

A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF SHAYKH YŪSUF

by

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The system of Arabic transliteration used in the thesis.

English Transliteration System

Arabic Consonants

ا	'	س	s	ل	l
ب	b	ش	sh	م	m
ت	t	ص	s	ن	n
ث	th	ض	d	ه	h
ج	j	ط	t	و	w
ح	h	ظ	z	ي	y
خ	kh	ع	'	ة	-a ¹
د	d	غ	gh	ال	2
ذ	dh	ف	f		
ر	r	ق	q		
ز	z	ك	k		

1 (-at in construct state)
2 (article) al- and 'l-

Arabic Vowels

Long

ا or أ ā
و ū
ي ī

Doubled

ئ iyy (final form ī)
و uw (final form ū),
etc.

Diphthongs

او au or aw
اي ai or ay

Short

أ a
و u
ي i

INTRODUCTION

The history of Muslims in South Africa is almost as old as the history of the first colonization of the Cape by the Netherlands. It was not long after Jan van Riebeeck had landed at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 that the first Muslim, Ibrāhīm of Batavia, was brought here as a slave. The Dutch had established a refreshment station at the Cape to replenish their ships sailing between Holland and the East Indies which became the centre of competition between several European powers for the lucrative spice trade. Soon after their arrival, the Dutch began to recruit slaves for their Cape station from the Indonesian archipelago where they had managed to colonize several islands. As Islam had by then spread in these islands, many of these slaves were Muslims, like Ibrāhīm of Batavia.

Later, the Dutch decreed to use the Cape colony as a place of exile for those whom they considered "undesirable" in the East Indian colonies. These included the convicts or common criminals who were summarily banished for their crimes to the Cape where they were made to labour on the Dutch farms side by side with the slaves. By far the more important of the exiles were those who fought and resisted the Dutch colonial occupation of their lands.

An important early exile was Shaykh Yūsuf of Makasar who is credited as being the pioneer of Islam in South Africa. The life of Shaykh Yūsuf is linked with the arrival of the first Muslims in South Africa and with the history of the establishment of Islam on South African soil. Therefore, the history of Islam in South Africa is incomplete

without mentioning the name of Shaykh Yūsuf.

It is for this reason that I chose to write my thesis on the life of Shaykh Yūsuf, a man so highly respected and well remembered, and yet about whom so little is known.

Apart from the theses by Dr C J A Greyling and R C H Shell which are included in my bibliography I am not aware of any major work or serious study on the conditions and circumstances of the arrival of the first Muslims to South Africa. A serious drawback is the paucity of basic source material on this subject, especially relating to the early period of the Dutch rule in the Cape. This is because the Dutch East India Company was concerned primarily with recording financial transactions and other official matters rather than with the lives and activities of the inhabitants of the Cape Colony at the time.

As a matter of fact, I was nearly compelled to abandon this project when my search for source material on the life of Shaykh Yūsuf proved futile. Both the South African Library and the Archives at Cape Town yielded nothing. Nonetheless, I was able to resume after consulting Dr Greyling's thesis.

This work must be seen as a humble attempt to outline the emergence of Islamic activity in the Cape after the arrival of Shaykh Yūsuf.

Though I have been able to trace Shaykh Yūsuf's life from the time of his birth in Makasar to his death in the Cape, there are many missing links and omission of important facts which are vital to a better understanding and appreciation of Shaykh Yūsuf. Some of these are: the names of Yūsuf's first two wives and that of his father; his activities in the Indies prior to his conflict with the Dutch; his teachings and practices as a Ṣūfī; the nature of his relationship with Governor Simon van der Stel at the Cape, etc. Despite my efforts and correspondence with the universities in Malaysia and Indonesia, as well as with the University of Leiden, Holland, I was unable to obtain any assistance in this regard. This is mainly because information on Shaykh Yūsuf is scattered in numerous Dutch and other East Indian sources and this has to be collated from various libraries and private sources. Sometimes these sources are not easily accessible.

Beside the difficulty in obtaining source material, I also had the problem of translating material from Dutch into English. Though I managed to extract the relevant data after labouring through several Dutch-English dictionaries, I have not been able to determine the meanings of several East Indian words used in the sources. My efforts to obtain help in this matter from my friends in Indonesia did not yield any results. However, Dr Noorduyt at Leiden did provide valuable assistance.

This work is intended to serve as a starting point for a deeper study on the life of Shaykh Yūsuf and as an impetus for future works on the later exiles who built on the foundation that was laid by Shaykh Yūsuf at the Cape.

All dates used in this thesis are Christian dates unless otherwise stated. Whenever the Islamic date is mentioned the term A H (after Hijrah)¹ is used.

All places mentioned in the thesis are indicated on the Map of South East Asia.²

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1. hijrah; lit 'imigration' refers to the migration of the Prophet Muḥammad with his followers from Makkah to Madīnah in 622 C E. The Islamic Calendar commences from this date.
 2. see p. 81.

CHAPTER ONE

BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE

Date and Place of Birth

Shaykh Yūsuf was born in 1626 at Goa, East Indies. This is according to the Journals of the Princes of Goa and Tello.¹

Yūsuf's birth coincided with the rule of Sultān 'Ala al-Dīn² I - Mangarāngi Dāeng Maurabija, known after his death as Toe -mēnanga-ri-gāokāuna.³ It was during 'Alā al-Dīn's rule (1591 to 1636) that Islam, which had shortly gained entry under his predecessor, became

-
1. A Ligtvoet, Transcriptie van het Dagboek der Vorsten van Gowa en Tello met vertaling en aantekeningen ('S Gravenhage, 1880), p. 90.
 2. 'Alā al-Dīn in Arabic means "the glory of the faith (Islam)".
 3. Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain the meanings of all the Indonesian names. From discussions I had with Indonesian students in Saudi Arabia it appears that most of the words and terms pertaining to this period (17th century) and used in this thesis are no longer in use. Therefore, one has to find someone familiar with "old" Indonesian to be able to understand them. My attempts to obtain help from the Universities of Singapore and Malaysia also proved futile.

the religion of the Makasar (or Macassar) kingdom in South Celebes in 1603.⁴

During the 13th and 14th centuries Islam spread to the Malay Archipelago through Arab traders and Ṣūfīs. After its extension into Sumatra and Java by peaceful penetration it also spread into the Malay Peninsula.

Parents

Yūsuf was the son of the "gallarang"⁵ of Montjong-lowé (or Mantjong-loë), a town in the Province of Tello.⁶ Yūsuf's father was related to Sulṭān 'Alā al-Dīn by marriage. It is really unfortunate that in spite of my concerted efforts, I have not been able to establish the name of Yūsuf's father as none of the sources mentions it.

Yūsuf's mother, Āminah, was the daughter of a man named Dapak Omara.⁷

4. Dr. P J Veth, De Maleische kolonie in de Kaapstad in Eigen Haard, (1896), p. 42.

5. "Gallārang" : official title of district and town heads, and in Goa also of any rank of the Board or Council of Government; in Makasar it was used as a title of honour (see P J Veth, p. 42 footnote 8)

6. Tello then was part of the state of Goa.

7. Veth, p. 42.

She was related to the kings of Goa.⁸ According to the Journals, she died on 13th December 1666.⁹ Due to the fact that Yūsuf's mother bears a Muslim name, Āminah, it is very likely that Yūsuf's father was also a Muslim.¹⁰

Relationship With Rulers

Yūsuf was a "Garleran"¹¹ or Makasar nobleman of a very high rank. He became related to the Royal House of Bantam¹² after having married the sister of Ageng, the Sultān of Bantam.¹³ According to de Haan who was a keeper of the Archives at Batavia, she was the daughter of the Sultān, not sister.¹⁴ As stated earlier, Yūsuf's mother was related to the kings of Goa.

8. A Van Selms, Sjeik Joesoef in Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek I, ed. W J de Kock, (Cape Town, 1968), p. 429.

9. A A Cense, Die Verering van Sjaich Jusuf in Zuid-Celebes in Bingkisan Budi, (Leiden, 1950), p. 5. The Journals do not indicate when she died.

10. In Islam a Muslim woman can marry only a Muslim male. Therefore, it is most likely that Yūsuf's mother had married a Muslim.

11. Garleran = gallārang; see p. 2, note 1.

12. Bantam, also Banten, a province in West Java.

13. Hendrik Carel Vos Leibbrandt, "Rambles through the Archives of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1688-1700 (J C Juta and Co., Cape Town, 1887), p. 176.

14. F de Haan, Priangan de Preanger regentschappers onder het Nederlandsche bestuur tot 1811, (Batavia, 1912), Vol III, p. 239.



Yūsuf is said to have been a brother of the princes Karaeng Bisei who ruled as king of Goa between 1674-1677 and 'Abd al-Jalīl who reigned from 1677 to 1709.¹⁵ However, as this claim is made by only one source and as Yūsuf was born much earlier (1626), this report is open to doubt.

There are several legends connected with Yūsuf's birth. The Makasar folk tradition has it that Yūsuf is the son from a marriage between the daughter of the Gallārang of Montjong-loë, and an old man. This old man, it is alleged, appeared by supernatural means near the town of "Komara". The marriage was shortlived.¹⁶ Yūsuf was born after his mother was taken as wife by the king of Goa who is not specified by name.¹⁷

Another account is that Yūsuf is the son of the Gallārang of Montjong-loë. But he was born at a time when his parents were separated and his mother married the king of Goa. According to both legends, therefore, Yūsuf was not the king's own son. What is agreed on that Yūsuf was born after the king of Goa had taken his mother in marriage. Nevertheless, the king of Goa always kept Yūsuf close to him and

15. Cense, p. 51.
 Karang Bisei means prince of Bisei;
 'Abd al-Jalīl: Jalīl is one of the attributes of God and
 'Abd al-Jalīl means 'slave of the Majestic'.

16. There is no indication as to why the marriage was shortlived - whether due to divorce or death of the husband.

17. Cense, p. 52.

anyone who said that Yūsuf was not the king's own son was threatened with the severest punishment.¹⁸

Pilgrimage

When he reached the age of eighteen - in 1644 - Yūsuf undertook the pilgrimage to Makkah in the present day Saudi Arabia.¹⁹ Here he studied apparently for a long time the religious sciences as a means to gain proficiency in the Arabic language and traditional Islamic sciences, like the Qur'an, Ḥadīth (Prophetic traditions) Jurisprudence, etc.²⁰ This was during the government of the 19th king of Goa, 'Abd al-Jalīl.²¹

First Marriage

While in Makkah, Yūsuf acquired the respect of his teacher (name unknown) who was a Shāfi'ī.²² According to all probabilities, therefore, Yūsuf also belonged to the Shāfi'ī school.

18. B F Matthes, Makassarsche en Boegineesche Handschriften (Amsterdam, 1875), p. 9.

19. Ligtoet, p. 105.

20. Veth, p. 42. Unfortunately, nothing is known about Yusuf's earlier education.

21. B F Matthes, Boegineesche en Makassarsche Legenden ('S Gravenhage, 1885), p. 30.

22. There are four Sunnī schools of Jurisprudence: Ḥanafī, Shāfi'ī, Mālikī, Ḥanbalī. Each of them is named after its founder: Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150 A H/767 A D), al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204 A H/820 A D), Mālik b Anas (d. 179 A H/795 A D), and Aḥmad b Ḥanbal (d. 241 A H/855 A D). Most Muslims in the East Indies belong to the Shāfi'ī school.

Yūsuf's teacher seemed ever eager to marry his daughter to him. The girl initially strongly opposed this marriage because Yūsuf was not an Arab. However, she eventually gave in to her father's wishes. From this marriage only one child was born, one daughter, who bore the name of Poetirī Sāmang.²³ It is a pity that the name of Yūsuf's first wife is not known.

Second Marriage

Before his return to Makasar, Yūsuf took another wife called by the Macassarese noble title, Dāenta Kāre Sitāba, at Jiddah²⁴, the seaport and well-known international airport of Saudi Arabia today. Her name, therefore, suggests that she was originally from Makasar. However, just as we do not know any details about Yūsuf's first wife, similarly we do not know anything except the title about the second wife also.

At The Bantam Court

Bearing the title of "Shaykh"²⁵ and having acquired a great reputation

23. Veth, p. 42; Poetirī (actually, Puttiri) is a Macassar word meaning 'princess'.

24. ibid, ibid.

25. "Shaykh" (Arabic): an elderly, venerable gentleman; old man; elder; chief, chieftain, patriarch, head (of tribe); title of native scholars trained in the traditional sciences such as clerical dignities, members of a religious order, projectors of spiritual institutions of higher learning; master; master of a Ṣūfī Order; spiritual guide (a Ṣūfī teacher).

of learning and piety, Yūsuf returned to the East Indies from Arabia with his family.²⁶ Nonetheless, Yūsuf did not proceed immediately to his home in Goa but stayed behind on his return journey at Bantam, western Java. Here he established himself in the Court of Sultān Ageng (or Agoeng) who ruled between 1651-1683, and won the hearts of the students through his zealous exercise of religious duties and his mystical learning.²⁷ He spent many years teaching the Sultān and his courtiers about various branches of Islamic learning²⁸. In Java Yūsuf played an active role in the spread of Islam.²⁹

Yūsuf was a follower of the Khalwatīyyah Ṣūfī Order.³⁰ Later he became the chief of this Khalwatīyyah Order at Makasar. Therefore

26. Veth, p. 43

27. Van Selms, p. 429.

28. K M Jeffreys, "The Malay Tombs of the Holy Circle" in Cape Naturalist (July 1939), Vol VI, p. 195.

29. I D du Plessis, The Cape Malays, 3rd ed. (A A Balkema, Cape Town, 1973), p. 3.

30. Khalwatīyyah = a highly ramified and widespread Ṣūfī Order named after its founder 'Umar al-Khalawatī (born in Jīlān, Persia, died in Tabrīz, Persia, 1397). The name denotes to their performances of mystical practices in seclusion, (khalwatī = seclusionist). The Order initially spread in Anatolia during the Ottoman period. One of the Khalīfas (representatives), Muḥammad 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān (d. 1775, Mecca) founded his own order, al-Sammāniyya, which spread to Egypt, the Sudan and Ethiopia, and from Mecca into South East Asia. Today adherents of the Khalwatīyyah order are mostly to be found in Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon.

he was also called "Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj³¹ al-Khalwatī al-Maqāsari"³².

The Makasar legends cite the following account of a visit to Yūsuf by a walī³³ from Celebes on his way to Makkah:

The walī was blind. He came from Rāppāṅg, thus bearing the name Toēwang³⁴ Rāppāṅg (the man from Rāppāṅg). He was called Sehätta I-Wōdi³⁵, or the Shaykh from Wōdi (a town in the Rāppāṅgs) and also by the name, 'Abd al-Baṣīr³⁶. The latter name was given probably in contrast to the walī's own blindness.

