

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



ABU BAKR EFFENDI

A report on the activities and challenges of an Ottoman
Muslim theologian in the Cape of Good Hope

By

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the degree of

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents the religious activities of an Ottoman Islamic scholar Abu Bakr Effendi and his educational challenges at the Cape of Good Hope. Abu Bakr Effendi was a professor of canon law (Mudarris, Mufti-ul Arbaa¹) who was sent to the Cape by the Ottoman Caliph in order to resolve the religious issues as well as educate the Muslims in South Africa in the second half of the nineteenth century.

This study takes into consideration diverse archival materials that explain different dimensions of the socio-historical events which happened during Effendi's stay in South Africa. Due to limited reliable sources, Effendi's activities have not been examined by researchers extensively. Several local newspapers, South African and Ottoman archival materials not used before in such studies, private family documents, foundation (Waqf) records and official correspondences have been used in this study and contributed to understanding the social-religious situation amongst Muslims at the Cape of the nineteenth century. Applying a comparative historical method, the study shows how Effendi became a prominent scholar in society despite his reformist understanding with regards to Islamic topics which made him a marginal theologian in the eyes of local Muslims. In this sense, the study illustrates the contribution of his works in the Muslim social sphere and how it enabled the emergence of a Muslim consciousness and identity in Southern Africa.

Finally, with his cultural and educational endeavors, Effendi became a historical figure in South African society and this reality has been illuminated by rich archival documents.

¹ Mufti is an official learned scholar in Islamic law who is in charge of Islamic affairs. During the Ottoman Empire, the mufti of Istanbul was Islam's chief legal authority, presiding over the whole judicial and theological hierarchy. One of Abu Bakr Effendi's titles was mufti-ul arbaa, which means master of four sects (madshaps) in Islamic tradition.

DEDICATION

I dedicate my thesis to the Muslim leaders of South Africa such as Sheik Yusuf of Macassar, Imam Tuan Guru, Sheik Abu Bakr Effendi and all other great pioneers who spent their entire life spreading Islamic knowledge.

GLOSSARY

- *Alim*; singular of Ulama, Islamic scholar in general or Muslim scholar.
- *Caliphate*; an Islamic state led by a supreme religious as well as political leader known as a caliph (a successor to the prophet Muhammad). The term caliphate is often applied to successions of Muslim empires.
- *Dar al-Hadith*; an independent Institute that is specialized in the sciences and researches of Hadith
- *Fatwa*; a juristic ruling concerning Islamic law issued by an Islamic scholar.
- *Hadith*; a saying or an act or tacit approval or disapproval ascribed either validly or invalidly to the prophet Muhammad.
- *Ijaazat*; permission to teach a book o a subject of Islamic knowledge.
- *Ijmā*; an Arabic term referring to the consensus or agreement of the Muslim community.
- *Ilmiye*; a class of learned men; the "*ilmiye*" also refers to knowledge.
- *Imamah*; an Arabic word (from Imam) with suffix meaning leadership. Its use in theology is confined to Islam.
- *Ittihad*; Unity
- *Khitabat*; an Imam's discourse. It also refers to rhetoric the public speaking.
- *Madhab*; a Muslim school of law or *fiqh*, religious jurisprudence
- *Madrasah*; the Arabic word for any type of educational institution.
- *Mudarris*; teacher, religious instructor, professor.
- *Mufti*; a Sunni Islamic scholar who is an interpreter or expounder of Islamic law (Sharia and fiqh)
- *Qadi*; a judge ruling in accordance with Islamic religious law (sharia)
- *Sayyid*; an honorific title; it denotes males considered as descendants of the Islamic prophet Muhammad.
- *Sharia*; (legislation) the moral code and religious law of Islam.
- *Sharīf*; a traditional Arab tribal title given to those who serve as the protector of the tribe and all tribal assets. Primarily Sunnis in the Arab world reserve the term sharif for descendants of the prophet via Hasan ibn Ali, while sayyid is used for descendants of the prophet via Husayn ibn Ali.
- *Sheikh*; *Religious leader, Muslim Scholar.*
- *Sheik al-Islām*; a title given to scholars considered as superior authority in the issues of Islam.
- *Sublime Porte*; the central government of the Ottoman Government in Istanbul.
- *Tanzimât*; reorganization of the Ottoman Empire. It was a period of reformation that began in 1839 and ended with the First Constitutional Era in 1876.
- *Ulama*; plural of Alim, scholar, also spelt ulema, refers to the educated class of Muslim legal scholars engaged in the several fields of Islamic studies.
- *Ummah*; an Arabic word meaning nation or community
- *Waqf*; a religious endowment in Islamic law, typically denoting a building or plot of land or even cash for Muslim religious or charitable purposes.
- *Zawiyah*; a centre of Islamic devotional acitivities, usually associated with a Sufi order. The term is mainly North African, and corresponds to the Eastern term Khanqa and to the Turkish Tekke. A zawiyah is also inmost cases a mosque and a madrassah at the same time.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Ulama in the Nineteenth Century

1.1.1 Introduction

This study focuses on the Ulama of the nineteenth century, their social composition and mobility within the religious hierarchy. Before dealing with that, it is necessary to define the Ulama. The important question is as Mushirul Hasan asks, “Who were the Ulama, what made them an important group in Muslim Society?”² Moreover, this chapter attempts to give readers a background on the meaning of the Ulama and their primary role in the Muslim world. It explains their duties and how they created and maintained their status in their communities. It will give a short introduction on the authoritative function of their class, focusing on the nineteenth century. Finally, the intention of this dissertation is to emphasize how they lost their authority and will question what the challenges were for the Ulama in the nineteenth century.

In this section, I also present the reader with what researchers have done thus far about Abu Bakr Effendi and how they have illustrated his activities. My intention is to present the archival resources that have never been used before to provide a brief overview of his life and accomplishments so that the reader will better understand the significance of such materials.

1.1.2 The Ulama in the Muslim World

Ulama are usually mentioned together with their appropriate functional titles such as Alim, Min- al Ulama, Sheik, Mudarris or titles of honours, such as “religious instructors”. Ulama are important not only as prominent figures in Islam, but also because of their position in local and supra-local structures. In this regard, one may say that, Ulama became a collective word referring to scholars of religion, professors of Islamic law, Hadiths transmitters, Imams, preachers and private individuals concerned with religious matters.

² Hasan Mushirul, 1981 Religion and Politics; The Ulama and Khilafat Movement P. 1 Vol. 16, No. 20

Sunni Ulama usually work within a tradition (Madhab) that starts with one of four classic jurists: Shafi'i, Hanafi, Maliki and Hanbali. However, some Ulama are not associated with any school. They believe that it is necessary to derive rulings directly from the Qur'an and the Hadith.³

In the Muslim world, the Ulama have studied diverse Islamic institutions throughout history. The madrasas, Dar- al- Hadiths, and zawiyas housed local and visiting students and scholars and supported them through special financial arrangements, including salaries for Ulama and sheiks as well as their students.⁴ Madrasas and Dar-al- Hadiths possessed sufficient endowments, except in two or three instances, to fill at least one professorship or Sheik-ship throughout the period and in most cases for several centuries thereafter. Students who graduated from these madrasas were given certificates (*ijaazat*) which entitled them to teaching jobs, Imamah, and khitabat in the various mosques.⁵

1.1.3 The Ottoman Ulama

The Ulama in the Ottoman State had a significant influence over politics as it was believed that secular institutions were all subordinate to religion. They were symbols of religious piety as they wielded great power in state affairs. Ulama worked as priest-like authorities who had the role of interpreting and enforcing Islamic Shari'a Law. These affairs were distributed amongst two types of Ulama; Muftis, who interpreted Shari'a Law and the Qadi, who enforced Shari'a Law.⁶ As Gilbert states, "in the Ottoman Empire religion became a department of state under the sultan and over which a hierarchized bureaucracy of Ulama presided."⁷

Mardin states that "[i]n most cases the Ulama cannot be separated from the Umera"⁸ (Amirs).⁹ Indeed in the old Islamic tradition, Ulama families continued to impart their

³ The hero of our story, Abu Bakr Effendi was also directly following the Sunnah (Hadiths and Qur'an). In following chapters, we will illustrate this subject in greater detail.

⁴ Inalcik Halil, 2008 Turkey and Europe in History P. 55 Istanbul.

⁵ Uzuncarsili, Ismail Hakki 1988, Osmanli Devletinin Ilmiye Teskilati, P. 77 Ankara.

⁶ Hasan, 1981 P. 4.

