



Shaykh Yusuf of Macassar; Scholar, Sufi, National Hero: Towards Constructing Local Identity and History at the Cape

Armien Cassiem¹

Abstract

This paper focuses on the Origins and Malaya presence of Islam in both ritual practices and daily life of modern day Islam as practiced by Muslims in Cape Town, South Africa. It also tries to capture the presence of Shaykh Yusuf's short time spent at the Cape, 1694 - 1699, and how this period of his life gives expression to local history, storytelling, tradition and meaning to Islam in contemporary Cape Town.

Keywords: Shaykh Yusuf, Macassar, South Africa, Ritual Practices, Local Identity

A. Origins and Growth of Islam at the Cape

The history of Islam at the Cape is older than 350 years. There were three pioneering groups who played a role in the birth and growth of Islam at the Cape. These were powerful political exiles from the Indonesian archipelago, Muslim convicts (*bandieten*) and Muslim slaves or slaves that converted to Islam upon their arrival at the Cape.²

The apartheid government labeled Islam a "*valsegeloof*", a false religion, yet during apartheid, Muslims were allowed to practice their religion freely and without prosecution or prejudice. Even though the Group Areas Act of 1950 forcibly removed Muslims from neighborhoods declared white, established mosques in these areas were left to stand and operate, necessitating Muslims to almost travel across to town to attend Muslim festivals at mosques in areas they had been forcibly removed from. During apartheid, Muslims in South Africa enjoyed many rights, including exclusively Muslim only graveyards, Muslim abattoirs, or at least abattoirs that adhered to the *halal* slaughter of animals, other 'comforts' Muslims enjoyed, were Muslim based schools like Muhammadiyyah, Habibia,

Rahmaniyah and amongst others, Talfalah Primary schools. Muslims were also allowed to organize themselves in groups or ' *Ulamā* bodies, like the Muslim Judicial Council (MJC). The MJC was established in 1945 and has become the largest representative body of *imams* and *shaykhs* in the Western Cape who oversees the affairs of Muslims in South Africa.³

In South Africa, Islam is a minority religion comprising approximately 2% of the 44 million people. Muslims are mostly concentrated in the urban areas and more than 10% of Cape Town's almost 4 million inhabitants, according to 1996 census figures, are Muslim. These exclude the influx of immigrants from West and East Africa and the Indo Pakistani region, especially during the post-apartheid period. In South Africa, Islam is a much more "visible" religion than the statistics would indicate, as it does not reflect the qualitative experience of being Muslim in South Africa. The Apartheid Group Areas Act of 1950 that caused the residential segregation of Muslims in racially segregated areas has meant that many Muslims live close to each other and in proximity to newly built mosques and *madāris*, where they would hear the call to prayer five times a day, and whose neighbors were more often than not also Muslim. As a result of this, Muslims in Cape Town have a strong sense of being Muslim.⁴

April of 1994 is significant in South Africa's history. It witnessed a transition of a system of apartheid to one of majority rule when the ANC, under the leadership of Nelson Mandela, won the first democratically held elections in South Africa. Also in April, tens of thousands of Muslims gathered in the Cape Town city center to celebrate the 300th anniversary of Islam's presence in South Africa. The event celebrated the arrival in 1694 of Shaykh Yusuf al-Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqasarī (more commonly, Shaykh Yusuf of Macassar) on *De Voetboog*. Shaykh Yusuf, born in 1626 in Gowa in the East Indies, was a scholar, Sufi mystic and political exile. He engaged in guerrilla warfare against the Dutch colonialists in Banten. He proved elusive, but in 1694 he was finally persuaded to surrender on the promise of a pardon which the Dutch in the end never lived up to.⁵ Even though he was not the first Muslim to arrive at the Cape, he is however regarded as one of the most well-known and founding figures of Islam in South Africa. According to S.E. Dangor, not long after the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck at the Cape in 1652, the first Muslim, Ibrahim of Batavia, was brought to the Cape as a slave⁶, whereas Achmat Davids asserts the first Muslims in the Cape were the Mardyckers⁷ who arrived at the Cape in 1658.⁸ Other scholars like Ebrahim Moosa are of the opinion that Islam may have been present in South Africa as early as the fifteenth century.⁹