Shaykh Yūsuf immediately took him to his hospitable home and did not allow him to travel any further. As Toēwang Rāppāṅg spent some time with Yūsuf, the latter's wife, due to certain unknown circumstances, got an irresistible urge for a certain type of "lāwi-lāwi", or algae which could be obtained at Kōeri, near Maros.

31. al-Tāj (Arabic) = the crown - as he was the 'crown' of the order.

32. Cense, p. 53; al-Maqāsar: Arabicized form of Makasar and al-Maqāsari means "of Makasar".

33. walī (Arabic) = a man close to God; a pious man.

34. Toēwang (also spelt tuan, tuang in some sources) = wise, old man; sir, lord, master, owner; prince.

35. Wōdi : this could be an adaptation of the Arabic word wādī meaning valley, and Sehätta is the corruption of the Arabic 'shaykh'.

36. al-Baṣīr means "all Seeing" and is an attribute of God. 'Abd al-Baṣīr means 'slave of the All-Seeing'.

In spite of his blindness, the walī volunteered to obtain it for her. He went alone in a "lēpa-lēpa" or dugout canoe to Celebes. And in an unbelieving short while he brought from there the "lāwi-lāwi" for the Shaykh's wife.

After the two "walīs" (Yūsuf and 'Abd al-Baṣīr) had lived together for a considerable time in Bantam, Shaykh Yūsuf received an urgent request from the king of Goa to return to his fatherland with a view to giving religious education to the royal family and to serve his people. But Yūsuf did not feel inclined to this and sent, therefore, in his place, his friend Tōewang Rāppang. When the king of Goa saw the blind man coming, he could not think otherwise than that people were playing the fool with him.³⁷

Bantam the Centre of Learning

Since the rule of Sulṭān Ageng, Bantam appears to have become a centre of Islamic learning. People came from outside Bantam to acquire knowledge in Islamic sciences.³⁸ Though Drewes does not discuss the role that Yūsuf played, we can assume that he was very much at the centre of affairs due to his influential position at the Bantam Court, and also because he was head of the Khalwatīyyah Order.

37. Matthes, *Legenden*, p. 450.

38. G W J Drewes, *Sech Joesoep Makasar* in *Djawa* VI/2, (1926), p. 84.

Third Marriage

After Yūsuf had returned from Makkah and settled at the court of Sultān Ageng of Bantam, he married either the daughter or sister of Ageng, the Sultān of Bantam.³⁹

Names of Wives and Offspring

The names of Yūsuf's wives and children are mentioned in an Extract from the General Resolutions of the Castle of Batavia passed by the Governor-General and Councillors of Dutch East India on Friday, 30th October 1699. Below are the names of those who accompanied Yūsuf to the Cape.

two wives: Carecontoe, Carepane

two "slave girls"⁴⁰: Mu'minah, Na'imah

twelve sons and daughters: Muḥammad Rājah, Muḥammad Ḥayy, Muḥammad Jalānī, Radeengh⁴¹ Boerne, Roemalagh, 'Īsa, Jahamath, Care⁴² Sangie, Sanda, Siety Caeaty, Sieto Romia, Siety Iabieba (Labībah)⁴³.

39. See p. 3 for two different accounts of his marriage.

40. According to Islamic law a man can have 'slave girls' in addition to his wives. The relationship between the master and the "slave girl" is regulated by the Shari'ah which defines the rights and duties of both of them.

41. Radeengh = Raden, a Javanese noble title.

42. Care = Kare, a Macassarese noble title applicable to both sexes.

43. Deeds Constituting the Hajee Sullaiman Shahmahomed Karamat, Dargah and Academy Trust, Annexure C, (Cape Town, 1913), p. 3. "Siety" is probably a corruption of the Arabic "Sayyidati" meaning my lady or simply "Sayyida" meaning lady or madam.

It is said that the last-named daughter, Sitti Labībah (Siety Labieba) in 1706 married Karaeng Ana' Montjong (later ruler of Bone and Goa) who was the son of Arumpone Matinroe ri Nagauleng. Cense, however, doubts the authenticity of this report as nothing is known about this in the Makasar sources.⁴⁴

Another daughter of Shaykh Yūsuf married at the Cape to the exiled king of Tambora and she remained here with her husband till he returned to his country in 1710.⁴⁵

An entry in the Journals of the 24th December 1683 gives the name of a daughter of Shaykh Yūsuf as Asmā,⁴⁶ The Journals also give two additional names as Kare Mamo and Kare Mami.⁴⁷ These are known to have been the sons of Shaykh Yūsuf.

Among the descendants of Yūsuf who returned from the Cape to the Celebes was his son, Jalāl al-Dīn, who settled in Goa. He married a princess of Goa and had two daughters who also married Bone rulers. Eventually, when these daughters died and were buried in the royal

44. See Cense, p. 54.

45. de Haan, p. 283; Jeffreys, p. 197..

46. ibid, p. 284.

47. Cense, p. 54.

cemetery at Bontoala, their graves were held in great reverence by the natives as princesses of Bone and grand-daughters of Shaykh Yūsuf.⁴⁸

Two other grand-daughters of Shaykh Yūsuf lie buried in a grave in the village Tompo' balang (in the region of Makasar) : Sitti Fāṭima and Sitti Ḥabībah, daughters of Yūsuf's son, Muhammad Jalāl.⁴⁹

The respect and reverence shown to Shaykh Yūsuf were later on transferred to one of his sons, whose name is not mentioned by the sources. The death of this son is recorded in the Journals of 1714 as the passing away of "the son of our great master". Other sons of Yūsuf are encountered in Bantam about this time.⁵⁰ However, nothing is known about them.

48. Gids van Makassar en Zuid-Celebes (Makassar, 1939), p. 41.

49. Cense, p. 54.

50. Van Selms, p. 429.

CHAPTER TWO

RESISTANCE AGAINST THE DUTCH

Establishment of Company Rule

Bartholomew Diaz discovered the "Cabo de Boa Esperance" (Cape of Good Hope) in 1488. He was followed by Vasco da Gama who landed in the Cape in 1497. The Portuguese, were, therefore, the pioneers of the Cape maritime route to Asia and they monopolised it from 1498 to 1595.¹

In the next century, however, the Dutch and English broke the Portuguese monopoly of the Cape route. Then they aimed for the South East Asian spice-producing areas where the Portuguese had also been enjoying a complete monopoly of trade. The British formed the British (English) East India Company in 1600 and established their headquarters in India. The Dutch, on the other hand, established the Dutch East India Company in March 1602 and made their headquarters at Batavia (now known as Jakarta) in Java in 1619.²

Having laid the foundation of their power in the Indies, the Dutch now engaged themselves in a systematic campaign of eliminating the Portuguese from the maritime trade of the East Indies. By the middle

1. C R Boxer, The Tragic History of the Sea, 1589-1622, (Cambridge, 1959), p. 6.

2. C R Boxer, The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800, (London, 1965), p. 197;
Anthony Trollope, South Africa, (A A Balkema, Cape Town, 1973), p. 41.

of the seventeenth century the position of the Dutch in the islands was stabilized. Though their territorial possessions were still small, their political authority increased with the breakdown of the Indonesian state system.³

Nonetheless, the three great Sultanates, those of Mataram in Java, Atjeh (N Sumatra) and Ternate which had risen as the dominant powers in the archipelago, managed to maintain their independence, though with great difficulty. The king of Makasar and the Sultān of Atjeh fought the Dutch claims with determination and it took the Dutch many decades of hard fighting before they were able to establish their authority over these territories.⁴

The Dutch East India Company⁵ succeeded in acquiring the monopoly of trade in these islands through hoarding and by preventing competition from any source. However, when Bantam's trade began to flourish under the able government of Sultān Ageng after the Second English War, the English and the Danes,⁶ the Chinese colonies at Bantam as well as the Bantamese themselves began to compete with the Company trade. This effectively broke the Company's monopoly on trade in the East

3. Charles A. Fisher, South East Asia (Hazell Watson and Viney Ltd., Great Britain, 1964), see pp. 126 ff.

4. Fisher, p. 255.

5. hereafter referred to simply as the "Company".

6. The Danes and the French had by then also joined the competition for trade in the East Indies. The French Company was founded in 1604 and the Danes set up another in 1616 to protect their commercial interests.

Indies.⁷

In an effort to maintain the Company's domination of trade in the East Indies, the Governor-General at Batavia, Speelman, tried to alter the hostile attitude of Bantam in favour of the Company.⁸ As mentioned earlier, Sultān Ageng - also known as 'Abd al-Fattāh⁹ - after his inception in 1651 had established Bantam as a strong centre of trade. But instead of inclining towards the Dutch, Sultān Ageng became openly hostile to the Company after 1656. Thereupon the Dutch blockaded the trade routes of Bantam. So effective was this blockade and so fatal for Bantam's survival that Ageng had no option but to conclude peace with the Company in 1659. Subsequently, Bantam's trade began to flourish again and to compete with that of Batavia, which had displaced Bantam as the leading centre of trade for a while. Even the British, French and Danes were encouraged by these events to establish factories in Bantam.¹⁰

In spite of all this, however, Ageng remained a staunch enemy of the

7. Drewes, p. 84.

8. F W Stapel, Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indië, 2nd ed., (Amsterdam, 1939) Vol. III, p. 413.

9. Stapel gives the name as Abdoel Fatah (see p. 116 of the 1st ed.) which is an incorrect rendering of 'Abd al-Fattāh. This is an Arabic name meaning "Slave of the All-Conquering", (Fattāh is an attribute of God).

10. F W Stapel, Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch - Indië, 1st ed., (Nederlandsche Historische Bibliotheek, Amsterdam, 1930), p. 116.

Netherlands. Without breaking the peace officially, he harmed the Company wherever he could and secretly supported the enemies of the Dutch. Ageng maintained regular contact with the offices of the English, French and Danes in Bantam and was thus able to follow the course of political events in Europe. He took a keen interest in the war between France and the Netherlands (1672-1678), probably wishing that his enemy would be defeated. To the foreign traders in his area, he made no secret about the fact that he hated the Dutch and longed for their downfall.¹¹

This is understandable for Sultān Ageng was well aware of the fact that the independence of his own country was threatened by the control which the Dutch had managed to exercise on the trade of the East Indies. He was, therefore, determined to break the power of the Company headquarters, Batavia (a province in West Java) as a trading base. To this end he was supported by the English and Danish Companies (the French already being engaged in actual war with the Dutch). Though these Companies also represented foreign interests, Ageng regarded them as safer allies than the Dutch as they were not as strong as the Dutch to destroy Bantam's trade.¹²

11. Stapel, 2nd ed., pp. 413-414.

12. K M Jeffreys, "The Malay Tombs of the Holy Circle" in Cape Naturalist, (June 1938), vol. V, p. 159.

Conflict Between Sultān Ageng and Sultān Ḥājī

If we were to accept de Haan's version, Sultān Ageng had a daughter who married Shaykh Yūsuf. But Leibbrandt casts a serious doubt on this assertion by declaring that Yūsuf had married the sister of Ageng.¹³ What we are certain about, however, is that Sultān Ageng had two sons: 'Abd al-Qaḥḥār¹⁴ and Poerbaya.

The elder, 'Abd al-Qaḥḥār, following in Yūsuf's footsteps, made the pilgrimage to Makkah in 1674. Thereafter he came to be known as Pangeran (Prince) Ḥājī or Sultān Ḥājī.¹⁵ The younger son, Poerbaya, married the daughter of the Prime Minister¹⁶ of Bantam, who encouraged Poerbaya to use every opportunity to win his father's favour.¹⁷

Anti-Netherlands Activities

The Dutch, like the other colonial powers, had built up their position in Indonesia by a skilful application of "divide and rule". In order to obtain control over the whole archipelago, the Dutch, taking advantage of the weakness of the East Indian Sultanates, formented and

13. refer to chapter one, p. 3.

14. Arabic name meaning 'servant/slave of the All-Powerful'; Qaḥḥār being an attribute of God.

15. A ḥājī is one who had performed the annual pilgrimage to Makkah (ḥajj).

16. I have been unable to determine the name of this Prime Minister as it is not mentioned in the sources.

17. Jeffreys, vol. V, p. 159.

encouraged disagreements among them.¹⁸

As a result of these Dutch machinations and provocations, a war broke out between Mataram and Makasar. Meanwhile, Sultān Ageng had taken up residence at Tirtayasa. This was a fortress which he had personally commissioned to be built by Hendrick Cardeel, a Dutch builder who had fled Batavia and embraced Islam. From Tirtayasa Sultān Ageng kept himself regularly informed about the course of the war between the two Sultanates.¹⁹

In the meanwhile, Cheribon²⁰ had come under direct influence of the Dutch East India Company. When the three brother-Sultans of Cheribon were in disagreement over whether to participate in the conflict between Mataram and Makasar, Ageng invited them to come to him. They accepted the invitation but as soon as they arrived at Tirtayasa, they were held as captives till they agreed to support him in anti-Netherlands activities.²¹

During the two years while Sultān Ḥājī was on the annual pilgrimage or ḥajj, his father, quite likely on the advice of his Prime Minister, appointed Poerbaya to succeed him. This decision was no doubt

18. Fisher, pp. 127, 254.

19. Stapel, 2nd ed., p. 414

20. also spelt Tjirebon

21. Stapel, op. cit. p. 414.

prompted to a large extent by Ḥājī's predilection for the Dutch in contrast to Sulṭān Ageng's own decidedly anti-Netherlands disposition.²²

On his return from the pilgrimage in 1676, Sulṭān Ḥājī established himself in the palace at Bantam.

Sulṭān Ageng now began to cause political unrest in the Preanger²³ and the Krawang lands neighbouring Batavia, the headquarters of the Company. He also sought the support of the inhabitants of these lands against Batavia. Due to the close proximity of these regions, the Batavian Government naturally felt threatened and saw the need for fortification in 1678.

About this time Ageng released the Cheribon rulers from their detention after having incited them to increase the difficulties of the Company by making a claim on the regions of the Krawang and Soemedang.²⁴ After their departure he called the Netherlands Resident,²⁵ Willem Caeff, and communicated to him in the presence of the English, French and Danish Residents that he would regard every act of hostility or interference by the Company in the affairs

22. Stapel, 2nd ed., p. 414.

23. or Priangan - in West Java.

24. These lands were adjacent to Batavia. Therefore, any hostile government neighbouring Batavia would threaten the Dutch presence there.

25. Resident: a colonial officer acting as adviser to the ruler of a protected state, often having some powers of a governor.

of Cheribon as a *casus belli* for him.

By now Sultān Ḥājī had made it clear that he did not share the views of his father and that he was on the side of the Company. In turn, the Company assured the Ḥājī of its full support in time of need.²⁶

Now events began moving swiftly. Kapar, the headquarters of the Makasar Kingdom, fell into the hands of the Company. This left the government at Batavia free to take action against Bantam. The Bantamese had, by way of provocation, plundered several vessels belonging to the Company.