⁷ Gilbert Joan E, 1980 Institutionalization of Muslim Scholarship and Professionalization of the Ulama in Medieval Damascus, P. 133.

⁸ Amirs are the rulers in an Islamic nation. Muslim ruler.

traditions of learning to wandering seekers of knowledge in a system of private personal tutelage, usually without the benefit of special architectural arrangements such as school buildings, dar-ul ulum, madrasat-ul ulum, or the bureaucratic trappings of a formal educational establishment.

The Ottomans had a strict hierarchy of Ulama with the Sheik al- Islam holding the highest rank. A Sheik al- Islam was chosen by a royal warrant amongst the Qadis of important cities. The Sheik al- Islam had the power to confirm new sultans, but once the sultan was appointed, it was the sultan who retained a higher authority than the Sheik al- Islam.¹⁰ The Sheik al- Islam issued fatwas, which were written interpretations of the Qur'an that had authority over the community.¹¹ Heyd notes, "The Ottoman fatwa played a major role in the development and crystallization of Muslim Religious law in the last few centuries."¹² According to Ipsirli, Ulama in the Ottoma State have played clerical role in the society. Ipsirli notes that:

Contrary to the received knowledge and beliefs, many reform movements in the Ottoman State were achieved by the leadership, support, or at least consent of the Ulama. This relationship was a well-established tradition in the Ottoman State. From the period of formation until the demise of the state the leadership or encouragement of the Ulama created many military, scientific, and political organizations. There were numerous ilmiyye members of different caliber among writers of reform reports in XVIII-XIX centuries, among those writing in the field of state administration.¹³

During the Ottoman period, the general diploma was also known as Ijaazat or icazetname and was issued in the name of what we might call the student's major professorship. A madrasah student in the first six grades was called a softa and in the latter six a danismend. The danismend might serve as a tutor to softas, reviewing with them what they had been taught by their professors. Professorships of the sixth, seventh, and eighth, ranks were of the second class, while those of the ninth grade were of the first class. Only a mudarris of the first class was eligible for appointment to the highest posts in the Ulama

⁹ Mardin Serif, 1961 Some Notes on an Early Phase in the Modernization of Communications in Turkey. P. 253 Volume 3, Issue 03.

¹⁰ Inalcik Halil, 1973 Learning the Medrese, and the Ulema, in the Ottoman Empire; The classical age, 1300-1600. P. 165, New York.

¹¹ Ibid. P. 166.

¹² Uriel Heyd, 1969 Some Aspects of the Ottoman Fetva-, Page. 56 Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies / Volume 32 / Issue 01 / February.

¹³ Ipsirli Mehmet 2004, Istanbul, The Ottoman Ulema (scholars), Page, 13 Istanbul.

hierarchy.¹⁴ Serif Mardin emphasizes that the changing process of the Ottoman Ulama is as follow:

Mid-nineteenth century Turkish reformer who, was also a critic of the complexity of the official style, attributed the complication of Turkish to a desire to prevent the “Common people” from becoming interested in the laws of the realm. It is indeed true that there existed both among the Ulama and the “men of the pen” a fear that the masses would begin to meddle in questions which were beyond their understanding.¹⁵

As noted, at the beginning of the reform movement almost all the ranks of the Ulama were supported by the sultan.¹⁶ For instance, the Ottoman Palace lectures, namely *Huzur Dersleri*, date back to the rise of the Ottoman Empire and were called the “Peace Lessons” because of the presence of the sultans at the lectures. The Peace Lessons consisted of eight lessons and finished in the first ten days of Ramadhan.¹⁷ However a new stage appeared in the relations between sultan and the Ulama. There were some rumours that some of the praying leaders and the preachers in the army were going to be reduced. This policy caused displeasure among particularly the low ranking Ulama.

In the nineteenth century, the Ottoman centralization policies contained in the Tanzimat¹⁸ and the shift in access to the material bases of power that followed in its wake had an impact on most spheres of life in the State.¹⁹ Ulama, who until then had played a marginal role in the Ottoman ruling class, demonstrated a good measure of flexibility in adapting to, and maintaining their power in, a changing society.²⁰ Although certain leading families among the traditional political forces went into a gradual decline, the Ulama found adequate means not only to survive, but to safeguard their position of leadership until the end of

¹⁴ Uzuncarsili 1988/a, P. 75, 77. Abu Bakr Effendi’s certificate of the mudarris belonged to the Suleymaniye Madrasah in Istanbul which was the highest ranking Madrasah in the Ottoman State.

¹⁵ Mardin 1961, P. 257.

¹⁶ Kemal Karpat notes that; “Eventually he (sultan) won the Ulema to his side and succeeded in controlling the bureaucracy.” Karpat Kemal H. 1972 Transformation of the Ottoman State, P. 271.

¹⁷ Pakalın Mehmet Zeki 1946 Osmanlı Tarih ve Terimleri Sözlüğü, Volume I Pages, 708-709.

¹⁸ The Tanzimât meaning reorganization of the Ottoman Empire was a period of reformation that began in 1839 and ended with the First Constitutional Era in 1876. The Tanzimât reform era was characterized by various attempts to modernize the Ottoman Empire, to secure its territorial integrity against nationalist movements and aggressive powers.

¹⁹ Inalcik, Halil 1990, Tanzimat and Reform, P. 132, Istanbul. By 1839, with the advent of the Tanzimat reform program, new secular schools appeared, creating a duality in the spheres of knowledge and education as well as jurisprudence and justice.

²⁰ Ozcan Azmi, 1997 Pan-Islamism: Indian Muslims, the Ottomans and Britain, P. 81, In spite of the marginalization of the Ulama, The Ottoman Caliphate had always used the power of the Ulama towards the unity of Islamic World. One of the Ottoman Ulama, Ahmed Hulusi Effendi was sent to Afghanistan for the purpose of enlisting the support of Afghan Amir, against Russia. Pan-Islamism: Indian Muslims, the Ottomans and Britain

Ottoman rule. In addition to functions that they held in the *ilmiyya* institutions, families of leading Ulama also mobilized themselves successfully in order to obtain important offices in society and thus became part of the administrative elite.²¹

Sultan Mahmud II had realized the significance of the reformist movement for the religious institutions in the Ottoman State. He was extremely desperate to change the structure of the Ulama class. According to the Sultan “the Ulama are too numerous and too ignorant” and should immediately be re-educated.²²

As a result of the above, by the eighteenth century a virtually closed aristocracy of the Ulama had come into being, which had little to do with the traditional roles of the Ulama as transmitters of Islamic learning, as exemplars of piety or as mediators between the rulers and the ruled. Deprived of many of their sources of power and wealth by the reforms of Mahmud II and of the *Tanzimat*,²³ the Ulama lived in uneasy coexistence with new structures in the fields of education and the administration of justice throughout the remainder of the 19th and in the early 20th century. In the early years of the Republic, with the reforms following the abolition of the Caliphate in March 1924, their corporate existence was brought to an end.²⁴

1.1.4 Ulama in Other Countries and Their Relationship with the Ottoman State

The Ottoman Caliphate had undoubtedly appealed to many Muslims throughout the Empire.²⁵ Because of the holy duties of the Caliphate, the Muslim World had begun to look to Istanbul.²⁶ As Muslims rulers in Asia and Africa fell under the sway of European colonial powers, they turned towards the Ottoman Empire, the most powerful Muslim State, for help.²⁷

²¹ Inalcik, 2008, P.84.

²² Mardin Serif, 1971 *Turkey, Islam and Westernization*, Editors Leo Layendecker and Jacques Waardenburg-Religion and Society. P. 171 Amsterdam.

²³ Inalcik Halil, 2008 *Turkey and Europe in History* P.84 Istanbul.

²⁴ P.J. Bearmen, T.H. Bianquis 2000 *The encyclopedia of Islam*, volume X P. 805 Leiden.

²⁵ Redhouse James William, 1877 *A vindication of the Ottoman Sultan's title of Caliph* P. 4, London. “The Ottoman State successfully conducted the Caliphate duties and considered the rights of the Muslims in the World.” W. Redhouse, as an orientalist, noted; “a new assumption by the present or late sultan of Turkey, it dates from 1517 and from China to Algiers, from the snows of Siberia to the tropical isles of Sumatra and Java, to the British colony of the Cape of Good Hope.”

²⁶ Deringil Selim, 2003 *The Late Ottoman Empire and the Post- Colonial Debate* P. 323.

²⁷ Karpat Kemal H, 1972 *Transformation of the Ottoman State*, P. 273, 274.