It becomes clear that Shaykh Yusuf was in fact not amongst the first Muslims to arrive at the Cape and that Islam had been present in the region for almost 40 years prior to his arrival. However, his determination to preserve the belief of his fellow Muslims was one of the most crucial factors that contributed to the survival and further development of Islam in the region.¹⁰ Because of his role in leading opposition to Dutch colonization in the Indonesian archipelago, Shaykh Yusuf was exiled to Batavia (Jakarta), then to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) from 1684-1694. At the time, Ceylon was also Dutch penal colony. However, his exile on Ceylon failed to put an end to his charisma and influence in the nearby Indonesian archipelago. While in Ceylon he devoted himself to writing religious texts. These texts were disseminated across the Islamic world by Muslim pilgrims from the islands of Southeast Asia stopping off in Ceylon on their way to and from Mecca. Alarmed at Yusuf's continuing influence, in 1694 Dutch authorities moved him to their furthest colony at the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Town).¹¹

Prior to Shaykh Yusuf's arrival at the Cape on 2 April 1694, early exiles and slaves constituted the nucleus of a small Muslim group known as the Cape Malays.¹² Shaykh Yusuf and his forty-nine followers, including his two wives, two slave girls, twelve children, twelve religious scholars and friends, were the most prominent early Muslim community at the Cape. To this day Shaykh Yusuf is venerated as a saint and his memorial, thirty five kilometers south-east of downtown Cape Town has been a place of pilgrimage since at least the end of the eighteenth century.¹³

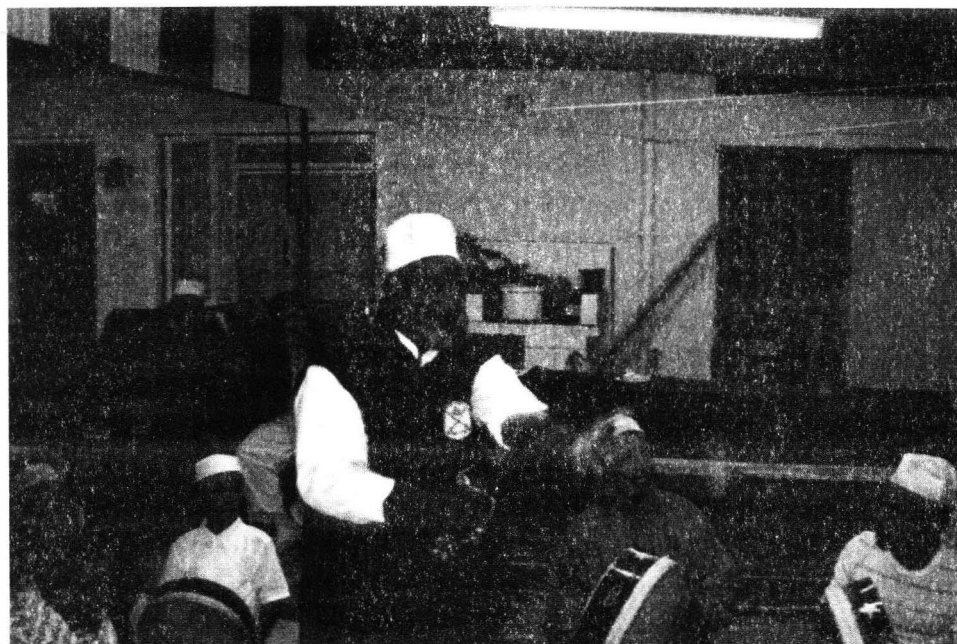
Before setting out on the pilgrimage to Mecca, Muslims in the Cape go to the graves of Shaykh Yusuf, Tuan Nūr al-Mubīn and Tuan `Abd al-Rahmān to present their "greetings" and to pray to God for a successful and acceptable pilgrimage.¹⁴ Shaykh Yusuf's memorial at Faure proclaims that "He, his family and 49 followers were the first to read the Holy Koran in South Africa." Despite being banished thirty five kilometers from downtown Cape Town, the authorities could not neutralize his charisma and the remote location became a rallying point for fugitive slaves and other Orientals.¹⁵ In fact, during the first 150 years of Dutch settlement, Dutch missionary work was slack and not very successful. Their work among the Muslims was frustrating because no concerted effort was undertaken to stem the growing tide of Islam which was spreading swiftly amongst the slave community.¹⁶ By the early nineteenth century, convicted slaves were turning not to Christ, but to Allah. Before 1825, there were no records of the number of Muslims at the Cape. In that year, according to figures submitted by Cape Town *imams*, there were 846 male Muslim slaves and