In retaliation, the Company captured a 'prauw' (boat) of Ageng's which was on its way to Bali and threw the crew overboard. Ageng immediately called his imperial council together and announced to them his intention of dispatching fifteen boats to Batavia to communicate his declaration of war. But the Company's success in subduing Mataram filled the hearts of the Bantamese with great fear.²⁷ They were, therefore, reluctant to be drawn into physical combat with the Netherlands.²⁸

26. Stapel, 2nd ed., p. 414.

27. Mataram and Bantam were the two most powerful Sultanates of the 17th century Java. Owing to the position of Batavia between them, the Dutch were extremely hard pressed to maintain their ground against them. After many upheavals, however, Mataram fell apart under continuous Dutch pressure (see Fisher, p. 256)

28. Stapel, op.cit., pp. 414-415.

Matters now turned out favourably for the Company. First, the Company troops under Captain Jochum Michielsz succeeded in occupying Cheribon in 1678. The three brother-Sultāns had no option but to place themselves under the protection of the Company. At the invitation of the Dutch government they sent representatives to Batavia. These representatives concluded a treaty with the Company²⁹ on 7th January 1681. By means of this agreement Cheribon was henceforth to be under the suzerainty of the Dutch.³⁰

Next, a revolution took place in the palace at Bantam in 1680 whereby Sultān Ageng was forced to abdicate in favour of his son, Sultān Hājī.³¹ Bearing in mind the enmity of the old Sultān for the Dutch and Hājī's favourable inclination toward them, it would not be surprising if the revolution had been engineered with the connivance of the Dutch.

As soon as Sultān Hājī had taken over the rule from his father, he forbade his subjects all hostilities towards the Hollanders and sent envoys to Batavia to negotiate for a permanent peace. In turn, representatives of the Dutch government departed to Bantam and both parties agreed to live as friends and good neighbours in future.

29. Corpus Diplomaticum N.I. Vol. III, pp. 233-242 (see Stapel, 2nd. ed., p. 415).

30. Stapel, 2nd ed., pp. 414-415.

31. Jeffreys, Vol. V, p. 159.

During the rest of 1680 and the whole of 1681 there was peace but it was not to remain thus for long.³²

Ageng, who still resided at Tirtayasa, had not resigned himself to his dismissal and forced abdication. In addition, he was considerably annoyed at the attitude of his son toward the Dutch. Many of Ageng's earlier councillors were removed from their offices by Hājī and exiled to the district of Lampong, South Sumatra. Here they formed a nucleus of malcontents and established close contact with Ageng. Numerous supporters of Ageng who used to plunder the Company boats on his behalf in the surrounding districts of Batavia also again established alliance with him.³³

By 1682 great unrest was fermenting first in Lampong then in the districts of Batavia and Bantam. At all these places people were willing to recognize the authority of Hājī. This was occasioned probably due to Hājī's fraternizing with the Dutch, as both Bantam and Batavia were traditional rivals of the Netherlands. And Lampongs harboured the exiled supporters of the deported Sultān. Assured of support from these quarters, Ageng now established himself openly at the head of the rebellion and began the conflict against his son. Then on the night of 26 or 27 February 1682 there occurred a fire in the city of Bantam.³⁴ In the midst of the confusion most of the

32. Stapel, 2nd ed., pp. 415-416.

33. *ibid.*, p. 416

34. It is quite likely that the fire was deliberately planned by Sultān Ageng to creat confusion in the city.

government dignitaries of Ḥājī crossed over to Ageng, which soon made him the master of the whole city.³⁵

With his followers rallying round his banner once again, Sulṭān Ageng besieged Ḥājī in his fortress of Soeroesoeang (Surasoan) in the capital Banten.³⁶ The castle was then garrisoned by troops under the command of a Netherlander named Jacob de Roy a bankrupt baker at Batavia.³⁷ When Ḥājī's position became untenable and several of his loyal followers were prepared to surrender, de Roy took the command of the garrison. It was he who advised Ḥājī to call in the support of the Company. In a letter which Ḥājī addressed to the Resident Caeff, he promised to cede all trade benefits to the Company in return for assistance against his father. This was on condition that he be allowed to remain king of Bantam once he had gained the upper-hand over his enemies.³⁸

Nothing could be more welcome to the Dutch who gladly seized this chance of crushing the Bantam power once and for all.³⁹ The Governor-General (Speelman) and Council thereupon directed one of their officers, Isaac de St. Martin, to proceed to the relief of their ally with three hundred European soldiers and some native auxillaries.⁴⁰

35. Stapel, 2nd ed., p. 416.

36. Jeffreys, Vol V, p. 159.

37. Deeds, p. 4.

38. Stapel, op.cit., pp. 416-417.

39. Jeffreys, op.cit., p. 159.

40. Deeds, p. 4.

Martin offered the two Sultāns the Company's willingness to act as mediator between them. As a reaction to his previous bitter experiences with the Dutch, Ageng responded by organizing his army which inflicted much damage to the Company troops.

Thereupon Martin sent his own officer with Caeff and two state dignitaries of Ḥājī to Batavia to ask for reinforcements. These representatives of Ḥājī gave an assurance on behalf of their ruler that not only would he pay the cost of the assistance rendered to him, but also grant the Company the monopoly of the trade to the exclusion of all other nations.⁴¹

At once the government of Batavia sent reinforcements under the famous Captain Francois Tack. He, together with the forces of Isaac de St. Martin, attacked Ageng's troops. Though the fortunes of both parties changed several times, at the end the Hollanders triumphed. Nonetheless, this success did not establish Ḥājī's authority yet over Bantam. For soon the government at Batavia had to send an army under Captain Willem Hartsinck to try to lift the blockade established by Ageng on the eastern border of Bantam. Hartsinck finally succeeded, but only after a great struggle.⁴²

During the conflict between him and his father, Ḥājī gave himself entirely over to the leadership of the Company. Personally he

41. Stapel, 2nd ed., p. 417.

42. *ibid*, pp. 417-418.

appeared to desire only vengeance against the followers of his father, particularly the European representatives. He resolved to drive out the English, French, Danes and Portuguese from Bantam and this decree was carried out subsequently.⁴³

Yūsuf's Role in the Conflict

In spite of having suffered initial reverses, Sulṭān Ageng had not given up the struggle. His followers were still in possession of the whole eastern half of Bantam and the leader of his Makasar auxillary troops was none other than Shaykh Yūsuf. Besides making the rivermouth unsafe for Batavian fishermen, Ageng's boats once more began attacking the vessels of the Company. The Dutch government then instructed its troops to proceed with an attack on Tirtayasa.⁴⁴

So Ageng once again found himself beleagured in his castle Tirtayasa for several months.⁴⁵ Finding himself in a hopeless situation, he issued instructions for the castle to be blown up. This happened on the night of 29th December 1682. Ageng had devoted a good deal of his life to edifying and strengthening Tirtayasa making it "the

43. Stapel, 2nd ed., p. 418.

44. *ibid*, pp. 418-419.

45. Jeffreys, Vol. V, p. 519.

most beautiful edifice on the island".⁴⁶ Ordering its destruction, therefore, must have been a final act of desperation on his part, and he must have decided on it very reluctantly and with a heavy heart.

Taking his favourite son, Poerbaya, and a group of his followers with him, Ageng took refuge in the southern mountains.⁴⁷ Sulṭān Ḥājī, on learning of their escape, placed a reward of 1 000 rix dollars⁴⁸ on the heads of Sulṭān Ageng, Poerbaya and Shaykh Yūsuf, whether they were captured dead or alive.⁴⁹

Ageng was relentlessly pursued in the mountains by Ḥājī. In the meantime, the followers of Ageng, seeing the helplessness of their situation, left him in the lurch. And to his consternation, even his apple-of-the-eye Poerbaya deserted him. Sometime later Poerbaya was captured and remained a state prisoner of the Company till his death in 1732.⁵⁰

Eventually Ageng surrendered himself to Ḥājī's forces in 1683.⁵¹

It is alleged that the old Sulṭān was treated with barbarous cruelty

46. Deeds, p. 4.

47. Stapel, 2nd ed., p. 419.

48. rix dollar: a silver coin used as currency during the period 1600-1850 in various European countries and in their commerce with the East. The value varied from about 22½ cents to 45 cents (South African currency).

49. de Haan, p. 276.

50. Drewes, p. 85.

51. Stapel, op.cit., p. 419.

by his son until the Company officers finally came to his rescue.⁵² However, since there is no independant report to confirm this, it is possible that the claim about the bad treatment was made with the intention to show the good side of the Company. After Ageng had spent sometime in the custody of the government at Bantam, they sent him to Batavia where he passed the remainder of his days as "pangeran Tirtayasa" inside the castle where he finally died in 1692. The conflict between Ageng and Ḥājī was ended with the capture of Ageng and soon Ḥājī was acknowledged as the Sultān of Bantam. Having at last achieved his objective of crushing the rebellion of his father and being proclaimed the ruler of Bantam, Sultān Ḥājī ceded to the Company the promised monopoly over Bantam.⁵³

After the defeat and arrest of Sultān Ageng, Shaykh Yūsuf escaped and managed to hold the country in unrest against the new Sultān for another year.⁵⁴ This is a remarkable feat considering the fact that both regents - Ageng and Poerbaya - had already been captured and that many of their followers had already abandoned the battle against Ḥājī.

Furthermore, it attests to Shaykh Yūsuf's dauntless courage and bravery

52. Deeds, p. 4.

53. Stapel, 2nd ed., p. 419.

54. Veth, p. 43.

and to his firm resolution and determination to continue the struggle against his erstwhile enemies in the face of all obstacles.

I shall now attempt to trace Shaykh Yūsuf's movements from the time of his escape to the time of his capture. After eluding Ḥājī's troops, Yūsuf took refuge in the mountains of Fatsijara (or Sadjira) in Bantam. Yūsuf then began to move eastwards along the mountains behind Batavia, heading for Mataram. But he was prevented from reaching his destination by the Dutch who sent reinforcements to Cheribon to block his route. Then Yūsuf appeared in Tjikaniki - between Bantam and Krawang - together with Poerbaya and several other followers.⁵⁵

On receiving news of Yūsuf's presence in Tjikaniki, the Company sent reinforcements to Van Happel, a commander of the Dutch troops, who had already departed in pursuit of Yūsuf and his followers. Yūsuf's group consisted of 4 000 persons of whom only 1 000 were able-bodied men, consisting of Makasars, Buginese and Malays. It was at this stage that Poerbaya separated from the group (probably because he became tired of running) and fell into the hands of the Company troops.⁵⁶

55. de Haan, p. 276.

56. ibid, pp. 277-278.

The Buginese (or Bughanese) were a skilled and industrious community living in South West Celebes.

Another officer of the Company, Captain Ruijs, now took the lead in pursuit of Yūsuf. Further reinforcements now left for Cheribon under Lieutenant Adolf Winkler. Yūsuf had by now crossed over the southern mountains to the south coast of Java and had begun walking eastwards along the coast. Ruijs now joined by Ensign Eigel marched southwards so that Yūsuf was chased into a tight corner.⁵⁷

By this time Yūsuf obtained some reinforcements from Banjoemas, Java.⁵⁸ However, after the Company troops had launched two attacks on Yūsuf, his band of followers abandoned their fortifications and fled, closely pursued by Van Happel. These followers then took refuge in a fortified town called "d'ilhoor" which was captured by the Company troops after a fierce battle in September 1683. During this battle a number of important Bantamese and Macassarians were killed. One of Yūsuf's wives⁵⁹ was captured, though many of Yūsuf's followers managed to escape to Cheribon whence they were zealously pursued by Ruijs. Yūsuf in the meanwhile had retreated to a village named Mandale, near Soccapoera.⁶⁰

57. de Haan, pp. 278-280.

58. Yūsuf attempted to reach Banjoemas with his followers but was prevented from doing so by Lieutenant Van Happel (see Drewes, p. 85). However, some of his supporters must have reached there.

59. the sources do not mention the name of this wife.

60. de Haan, pp. 280-282.

Yūsuf's Capture

As to how Shaykh Yūsuf was eventually captured it is difficult to say since there are two versions relating to his capture. What we are sure about, however, is that Van Happel was the man responsible for Yūsuf's arrest, which was in 1686.

According to the first version, Van Happel disguised himself in a Moorish garb, pretending to be an Arab. In his guise as an Arab Van Happel was able to approach Yūsuf and capture him.⁶¹

The other account describes how Van Happel went to Mandale, where Yūsuf had taken refuge, to offer him pardon. To convince Yūsuf to give himself up, Van Happel took with him a daughter of Yūsuf named Asmā'. On receiving a letter from Van Happel and Asmā', Shaykh Yūsuf emerged from his hiding place and gladly accompanied them to Cheribon.⁶²

Nonetheless, the Company did not fulfil the undertaking given to Yūsuf by Van Happel.⁶³ Instead of pardoning him as promised, the Company exiled Yūsuf to Batavia - the Company headquarters.

61. de Haan, p. 282.

62. ibid, ibid., also see Veth, p. 43 for another report on the capture.

63. Van Selms, p. 429.

Javanese Poem

Ing noesa Djawa ja ikoe noeli
 Sjech Joesoef ana ing désa Karang
 anjelawadi anané
 maring welanda kadoeg
 dadi perang ika kang dadi
 pamoekira welanda
 aran Martinoe
 asarnja lawan wong sabrang
 radja Bima radja Goea malah dadi
 Sjech Joesoep ika mérad.⁶⁴

Translation

In the island of Java, afterwards,
 Shaykh Yūsuf was in the village of Karang
 with secret intentions
 against the Dutch, there happened
 to be war. The one who was
 the commander of the Dutch
 was called Martinus
 together with people from other islands
 the kings of Bima and Goa, so that it happened that
 Shaykh Yūsuf went to heaven⁶⁵

64. see Drewes, p. 86.

65. this translation was supplied by Dr J Noorduyn whom I have mentioned in the Acknowledgement.

CHAPTER THREE

EXILE TO THE CAPE

Banishment to Ceylon

After Yūsuf was captured, the Dutch East India Company sent a ship to Cheribon to bring him to Batavia. Yūsuf was accompanied by his wives and twelve "santrijs of tempelpapen".¹ The Company also sent another ship to Cheribon which was to transport Yūsuf's Makassarian and Bughanese followers to Makasar.²

At Batavia Yūsuf acquired great influence over the indigenous Muslim population. He was honoured and respected for his piety. The reverence which Yūsuf's followers held for him is evident from the fact that when he spat out his "sepah" (chewed betelnut), they picked it up and preserved it as a relic.³

Yūsuf was also held in the highest veneration by the natives as the last champion of Bantamese independance.⁴ No wonder then that the company feared that his followers would help him escape from his prison in the castle.⁵

-
1. santrijs = scholar (of theology).
tempelpapen = lit. temple priest.