In the pre-colonial era, the Ulama participated in decision making in the Sultanates of Aceh.²⁸ The Ulama have been actively involved in political affairs in post-colonial Indonesia.²⁹ Malaysia and Indonesia are secular states, and the tension between political power and the Islamic interpretations will remain a consistent feature of modern politics.

Similarly, the Malays had for centuries tended to look upon all Arabs, whatever their origin, as the direct inheritors of the wisdom of Islam and as the descendants of the Prophet (Sayyids and Sharifs). They had taken their opinion in matters of Muslim law and tradition and received religious instruction from them. Thus, the Muslim societies of Malaysia and Indonesia of the nineteenth century were formed by the influences of non-local Ulama.

In colonial countries other than South Africa, the situation of the Muslim community was not very different in terms of the functions of the religious institutes in society. Due to the difficult circumstances of the time in South Africa during the nineteenth century, the Ulama could not reveal their existence openly in society. In 1804, after the Freedom of Religion Act, the Muslims began to consolidate a national and religious identity.³⁰ Because of the lack of religious institutions and limited education options, Islamic knowledge was not easily spread amongst them; it was an extremely long and tedious process for them to rectify the situation. The old beliefs and local habits created disputes amongst the Muslims who were originally from Malaysia and Indonesia. From time to time, the local Ulama would apply to the higher Ulama in either Mecca or Istanbul in order to resolve their religious disputes. There are plenty of archival documents in the Ottoman State Archives in Istanbul regarding the relations between the Ottoman Caliphs and Muslim Community in South Africa. One of them is about demand of the Muslim community in Kimberley in South Africa who celebrated the birthday of Abdul Hamid II for building an Ottoman School in the city.

Celebrating the birthday of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, the Muslim community in Kimberley in South Africa has declared their loyalty to the Ottoman rule in a petition. In addition, they have asked for an Ottoman school to be built in their city³¹

²⁸ Due to the impact of the Ottoman Caliphate and Pan Islamism Movement led to the Ulama class of Muslim Countries as Aceh, Bombay, India and other colonial states. See, Ottoman State Archives, 28 October 1889, BOA. Y. A. Hus 231/4 Bombay'da Gücerâtî lisânında münteflir Kâsid-i Bombay nâm gazetenin fî 28 Tesrîn-i Evvel sene 1889 tarihli nüshasında münderic bend...)

²⁹ Roff W. R, 1964 *The Malaya-Muslim World of Singapore at the Close of the Nineteenth Century* P. 75, 76.

³⁰ Worden N, E. van Heyningen, V. Bickford-Smith, 1998 *The Making of a City. An illustrated history*. P. 112 Cape Town.

³¹ Ottoman State Archives 29 May 1890, Boa Y. A. Hus. 235/73 *Nezâret-i Umûr-iHâriciye*. Istanbul.

The local Ulama of the Cape demanded religious instructions from the Caliphate and Mecca.³² For this reason, the Ottoman scholar Abu Bakr Effendi was sent to the Cape by the Caliphate.³³ He experienced the same types of challenges within Muslim society as an Islamic scholar (Alim).³⁴

To understand the challenges of the South African Ulama of nineteenth century, we have to examine the social circumstances during that time and how these impacted on the development of the Muslim identity.³⁵ Their role was not only one of teaching Islamic knowledge at the mosques or madrasah, but they were also expected to establish religious consciousness among the Imams and within society. While they were teaching their students, they also gained a deeper knowledge of the rules of Islam.³⁶ During the period, from the death of the first prominent Imam, Tuan Guru in 1807 to the beginning of the twentieth century, their valuable efforts especially contributed to the spiritual life and socio-cultural prosperity of South African Muslims. In this context, the South African Muslim Society may too be examined in terms of foreign Islamic cultural influences.³⁷

1.1.5 Conclusion

The Ulama constituted the first and the most important power centre to oppose the development (modernization) and to mobilize the Muslim population. Their power was legitimized by verses from the Qur'an and by the sayings of the Prophet (Hadiths) and also by historical precedent, because the Ulama had always had a supervising and guiding function. By not doing their duty, the Ulama were becoming responsible for the damage of their image and were causing their own reputation and status to decline. Moreover, the Ulama had seen a decline in their reputation and were increasingly unhappy with this situation in late nineteenth

³² Davids Achmad, 1980 *The Mosques of Bo-Kaap* P. XX,XXI Cape Town.

³³ Red house 1877, P.4.

³⁴ The best evidence of his activities is his famous book *Beyan al- Din* which was written in Arabic-Afrikaans language by him in 1869, published in Istanbul and also signed by the Ottoman Sultan as a gift publication for South African Muslims. See, Effendi Abu Bakr 1960. *The religious duties of Islam as taught and explained by Abu Bakr Effendi: 1960: Closed Stack (Book) BA 297.5 Abub.* The library of University of Cape Town, African Studies Collection.

³⁵ Ibid. P. 76.

³⁶ Davids, 1980, P. 6.

³⁷ Tayob Abdulkader, 1999 *Islam in South Africa, Mosques, Imams and Sermons* P. 24, 25.

century. According to Mardin, “the Ulama had been left to boil in their own stew; no precaution had been taken to prevent the gradual collapse of the scholars as a class”³⁸

The nineteenth century was marked by a considerable loss of authority and influence of the Ulama in the most Islamic states. Many Arab governments attempted to break the influence of the Ulama after their rise to power. Religious institutions were nationalized and the system of Waqf, which constituted the classical source of income for the Ulama, was abolished.

1.2 Literature Review

1.2.1 Introduction

This study will focus on the religious works of Abu Bakr Effendi during his lifetime in Cape Town in the nineteenth century. Aware of his reformist challenges, this research purports the concept of pre-Abu Bakr Effendi and post-Abu Bakr Effendi periods in South African Muslim History. Effendi can be seen as a religious pioneer however, up until now much of his work has been under-valued. As an emissary of the Ottoman Empire and a member of an established noble family al- Quraisy al- Amjadiy³⁹ he carried great responsibility on behalf of the Ottoman Caliphate at the tip of Africa.

When looking at his private library, it is easy to see that the Effendi was considered an orthodox (Sunni) scholar, even though he grew up in a Shafi’i society in Iraq. Effendi’s consciousness developed in the Ottoman religious environment, especially during his study in Istanbul in the second half of the nineteenth century. As far as can be observed, Effendi read and studied many books of Islamic pioneers during his lifetime and there is no doubt that these Muslim scholars and their works shaped his viewpoint and developed his analytic capacity as a jurist.⁴⁰ This study will look at his role and will examine the social impact of his work.

³⁸ Mardin Serif, 1983 *Jonturklerin Siyasi Fikirleri* (1895-1908) P. 56 Istanbul.

³⁹ Al Amjadiy means the most glorious and the most distinguished. See, Pakalın, Mehmet Zeki 1946 *Osmanlı Tarih ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, ‘Emced’ Volume I, Pages 708-709 Istanbul

⁴⁰ At the private library of the Abu Bakr Effendi, I noticed these books, which are situated in the library of his great grandson, M. Zobri Effendi. Muslim scholar Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Kitab al-Ilal wa Ma’rifat al-Rijal: The Book of Narrations Containing Hidden Flaws and of Knowledge of the Men (of Hadeeth)* Riyad: Al-Maktabah

1.2.2 Studies on the Effendi

Until present, many books and articles have been written by scholars regarding Islam in South Africa. Scholars have mentioned Abu Bakr Effendi's activities in their studies with the following early references (see footnote) but did not make use of new sources.⁴¹ Several historical errors have been made in the history books regarding the religious disputes at the Cape which have not been carefully analysed by the scholars due to lack of source documents⁴²

By the 1950s, due to considerable interest from some Dutch scholars, Abu Bakr Effendi's works gained popularity, especially in the field of Arabic-Afrikaans literature. In 1951, Andrenous Van Selms who was an expert in Semitic languages in the Department of Semitic Languages at the University of Pretoria wrote an article on the matter.⁴³ His focus was, however, on the development of the Afrikaans language rather than Abu Bakr Effendi's contribution to the Islamic life at the Cape. In 1956, Van Selms came to Cape Town in order to interview one of the sons of Abu Bakr Effendi, Omar Jelaaddin. After this meeting, Prof Selms wrote an important article for an encyclopaedia in South Africa and made a presentation on the short life story of Abu Bakr Effendi.⁴⁴

al-Islamiyyah Muhammad Abu Mansur al-Maturidi *Kitab al- Ta'wilat al-Qur'an* ('Book of the Interpretations of the Qur'an) Al tafsir ul Kabir, by the Ottoman Alim, Sheik Ismail Hakki Bursevî' *Rûhu'l-Beyân, Mishkat al-Masabih* "collections of Hadiths by Muhammad bin 'Abd Allâh Khatib Al-Tabrizi and also famous religious book *Ihya' ulum Al- Din*, "Revival of Religious Sciences" of al-Ghazâlî, *Multekal Ebhur* by Muhammed al-Hanafie and *Fikful Akbar* by Imam Al Azam which are selected as example.