422 female Muslim slaves. These totals excluded free Muslims that amounted to 2,167 in 1825.¹⁷

Shaykh Yusuf became the rallying point for the Malay-Indonesians, not to rise up against the Dutch, but to intensify their Islamic beliefs and practices. At the time, Islam was a banned religion and only became unbanned and practiced openly at the Cape in 1804.¹⁸ The public observance of Islam in all Dutch colonies was punishable by death. The only religious institution recognized during company rule in the Cape was the Dutch Reformed Church.¹⁹ With his twelve *imams* and other exiles, Shaykh Yusuf carried out secret Islamic teaching sessions. This led to preserving Islam and gaining new converts.²⁰ Preserving Islam thus became Shaykh Yusuf's primary concern at the Cape since the Dutch prohibited the public practice of Islam and ordered the Christianization of all slaves at the Cape. The Dutch scholar Samuel Zwemer even regrets the failure of the first Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, Petrus Kalden to convert Shaykh Yusuf to Christianity, even though the Shaykh had lived on land that belonged to the minister.²¹

B. Early Sufism at the Cape

There is little doubt that Shaykh Yusuf was very well acquainted with the practice of *tasawwuf*. The nature of Islamic development in Sulawesi at the time characterizes many of the wondering scholars there as being well read in *tasawwuf*. These included Sayyid Bā `Alwi b. `Abd Allah al-`Allamah al-Tahir, who during Shaykh Yusuf's early years taught him Arabic, *fiqh*, *tawhīd* and *tasawwuf*. Amongst the Sufi *uruq* Shaykh Yusuf had been initiated into included the Qādiriyyah, Khalwatī, Bā `Alawiyyah and Naqshbandiyyah *uruq*. The Qādiriyyah and Naqshbandiyyah *uruq* he studied under Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn b. Hasanji b. Muhammad Humayd al-Qurayshi al-Raniri and under `Abd al-Bāqī al-Naqshbandi respectively. In Yemen and Damascus he studied the Bā `Alawiyyah *tariqah* under Sayyid `Ali al-Zabidi and Ayyub al-Khalwatī (also known as *al-ustādh al-akbar*—great teacher in Damascus) respectively.²² Shaykh Yusuf was later awarded the title "*al-Tāj al-Khalwatī*" (the Crown of the Khalwatī *tariqah*) and *opperpriester* or *hoogenpriester* (highest priest) and played an important role in both religious and political affairs.²³



Ratiep ceremony in Cape Town. Picture taken by the author, 7 April 2009.