This refers to "imāms" - scholars of Islamic theology; those who lead the congregational prayers. As these imāms were disciples of Yūsuf, they were certain to have been well-grounded in Islamic learning.

2. de Haan, p. 283.
3. F. Valentijn, Beschrijving van Oudt en Nieuw Oost-Indiën III/4, (Dordrecht, 1926), p. 123.
4. Veth, p. 43.
5. de Haan, p. 283.

Having had to pursue Yūsuf for almost a year before finally persuading him to surrender, the Company was not going to risk another escape by Yūsuf. The Company therefore considered it dangerous to keep Yūsuf in Batavia any longer and decided to send him to Ceylon.⁶

While Yūsuf was in Ceylon, the princes of Goa who were related to Yūsuf insisted repeatedly that the company should release him. The Company thereupon decided to send him to the Cape in 1693.⁷

Use of the Cape as a Penal Colony

The Cape was first colonised in 1652 by the Netherlands. The Dutch East India Company chose to establish a colony at the Cape as it lay half way between Holland and the East Indies where the Dutch had also established several colonies.⁸

In the first year of the colonization of the Cape, the Company brought several natives from Batavia as slaves to labour on the farms which the Dutch cultivated at the Cape of Good Hope.⁹ The Cape was used, therefore, as a half-way station from where Dutch ships travelling

6. Deeds, p. 5.

7. Drewes, p. 86.

8. See chapter two.

9. Dr M J Swart, The Karamat of Sheik Yussef in S A Panorama, (June 1961), Vol. VI, p. 18.

between Holland and the East Indies could replenish their supplies. Besides these slaves, the Dutch also sent political exiles from the Dutch East Indies to the Cape¹⁰.

The Company in fact had issued a decree to use the Cape Colony as a place of exile for natives of high distinction whose continued presence in the East Indies proved dangerous to the Company's colonial ambitions and trade interests. As a result, several leaders of great learning and high rank in society were banished to the Cape¹¹.

Apart from the slaves and the political exiles, convicts were also banished to the Cape for their crimes or offences. Among the better known of these exiles were the following:

Sa'īd Alochie, also known as "Tuan Sa'īd", originally from Mocha, a Red Sea port in South West Yemen which used to be a Dutch trading station.

'Abd Allāh Qādī 'Abd al-Salām, better known as "Tuan Guru". (meaning "master teacher"), originally a prince of Tidore (a Muslim Sultanate in the Moluccas).

The Rajah (King) of Tambora which was part of the Makassarian, sultanates.

10. Swart, p. 18.

11. Veth, pp. 14,42.

Ahmad of Ternate: a prince of the sultanate of Ternate.

The King of Madura.

Daing Mangelan - a Muslim prince from Makasar¹².

These exiles were kept in miserable conditions in the Cape by the Company authorities. After years of suffering some were permitted to go back to their native land as old men, but most of them died in the Cape¹³.

Arrival of Shaykh Yūsuf at the Cape

Since the continued presence of Shaykh Yūsuf in the East Indies was harmful to Dutch interests and a threat to their rule, he was exiled to the Cape. He was then already in his sixty-eighth year. Shaykh Yūsuf arrived on board "De Voetboog" on 2 April 1694 with his retinue of forty-nine which included the following:

two wives, two slavegirls, twelve children;¹⁴

twelve imāms or religious scholars;¹⁵

12. for more details about these exiles see Robert Shell's thesis entitled "The Establishment and Spread of Islam at the Cape from the beginning of Company rule to 1838". (University of Cape Town, 1974), pp. 23-27, 32-34.

13. Deeds, p. 3.

14. the names of the wives, slavegirls and children are all mentioned in chapter one.

15. C J A Greyling, Die Invloed van Stominge in die Islam op die Jesusbeskouing van die Suid-Afrikaanse Moslems. (University of Stellenbosch, 1976), p. 12.

several friends with their families numbering fourteen whose names are as follows:

Pia, Boeleengh, Care Nanangh, 'Ābidah, Ḥamīdah (or Ḥāmidah), Sari, Bībī 'Ā'isha¹⁶, Dayeengh¹⁷ Maniko, Qāsim, Kentol Saip,¹⁸ Ragoena, Abū bahar¹⁹, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf, 'Abd al-Jaffar²⁰.

Very little is known about Yūsuf's life in the Cape. However, I shall attempt to construct and put together his activities during the final years of his exile.

The Company authorities in the Cape decided on 14 June 1694 to send Yūsuf and his party to live on the farm Zandvliet at the mouth of the Eerste River²¹. This farm belonged to the Reverend Petrus Kalden, minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at the Cape.²² Since

16. this could also be Bībī 'Īsa - Bībī means 'aunt' in Javanese, so Bībī 'Īsa would mean "the aunt of 'Īsa".

17. Dayeengh = Dayeng, a Macassarese noble title, applicable to both sexes.

18. probably "ṣāḥib" meaning 'master' in Arabic.

19. this must be a misspelling of Abū Bakr.

20. the correct form is either 'Abd al-Jabbār meaning 'slave of the Mighty' (Jabbār being an attribute of God) or Abū Ja'far meaning 'father of Ja'far'. These names are listed in the Title Deeds, p. 2.

21. A J Boëseken, Simon van der Stel en sy kinders, (Cape Town, 1964), p. 127.

22. Deeds, pp. 3,4.

many of Shaykh Yūsuf's followers hailed from Makasar, the district around Zandvliet is still known today as Macassar. The sand dunes in that locality are called Macassar Downs and the beach as Macassar Beach.²³

On this isolated spot on the False Bay coast, then, Shaykh Yūsuf and his followers made their home. The Company was responsible for bearing the cost of maintaining Yūsuf and his retinue at Zandvliet. To this end the company granted Yūsuf a monthly allowance of twelve rix-dollars.²⁴ The reason for housing Yūsuf on a farmstead was so that he would not be able to get in touch with other exiles from the East Indies who had arrived before him.²⁵ This undoubtedly proves that Shaykh Yūsuf was a man of great influence and the Cape authorities being well aware of this were afraid of the fact that Yūsuf would try to rally around himself his friends and followers which may lead to political difficulties.

23. Jeffreys, Vol VI, p. 195.

24. a rix-dollar then was worth about forty cents in our currency today; twelve rix-dollars would, therefore, amount to less than five rands.

25. Jeffreys, op.cit., p. 195.

Activities in the Cape

The Company's attempts to isolate Yūsuf at Zandvliet did not succeed. On the contrary Zandvliet turned out to be a rallying point for "fugitive" slaves and other exiles from the East. These swelled the ranks of Yūsuf's following though they no doubt incurred the rebuke of the Company officials.²⁶ Shaykh Yūsuf, together with the "imāms", conducted "religious services"²⁷ in slave lodges where they were able to meet secretly. Muslims were not allowed to hold religious gatherings openly by the Dutch authorities.²⁸ This was no doubt due to the aversion of the Dutch for Islam especially after their bitter struggle to subdue the powerful Muslim sultanates of the East Indies. Not only did the Dutch conscientiously object to the propagation of Islam,²⁹ but in fact ordered the Christianisation of all slaves in the Cape at that time.³⁰

26. Jeffreys, Vol VI, p. 195.

27. this refers to what is commonly known among the Muslims in the Cape as "gadat", a ceremony held on Thursday nights in which portions of the 'Qur'ān (divine scripture of the Muslims) are recited and several litanies are chanted, softly and loudly. The ceremony is Malayan in origin, and is undoubtedly derived from the common Ṣūfī practice of "dhikr" viz. recalling and mentioning (the names or attributes of God).

28. David Lewis, The Religion of the Cape Malays in the Handbook of Race Relations in South Africa, ed. Ellen Hellman and Leah Abrahams, (Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1949), p. 587.

29. see Deeds, p. 5.

30. Eric A Walker, A History of Southern Africa, 3rd ed. (Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd, Great Britain, 1962), p. 72.

Thunberg³¹ describes a "religious ceremony" he had witnessed at the Cape in 1772 as follows:

"On the 28th June, the Javanese here celebrated their new year.³² The women who were all standing or sitting near the door were neatly dressed, and the men wore night-gowns³³ of silk or cotton. Frankincense was burned. The men sat cross-legged on the floor, dispersed all over the room... Two priests³⁴ were distinguished by a small canonical cap from the rest, who wore handkerchiefs tied round their heads in the form of a turban. About eight in the evening the service commenced, when they began to sing,³⁵ loud and soft alternately, sometimes the priests alone, at other times the whole congregation. After this a priest read out of the great book.³⁶ I observed them reading after the oriental manner, from right to left,

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31. Charles Thunberg (d. 1928) of Sweden, a physician and botanist who arrived at the Cape in 1772 and worked there for three years as a surgeon in the Company Service.
 32. The Muslim calendar commences with the month of Muḥarram. During the first ten days Shī'ah Muslims commemorate the martyrdom of Husayn, son of Fāṭimah, the Prophet's daughter and 'Alī, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law. Husayn refused to recognize the succession of Yazīd, the son of Mu'āwiyah, the 1st Umayyad Caliph. At the invitation of his followers Husayn marched with his small band towards Kūfah (Iraq). On the way he was met by Yazīd's forces and he and his group were martyred at Karbalā, in 61AH/680AD. However, since the Cape Muslims were Sunnis, the chances are that they were not commemorating Muḥarram but simply celebrating the new year in the manner described above.
 33. possibly long Arab shirts - a common Muslim dress.
 34. obviously referring to "imāms"; for the meaning of "imām see p.32 n.1.
 35. this could be songs of praise as we have in "Qawwālī" which is a devotional singing session comprising of songs in praise of God called "Hamd" and in praise of the Prophet called "Na't".

and imagined it to be the Alcoran³⁷ that they were reading, the Javanese being mostly Mahomedans.³⁸ Between the singing and reading, coffee was served up in cups, and the principal man of the congregation at intervals accompanied their "singing" on the violin³⁹. I understood afterwards, that this was a prince from Java, who had opposed the interests of the Dutch East India Company, and for that reason had been brought from his native country to the Cape, where he lives at the Company's expense."⁴⁰

Though the year of the ceremony cited above was long after Yūsuf's demise, it could quite possibly be a continuation of the sessions that were initiated by Shaykh Yūsuf and his disciples at Zandvliet. This would not be surprising as Shaykh Yūsuf had become the focus of the gradually growing Muslim community at the Cape.⁴¹ And Yūsuf must have certainly exercised as great an influence over them by virtue of his position as he had enjoyed in the East Indies before his banishment and exile.

37. a corruption of the Arabic name, al-Qur'ān.

38. This term is commonly used by Western writers to refer to Muslims. The Muslims resent this term because to them it is a distortion of the God - given terms, "Islam" and "Muslims". Thus "Mahomedans" is wrongly ascribed to Muslims who neither worship Muḥammad nor regard him as the founder of their religion, but accept him as the last prophet of God.

39. this supports my earlier suggestion of the devotional singing session.

40. Charles Thunberg, Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia, 4 Vols, (F & C Rivington, London, 1795), Vol I, pp. 132-134.

41. Cense, p. 51.

At least the Dutch governors in the Cape accorded Shaykh Yūsuf the consideration he merited⁴² as a Ṣūfī Shaykh who was, in addition, related to the Royal House at Bantam. Governor Simon van der Stel⁴³ treated Yūsuf with a mark of honour. Later, the Governor's son, Willem Adriaan, also befriended and respected Yūsuf as his father had done.⁴⁴

Request for Yūsuf's Return

As time went by and Yūsuf grew older, requests from the people and the King of Goa, 'Abd al-Jalīl, for his release became more importunate. The King of Goa earnestly begged the Company that he might be allowed to return from exile with his wives and children. One would think that the Company would find no difficulty in acceding to this request especially in view of Shaykh Yūsuf's age. At the time he was already into his seventies. But the Dutch could not remove the sceptre of Yūsuf from their minds and still regarded him as dangerous enemy. Consequently in 1698 the Council at Batavia issued a definite refusal to consider any such request.⁴⁵

42. Deeds, p. 4.

43. Simon's mother was an Indian named Monica. Her name suggests that she was a Christian.

44. du Plessis, p. 4.

45. Jeffreys, Vol VI, p. 195.

Death of Shaykh Yūsuf

Shaykh Yūsuf died at the age of seventy-three at the Cape on 23rd May 1699.⁴⁶ None of the sources I have consulted state exactly where and how he died. On receiving the news of his death, the Rājah (King) of Goa as well as some officers and principal residents of Makasar petitioned the Dutch Governor-General and Council at Batavia to demand the return from the Cape of the widowed wives, children and friends, as well as some servants, of Shaykh Yūsuf.⁴⁷

After much petitioning, the Governor-General and his Council decided in 1699 to allow the wives and daughters of Shaykh Yūsuf to return to Batavia. As far as Yūsuf's sons or grandsons were concerned, only those below the age of five/six were permitted to go back. This privilege, however, was neither extended to Yūsuf's friends and their families, nor to his servants. In fact the Company resolved to keep Yūsuf's servants⁴⁸ and have them evaluated. They would not be paid a salary but had to work for the Company until their term of service was deemed as adequate recompensation for what it had cost the Company to maintain the Shaykh and his retinue at Zandvliet.⁴⁹

46. de Haan, p. 283.

47. for the names of these wives and children, see chapter one.

48. I estimate their number to be seven on the basis of the following deduction: of the total of 49 people who made up Yūsuf's retinue when he arrived at the Cape were 16 members of his family (2 wives, 2 slavegirls, 12 children), 12 imāms, 14 friends with their families. The rest (7) were his servants.

49. Deeds, p. 2.

They would then be freed.

Nonetheless, it was only in 1704 that members of Shaykh Yūsuf's family mentioned above were allowed to return to Batavia. They travelled on two ships, "de Liefde" and "de Spiegel".⁵⁰ The group on board "de Spiegel" arrived at Batavia in December 1704 and were sent to Makasar and the remainder, on "de Liefde" only reached Makasar in April 1705.⁵¹ One of Yūsuf's daughters, Zytia Sara Marouff, who had married the exiled King of Tambora in the Cape, remained behind with her husband at the Cape.⁵² Two other members of Yūsuf's retinue of forty-nine requested the Cape authorities for permission to stay at the Cape and, therefore, were not sent back to the East Indies.⁵³

Finally in 1707 the Dutch Council at the Cape publicly auctioned the houses at the mouth of the Eerste River in which Shaykh Yūsuf had lived with his retinue.⁵⁴

50. Deeds, p. 2.

51. de Haan, p. 284.