⁴¹ See, Haron Muhammed 2003, A Portrait of the Arabic Script at the Cape: pp. 33-54 Vol. 14 Centre for Middle Eastern Studies (University of Bergen), Davids Achmat, 1987 My Religion Is Superior To The Law, The Survival of Islam At The Cape of Good Hope, Vol. 12 pp. 57-71 University of Western Cape, Davids Achmad, 1992 Muslim-Christian Relations in the nineteenth century Cape Town (1825-1925) No. 19 pp. 80-101 University of Western Cape, Davids Achmad, 1995 Imams and Conflicts Resolution Practises Among Cape Muslims in Nineteenth Century, No. 22 pp. 54-72 University of Western Cape, Jeppie Shamil, 1996 Leadership and Loyalties: The Imams of Nineteenth Century Colonial Cape Town, South Africa, Journal of Religion in Africa, Vol. 26, Fasc. pp. 139-162, Haron Mohammed 2001 The Making, Preservation and Study of South African Ajami Muslims and Texts Sudanic Africa, Vol. 12, pp. 1-14. Centre for Middle Eastern Studies. Babb Glenn 2010 Abu Bakr Effendi- Among the Young Turks in Afrikaans, Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa March/January- Volume 64 no 1. Cape Town.

⁴² Many Sheiks all over the South Africa have got valuable sources on the religious subjects, which were written by the Ulama at the Cape between nineteenth and twenty century. Some of them have been used in this thesis to better illustrate the religious matters.

⁴³ A. Van Selms, 1951 Arabies-Afrikaans Studies I, Meddelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie Van Wetenschappen, Nieuwe reeks, XII, I.

⁴⁴ A. Van Selms, 1968 Abubakr Effendi, Dictionary of South African Biography, P. 4-5. Volume I. Editor, W.J. de Kock, Johannesburg.

The most important book of the Effendi was the *Beyan al- Din* which was the first extensive book in Afrikaans. It was in manuscript form in 1869 and published in Istanbul in 1877 as a gift from the Ottoman Sultan to the South African Muslims.

In 1956, a student of Van Selms, Mia Brandel- Syrier became interested in *Beyan al- Din* and studied the book. Mia Brandel Syrier translated the *Beyan al- Din* from Afrikaans with Arabic script to English and in 1960 her book was published, entitled *The religious Duties of Islam as Taught and Explained by Abu Bakr Effendi*. This book served as an illustration of the significant work of Abu Bakr Effendi as a theologian for the Cape Muslims. M. Syrier remarked in her translation that it is actually very important to understand the difficulties of writing on Islamic jurisprudence in a South African context. According to Syrier the reason was the lack of interest and knowledge. She adds that:

In the academic field in South Africa is still lagging behind in a domain in which it could make a world contribution through the study of its own Muslim minority groups and in the moral social domain there is, on the part of the official authorities as well as on the part of the general, that lack of appreciation and respect which is the result of ignorance.⁴⁵

Over twenty years later, in 1980, Achmat Davids wrote a book on the Islamic history at the Cape.⁴⁶ The book showed how various congregations were established in Bo-Kaap and developed aspects of the Islamic culture at the Cape during the nineteenth century. This book is probably the most important work of Davids in this field and therefore has been used as one of the most notable reference books for researchers. Davids made extensive use of archival documents and court records from the Cape Archives primary sources for his book. He illustrated a number of perspectives in relation to Effendi's challenges. It can be said that, Davids' book has played a valuable role in understanding the religious issues amongst the Cape Muslims in the nineteenth century.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Effendi Abu Bakr, 1960 *The religious duties of Islam as taught and explained by Abu Bakr Effendi: A translation from the original Arabic and Afrikaans by Mia Brandel-Syrier*, Vol 2 Leiden.

⁴⁶ Davids Achmat 1980, *The Mosques of Bo-kaap: A social history of Islam at the Cape*, South African Institute of Arabic and Islamic Research, Cape Town.

⁴⁷ Da Costa Yusuf and Achmat Davids, 1994 *Pages from Cape Muslim History Vol. 1 Shuter & Shooter (Pietermaritzburg, South Africa) The Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims: Afrikaans at the Cape from 1815 to 1915 – A Sociolinguistic Study* by Achmat Davids, edited by Hein Willemse, Suleman E Dangor, Davids Achmat 1985 *The History of the Tana Baru*, Cape Town.

Abdulkader Tayob has written several books on Islamic topics and re-analysed in a scholarly manner, the role of the Ulama in the Cape Muslim Community in the nineteenth century.⁴⁸ Tayob emphasizes the role of religious leaders in the society and recognizes Abu Bakr Effendi as a religious leader due to his educational influence in the Muslim community at the Cape. According to Tayob, after the death of Abu Bakr Effendi, the emergence of the new Hanafi mosques at the Cape by his followers has shown that Effendi's religious position in the Muslim society may be explained by looking at the spiritual guidance he offered like other religious leaders.⁴⁹ Tayob states that "Effendi also contributed to the expanded scope of Islamic legal interpretation at the Cape."⁵⁰

In 1999, the Turkish writer, Ahmet Uçar wrote a book about the Ottoman Presence in South Africa and presented the activities of the Effendi to Turkish readers. Uçar has considered the Ottoman Archival documents while he studied the correspondences between Abu Bakr Effendi and the Ottoman governors during the time of his stay at the Cape. Up until the present Uçar's book is the most extensive work in this field.

In South Africa, in 2000, for the first time a Turkish researcher, Selim Argun, studied the life of Abu Bakr Effendi, and analysed his religious and educational impact in a Master's thesis.⁵¹ Argun used both archival documents in South Africa and Turkey as well as some personal documents of the Effendi family in his dissertation. In his thesis, Argun tried to focus on the remarkable contribution of Effendi for religious development of the Islamic life in the Cape. Due to Argun's linguistic skill in Arabic, religious disputes among the Imams were successfully reported on using Arabic sources.⁵² Argun's thesis has contributed to the knowledge and to a better understanding of the religious situation at the Cape in the light of the comparative primary sources.

Among other works on the subject, another Master's thesis was written by Serhat Orakçı at the University of Johannesburg in 2007.⁵³ Although the topic of the thesis did not directly relate to Effendi, in the third chapter, Orakçı presented the religious activities of Abu

⁴⁸ Tayob Abdulkader, 1995 *Islamic Resurgence in South Africa: The Muslim Youth Movement*, Uct Press.

⁴⁹ Tayob Abdulkader, 1999 *Islam in South Africa, Mosques, Imams, and Sermons* P. 33. University Press of Florida.

⁵⁰ Tayob, 1995, P.48.

⁵¹ Selim Argun 2000, *Life and Contribution of Osmanli Scholar, Abu bakr Effendi, towards Islamic thought and Culture in South Africa*, Rand Afrikaans University.

⁵² *Ibid.* P. 44, 76.

⁵³ Orakçı Serhat, October 2007 *A Historical Analysis of the Emerging Links Between The Ottoman Empire and South Africa 1861-1923* University of Johannesburg.

Bakr Effendi at the Cape of Good Hope.⁵⁴ In addition to other studies, Orakçı used two national archives in Turkey and in South Africa comprehensively and examined the matters amongst the people from a historical point of view. In his thesis, Orakçı aimed to illustrate the influence of the Ottoman Caliphate and the Pan-Islamism policy of the Sultans of the Ottoman State during the nineteenth century. In this regard, Orakçı's works were written in the form of a historical narrative.

These noteworthy studies on Effendi have considered the challenges and works of the Ottoman theologian, Effendi, and will be used as source documents in this dissertation.