Unlike early Sufis that shunned the worldly life in their quest for spiritual perfection and closeness with their Lord, his was a life of activism, no more clearly illustrated than when he led the Banten guerrilla wars against the Dutch colonial rule there. It is more than likely that upon his arrival, his presence led to the introduction of Sufism at the Cape, which in turn also gave rise to the growth of Islam there. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were several Muslim communities at the Cape. They were small, secretive, isolated and organized around the practice of Sufi mysticism.²⁴ The historical conditions of slavery and repression seem to have favored the popularity of these secretive and mystical forms of Islam. By the end of the nineteenth century, several *turuq* had been established and their practice had become part of the Islamic fabric at the Cape.²⁵ It can then be said that Sufism has been present virtually from the beginning of the Cape Muslim history and it would not be incorrect to suggest that it strongly influenced the development of local Muslim practices and beliefs, none of which is more apparent than the Cape Muslim ceremonies of *rampiesny* that celebrate the Prophet's birthday and the *ratiep*, to Sufi practices. Indonesian slaves at the Cape introduced these practices. The *ratiep* was very impressive to other slaves and led to their conversion to Islam.²⁶ The *ratiep* is both syncretic and unrelated to Islam. It was however one of the "strategies" employed to attract converts and the practice shows

just how strong the impact of eighteenth century syncretistic mysticism had been on the cultural life of the community at the Cape.²⁷

Ratiep is still practiced, although very rarely by working-class Muslims in Cape Town. It involves men hitting sharp swords across their arms and other parts of their body and driving sharp skewers through the flesh in their faces, without (excessive) bleeding. These performances are accompanied by burning incense, chanting and beating of drums, resembling the Barong dance of Bali, where many of the slaves came from.²⁸ Some Islamic scholars are of the opinion that it is a practice that demonstrates the power of those that partake in it and the powers of deep concentration and belief, while others dismiss it as simply skilled swordplay.

Rampiesny is a ceremony done by women in the mosque. They cut up orange leaves on (or a few days before) the Prophet's birthday. The occasion is marked by women gathering in the mosque and dressed in their most colorful attire. All women are dressed up with a *miedoura* (fancy headgear bought by pilgrims while on *Hajj*) and the female *hajjis* are dressed in their *moedeering* (smart attire) which are specially bought in Mecca for occasions like these. The ladies occupy the whole mosque and are all seated on the floor, each with their own special knife and wooden board for cutting the orange leaves. This is accompanied by poems related to the life of the Prophet being melodiously recited. The practice is still widely done at mosques all over Cape Town, and sometimes last long after the Prophet's birthday. This could also be seen as the extreme love Muslims at the Cape have for Prophet Muhammad and how meticulous they have been at preserving their faith.

C. Slave Conversions to Islam

Slaves were socially dead, non-persons and not considered as members of the society in which they lived. They were seen as a legal entity only. They also suffered religious exclusion by their white (Christian) masters. However, Muslims accepted new converts into the fold of Islam regardless of race, status or ancestry. This was in great contrast to economic marginality and racial and religious exclusivity of most local Christians. One slave accounted that his master did not allow him to convert to Christianity.²⁹ Another slave remarked that Islam was "some religion he must have and he is not allowed to turn Christian."³⁰ Because of this degradation and the association of Christianity as the religion of their white masters who treated them harshly and with ignominy, slaves were inclined to feel more comfortable associating themselves with Islam than with Christianity. Slave masters were also contented with slaves embracing Islam

because of Islam's strict laws against drinking would ensure that slaves who are Muslim would always be sober and also less inclined to be a liability especially on the wine-producing farms of the Cape.