52. J Hoge, The Family of the Rajah of Tambora at the Cape in Africana Notes and News, 9, Dec 1951, p. 27.

53. Jeffreys, p. 197.

54. Drewes, p. 87.



Shaykh Yūsuf's Grave at Faure

When Shaykh Yūsuf died he was buried amongst the sandhills of False Bay beyond the farm of Zandvliet.⁵⁵ The place where he was buried came to be known as the "Karāmat".⁵⁶ Du Plessis gives a picturesque description of the tomb site as follows:

"The tomb stands at the top of a small sand dune and overlooks the curving bend of the Eerste River which winds in a horse-shoe to the sea. Not far away is False Bay. Across the rolling farmlands rise Stellenbosch mountains and beyond them again the ranges that overlook Drakenstein, Paarl and Wellington. To the right are the Hottentots Holland mountains."⁵⁷

In 1909 a rich and widely travelled Muslim, Hājī Sulaymān Shāh-Muhammad originally of the district of Kathiawar near Bombay in India, living in the Cape, resolved to preserve Shaykh Yūsuf's grave for posterity. As a result, the beautiful building in Moorish style which still stands at Faure was constructed by the Cape Town architect, F K Kendall.⁵⁸ Nearby the "Dargāh"⁵⁹ is a granite tomb-

55. de Haan, p. 283.

56. "Karāmat": Arabic word meaning 'miracle', but has come to mean 'the burial or resting place of a holy man'. This is because miracles are often ascribed to pious men. Several graves in and around Cape Town are known by this name as all of them are associated with one or other holy men believed to have performed miracles.

57. du Plessis, p. 4.

58. Van Selms, p. 430.

59. "Dargāh": Persian word meaning tomb or shrine of a holy man, "pīr" or "shaykh", a spiritual guide.

stone and a parapet and canon, probably symbolizing the war in which Shaykh Yūsuf had participated.

In 1913 Ḥājī Sulaymān Shāhmuḥammad bought the ground where Yūsuf was buried together with the surrounding terrain to make the whole area a "waqf" (trust).⁶⁰ The Ḥājī also had made further additions to the building over the grave. A solid platform of granite with several approaches has been built round the tomb.⁶¹

The "Dargah" has a black-domed roof, white walls and white pillars. Several old canons stand on the surrounding walls and within the inner court. On the site there is also a memorial obelisk erected in 1925 by Ḥājī Shahmuḥammad.⁶²

About fifteen metres from the entrance of the tomb the granite stone mentioned above is inscribed thus:

"The Kramat of Sheikh Joseph, of Bantam, Java, Macassar, who arrived in the Cape of Good Hope, 1694. Departed this life on the 23rd May 1699, and is buried here. This memorial stone was laid 22nd January 1913, by Hajee Sullaiman Shahmahomed, Donor."

60. Drewes, p. 87.

61. du Plessis, p. 4.

62. Swart, p. 18.

The 'Dargāh' measures 7 metres by 5 metres, and is surrounded by a wall 1 metre by $\frac{1}{2}$ metre. Surrounding the enclosure are the graves of 50 other Muslims who probably were among the early arrivals to the Cape from the East Indies. Four of Shaykh Yūsuf's followers who accompanied him in his exile in 1694 were also buried near him. These graves are now covered by heavy granite glass of stone.⁶³

Shaykh Yūsuf's grave is covered by a single marble slab surrounded with old-fashioned hand-beaten metal railing. The slab is covered with numerous quilts of silk or satin, in bright colours and often exquisitely worked in embroidery.⁶⁴ These are donated by visitors to the Dargāh⁶⁵.

Copies of the Qur'ān are kept in a cupboard for visitors to the grave who may wish to recite therefrom. This is in accordance with the practise of reading selected chapters from Qur'ān to invoke blessings on the dead. In keeping with tradition in India and Pakistan, incense sticks are lit by some visitors to the 'Dargāh'. Sometimes gifts are left near the grave, in the shape of money, flowers, dates, nuts, sweets or other items. These gifts are usually collected by

63. du Plessis, p. 4.

64. *ibid*, p. 5.

65. The custom of presenting plain and embroidered sheets of costly material and flowers to graves of holy men as a token of respect and loyalty is fairly common among the lay-Muslims. However, it is strictly forbidden in Saudi Arabia due to the influence of the teachings of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1787) a theologian who vehemently condemned these practices as alien to Islam.

the caretaker of the 'Dargāh' who is a widow by the name of Zaynab Meitor, as she has no fixed wage.

Often 'pilgrims' leave bottles of water from the Eerste River nearby overnight in the Karāmat and then take them away, sometimes to far-away places. This is due to the common belief that the water is imbued with "miraculous" powers and is able to cure diseases. Therefore, the water is administered to the sick and ailing as a remedy. Sometime visitors to Faure picnic beneath a grove of poplar trees close at hand.

During all the years that have since passed away, the Karāmat of Shaykh Yūsuf has been regarded by some Cape Muslims, especially those whose forebears came from the East Indies islands, as a "holy" place. It used to be kept in repair by a special custodian who did not permit anyone to enter the enclosure with covered feet. This is to show respect for the burial place of the departed man who was revered during his lifetime. The same practice is followed at other graves of holy men like Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī in Baghdad (Iraq) and Khwājā Mu'in al-Dīn Chistī in Ajmer (India) where visitors have to remove their shoes before entering the 'Dargāh' of the departed pious ṣūfīs.

Shaykh Yūsuf's grave is one of the most important in a group of seven that lie around the Cape Peninsula. Other important graves

are the two at Signal Hill in Cape Town. These belong to the graves of Sa'īd Alochie, and 'Abd Allāh Qādī 'Abd al-Salām, both of whom have been mentioned earlier in this chapter. In addition, there are graves at Constantia, Oude kraal, Robben Island and Signal Hill. Some Cape Muslims believe that anyone who lives within the circle formed by all these graves, would be assured of peace and success in life.⁶⁶

Shaykh Yūsuf's Remains

After Shaykh Yūsuf had died, the King of Goa, 'Abd al-Jalīl, earnestly requested the Company authorities that Yūsuf's remains should be conveyed to Makasar for burial.

Accordingly permission was granted to Yūsuf's family members to exhume his body and carry it with them when they returned to Goa.⁶⁷ The King of Goa thereupon advised in 1704 that he would send someone to the Cape to fetch Yūsuf's remains. These were subsequently brought over to Goa on 5th April 1705 and buried the following day in Lakiung.⁶⁸

The report that when Yūsuf's remains were exhumed, one finger was

66. Swart, p. 18.

67. de Haan, p. 285.

68. Cense, p. 53. Lakiung lies off the main road leading from Makasar to the south within the district of Goa.

left behind in the grave hardly seems plausible.⁶⁹ The highest degree of respect is accorded to a dead body in Islam and therefore it is highly unlikely that this could have happened. On the other hand, it is also possible that a zealous Cape Muslim did deliberately leave behind a finger to acquire continued blessings.

Though the general belief among people in South Africa is that Shaykh Yūsuf still lies buried at Faure, all the evidence from the above sources suggests that his remains were conveyed to his native land early in the eighteenth century.

Second Grave of Yūsuf

The second grave of Shaykh Yūsuf is at Lakiung, as stated before. To the east of Lakiung is a mosque near which are a few pyramid-shaped graves of more recent date where some earlier rulers of Makasar and their descendants are buried.⁷⁰

Shaykh Yūsuf's grave, which is in pyramid style, is a famous place of visitation as is the one at Faure. A small entrance fee is

69. see Veth, p. 43. This report is cited by Willmot on p. 116 of his "History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope".

70. Gids van Makasar, p. 143.

charged for visiting the "Dargāh" and this together with cash donations is put into a special fund out of which mosques are maintained and arrangements made for the burial of destitute Muslims. Opposite the grave a stone building has been erected offering hospitality to visitors from far and wide.⁷¹

The tomb is built in the style of the cupola or domed grave which is often found in South Celebes. Shaykh Yūsuf's grave which lies in the space under the arched wall is covered by a canopy. Above the entrance of the tomb is an inscription in the Macassar language but written with Arabic script, and containing the main aspects of Yūsuf's life. These notes were compiled from Macassar and company sources.⁷²

There is an interesting account of how Shaykh Yūsuf's grave came to be in Lakiung, in the Bughanese and Makassar legends.

"The King of Goa⁷³ now sent someone to Bantam⁷⁴ to bring back to Goa the remains of Sehe-Yoêsoepoe (Shaykh Yūsuf). According to the legend, Yūsuf appears to have been buried at Bantam. But the Governor-General of the time refused this request. The King's envoy was

71. Gids van Makasar, p. 143.

72. Cense, p. 50.

73. 'Abd al-Jalīl.

74. Bantam was then the Company's headquarters.

naturally very upset by this. Fortunately the Shaykh appeared that night to the envoy in a dream and informed him that on the way to his grave, he would see a ray of light rising from the ground. From that place the envoy should take a handful of earth and take it with him to Goa.

The envoy, in accordance with the dream, put a little of the "sacred" earth in a type of pot known as "baloêboe" and returned to Goa.

Before long the soil increased so much that the pot became too small and he had to acquire a bigger type of pot known as "goêmbâng". But soon this was also too small and now he took recourse to a "doêni" or coffin. And lo! it was not long before the soil, which had increased meanwhile, had actually taken the exact form of the long-deceased Shaykh with a Qur'ān under the right arm and a rosary round the shoulders.⁷⁵

Thus one finds to this day at Lakīyoeng (Lakiung) in Goa the grave of the famous "walī", Sêhe-Yôesoepoe (Shaykh Yūsuf).⁷⁶

75. the adherents of the Khalwatī Sunnī Order usually have a rosary containing 301 beads.

76. Matthes, Legenden, p. 45.

The above account, though a legend, lends support to the popular belief that after Shaykh Yūsuf's death, his remains were exhumed from the grave at Faure and transported to Goa where they were reburied. This would explain the existence of two graves, instead of one.

Another legend, connected with his grave at Faure, is that for a long time Shaykh Yūsuf's grave was forgotten and was eventually discovered by a herd-boy who saw a green-robed person in his dream leading him to his lost sheep. In this way the grave was found again.⁷⁷

77. du Plessis, p. 5.

CHAPTER FOUR

SHAYKH YŪSUF'S INFLUENCE IN THE CAPE

Evaluation

Before we can assess the importance of Shaykh Yūsuf in the early history of the Muslims of South Africa, it is necessary to have some idea of his achievements and extent of his influence in the land of his birth.

Shaykh Yūsuf possessed an attractive and imposing personality. He was wordly-wise and brave, energetic and intelligent.¹ It was this remarkable and outstanding personality that procured for him great influence over his environment and won for him the respect and admiration of his followers. This veneration was carried over to posterity both in South Celebes as well as in South Africa, and still remains strong to this day.²

We have learnt earlier³ that Shaykh Yūsuf had visited the Holy City of Makkah to perform Ḥajj (the annual pilgrimage) and that he spent sometime there studying Islamic sciences. On his return to Bantam, Shaykh Yūsuf acquired the reputation of being an authority in

1. Van Selms, p. 429.

2. Cense, p. 57.

3. see chapter one.

Islamic Sciences and specially in Ṣūfīsm and Ṣūfī teachings.⁴ It was here that he played an important role in the establishment and spread of Islam.⁵

We have already seen how the natives revered Yūsuf as a Ṣūfī and a holy man when he arrived in Batavia. They looked upon him "as a man in every sense far above his fellow creatures".⁶

We also find Yūsuf mentioned with a series of honorific epithets and aphorisms. He was given the title, 'Shaykh'⁷ which literally means an old man but is designated to any person who is a spiritual guide (in the Ṣūfī sense) or is respected due to his age, learning, status, or character. In fact, the chief of a tribe in Arabia was called in Arabic "Shaykh al-Qabīlah" meaning chief of the tribe who was elected on the basis of one of these qualities. Later, the title also came to be given to the leader of a mystic order. As we know, Yūsuf was the local leader of the Khalwatiyyah Ṣūfī Order at Makasar. The people of Makasar regarded him as a "walī Allāh" (friend of God) and bestowed on him the nickname of 'Toewang Salāmah' (the blessed master).⁸

4. Van Selms, p. 429.

5. Du Plessis, p. 3.

6. Deeds, p. 3.

7. Veth, p. 42.

8. ibid, p. 43.

Furthermore, Yūsuf was also called Toewang Loëta Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqāṣarī.

قدس الله سره و نور ضريحه

This means: Our great master, Shaykh Yūsuf, the crown (as the head-dress of the followers of the Khalwatī Order was called), the follower of the Khalwatīyyah Order, the Makasarian, may Allah sanctify his secret and illuminate his grave.⁹

Some admirers of Shaykh Yūsuf in Goa regarded him as a 'national saint' and after the harvest they undertook together a 'pilgrimage' to his grave at Lakiung to get his blessings.¹⁰

Judging from the foregoing, one can conclude that Shaykh Yūsuf certainly had a commanding influence in various ways in Java, Makasar and the whole of the Archipelago.¹¹

Keeping in mind Shaykh Yūsuf's exalted position at home, we can now examine his position and activities during his stay in the Cape.

As stated earlier, the Dutch governors at the Cape, Simon van der Stel and later his son and successor, Adriaan, accorded Yūsuf the

9. Cense, p. 53.

10. ibid, pp. 56-57.

11. Deeds, p. 3.

consideration due to his rank as a prince and as a Ṣūfī Shaykh. Simon van der Stel at least appears to have granted the Shaykh a fairly liberal allowance for his maintenance. For this reason, no doubt, Adriaan van der Stel called Shaykh Yūsuf "a heavy burden on our revenue".¹² The fact that Shaykh Yūsuf won the friendship of the governors of the Cape despite being a thorn in the flesh of the Dutch East India Company shows the respect that he had commanded.

I have mentioned in the previous chapter that when Shaykh Yūsuf and his retinue arrived at the Cape, they were placed at Zandvliet, some distance away from other exiles and slaves so that he would not be able to establish contact with them.¹³ Here Yūsuf lived under surveillance of the Company.¹⁴ This indicates the recognition by the Dutch authorities of Shaykh Yūsuf's status and power of influence.

In spite of the Company's attempts to isolate Yūsuf, he became the focus of a gradually growing Muslim community.¹⁵ Zandvliet, in fact, became the meeting place for the exiles and slaves who rallied round Shaykh Yūsuf though it brought them into disfavour with the Dutch authorities.¹⁶

12. Deeds, p. 4.

13. Jeffreys, Vol VI, p. 195.

14. de Haan, p. 283.

15. Cense, p. 51.

16. Jeffreys, op.cit., p. 195.

And though it was illegal for Muslims to hold private meetings for any purpose in their homes, Shaykh Yūsuf, together with the Imāms in his following, conducted religious sessions and prayer meetings in several slave lodges and private houses.¹⁷ This is a sure testimony of his dauntless courage and strong determination.

At one stage the situation at Faure was described by the Cape authorities in the following words:

"The Mohammedans are multiplying rapidly and increasing in numbers".¹⁸

This statement indicates clearly that the "illegal" gatherings at Faure of Shaykh Yūsuf and his followers has a direct bearing on the spread of Islam in the Cape in the early years of the Company rule and that the Company officials were quite apprehensive of the increase in the number of Muslims either due to conversion or due to large number of birth of Muslim children.