As far as is known, the earliest mention of the Ottoman–South African Muslim relations was by Mr. Maximilien Kollisch, who emphasized the existence of the Ottoman Caliphate among the Cape Muslims at the Cape of Good Hope. Kollisch's book was published in Istanbul in English in 1867 and was considered as a valuable primary source.⁵⁵

In 1871, J.H Hofmeijr published a text book which contains the correspondence between the Ottoman government and South African Ottoman consul general Petrus Emanuel De Roubaix. There are a considerable number of primary sources in the text which discuss the political affairs between these two countries.⁵⁶ This book explains how the Ottoman-South African relations developed and what the Muslim community expected from the Caliphate, as well as how the Caliphate responded to the Muslim Community at the Cape during the nineteenth century. According to a document in this text, the Ottoman consul Petrus E. De Roubaix had promised the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, while he was visiting the Sultan in Istanbul, assistance to Abu Bakr Effendi for his religious activities at the Cape.⁵⁷ However, according to the Ottoman Archival documents, Roubaix could not get along with Abu Bakr Effendi and also tried to damage his reputation in the eyes of the Ottoman Government.⁵⁸

Due to the language barrier, two Turkish travel books on this subject have been overlooked by researchers. They were written by the Ottoman voyagers in their own

⁵⁴ Ibid. P. 51-57.

⁵⁵ Kollisch Maximilien 1867, *The Mussulmen Population at the Cape of Good Hope*, Istanbul.

⁵⁶ J. H. Hofmeij 1871, *Correspondence passed between His Highness Aali Pacha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, of the Sublime Porte, and the Honorable P. E. De Roubaix, Cape Town.*

⁵⁷ Ibid. P. 27.

⁵⁸ Ottoman State Archives. Istanbul 16 November 1900, Y. MTV. 214/95.

languages. One of them is titled *A Travelogue of My Journey to the Cape of Good Hope* which was published in Istanbul in 1877.⁵⁹

Omer Lutfi Effendi was the nephew of Abu Bakr Effendi, who came to Cape Town with his uncle in 1863 and when he returned to Istanbul, he wrote this book from his memories of the challenges of Abu Bakr Effendi. As the book was translated to the new Turkish alphabet from the Ottoman alphabet, I shall use the new edition of the book in my thesis.⁶⁰ In 1991, this book was translated to English as a short version of the Original text.⁶¹ Another important book, *Seyahatname-i Bahri Muhit* was also published around the same time. It was written by an engineer named Faik Bey, who illustrated the memories of his long voyage and it has not been previously used as a source for this topic either. Engineer Faik Bey explains his visit to the Cape at the time of Abu Bakr Effendi from his point of view.⁶² According to Faik Bey, Abu Bakr Effendi had hosted him in his home in Bree Street and conversed with him regarding the social situation of the Muslim Society at the Cape.

Undoubtedly, as a result of colonial interest of the Western world, English and Dutch authors mostly showed interest in the influences of the religious activities among societies in Asia and the Middle East. An English source had alerted people to the importance of the pilgrim's matters in Mecca in 1872. The magazine mentioned the endeavours of the Ottoman medical doctors, Servet and Kadri Effendi in Arab lands.⁶³ Over that period, due to English aggressive political activities towards the Ottoman Caliphate in India, one of the greatest English orientalist James William wrote a very remarkable article and stated the importance of the Ottoman caliphate for the Muslim World. William in a reference to the case of Abu Bakr Effendi also mentioned how the large Muslim territory had been served by the Ottoman Caliphate even as far as Southern Africa:

⁵⁹ This book was also translated to French in 2003 but original version of the travelbook is much more detailed than the translation in French.

⁶⁰ Efendi Omer Lutfi 1994 *Yüz Yıl Önce Güney Afrika, Umit Burnu Seyahatnamesi*, Kitapevi Yayıncılık, Haz, Huseyin Yorumaz.

⁶¹ Efendi Omer Lutfi, 1991 *Travelogue of my journey to the Cape of Good Hope* (Translated into English from Ottoman Turkish by Yusuf Z. Kavakci) Cape Town.

⁶² Muhendis Faik Bey, 2011 *Türk denizcilerinin ilk Amerika Seferi-Seyahatname-i Bahri Muhit*, Haz. N. Ahmet Ozalp, Kitabevi. (the Voyages of Turkish Seamen) Istanbul.

⁶³ The British Medical Journal 1872 The Mecca Pilgrims and the Cholera, April Vol, 1, No, 589, P. 397 London.

The Malay colony of Muslims, British subjects, residing at the Cape of Good Hope, made an officious representation to the Sultan, as Caliph, through their elected Member of the House of Representatives, and the Colonial Office, praying that a competent professor of the Canon Law of Islam might be sent to them, to guide them in the civil questions relating to their tenets; and their request, was complied with.

There is no doubt that William Redhouse was referring to Abu Bakr Effendi's works in these sentences.⁶⁴

On the other hand, the Dutch orientalist M.J. De Goeje studied Islamic matters in Africa and the Middle East but also commented on one of Abu Bakr Effendi's work, referring to his *Beyan al- Din*.⁶⁵ Moreover, according to another Dutch orientalist C. Snouck Hurgronje, the *Beyan al- Din* is a kind of missionary work aimed at Muslim propaganda at the Cape.⁶⁶ Still the historian Reid argued that Snouck Hurgronje might have been concerned about the remarkable influence of Ottoman scholars all around the world during the nineteenth century.⁶⁷

Another interesting book was published in Cape Town in 1883, called *The Cape Malays* and was written by a Cape Colonist.⁶⁸ The book is topically very similar to Maximilien Kollisch's book, but the book also broached on the life style of the Cape Malays.

Zwemer and Kramers also published articles on the Cape Muslim society and mentioned Abu Bakr Effendi's religious activities.⁶⁹ In 1934, A.R. Hampson emphasized the development of the Muslim life in Cape Town. In this article, Hampson especially considered how, as an individual community, the Muslims had increased at the Cape since the beginning of the arising of the Islamic awareness to the twentieth century.⁷⁰

During the same years, I.D. Du Plessis and C. A. Luckhoff also wrote a book with regards to the Malay culture and folklore at the Cape in 1953. In this book, the writers cited the contribution of the Arabic-Afrikaans literature of Effendi at the Cape.⁷¹ The writers also

⁶⁴ Redhouse, 1877. Page 7.

⁶⁵ Michael Jan De Goeje, 1881 Muhammedaansche Propaganda, De Nederlandsche Spectator. No, 51, 442-444

⁶⁶ Hurgronje Christiaan Snouck , 1880 Mekke II, Page 196.

⁶⁷ Anthony Reid 1967 Nineteenth Century Pan-Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia, Vol. 26, No. 2 , P. 283 The Journal of Asian Studies.

⁶⁸ The Cape Malays 1883 An Essay, by a Cape Colonist, Cape Town.

⁶⁹ S.M. Zwemer 1925 Two Moslem Catechism, Moslem World P. 349-360 Also see, Zwemer 1925 Islam at Cape Town Pages, 327-333.

⁷⁰ A.R. Hampson, 1934 The Moslem World, The Mission to Moslems in Cape Town, Pages, 271- 277 London.

⁷¹ I.D. Du Plessis and C. A. Luckhoff, 1953 The Malays Quarter and Its People, Cape Town.

focused their book on the Islamic values among the people and Muslim heritage in the Malay Society from the past to the last half of the twentieth century.

In her column in the Cape Argus journalist, Jackie Loos discusses the challenges of the life of Effendi.⁷² Loos's articles report on the Sheik's social experiences mostly, rather than his life as a religious teacher in South African Muslim society.⁷³ It should be noted that Loos's articles are geared for public consumption and take on a populist tone. In one way or another, it is an interesting fact that, Effendi has occupied the pages of local newspapers as well as researchers and reporters in both Turkey and South Africa.⁷⁴

Correspondence between Effendi in Cape Town and the Ottoman Government in Istanbul during his stay in the South Africa can be found in the Ottoman Archival documents. Between 1863 and 1880s, most of these correspondence records have been published monthly in an Ottoman newspaper, titled *Mecmua-i Funun*. As yet Effendi's letters have not been published in English; however, his letters contain vital and insightful information that may open new doors for researchers regarding South African Muslim Society during the nineteenth century. In this study, this important journal will be widely used in conjunction with the Cape Archives sources to shed light on aspects of comparative history.

In order to illustrate the ancestral history of the Effendi family, the Ottoman Waqf (foundation) records found in the personal library of Muhammed Zobri Effendi, which has been extensively used in this thesis, will help us to understand the significance and the numerous mysteries within the history of the Effendi Family. Some of the Waqf records go back to the twelfth century, which reveals the importance of the family of Effendi during the Seljuk⁷⁵ period and later in the reign of the Ottomans. Therefore, these Ottoman Waqf records contain significant importance for the family history.⁷⁶

⁷² Jackie Loos March 3, 2000 The Legacy of a learned man, Cape Argus. J. Loos 29 August, 2001 A colourful celebration in honour of the Sultan of Turkey, J. Loos. August, 24, 2005 Theologian enriched Islam, Cape Argus J. Loos September 28, 2005. The Turkish Professor's Last and Final Wishes, Cape Argus.