Infused with a yearning for dignity and in search of community, Islam became a home which offered them the comforts of a sense of belonging and brotherhood. The rituals, like the *ratiep*, practiced at the Cape at this time, was characterized by its hypnotic effect on its participants. Despite their bondage, these rituals gave the slaves tremendous feelings of power over their bodies. The sense of power was reinforced by the promise of hope in the afterlife offered by Islam.³¹ At the Cape, and elsewhere, slaves and other oppressed people found life in Islam and became legitimate members of a society. An example of this was Achmat van Bengalen who was still a slave at the time he was appointed assistant-*Imam* of the Dorp Street Mosque in Cape Town.³²

The principal reason for conversion to Islam was not entirely connected with religion or spirituality. Conversion to Islam by the slaves at the Cape was more an act in search of community than in search of God. Many slaves converted to negate the essence of slavery and to instantly feel part of a brotherhood which they could identify with. The Muslims at the Cape offered them this community and welcomed them regardless of their color, status or ancestry. Despite the impressive nature of the *ratiep*, conversion to Islam was more a secular phenomenon rather than a spiritual one. Slaves were not allowed to turn Christian, and even if they were allowed, Christian slaves were not officially allowed to marry until 1823.³³ Thus the benefits of converting to Islam were also quite social and practical, rather than sacred and spiritual.

Conversion can also not be understood outside of the context of slavery and the racism that accompanied it. Most converts were slaves or Prize Negroes whose legal and social status approximated slavery. At the Cape and elsewhere, slavery was a social institution defined by law and custom as the most absolute involuntary form of human servitude. The slave's labor or services were obtained through force and they had been stolen from their homes and displaced to another part of the world that was brutally alien to them and far removed from their families or circumstances that were familiar to them; their physical beings were regarded as the property of their master(s); and they were entirely subject to their owner's will that made it possible for them to be bought, sold and traded, without any recourse to personal or legal objection or restraint. Slaves were outsiders, without rights, exploited, degraded and dominated first and foremost through violence. Because slaves were degraded and made to feel

worthless, they were all the more infused with the yearning for dignity and sense of belonging.³⁴

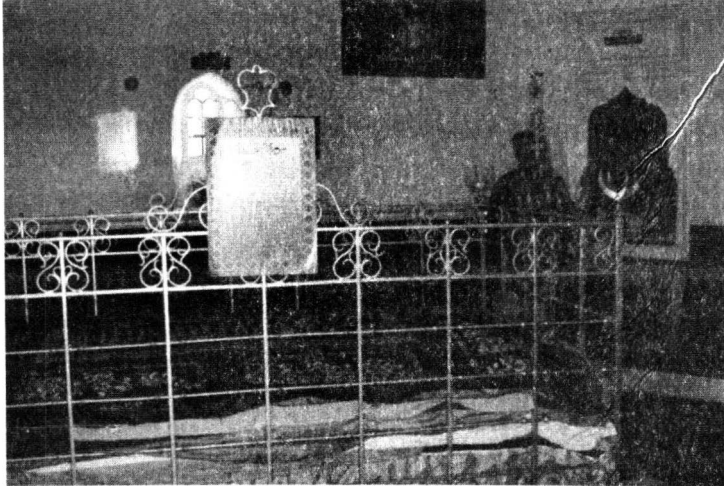
Conversion to Christianity brought little relief, for a Christian was only considered part of Christianity when within the walls of the church, outside, he was little more than an untaught heathen. On the contrary, to Islam, he became a real member of an extensive society.³⁵ At the Cape, Islam was regarded as the religion of resistance. Slaves and free blacks met in the houses of Muslim exiles and on the hills around the town. In 1797, a Dorp Street warehouse became the first mosque in South Africa, rightly named the "Awwal Mosque."³⁶ The Awwal Mosque, still in use in Cape Town, secured a home for Islam and also served as a *madrasa* and a base from which Islam could spread. By 1842, a third of the population in Cape Town was regarded as Muslim.

The work of the early *imams* at the Cape also cannot go unmentioned. As leaders and educators, they provided important religious and community services. These ranged from pastoral care during the crucial rites of birth and naming ceremonies (*doopmaal*), marriage, illness and death. They also taught slave and free black children, and to most this was the only education they ever received.