Initially, the Company brought only slaves and convicts to the Cape from the East Indies islands and these poor souls were unable to organize themselves in any way to protest against their conviction or complain about their condition. It was only when the Company began to exile also people of higher rank from there to the Cape that the latter, by virtue of their positions of privilege and influence proved

17. Lewis, p. 587.

18. Jeffreys, Vol VI, p. 195.

to be the rallying points for their less fortunate countrymen. The first person to whom they looked for support and leadership was none other than Shaykh Yūsuf, a man who was venerated by the Muslims of the Archipelago as a prince, a holy man, a Ṣūfī Shaykh and as a "Walī Allāh" or friend of God.¹⁹

Dr C J A Greyling of the Department of Biblical studies, University of Western Cape, who discusses in his doctoral thesis²⁰ the influence of various streams of thought on the beliefs regarding Jesus among South African Muslims devotes a chapter to the early Muslims in the Cape. He supports the view that the rapid growth of the Muslim community in the Cape was due largely to the arrival of a number of leaders with a better educational and social position - especially political exiles, the best known of whom was certainly Shaykh Yūsuf. And because several of these exiles were leaders of repute, even princes and heroes of resistance movements against the Dutch, they were received with great respect by the nascent Malay community in the Cape and thus they exercised great influence over them. This did not only lead to strengthening the position of those who were already Muslim, but also gave impetus to the spread of Islam. Thus, many slaves were won over to Islam.²¹

19. Veth, p. 42.

20. reference has already been made to it in the Acknowledgement.

21. Greyling, p. 9.

As discussed in the second chapter, we know that Shaykh Yūsuf was the chief figure in the resistance against the Dutch in the East Indies and that he played an important role in the establishment and spread of Islam in Bantam.²² The abovementioned facts lead us to concede that Shaykh Yūsuf must have had a considerable impact on the spread of Islam and on the lives of the Muslims of the Cape at that time.

When Shaykh Yūsuf arrived at the Cape his entourage included twelve imāms.²³ These imāms, no doubt, were his closest disciples and were deeply influenced by his teachings and practices. We can imagine them faithfully continuing their "master's" work after his death.

Taking into account the above facts, then, one cannot help but concede that Shaykh Yūsuf and his followers were the pioneers of Islam in South Africa. This is a view held by Thunberg²⁴ and Foster²⁵ and accepted by du Plessis²⁶. Though much more is known about later exiles like Sa'īd Alochie and Qādī 'Abd al-Salām,²⁷ and their activities than is known about Shaykh Yūsuf, the fact is that it was certainly Shaykh Yūsuf of Makasar who really laid the foundation of Islam in South Africa. He is held in the highest esteem by Muslims

22. see chapter one, p. 7.

23. see p.35 .

24. Thunberg, pp. 132-4.

25. George Foster, A Voyage round the World, 2 vols, (B. White, London, 1771 : 60-61.

26. du Plessis, p. 4.

27. see p. 34.

especially by those who are in the Cape. The honouring of his grave at Faure is a living testimony to the memory of Shaykh Yūsuf as the pioneer of Islam in South Africa.²⁸

Legends

Legends are usually associated with the lives of men who have made an everlasting impression on the history of their people. Likewise, there are several legends connected with the life of Shaykh Yūsuf also, some of which pertain to the East Indies and some to the Cape. This indicates that not only was his influence recognized in the place of his birth but also in the place of his exile, where he died so soon after his arrival.

Two legends have already been mentioned, one about the blind "walī" from Rappāṅ^e²⁹ and the other regarding his grave at Lakiung in Goa.³⁰

In his "History of South Africa under the Administration of the Dutch East India Company (1652 to 1795)", M'Call Theal records:

28. Greyling, p. 13.

29. see pp. 8-9.

30. see pp. 50-51.

"...various traditions....have gathered about his name, and it is commonly believed by those of his creed at the Cape that he performed many miracles. Thus it is asserted by them that when he was on the passage to this country the fresh water in the ship failed, upon which he dipped his foot in the sea and told the crew to replenish their casks, when to the amazement of all on board that which they took up in buckets was perfectly good to drink."³¹

Another legend is given by du Plessis:

"The Shaykh is said to wander about the place of his burial dressed in a green robe. For a long time his grave was forgotten and afterwards could no longer be traced. One day a herd boy in the neighbourhood lost his master's sheep. Afraid to return, he found a spot in which to hide, and there had a dream in which a green-robed person led him to the place where the sheep had wandered. In this way the sacred spot was refound."³²

31. George McCall Theal, History of Africa South of the Zambesi, Vol II, History of South Africa III, (Cape Town, 1964), p. 263.

32. du Plessis, p. 5.

CHAPTER FIVE

SHAYKH YŪSUF'S CONTRIBUTIONS

I have mentioned in previous chapters that Shaykh Yūsuf had studied "tasawwuf" or Islamic mysticism during his stay in Makkah and that first he became a disciple of the Khalwatīyyah Order and then finally became its chief at Makasar. It should be expected, therefore, that some of his teachings or sayings should become popular in the East Indies since he had become well known there due to his position as "shaykh" of the Khalwatīyyah order and also for his resistance against the Dutch. As a matter of fact, Yūsuf's name is mentioned in several writings encountered in Javanese and Malay sources.¹

In the Maleische Handschriften (Malaysian Manuscripts) - No. 49 of the Collection in the library of the Batavian Society - there is a passage running from page 44 to 61 which is a collection of notes on mysticism ascribed to Shaykh Yūsuf. The theme of the passage is the spirit (rūḥ), a favourite subject of the mystics.² The discussion is introduced with the following verse from the Qur'ān:

"They ask thee concerning the Spirit, Say: The Spirit (cometh) by command of my Lord, and (O Men), Of knowledge, it is only a little that has been granted to you."³

-
1. Cense, p. 55.
 2. Drewes, p. 88.
 3. Qur'ān, 17 : 85.

The issue in this verse centres around the nature of "spirit" (rūḥ).⁴ As man has been vouchsafed but little of the knowledge of spiritual matters, he cannot comprehend the nature of divine revelation. It is, therefore, futile for him to speculate on these mysteries and should instead accept that which comes by the command of God.

The teachings embodied in the passage are based on a method of man's ascent on the spiritual plane through 'self-experience' and 'self-knowledge' till he attains communion with God.

The following saying attributed to 'Alī, (the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, and to whom most of the Ṣūfī orders are traced), which is often quoted by Ṣūfīs is cited in support of the doctrine discussed above:

5 من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه

meaning:

"He who recognises himself recognises his Lord."

Again this refers to the relationship between man and God, that is servitude to God ('Abadīyah), the state of being God's servant.

4. The term "rūḥ" (lit. 'spirit', 'soul' or 'breath of life') is often used in the Qur'ān in the sense of 'inspiration', particularly 'divine inspiration'. According to some commentators of the Qur'ān, it refers here to the "waḥy" or Revelation of the Qur'ān. Others understand it to signify the angel who brings the Revelation viz. Jibrīl (Gabriel).

5. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-'Ajlūnī, Kashf al-Khafā' wa Muzīl al-Ilbās. 2nd ed., (Beirut, 1351 A H), Vol II, p. 262.

Shaykh Yūsuf's name appears in literature originating from Bandoeng, some of which was in the possession of the late Professor Snouck Hurgronje at Leiden.⁶ One paragraph on a theosophic - speculative and at the same time mystical - methodical doctrine was published and handed down as "barkah (barakah : blessings) Sech Joesoep saking Banten". In this paragraph, it is set forth that the perfection of servants of God is twofold, that of the body and the soul. This is because man has a twofold essence or nature. His physical self has its origin in Adam. According to the Qur'ān, man was created in "the best of moulds".⁷ Man's spirit, on the other hand, has its origin in the spiritual cosmic principle which is indicated by the term "rūḥ Muḥammadī" meaning the spirit of Muhammad (the prophet of Islam).⁸

According to this principle prophet Muḥammad was the Primal Light in which all the prophets including Adam were foreshadowed. To attain spiritual perfection man has to emulate prophet Muḥammad who represents the ideal model and exemplar as the Qur'ān states clearly "verily in the Messenger of Allah you have an excellent example".⁹

6. No. 137 of his Collection.

7. Qur'ān 95 : 4 "We have indeed created man in the best of moulds."

8. Drewes, p. 88.

9. Qur'an, 33 : 21.

The "murīd" (seeker of guidance or disciple) sets out on a series of ascending grades of the self above which is the purest divine essence (God). Then the "murīd" comes to a very decisive stage of the mystical path when there appear before him many different paths from which he has to choose. One of these is to know the body. He who knows the body (or external) turns his concentration to his inner self: his inner self directs him to the "rasa",¹⁰ and the "rasa" to God. Then God rewards him with the taste "dhawq" of unity as a divine gift.¹¹

A manuscript of the Royal Batavian Society¹² contains a collection of Bughanese writings in which one often comes across the name of Shaykh Yūsuf. In the Arabic manuscripts of the Society several of Yūsuf's works in Arabic are included. Even the Society's Catalogue of Malay manuscripts mentions Yūsuf's name.¹³ From this it is clear that not only has some of Yūsuf's teachings survived in scattered sources, but that several of his complete works are extant to this day.

Voorhoeve's Handlist of Arabic documents in the library of the

10. rasa = lit. blank, pure, without stain, the straight path (al-Sirāt al-Mustaqīm) and also means unmixed belief in God which is often referred to as Ikhlaṣ. Al-Ikhlaṣ is the title of a whole surah in the Qur'ān which refers to the unmixed belief in the oneness of God. See Chapter 112.

11. Drewes, p. 88.

12. Ms 23, Vt.

13. Cense, p. 55.

University of Leiden gives a list of the following fifteen manuscripts appearing under the name of "Yūsuf al-Tag (al-Tāj) (Abu'l-Mahasin)

Saikh Yūsuf Makasar¹⁴

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 1. | Al-Barakah al-Sayalānīyya
The Flowing Blessings | البركة السيلانية |
| 2. | Balāyā al-Mubtadī
Afflictions of the Beginner | بلايا المبتدى |
| 3. | al-Fawā'id al-Yūsufīyya fi Bayān Taḥqīq al-Ṣūfīyya
Treatise (lit. Gains) of Yūsuf explaining the accomplishment of the Sūfī | الفوائد اليوسوفية في بيان تحقيق الصوفية |
| 4. | Inbā' al-Anbā'
Imparting of Information | انباء الانباء |
| 5. | Kayfīyyat al-Munajjī
The Condition of the Deliverer | كيفية المنجي |
| 6. | Maṭālib al-Sālikīn
The Demands of those who follow the spiritual path (disciples) | مطالب السالكين |
| 7. | Al-Nafha al-Sayalānīyya
The Flowing Fragrance | النفحة السيلانية |
| 8. | Qurrat al-'Ayn
Coolness of the Eye | قوة العين |
| 9. | Sirr al-Asrār
Secret of Secrets | سر الاسرار |
| 10. | Sūrat Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj
The Biography of Shaykh Yūsuf (Sūrat should read "Sīrat") | سيرة شيخ يوسف التاج |
| 11. | Tāj al-Asrār
Crown of Secrets | تاج الاسرار |
| 12. | Zubdat al-Asrār
Essence of Secrets | زبدة الاسرار |
| 13. | } untitled | |
| 14. | | |
| 15. | | |

14. P Voorhoeve, Codices Manuscripti VII, (Bibliothica Universitatis Lugduni Batavorum, 1957), p. 539.
I managed to obtain this list from Dr Greyling's thesis (p. 283, f.n. 81). Subsequently I wrote to Leiden University Library for these manuscripts and have received several of them which I hope to translate into English.

Judging from the titles, all these manuscripts deal chiefly with the subject of "taṣawwuf" or Islamic mysticism.

In the Bughanese manuscripts of the Batavian Society there appear two treatises or discourses introduced by the Arabic inscription:

هذا كتاب شيخ يوسف التاج الخلوتي

meaning:

"This is the book of Shaykh Yūsuf, the Crown, the Khalwatī"

Another passage is introduced with the words:

"Makkedai Sjaich Jusuf (Shaykh Yūsuf says)"

There are other discourses wherein Shaykh Yūsuf is called "zegsman", a spokesman. Apart from his Arabic works, Shaykh Yūsuf has also left us writings in Bughanese.¹⁵

The Bughanese works of Yūsuf have been preserved through the writings of a prince of Bone, Aḥmad a-Ṣāliḥ Matinroe-ri-Rompegading (1775-1812), who had the honorific title: "Shams al-Millat wa'l-Dīn" meaning "the Sun of the Islamic community and the faith". This prince is known to have sought the company of the mystically-minded and thus no doubt must have come across Shaykh Yūsuf's teachings and writings.¹⁶

15. I have written to the Leiden University to assist me in obtaining these writings from the Batavian Society and having them translated into English. To date I have received no response.

16. Cense, p. 55.

In the introduction of the discourse which he himself had written and entitled, "al-Nūr al-Hādī" (the Guiding Light), Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ says that he had completed it on 15 Sha'bān (8th month of the Islamic calendar) 1202/21 May 1788 and entitled it: "Tadjang patiroangnge ilao rilalēng malēmpu'e", that is, 'the light that guides to the right path'. He adds that he obtained the material, which he divided into seven major parts, from the writings of "our master Sjaich al-Ḥādjdj Yūsuf al-Tādj al-Khalwatī", and from other works which he came to know about partly through statements of his shaykh "pěkkië Jusuf Kalië ri Bone" (Faḳīḥ Yūsuf, Qādī of Bone).¹⁷ Likewise, he incorporated material from other scholars with whom he had associated, while he also included his own thoughts in the work.¹⁸

The contents of the article, "al-Nūr al-Hādī" are in the main identical with that of Shaykh Yūsuf's, bearing the same title, "al-Nur al-Hādī" (the Guiding Light) which is indicated in the (Bughanese) manuscripts¹⁹ as "the words of our master Saehē Jusufu Petta to-Salama'e ri Goa".²⁰

17. Faḳīḥ = legist or Islamic jurist
Qādī = judge, magistrate

18. Cense, p. 55.

19. MS 19 Vt of Batavian Society

20. Cense, p. 55;
Petta to-Salama'e ri Goa means 'our lord, the blessed one in Goa'.

Finally, a Malay manuscript,²¹ in the Museum of the Batavian Society of Culture and Science compiled by Dr Ph. S van Ronkel, bears an Arabic title similar to that of the writing of Aḥmad Ṣālīḥ (or Shaykh Yūsuf) mentioned above.²² This means that Shaykh Yūsuf had expressed his mystic ideas in Arabic, Bughanese and Malaysian and Aḥmad Ṣālīḥ had included sections of these into his own compilations.

