Indonesian culture in South Africa.

For the Government of South Sulawesi province and district of Goa, there is a sense of pride and self-esteem increase as awarding a son of Macassar as hero for the two countries. This is a rarely historical event. The local government of South Sulawesi, the ways to remember Sheikh Yusuf were not only to understand and struggle with a pilgrimage to his tomb, reading his books, but also realized in the form of material culture (material culture). Government seems to accelerate the emergence of public memory for Sheikh Yusuf in form objects. This program is realised to build a big mosque of Sheikh Yusuf located in Goa, with the architecture of Macassar, the dome of the oldest mosques in Katangka (Berita Sore Online, July 12, 2012). Other ways were followed by giving the name of Sheikh Yusuf for education foundations, roads and

others. In addition, local government is now building a bridge connecting the tomb of Arung Palaka, Sultan Hasanuddin and Sheikh Yusuf. (*Tribune News*, 3 April 2012). The development objective is to increase the number of tourists to visit the tomb of the three main leaders in South Sulawesi. Of all the efforts done by the local governments, it is clear that the process of remembering of Sheikh Yusuf not only as a creative and constructive activities, but also has become a force (*power*) in determining many agendas and programs in the future.

From the above explanation it can be concluded that the struggle of Sheikh Yusuf who is widely remembered by the government and people of South Africa and Indonesia actually is as a joint needs to give meaning to the struggle. Giving meaning to the struggle of Sheikh Yusuf was a actual reprodution of history in accordance with the needs faced jointly by the two countries at the present time. Giving the same sense of the meaning of the struggle of Sheikh Yusuf has been able to create a closer bilateral relation between the two countries. Therefore, it is not surprising that up to present the improvements in bilateral relations occur in various fields, ranging from the cultural to the economic field. In the economic field, there is the signing of the strategic parthnership between Indonesia and South Africa in 2010 (Jakarta Post, 27 April 2010). Whereas in the field of culture, the consulate general of the Republic of Indonesia to South Africa perform a variety of cultural events in Cape Town with a view to introducing a closer Indonesia Malay culture of his society (Interview with the Consulate General of Indonesia, 9 November 2011)

The meetings between state officials from the two countries, a pilgrimage to the tomb of Sheikh Yusuf, giving him the title of national hero, seminars were repeated for several time with similar theme about the Sheikh Yusuf, construction of various buildings (museum, library, *Balla Lompoa* of Macassar in Cape

Town), and the use of the name of Sheikh Yusuf for a variety of facilities and infrastructures, all provide clues to how the action given by various parties for Sheikh Yusuf has varied meanings and overlapping each other.

#### 5. Conclusion

Sheikh Yusuf is a son of Macassar, born in the days where the slave trade of VOC was increasing its intensity. He was an influencial ulama, a fighter for human rights struggle through his religious teachings among slave community in Cape Town. He lived under strict army control in isolated camps in Ceylon and Cape Town for 15 years. The Dutch exiled him in order to eliminate his influence among his followers. Unfortunately, the policy had unintended implication. Yusuf remained remembered by the Muslim community in the archipelago. The idea of Holy War against the Dutch was continued by his followers. His influence among the level grassroots society was more and more extensive.

The shift in remembering occurred after Nelson Mandela proclaimed his struggle to abolish apartheid politics in South Africa was inspired by Sheikh Yusuf's ideas and teachings. In this context, Sheikh Yusuf's history and his for human rights are required and reproduced according to the present needs. If the recall had belonged to state officials, then it will be a dominant power. The memory of Sheikh Yusuf has become a dominant that could determine the future of the nation's political agenda.

The positive implication of it is that remembering Sheikh Yusuf translated into real programs, such as the awarding the title of hero to Yusuf, the writing of history of Yusuf, the implementation of joint seminars, the perpetuation of the name of Yusuf for a place of worship, the foundation of Islamic education, the construction museum, Balla Lompoa of Macassar, and library

in Cape Town. These programs indicate that remembering Yusuf's struggle in the past has various meanings and goals.

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#### **About Authors**

Ali Akbar was born on 27 November 1975 in Jakarta. In 2008 he earned his doctorate title in archaeology as the youngest doctorate earner in Indonesia. He has written some books, two of which are Zaman Prasejarah di Jakarta dan Sekitarnya (2007) and Museum di Indonesia: Kendala dan Harapan (2010). In 2006 he was awarded as The Best Junior Researcher on Social and Cultural Disciplines by Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia. In 2007 he was selected as the Best Student of the Archaeological Doctorate Program with the Highest GPA at Universitas Indonesia. In 2008 he was awarded the Best Textbook at Universitas Indonesia. In 2009, Universitas Indonesia arwarded him the Best Junior Researcher in Social and Humanities Sciences. Ali Akbar is a teaching staff member at the Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia.