D. Shaykh Yusuf's Legacy as an International Hero

The account of Shaykh Yusuf as a figure of international importance (to Muslims) in both modern day Indonesia and South Africa, has shown great resilience. According to popular history, Shaykh Yusuf's "true burial" place remains contested and equally so, raises questions relating to the construction of association, local identity and local history. It is well accepted that Shaykh Yusuf's short sojourn at the Cape came to an end when he died there on 23 May 1699. However, in April 1705, after requests to the Dutch by the ruler of Gowa, Shaykh Yusuf's remains were returned to Sulawesi, according to some, only his finger was returned. Today his tomb is easily the most important site of Islamic pilgrimage in Sulawesi.³⁷ This is significant in that it leads one to wonder if this is in fact true, who lays buried in the mausoleum in Cape Town? If in fact the story is true and his body was returned and re-buried in Sulawesi, the mausoleum in Cape Town does not entirely lose its relevance, but merely gets demoted to a shrine in which the legacy of the Shaykh is relived. For most local Muslims in Cape Town, and in fact some from South East Asia, there is little doubt that the occupant of the grave is the great scholar of Islam, Shaykh Yusuf. I recall visiting the mausoleum in 2009 upon which I took a few pictures. As I enter, two Asian looking ladies was leaving. I was asked by one to take a

picture of her and her lady companion. Upon my inquiry, one told me that they were from Indonesia and they were proud to claim the Shaykh who lay buried in the mausoleum, as “one of us”, meaning, one of them.



Inside the mausoleum. Photo taken by author, 11 April 2009.

It is almost incomprehensible to imagine the body of any, but Shaykh Yusuf to lay buried in Cape Town. The mausoleum is central to the Muslim popular conscience at the Cape. The fantastic narrative of the Shaykh, scholar, mystic, exile, national hero who even President Nelson Mandela described as “one of the best sons of Africa”, not being buried at Faure, would not prove very popular. The practice of local pilgrimage to the shrine by thousands each year, give credibility to the local stories. In religious discourse, particularly in the practice of pilgrimage, miraculous events are normal, religious faith is capable of validating even the most fantastic stories, here one is reminded of stories relating to religious figures that can traverse time and space, walk on water, and even predict the future. To question the truth of events that are narrated in a religious context means often to question the truth, or at the very least, the social authority of the religion itself, and this is difficult for many believers to do. It is also religious faith that makes it possible for many Muslims to reconcile in their minds the scholarly, “factual” accounts of Shaykh Yusuf with the decidedly fantastic local accounts which are accepted without question.

E. Conclusion

Most Muslims in Cape Town, of which 86% are coloured, are Sunnis and adhere to the Shafi'i school of law. Even though the culture

and religious practices of Cape Muslims have historically been shaped by its Sufi origins, it would be incorrect to assert that the Sufi legacy of the pioneering Muslims had remained intact for over 350 years. Isolation due to geography, creolization, mixing and inter-marrying especially amongst the poorer sections of the Muslim community for over 350 years, has caused the Muslims at the Cape to develop a distinct character strictly South African and far removed from being Malay. Making assumptions and attempts at bridging a 350 year period with Sufism being the common denominator, would be both naïve and near-sighted. Neither does the label (Cape) "Malay" have any linguistic or geographical accuracy. This was no better demonstrated than in 1961 when the then President of Malaysia, Tunku Abdur-Rahman rhetorically offered the "Malays" of South Africa to immigrate to Malaysia. The invitation was turned down on the grounds that the "Malays" of South Africa considered South Africa their home. They saw themselves as a people who do not speak Malaya or Arabic and who have become assimilated with other South Africanisms and tied up with the rest of non-whites because of their shared humiliation and oppression.³⁸ This however does not negate the idea that the so called coloured Muslims in South Africa do not identify strongly with their somewhat watered down "Malay" identity. The Afrikaans language which has its roots in the Cape, is a corrupt form of Dutch with Malaya words speckled in it. Afrikaans, in its crudest forms, was first spoken at the Cape by the slaves during the Dutch colonial period. Manuscripts prove how the Arabic alphabet was used to write the Afrikaans language by the Javanese present at the Cape during Dutch colonial rule. Afrikaans is spoken by the majority of Cape Town's Muslims who however use Bahasa *lingua franca*, though corrupt in pronunciation, instead of Afrikaans. Words that are commonly used by both Muslims and non-Muslims alike, include:

abdas (ablution to perform prayer or read from the Qur'an)

bacha (reading, especially relating to the Qur'an)

bilal - (one who calls Muslims to prayer five times a day)

buka (breaking of the fast at dusk)

gilap (thunder or lightning)

graana (an astronomical eclipse)

jamang (toilet)

jikr (*dhikr* - rituals causing the performer to reflect his relation towards his Creator)

kanala, a corrupt form of "*karena Allah*", denoting "please"

laagoe (tone - relating to Arabic recitation [*bacha*] of the Qur'an)

labarang - Eid celebrations
maaf - (excuse me / sorry)
mandi (ritual bath)
maskawin (dowry / marriage)
meninggal (death)
oenang (an invitation)
poejees (litanies recited during evening prayers during Ramadan)
pwasa (fast during Ramadan)
soembaing (the five daily obligatory devotional prayers that Muslims perform)
soemba (a corrupt derivative of "bersumpah" - to swear or to make an oath)
tramakasi ("terima kasih" - thank you)
tulis (handwriting)

Other Bahasa words including "piering" (dish), "baachie" (jacket) and amongst others, "pondok" (small house), "blachang" (sauce), "piesang" (banana) and "baie" ("a lot" - derived from *banyak*), have been adopted by the Afrikaans language.

What this paper has tried to illustrate is that even though the "Malayness" of Muslims in Cape Town could be questioned, their historical memory in viewing Shaykh Yusuf of Macassar as a local hero, should not. His shrine, whether he lay buried therein or not, remains a symbol of Islam's beginnings and triumphs amid tyranny and oppression at the Cape.

Endnotes:

¹ Stellenbosch University, South Africa

² A. Mountain, *An Unsung Heritage. Perspectives of Slavery* (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 2004), p. 84

³ www.mjc.org.za

⁴ A.I. Tayob, *Islamic Resurgence in South Africa: The Muslim Youth Movement*, (University of Cape Town Press, 1995)

⁵ E.M. Mahida, *History of Muslims in South Africa: A Chronology* (Durban: Arabic Study Circle, 1993), p. 3

⁶ S.E. Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf* (Durban: Iqra Research Committee, 1982), p.iii

⁷ Free Muslim slaves from Amboyna in the southern Molucca Islands. They were brought to protect the Dutch forts (from Bushmen) and as labourers at the Cape. (Shell, R. 1997:5)

⁸ A. Davids, *Mosques of the Bo-Kaap* (Cape Town: The South African Institute of Arabic and Islamic Research, 1980), p. 34

⁹ M. Prozesky & J. de Gruchy (eds.), *Living Faiths in South Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1995), p. 129

¹⁰ Azyumardi Azra, "Shaykh Yusuf: His role in Indonesia and South Africa." Paper presented for One Day Seminar on Slavery and Political Exile, Slave Lodge, The Iziko Museums, Cape Town, South Africa. 23 March 2005, p.18

¹¹ G. Quinn, "Where History Meets Pilgrimage: The Graves of Sheikh Yusuf Al-Maqassari and Prince Dipanagara in Madura." *Journal of Indonesian Islam*. Vol. 3. No. 2. (December, 2009), p. 252

¹²The Population Registration Act no.30 of 1950 divided the South Africans into four distinct categories; Whites, Indians, Africans, and Coloureds. According to this Act, coloureds were defined as "not a white person or a native". The coloured group was further sub-divided into "Cape Malay", "Other Coloureds", "Khoisan", Bastards et al. Most of Western Cape's Muslims were placed into the "Cape Malay" category. The term "Malay" does not stem from the realm of geography, but rather in linguistics. Malayu was the language from the geographical area stretching from Madagascar in the west, to the remote islands of Micronesia and Melanesia in the Pacific Ocean, in the east. People who spoke this language became known as "Malays". Especially after 1804 when religious freedom was granted, the term "Cape Malay" became associated with Cape Muslims.