What emerges from the above discussion is that Shaykh Yūsuf certainly had written a number of treatises in Arabic, Bughanese and Malaysian which have been documented in the manuscripts of the Batavian Society. Furthermore, Shaykh Yūsuf's name is mentioned in literature emanating from Bandoeng.²³ Also, some of Shaykh Yūsuf's teachings appear in several writings encountered in Javanese and Malay sources.²⁴

There is, therefore, a wealth of material in the above sources containing the beliefs, teachings and ideas of Shaykh Yūsuf of Makasar. What is required is an analysis of his writings so that we may be able to gain a better understanding and appreciation of the man who made such a deep impression on the minds of the people wherever he went that his teachings have been preserved to this day.

21. No. 69 of the Catalogue of Malay Manuscripts.

22. Cense, p. 56.

23. See Drewes, p. 88 for further details.

24. In his thesis, Greyling mentions (see p. 13) that Dr Tudjima of Indonesia has been conducting research in regard to the authenticity and contents of the above documents. Despite my enquiries addressed to both Indonesian and Dutch authorities, I have been unable to get any further information on this matter.

CONCLUSION

Despite the many difficulties and obstacles I encountered during my research on the life of Shaykh Yūsuf, first in the East Indies, then in the Cape, I was able to form a fairly comprehensive, though not detailed, biography from the sources available to me.

During his lifetime, Shaykh Yūsuf proved to be the singlemost ardent opponent of Dutch colonial interests in the East Indian Archipelago. A great deal of his life was dedicated to staving off Dutch expansion and preventing Dutch monopolization of trade in the Indonesian Islands. Though he failed eventually in this bid due to lack of support at home, he remains a symbol of resistance to the colonisation of his country by the Dutch. After the Dutch had exiled Shaykh Yūsuf to the Cape, they still regarded him as a threat to their colonial ambitions. They, therefore, sought to isolate him on a lonely farmstead and endeavoured to forbid him from meeting other exiles and influencing them. In spite of these restrictions, Shaykh Yūsuf continued to exert his influence over his people. So much so that even today, Shaykh Yūsuf is upheld as an ideal Muslim leader and as a model of virtue and piety in the Cape, as well as in the land of his birth.

Shaykh Yūsuf's great learning in the Islamic Sciences was sought by high and low. He taught not only the Sulṭān and his courtiers at Bantam various aspects of Islam, but also to his disciples as head of the Khalwatīyyah Ṣūfī order. As is evident from the foregoing pages Shaykh Yūsuf's reputation as a political activist, a pious Ṣūfī, and as a fine scholar of Islam and Ṣūfīsm won him the respect of his friends and foes.

The Karamat at Faure is a living testimony to Shaykh Yūsuf's contribution to the spread of Islam in the Cape. The fact is that the spread of Islam in South Africa for that matter followed a pattern which is evident in the other similar cases such as Indonesia, and recently in Korea and Japan. Islam owes its spread largely to the efforts of the Ṣūfīs, Muslim traders and immigrants. As a Ṣūfī and also as the chief of the Khalwatīyah Ṣūfī order gave him an edge over other Muslims having similar ranks. His Ṣūfī teachings in theory and practice made him a model not only to his immediate disciples but also to those who came in his contact as is evident from what I have shown in the foregoing chapters.

Perhaps the surest evidence of Shaykh Yūsuf's greatness lies in the preservation of his writings and Ṣūfī teachings to this day. I have in my possession several microfilms of Shaykh Yūsuf's treatises on a variety of subjects as listed in the previous chapter. I intend to translate and edit these as a project for my doctoral thesis in Islamic Studies. These works, I believe, will provide us a greater insight into the ideas, and teachings of the man who has become a legend not only in his own land, but also in the land of his exile.



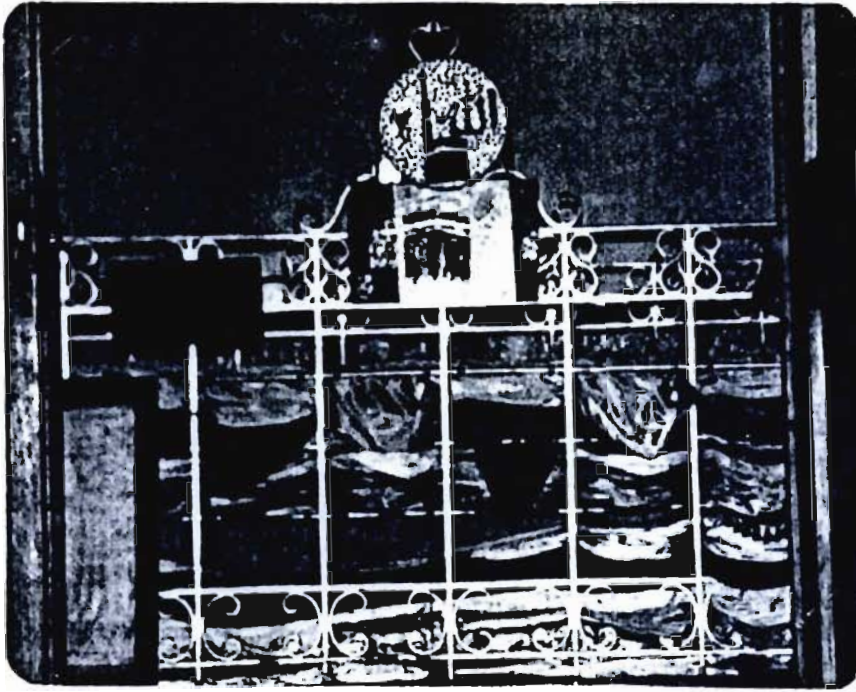
The "Karāmat" of Shaykh Yūsuf at Faure.
The grave lies within the building beneath the dome.
In the foreground is a canon and parapet.



The above inscription appears on the parapet and reads as follows:
"IN MEMORY OF THE BANTAM WAR, CASTLE SOEROESOEANG OF THE LAST
INDEPENDANT KING SULTAN AGENG 1682-83 AND COMING OF THE HERO OF
WAR, SHEIKH YUSUFWHO ARRIVED AT THE CAPE FROM CEYLON IN 1694 IN THE
VOETBOEG TOGETHER WITH 49 FOLLOWERS - 4 OF WHOM ARE BURIED CLOSE BY
AND SHEIKH YUSUF, WHO DIED 23rd MAY 1699, WHO WAS BURIED IN THE
KARAMAT.

HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY 2 WIVES, CARECONTOE AND CAREPANE, 2 JARIAS,
MONIMA AND NAIMA, 12 SONS AND DAUGHTERS, 14 MEN AND WOMEN AND
OFFICERS. SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL MACASSAR RESIDENTS HERE AND 19
OTHERS MENTIONED IN THE LIST OF THE CAPE ARCHIVES.

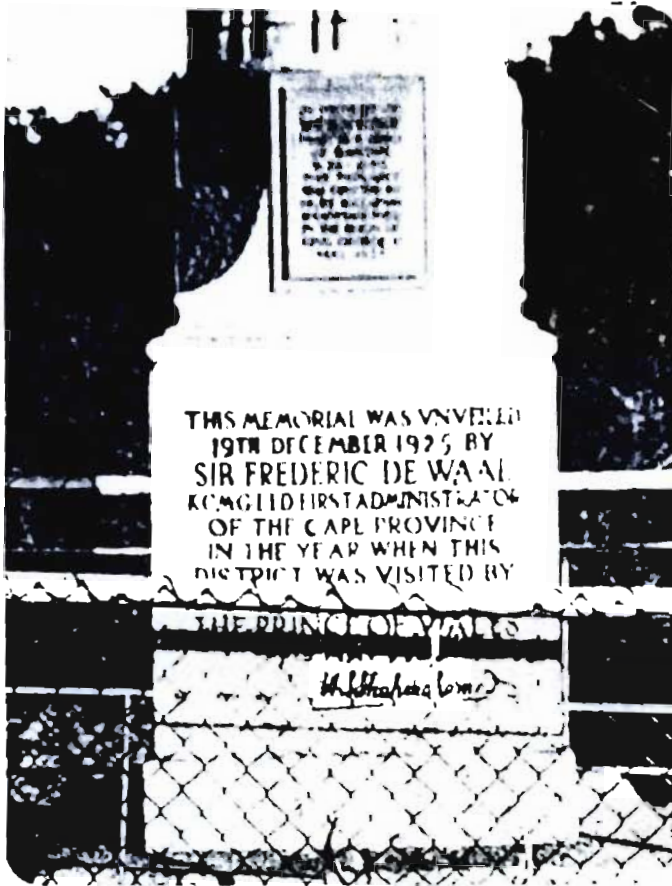
THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED BY HAJEE SULLAIMAN SHAH MOHAMAD AFTER THE
SIGNING OF THE PEACE TREATY OF THE GREAT WAR BETWEEN THE ALLIES AND
THE TURKS ON THE DAY OF ARAFAH, 9 ZULHAJ 1341 HIJRA, 24th JULY 1923
AND IN THE REIGN OF HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE NETHERLANDS.



The Grave of Shaykh Yūsuf inside the "Dargāh". It is covered with quilts of silk and satin, and surrounded by a metal railing. Above the grave are two pictures of the Ka'bah.



This is the Foundation Stone which is on the inner wall of the "Dargāh" near the doorway.



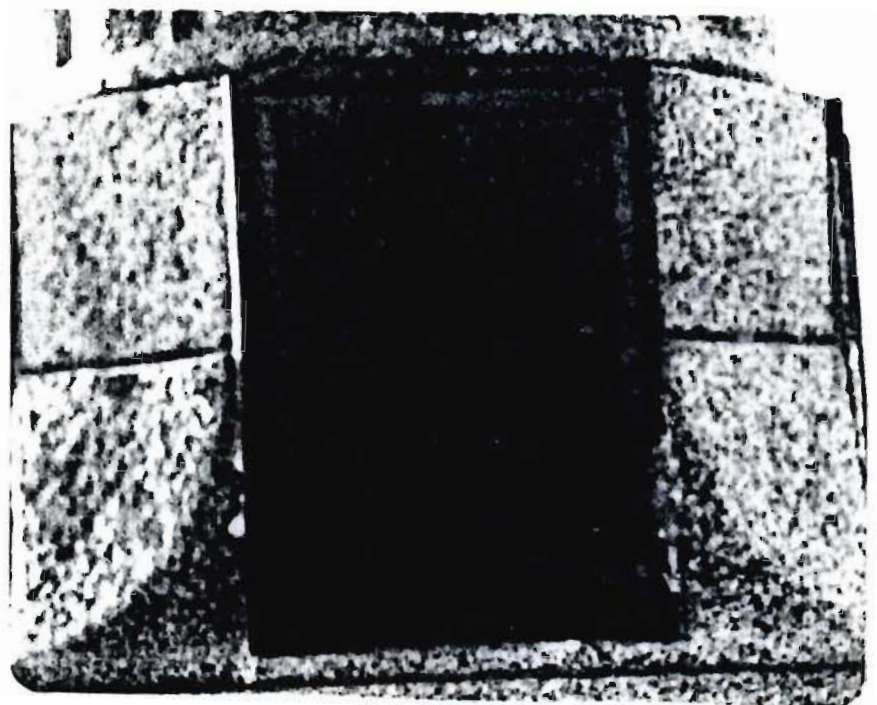
The Memorial Obelisk or Pillar near the "Dargah".

The inscription higher up on the Pillar reads:

"IN MEMORY OF SHEIKH YUSUF MARTYR AND HERO OF BANTAM 1626-1699. THIS MINARET WAS ERECTED BY HAJEE SULLAIMAN SHAH-MAHOMED IN THE REIGN OF KING GEORGE V MAY 1925."



An Illustration of the ship in which Shaykh Yūsuf arrived at the Cape. This appears on the Obelisk.



This inscription also appears on the Pillar.



The Graves of Four of Shaykh Yūsuf's followers who accompanied him in his exile.

On one of the Graves the following words are inscribed:

"THESE FOUR HEAD-STONES WERE ERECTED ON 21 MARCH 1918 (VERNAL EQUINOX). SURROUNDING THIS ENCLOSURE ARE GRAVES OF ABOUT FIFTY OTHER MOSLEMS."

"MAN IS BUT A SHADOW, AND LIFE A DREAM



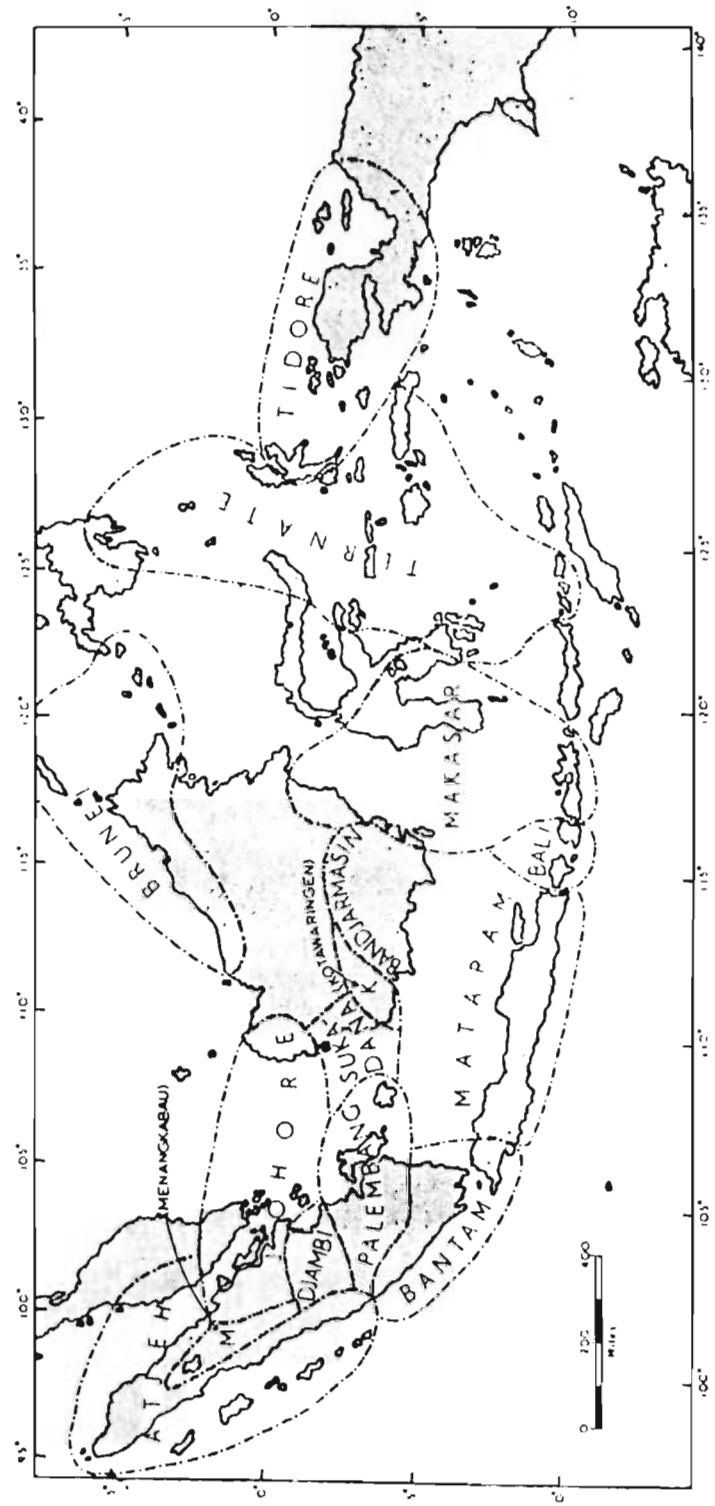
THE "DARGĀH" OF ASHABAT (COMPANIONS) OF SAINT SHEIKH YUSSUF (GALERAN TUANSE) OF MACASSAR. HERE LIE THE REMAINS OF FOUR OF FORTY-NINE FAITHFUL FOLLOWERS WHO AFTER SERVING IN THE BANTAM WAR OF 1682-83 ARRIVED WITH SHEIKH YUSSUF AT THE CAPE FROM CEYLON IN THE SHIP "VOETBOOG" IN THE YEAR 1694. THIS COMMEMORATION TABLET WAS ERECTED DURING THE GREAT WAR ON 8 JANUARY 1918 BY HAJEE SULLAIMAN SHAHMAHOMED SENIOR TRUSTEE."