⁷³ J. Loos, August.8.2005 Traubles from the start in fiery marriage to daughter of converts. Page 12, Cape Argus.

⁷⁴ Dr M C D'archy, 2000 Manna from Heaven, Muslim Views, Guney Afrikaya Yolculuk, Ahmet Akcay- Kemal Oncel, P. 6 Yedikita, Nowember, 2008, Sinan Tunc, Vesika, Page, 32, Yedikita /October, 2008 Ahmet Ucar, Umit Burnundaki Umut, Ebubekir Effendi, Tarih.Dusunce, Volume,6 April 200 Pages, 11-17. Mehmet Onder 1992 Guney Afrikadaki Musلمانlar, P. 12 Zaman.

⁷⁵ The Seljuk Empire was a medieval Turk -Muslim empire which controlled a vast area stretching from the Hindu Kush to eastern Anatolia and from Central Asia to the Persian Gulf in 11th century.

⁷⁶ One of the Waqf record goes back to twelfth century which is quite old archival document about the family. The Eternal Endowment of Abu-Nasr Al-Amiyr Sulayman Al-Ghaazi Al-Qurashiy Al-Amjadiy c.1057-c.1134

Private books of the family's history also hold an important place in this study. The eldest grandson of Effendi, Muhammad Shukriy, who currently resides in Iraq, has written two interesting books with regards to the history of his ancestors titled (*On the Trail of The Mahdi*) and (*The Clock Is Ticking towards Armageddon*) both of which are unpublished books, and situated in the private library of M. Zobri Effendi. Shukriy Effendi is currently writing another book regarding the history of the family.

Muhammad Abu Bakr Zobri Effendi has followed in his grandfather's footsteps by writing several, religious books. These books are titled, "*The Hidden Book*", "*The Qur'aan Cosmological Model*" and "*The Qur'aan Etymological Model*", which I shall use in my dissertation. M. Zobri Effendi has tried to interpret the unknown matters of Islamic life according to the Qur'an and the Hadiths, which is a very unique approach to the Islamic jurisprudence.⁷⁷

There are still many misunderstandings regarding the Ottoman Caliph and the religious activities of the Sultans of the Ottoman Empire during their reign, which cannot be detected until one examines and takes the Ottoman archival documents into consideration. Abu Bakr Effendi was not the only scholar who was sent a country to educate people in their religion; there were many other emissaries who had been sent from all over the world for these missions. His contribution was far greater and more important than just a teacher.

The most important archival materials on the theme are are undoubtedly those situated in the national archives of two states.⁷⁸ These contain valuable primary sources which have been used in this work. More importantly, personnel family documents of M. Zobri Effendi who is the most learned person of the Effendi family have been used in this dissertation, which have never been seen by researchers before.

In The Name of Allah, The All Merciful, The Most Merciful the Praise belongs to Allah who created (al_insaan) The Human Being. Provided him with Commands (to test his obedience) and Prohibitions (to test his gratefulness).Supplementing and finalizing the command from the onset to its outset (beginning to the end). It conferred upon him happiness, goodwill and wellbeing by directing him upon right directions to the ways of peace and reward. Led him into the Vast Open Highways of Truth and Reason inspired him to embark on the Pathways of Triumph and Salvation. Then it aided him to arrive at the ultimate goal of perfect righteousness, goodness and Sublime inner peace. See Appendix; V. The waqf record of Al Amjady (AD 1129)

⁷⁷ Muhammed Zobri Effendi explains the significance of big bang from the Qur'anic perspective. M. Zobri Effendi also analyse the importance of the some secret letters in Qur'an such as alif laam meem in Qur'an.

⁷⁸ National Archives and Records Service (NARS) Cape Town Archives Repository, Ottoman State Archives, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry General Director of State Archives , Istanbul.

Similarly in the British National Archive, many archival documents have also been neglected with regards to the religious question on the Ottoman Caliph Subject. In this study, numerous local or sub-local newspapers⁷⁹ and journals in Cape Town, England as well as Turkey has been extensively used in order to expound the religious matters in South Africa in the nineteenth century.

1.2.3 Conclusion

Abu Bakr Effendi's reformist activities at the Cape have never been comprehensively researched from a sociological and religious perspective. These reforms include, founding the first formal Muslim 'School' (including a school for women) writing the most extensive publication in the early years of the Afrikaans language,⁸⁰ reviving the wearing of Islamic clothing and the practice of certain Islamic traditions. Taking these reforms into account, the aim of this study is to examine them and throw new light on the history of Islam in South Africa with the guidance of reliable primary sources.

This study aims to analyse this topic using different sources to better demonstrate the religious activities of the Sheik of Knowledge, As-sayyid Abdullaah Abu Bakr Effendi al-Khushnaawiy al-Qurashiy al-Amjadiy from a religious studies perspective.

⁷⁹ The British Newspaper Archive, London. The Journal Mecmua-i Fünun, the monthly Turkish scientific journal publication in 1862 in Istanbul by the Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye (The Ottoman Society for Science). Istanbul.

⁸⁰ Achmat Davids 1990 Abubakr Effendi: His creation of the Afrikaans letter e in Arabic script. Page 6, 11. South African Journal of Linguistics, Cape Town.

CHAPTER II: EFFENDI, THE MAN AND THE THEOLOGIAN

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will attempt to present a brief outline of Abu Bakr Effendi's life, with the use of archival documents. Firstly I will illustrate his ancestral history, namely the Quraysh family which goes back to the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W). This family was the dominant tribe of Mecca during the rise of Islam. In other words, Abu Bakr Effendi comes from a distinguished and well-educated dynasty. The crucial evidence to support this argument is gained from different archival documents, which are widely used in this dissertation. His family name and his various titles indicate his noble origins and links to the dynasty, which is called *Sheik al-ilm Sheik al-Islam Abd Allah Abu Bakr al-Qurashiy al-Amjadiy*. Abu Bakr Effendi's nationality has always mistakenly been identified as Kurdish by researchers, because he was born in Shahrazur. I shall also discuss some Ottoman archival records, which provide both new and interesting information regarding Abu Bakr Effendi's great grandfather; who was one of the most famous Ulama in the Ottoman State. He also taught the sciences of the Qur'an to his students in his own madrasah, which was established in 1129 A.D in Baghdad. In the conclusion, an explanation will be provided on how Abu Bakr Effendi studied as a scholar (Alim) and became a theologian (Mudarris) under Ottoman rule. His family life, marriages and his children will also be discussed in this chapter. Effendi's religious activities will be explained in order to better understand the background to his contribution to Muslim society at the Cape. This chapter will also provide an outline of what is to follow in the next chapters.

2.2 Genealogy of the Effendi Family

In this study, many different archival documents have been taken into consideration to better illustrate the Effendi's background. Firstly it is necessary to be aware of the national structure of the Ottoman State.⁸¹

⁸¹Uzuncarsili Ismail Hakki 1941, Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilatına Medhal: Büyük Selçukîler, Anadolu Selçukîleri, Anadolu Beylikleri, İlhânîler, Karakoyunlu ve Akkoyunlularla Memlûklerdeki Devlet Teşkilâtına Bir Bakış, P. 38. Ankara.