Choirul Fuad Yusuf, a researcher on Religious Tradition and Society at the Office of Religious Research and Development, and Training, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Rep. of Indonesia. Born in Purwokerto, Central Java. In the primary school age, he recited al Qur'an at Pesantren Tahfidzul Qur'an, Ajibarang of Banyumas District. He ever learned Arabic Language only for two semesters, but finally, he received Bachelor Degree (S-1) in English Teaching from Faculty of Letters and Language Education, Institute of Teacher's Training and Education Science (now : Indonesia University of Education) Bandung. He received master's of Philosophy, and of Sociology Degree from University of Indonesia, and continue studying for a Doctor degree in Sociology at same university. In 2004, he attended a short course on Educational Planning and Management in Melbourne University. In 2005-2006, he taught Sociology of Religion at the Post-Graduate Program of University of Indonesia. Since the time of being university student, he actively writes articles on education, culture,

and social issues for Newspapers or Journal, viz. "Global Conflict and Its Effect on Religious Education in Indonesia" (Dialog, December 2005), "The Impact of Globalization on Religious Life in Indonesia" (Dialog, December 2000), both are published in Jurnal Penelitian dan Informasi Keagamaan, and "Terrorism and Its Implication toward the Religious Education", in Edukasi-Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Agama, September 2006. The scientific works published such as : Menyingkap Rahasia Kehidupan (Risma Pers Jakarta, 1987), Psikoanalisa dan Agama (transl.), Atisa Press, Jakarta, 1988), Negara dan Revolusi Sosial (transl.), Penerbit Erlangga, Jakarta, 1990), Ekonomi Islam: Teori dan Praktek (rewriter), Penerbit Intermasa, Jakarta, 1992), Manusia dan Budaya (Usakti Press, 1993), Peran Agama dalam Masyarakat :Studi Awal Sekularisasi pada Komunitas Muslim Kelas Menengah di Jakarta (Balitbang Agama, 2001), coauthor of some books published by Office of Religious Research and Development (Balitbang Agama), Ministry of Religious Affairs, viz :Gerakan Islam Kontemporer, Ma'had Al-Zaitun di Indramayu, Jawa Barat, (2002), Pemuda dan Pergumulan Nilai pada Era Global (2003), Pemuda dan Penguatan Spiritual (2004), the coauthor of Pesantren and Demokrasi : Jejak Demokrasi dalam islam, Titian Pena, Jakarta, 2010, and the editor of more than 20 research publications. Before conducting as the Head of Religious Literature and Heritage R&D, in October 2011 up to now, he dedicated to be Director of Religious Education and Islamic Boarding Schools, Directorate General of Islamic Education (2009-2011), and the Head of Center of Research and Development for Religious Education (year of 2006-2009).

Erwiza Erman is from a vilage located round 7 km Bukittinggi, West Sumatra, completing elementary, junior and senior high school in Bukittinggi. She studied history in IKIP-Padang for three years and then finished her Doctoranda from History Department, Gajahmada University in 1982. Back to Padang in July 1982, she

joined with newly established department of History, Faculty of Arts, Andalas University. Not more than seven months joining with Andalas University, she moved to Jakarta at the beginning of 1983 till 1987, she had worked at Research Institute of National Culture (Lembaga Riset Kebudayaan Nasional (LRKN-LIPI). After LIPI reorganized research institutes, she joined to Research Center for Society and Culture (PMB-LIPI). Since 2001 till now, she has been working at Research Center of Area Studies, a newly established research center within LIPI.

Fakhriati is a researcher from Aceh who concentrates on Islamic manuscripts in Archipelago. She works as a researcher at Center for Research and Development of Religious Literature and Heritage, Office for Research, Development and Training Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Republic of Indonesia since 2009. She has spent much time on performing research in Islamic manuscripts since she studied at Master Degree in Leiden University, from 1996 to 1998. To deal with the manuscripts thoroughly, she had studied at Indonesian University at the doctoral level, from 2002 to 2007. Among of her works and researches that has been done since she finished her doctoral level are: cataloguing manuscripts in Dayah Tanoh Abee, Aceh in cooperation with UIN Jakarta and Tokyo University; identifying and digitizing Acehnese manuscripts sponsored by EAP British Library; editing texts; and performing research on watermark and countermark of Achenese manuscripts' papers. In addition, to increase networking in manuscripts, she has (Masyarakat Pernaskahan MANASSA ioined Nusantara). PUSNIRA (Pusat Manukrip Nusantara), and TIMA (The Islamic Her Manuscripts Association). email address is fakhri ati@yahoo.co.uk.

H. M. Hamdar Arraiyah was born at Soppeng Regency, South Sulawesi, in 1957. He gained his doctorate degree in Islamic Studies Program of Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University in Jakarta. He works as a researcher at National Institution, Office for Research and Development and Training, Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Republic of Indonesia. He also teaches Quranic interpretation Subject at Attahiriyah Islamic University in Jakarta.

Mohammad Hasan Ansori received his PhD in sociology. focusing on peace and conflict studies, class and consumerism, social movement and Moslem society in Southeast Asia, from the University of Hawaii at Manoa, USA. He is currently a lecturer at the faculty of social and political sciences, Islamic State University of Jakarta and a senior consultant of National Violence Monitoring System (The Habibie Center-World Bank). His publications at international journals include "From Insurgency to Bureaucracy: Free Aceh Movement (GAM), Aceh Party and the Rising New Face of Conflict", "Linking identity to collective action: Islam, history, dan ethnicity in the Aceh conflict", "Consumerism and the Emergence of New Middle Class in Globalizing Indonesia". "Culture, Peace and Conflict Resolution: A critical Review and the Empirical Evidence from Indonesia", "The Economic Origin of Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia: a Rational Choice Perspective," and many others.

#### NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

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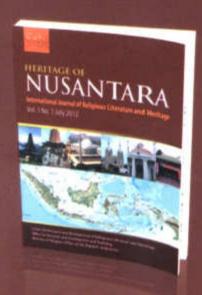
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