Above the inscription is the following verse from the Qur'an

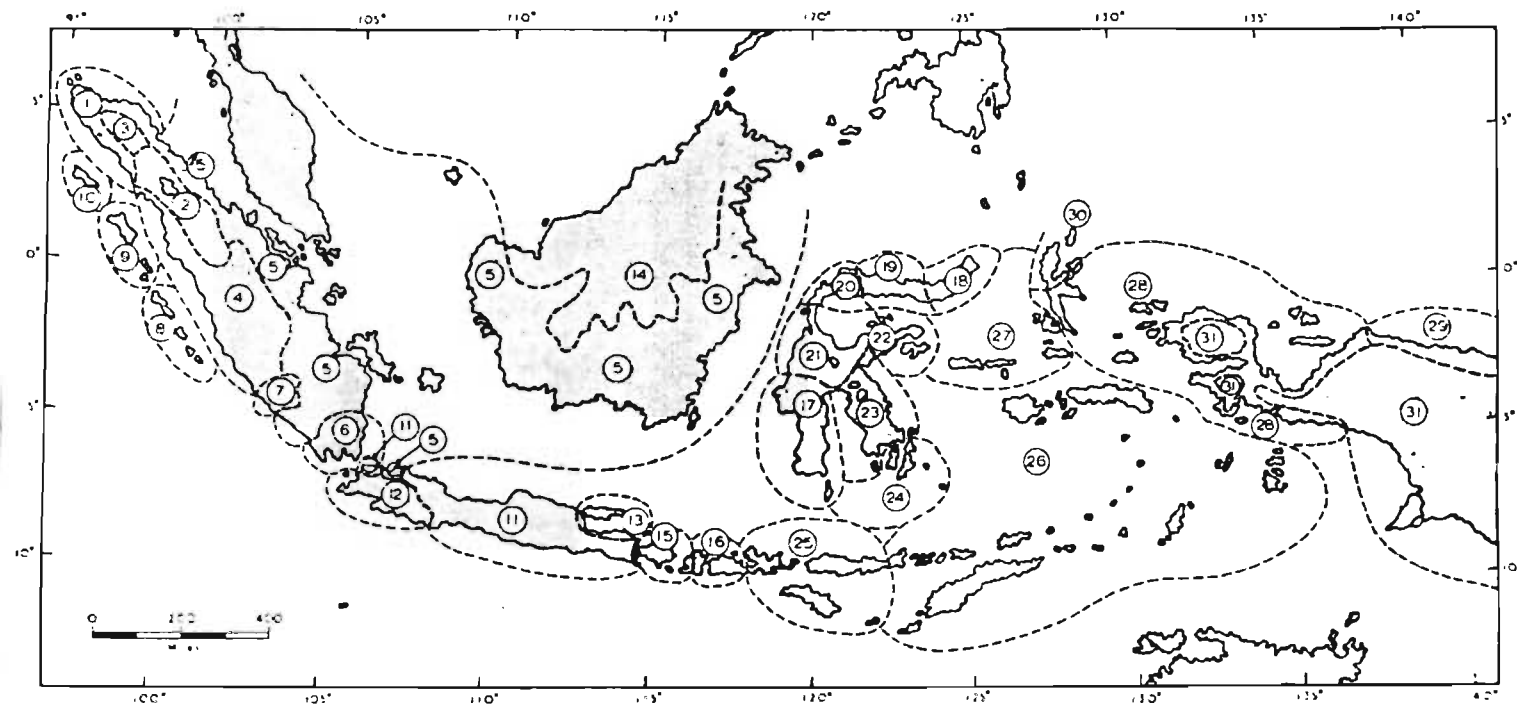
فَاللَّهُ خَيْرٌ حَافِظًا وَهُوَ أَرْحَمُ الرَّاحِمِينَ
meaning: "So Allah is the Best Keeper, and He is the Most Merciful of those who show mercy."

(Qur'ān, 12:64)

This is the inscription on the Pillar near the Graves of the Four Companions shown above. Part of the tablet is obscured. However, the full inscription is given on the right of the photo.

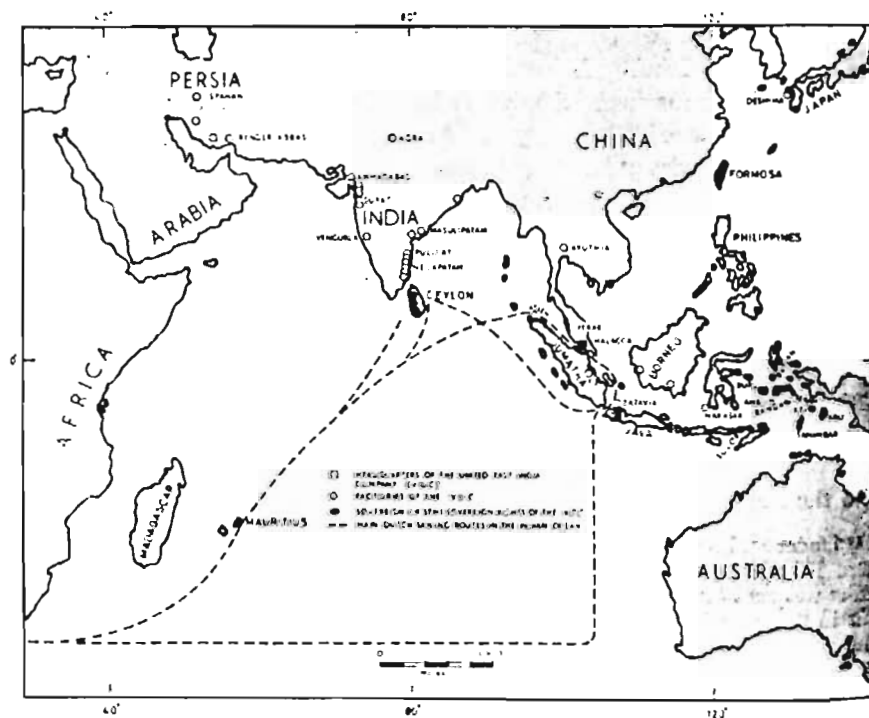


—Indonesia: indigenous states, 17th century

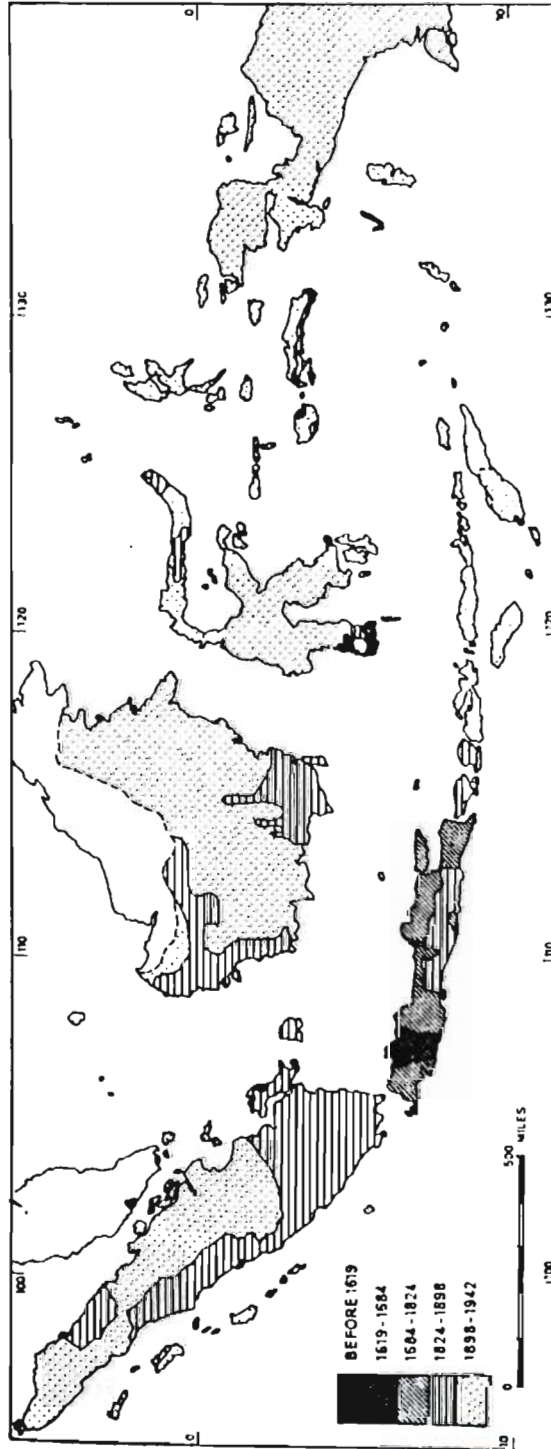


—Indonesia: regional languages

1. Atjehnese. 2. Batak. 3. Gajo. 4. Menangkabau. 5. Malay. 6. Lampong. 7. Redjangese. 8. Mentawai. 9. Nias. 10. Simeulue. 11. Javanese. 12. Sundanese. 13. Madurese. 14. Dyak group. 15. Balinese. 16. Sasak. 17. Makasarese - Buginese. 18. Menadonese. 19. Gorontaloese. 20. Tominini. 21. Toradja group. 22. Loinang group. 23. Bungkus - Laki group. 24. Munaas - Butung group. 25. Bima - Sumbawa group. 26. Ambon - Timor group. 27. Sula - Batjan group. 28. S. Halmahera - W. New Guinea group. 29. N. New Guinea group. 30. N. Halmahera group. 31. Interior New Guinea group.



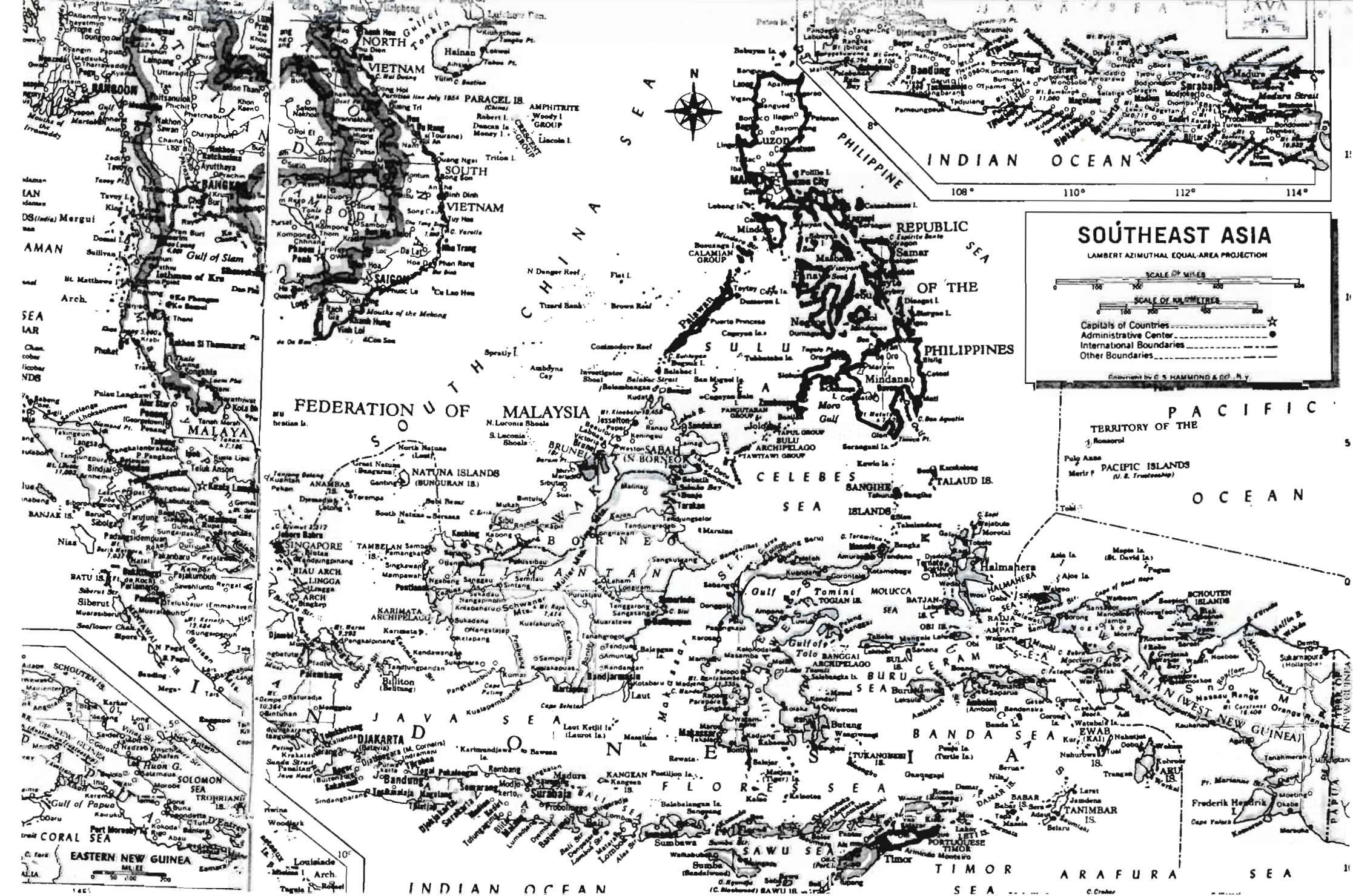
—Indian Ocean: Dutch East India Company's possessions and sailing routes
17th–18th centuries



—Indonesia: expansion of Dutch influence



—Indonesia: orientation map. Note: West New Guinea came under Indonesian sovereignty on 1st May, 1963.



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