¹³ A.I. Tayob, *Islam in South Africa: Mosques, Imams and Sermons* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1999), p. 23

¹⁴ Y. da Costa & A. Davids, *Pages From Cape Muslim History* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1994), p. 133

¹⁵ A. Mountain, *An Unsung Heritage*, p. 85

¹⁶ M. Haron, "NGK Mission amongst Cape Muslims: (Circa 1652-1952): A General Survey," 1998, p. 3

¹⁷ R. Shell, *Children of Bondage. A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1997), p. 356

¹⁸ The Statutes of Batavia which governed the Cape as part of the Dutch Colonial Empire, allowed the private, never public practice of Islam. It also prohibited Islam to be propagated amongst Christians and heathens. Offenders would be punishable by death. It was only on 25 July 1804 when religious freedom was granted. However, even though Islam was now tolerated, no Proclamation of Law was issued by which it was sanctioned or recognised (*The South African Commercial Advertiser* of December 27, 1828 [Mahida, E.M. 1993:17]) and Islam thus remained a heavily handicapped religion at the Cape. Muslim marriages, for instance, were never recognized, Muslims, even born in the Cape, were refused admission to become burgers and had to always carry a Pass lest they be imprisoned. Their religious societies were also still required to obtain permission for the construction of places of worship.

¹⁹ A.I. Tayob, *Islamic Resurgence in South Africa: The Muslim Youth Movement*. (University of Cape Town Press, 1995), p. 40

²⁰ Azyumardi Azra, "Shaykh Yusuf: His role in Indonesia and South Africa." Paper presented for One Day Seminar on Slavery and Political Exile, Slave Lodge, The Iziko Museums, Cape Town, South Africa. 23 March 2005, 18

²¹ Azyumardi Azra, "Shaykh Yusuf, p. 18

²² Azyumardi Azra, "Shaykh Yusuf, p. 5

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- ²³ Azyumardi Azra, "Shaykh Yusuf, p. 12
- ²⁴ J.E. Mason, "Some Religion He Must Have: Slaves, Sufism and Conversion to Islam at the Cape." SERSAS Fall Conference, Savannah, GA. 15, 16 October 1999, p. 4
- ²⁵ Y. da Costa & A. Davids, *Pages From Cape Muslim History*, p. 137
- ²⁶ A. Davids, *Mosques of the Bo-Kaap*, p. 33
- ²⁷ Y. da Costa & A. Davids, *Pages From Cape Muslim History*, p. 62
- ²⁸ A. Mountain, *An Unsung Heritage*, p. 96
- ²⁹ J.E. Mason, "Some Religion He Must Have...", p. 3
- ³⁰ R. Shell, *Children of Bondage*, p. 361
- ³¹ A. Mountain, *An Unsung Heritage*, p. 96
- ³² The Dorp Street Mosque is better known as the *Awwal* Mosque in the Cape Town city centre. It is the oldest mosque in South Africa having celebrated its bicentennial in 1997.
- ³³ R. Shell, *Children of Bondage*, p. 361
- ³⁴ J.E. Mason, "Some Religion He Must Have, p. 2
- ³⁵ J.E. Mason, "Some Religion He Must Have, p. 7
- ³⁶ A. Mountain, *An Unsung Heritage*, p. 90
- ³⁷ G. Quinn, "Where History Meets Pilgrimage, p. 252
- ³⁸ A.I. Tayob, *Islamic Resurgence in South Africa: The Muslim Youth Movement*. (University of Cape Town Press, 1995), p. 85

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