The Ottoman State has always been a multi-cultural state. Although it was a Turkish Empire, and was under the rule of Turkish Sultans, the state was a multi-national mosaic country. From the genesis of the Seljuk Empire in 1037 to decline of the Ottoman Empire in 1922, only religious identity was used to identify people in the Anatolia Peninsula (Minor Asia).⁸² Then, with the emergence of the Ottoman Empire, people started to be identified according to their homeland, not by their national origins like the great viziers (Sadrazam) Sokollu Mehmet Pasha or Koprululu Mehmet Pasha. In this sense, there was no nationalistic conception in the history of the Ottoman State. From the above it can be seen that, calling an Ottoman scholar Turkish, Kurdish or Arab may be misleading since identifying someone by his national name would be an incorrect assessment in terms of the history of the Ottoman State which is in fact multi-national. It also contradicts primary historical values in the Ottoman Shari'a law.⁸³

In 1908, the English researcher, Mark Sykes went to the southern side of the Ottoman State in order to investigate the Kurdish tribes of the territory.⁸⁴ He investigated hundreds of different Kurdish communities which included the Khushnaw family. It is easy to realize that he emphasizes the relationship of the Khushnaw family with Imam Husain and states that “the son of Imam Husain gave the forefathers of Ambesbudast a seal ring and lordship over all the lands between Kermanshah and Mosul.” Despite the presence of other Arab families in the territory, Sykes has provided information about this family, based only on the lineage of Imam Husain, who was the grandson of Prophet Muhammad bearing the honorific title of Sayyid borne by male descendants of the prophet Muhammad.⁸⁵

In 1951 Van Selms stated the lineage of Abu Bakr Effendi as Kurdish based on the oriental historian V. Minorsky.⁸⁶ However, Minorsky's definition was to be applied to the Khosnaw tribe and not to apply all al- Amjadiys. Therefore this explanation caused confusion among some scholars. Davids notes that: “His (Effendi's) ancestry goes back to an aristocratic

⁸² Turan Osman 1969 Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk- İslâm Medeniyeti, P. 148 Istanbul.

⁸³ Selms, 1968 Dictionary of South African Biography, P. 4. Vol. I, Editor, W.J de Kock, Juhannesburg, Also see, Bruinessen Van Martin, A nineteenth century Ottoman Kurdish scholar in South Africa; Abu Bakr Effendi. P.2-4. Bruinessen Martin, 1993, Kurdish Ulama and their Indonesia Disciples P. 3 Utrecht University

⁸⁴ Sykes Mark 1908 The Kurdish tribes of the Ottoman Empire, P. 451-486 London.

⁸⁵ Ibid. P. 457.

⁸⁶ Selms Van A. 1951 Arabies-Afrikaans Studies I, Meddelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie Van Wetenschappen, Nieuwe reeks, XIL. I Van Selms, 1951 Adrianus Arabies-Afrikaans Studies Tweektalige kategismus.

Quraish family of Mecca who belonged to the ancient Aryan race of the Kurds.”⁸⁷ This is inaccurate to say, if Abu Bakr Effendi in fact, is identified as Qurashi, which is an Arab tribe, he cannot be identified as a Kurdish.⁸⁸

Similarly, Martin Van Bruinessen repeated the mistake when he spoke of the, “Ottoman Kurdish scholar Abubakr Effendi” thus referring to Abu Bakr Effendi as Kurdish, which is unfounded.⁸⁹ Despite this statement, van Bruinessen notes that Abu Bakr’s precise origins may always remain obscure.⁹⁰

It should also be noted that the majority of the Kurdish tribe in Iraq belongs to the Shafi’i⁹¹ Madhab which is accepted as the Sunni branch of Islam for Kurdish tribes.⁹² However, Sheik Abu Bakr Effendi⁹³ and his ancestors did not accept any Islamic sect. Instead, they believed that it is necessary to derive rulings directly from the Qur’an and the Hadith.⁹⁴

Effendi, although rooted in his study of Hanafi jurisprudence, seems at times to attempt to formulate independent judgments, which makes me formulate the hypothesis that he can be considered as a reformer not rooted in a specific Sunni madhhab.”Their customs has been going on for centuries in the Amjadiy family which also indicates the religious identity of the family based upon their original roots.⁹⁵ The Amjadiy family is known as the Sayyid

⁸⁷ Davids 1990, P.2.

⁸⁸ Davids, 1980. P. 54, See, Babb Glenn 2010 March-January, Abubakr Effendi, Among the Young Turks in Afrikaans, P. 18. Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa.

⁸⁹ Van Bruinessen, 1998, P. 1.

⁹⁰ Ibid 4.

⁹¹ The Shafi’i school of thought is one of the schools of jurisprudence within the Sunni branch of Islam, adhering to the teachings of the Muslim Arab scholar of jurisprudence, Al-Shafi’i. Today, the school is a dominant school of jurisprudence amongst Muslims in the Hejaz region of Saudi Arabia, Kurdistan, Syria, the Palestinian territories, Indonesia, Malaysia and in the North Caucasus. See, Schacht, Joseph 1950. The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence. Oxford University. P 16. England.

⁹² Reshid, T. Yezidism: 2005 the historical roots, International Journal of Kurdish Studies, Harris, G. S. (1977). "Ethnic Conflict and the Kurds". Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science P. 121.

⁹³ During his staying in Cape Town, Abubakr Effendi states that “I grow up in Iraq where all Muslims are pure Shafi’i” but despite this, Effendi had never declared himself as a Shafi’i or Hanafi. See Davids Achmad, 1990, Abubakr Effendi, his creation of the Afrikaans letters in Arabic script, P.6, Cape Town.

⁹⁴ Effendi Muhammed Zobri, The Qur’aan Etymological Model. Unpublished Book, Page 21 footnote, Cape Town.

⁹⁵ Effendi, Unpublished Book/a, P.38.

family in history⁹⁶ and this is documented in the Ottoman State archive as well as in personal family Waqf records.⁹⁷

Studying the ancestral history of the family leaves little doubt that the most reliable sources are the endowment (*Waqf*) records of the family, which clarify the history of the descendants of the Amjadiy family. According to the Waqf records, the family of Abu Bakr Effendi belongs to the Quraysh tribe.⁹⁸ Several Turkish sources clearly highlight the subject in great detail.⁹⁹ They point out that most of the Qurayshian family and the son of Imam Hussein, Ali Zayn al-Abidin moved away from Mecca, after the killing of Hussein ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib (Hussein al-Shahīd) by the Umayyads in Karbala.¹⁰⁰ Some historical sources show that members of the Qurayshian family migrated to Egypt, Spain, the northern territory of Iraq, Syria and the southern side of Turkey.¹⁰¹ Abbas Kadhim notes that some of the Sayyid families are still in Iraq. These include the families al- Hashimi, al- Obadi, al- Yasini, al- Zaidi, al- Hassani, al- Husseini, al- Alawi, al- Ghalibi and al- Musawi.¹⁰²

In 1071, the Seljuk State defeated the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantine) and began to rule over Anatolia and spread Islamic influence across Iraq, Iran and Syria. In retaliation, the Byzantine Empire threatened several Arab Muslims who were then forced to move to the northern territories of Anatolia to live in a peace and safety. Findley notes that “By 1055, (Seljuk Sultan) Toghrul had expanded his control all the way to Baghdad, setting himself up as the champion of the Abbasid caliph, who honored him with the title of sultan.”¹⁰³ Thus, several Arab Muslim descendants were welcomed to Anatolia by the Turkish notables and Ulama.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁶ A son of Abu Bakr Effendi was also recorded as Sayyid Ahmet Ataullah Effendi in an Ottoman archival record. See, H. Taner Seben 2013 Singapurdaki ilk temsilciliklerimiz ve Baskonsolos Ahmet Ataullah Effendi P.40. Singapore.

⁹⁷ Ottoman State Archives, Cevdet Efka, Sam'da Emcediye Vakfi Turbesi... File no; 660 Shelf; 33295, Date; 1749. See also appendices: V, VI, Waqf Records of the Effendi family.

⁹⁸ Appendix V: The copy of the original Waqf record regarding the Amjadiys, (Hijri 976 - 1568)

⁹⁹ Saricak 2003, P. 38. Uzunçarşılı 1972, P.74.

¹⁰⁰ Akgunduz Ahmet, 2012 Bediuzzamanin Hz. Peygambere kadar Uzanan soy agaci; Seyyid ve Serif olduguna dair Arsv Belgeleri, P. 5, See, http://image.haber7.com/files/bediuzzaman_soy_agaci.

¹⁰¹ Uzuncarsili 1988, P. 162. Saricik 2003, P. 18-20.

¹⁰² Kadhim Abbas, 2012 Reclaiming Iraq; the 1920 Revolution and the Founding of the Modern State. P. 87 University of Texas Press.

¹⁰³ Findley Carter Vaughn 2005, The Turks in World History, Page, 68 Oxford University Press.

¹⁰⁴ Turan 2008, P. 122.

The Seljuk State established various religious institutes, one of which (*Nakibul Eshraf*) was only for the descendent of Prophet Muhammad (*Seyyid or Serrif*) in order to legitimize the family members of the Prophet.¹⁰⁵ According to some Hadiths, it is an obligation to respect descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. Prophet Muhammad says, “I leave you two weighty things, the Book of Allah and my Ahlul Bayt (*Itra*), and they will never be separated until they reach me at the fountain. If you follow both, you will never go astray after me”¹⁰⁶ For this reason, the descendants of Prophet Muhammad have been respected by the Ulama of the Seljuk States.¹⁰⁷ After the killing of Imam Hussein in Karbala, most of the Quraysh family moved to different territories and had to hide their identities because of the antagonism amongst the Arab nations. Therefore some of the Arab families in history are unknown.¹⁰⁸ It is possible, as I will try to show below, that the family of Abu Bakr Effendi, al-Amjadiy, are one of these Quraishy clans who migrated into Anatolia after hiding their identity.¹⁰⁹ The great Ottoman historian, Uzuncarsili notes that “this is the secret history, unwritten history of the Quraysh family.”¹¹⁰

Archival materials provide evidence of the ancestral history of the Amjadiys lineage. According to certain archival materials, Amir Suleyman al- Ghazi al- Amjadiy established a non-profit madrasah in Shahrazur in A.D 1129.¹¹¹ A Waqf document proves that Effendi’s great grandfathers were all educated people and belonged to the Quraysh tribe who served in their madrasah in Sisava, Iraq for centuries. According to the Waqf record, the family tree is in the following form:

Al-bahr al-muhaqqiq wa-l-hibr al-mudaqqiq Shaykh al-ilm Shaykh al-Islam Abdullah Abu Bakr Effendi al-Khushnawiy al-Qurashiy al-Amjadiy wa mufti al-arba` al-a`imma ma`mur al-dawla al`uthmaniyya ila janub Afriqa li-nashr al`ulum al-diniyya wa-l-ma`arif al-rabbaniyya fi sana 1278 [584 CE] Mawlana Abu Bakr Efendi al-Khushnawiy ibn Mulla Umar

¹⁰⁵ Saricak 2003, P.28.

¹⁰⁶ Tirmizi, Sunan al-Tirmidhi, Volume 6, Chapter 31, Hadith No. 3788: The Sunni scholar Muhammad `Abd al-Rahman al-Mubarkufuri says in his Book Tuhfah al Ahwadh bi Sharh al-Tirmidhi for this Hadith (a narration of which is found in Tirmidhi, Hadith 3718 Also see, The holy Qur’an, translated by Yusuf Ali, Surah 42. Ash-Shura, Ayah 23.

¹⁰⁷ Saricak 2003, P. 38.

¹⁰⁸ Kilic Ruya 2012, Osmanlıda Seyyidler ve Şerifler, P. 39, Istanbul, See also, Al-Tabari, 1991 Muhammad ibn Jarir, History of the Prophets and Kings; Volume XIX The Caliphate of Yazid b. Muawiyah, translated by I.K.A Horward.

¹⁰⁹ One of the Amjadiy madrasah has been established in Syria. See, Ottoman State Archives, Cevdet Evraki, Şam'da Emcediye Türbesi Vakfi tevliyetinin tevcihi, Ottoman State Archives, Dahiliye, No; 660 /33295. 29/R /1165 (Hicri).

¹¹⁰ Uzuncarsili 1972, P. 12.

¹¹¹ Appendix V: The Waqf record regarding the madrasah (Muharram 523 A.H. – A.D 1129)

*Beg ibn Mawlana Salahuddin ibn Mulla Mustafa Beg ibn Mawlana Baba Pir Sulayman ibn Mulla Mustafa ibn Mulla Ibrahim ibn Mawlana Amir Sulayman ibn Mawlana Amir Muhammad ibn Mawlana `Adud al-Din `Abdallah ibn Zayd ibn Mawlana al-hibr al-kamil muqtada al-amajid wa al-amathil dhi al-janahin `Izz al-Din Muhammad quddisa sirruhu ibn Amir `Abdallah ibn Zayn al-Din ibn Mulla Ahmad ibn `Abd al-Haqq Sulayman al-Khushnawiy min nasl Mawlana Abi al-Muhsin Mulla `Uthman Hamid ibn Abi Nasr al-Amir Sulayman al-ghazi al-Qurashiy al-Amjadiy.*¹¹²

In the Ottoman period, all Islamic institutions were registered and controlled by the authority of the State. The Amjadiy Waqf was established by Abu Nasr al- Amir Suleyman also called al Ghazi. In a Waqf document, the Amjadiy family was recorded as al- Qurashiy al- Amjadiy (Hijri 1039 –1623).¹¹³ Another document mentions the aims of the madrasah, thus confirming the lineage of the Amjadiys.

In the light of the archival documents, it may be said that, the Effendi family originally came from Mecca and were called al- Amjadiys.¹¹⁴ When they moved to Bagdad, they settled in a village called Khosnaw, which is found in the province of Shahrizur in Iraq.¹¹⁵

The Amjadiy family have lived in Khosnaw for centuries; the public then began to refer to them as ‘Khosnawiy’. However, the oldest Waqf records of the Amjadiy madrasah do not contain the title of Khosnawiy, but use only the reference of al- Quraysh al- Amjadiy.¹¹⁶ After 1736, Waqf records began to refer to the title of Khosnawiy, which indicates the immigration of the Amjadiy family from Bagdad to Khosnaw.¹¹⁷ In the Ottoman archival records, they are also called Bagdadian or Ibn Suleiman (Amir Suleymanzade Abu Nasr) but not Khosnawiy.¹¹⁸

¹¹² A grandson of Abu Bakr Effendi, Muhammed Zobri Effendi has been presented all the Waqf records of the Amjady family in his website. See, <http://www.abubakreffendi.net/ancestry1.html>. February 2012.

¹¹³ Appendix VI: The Waqf record regarding the madrasah (Hijri 1039 –A.D 1623)

¹¹⁴ In the waqf records, the Amjadys are called al qurayshy which signifies the original roots of the family in history. In the lexical meaning of Amjady is the most glorious, the most distinguished, See, “Emced” El-Mevarid 2011, Arapça Türkçe Lügat , Page 167 Istanbul.

¹¹⁵ Marufoglu Sinan, 1998 Osmanli Doneminde Kuzey Irak, Page, 63-65 Istanbul.

¹¹⁶ See, Appendix V: Waqf record regarding the madrasah (MuHarram 523 A.H. – 1129)

¹¹⁷ Appendix VII: The Waqf record regarding the Amjady madrasah (Hicri , Sha`baan 1148 A.H–1736)

¹¹⁸ Ottoman State Archives, Interior Affairs, MKT.UM. 81 / 18, Vergiye muhalefet eden Hoşnav Aşireti'nin tedibi ile şekavetten dolayı kaçanların yerlerine döndürüldüğü. (Regarding the rebellion among the Khoshaw tribe in Northern Iraq) See also, Interior Affairs, 242 / 14714 İ.DH. 05/ July/1852.

As explained earlier, Abu Bakr Effendi's ancestors, the Amjadiys¹¹⁹ migrated to Turkish territory from Mecca. Ottoman Archival records highlight the historical background of al-Amjadiy which goes back to the 12th century. When the Amjadiy family moved to the northern territory from Mecca, some family members moved to Damascus and some of them migrated to Baghdad. According to the Ottoman archival document, an Amjadiy madrasah was established in Damascus and maintained Islamic education in this area.¹²⁰ Additionally, according to an Ottoman record from the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Sultan sent his condolences to the Amjadiy family in Damascus.¹²¹ For a while some of the members of the Amjadiy family moved to Erzurum from Damascus and established the Ahmadiye madrasah there. The Amjadiy family stayed in Damascus and pursued their religious activities there. Another branch of the family moved to Khosnaw village in Iraq and settled there. After a while due to a regional conflict among the Kurdish tribe,¹²² the Amjadiys migrated to Erzurum near their relatives. Both branches of the Amjadiy families conducted educational activities throughout history.¹²³ In spite of different cultural and regional influences where they lived, they did not lose their identity. Existing relatives living in the city of Erzurum became a sufficient reason for the Effendi's family to immigrate and thus they chose to move to Erzurum rather than another city within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. Briefly, the Amjadiy family settled in Iraq and in Damascus, and later gathered in the centre of Erzurum and continued teaching Islamic knowledge in their madrasahs.¹²⁴

According to family tradition, the Amjadiys have always used the Arabic name. Despite living in Turkish territory, the family members have never deviated from this tradition, aware of their heritage. The Amjadiy family used specific names from the Quraysh family such as Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar, Uthmaan and Ali or like other notables within the Quraysh tribe such as Abdullaah, Muhammad, Ahmad, Suleyman, and Mustafa. Almost every member of the family is named by one of these names. Indeed, the Effendi family tree proves this statement which indicates the loyalty of the Amjadiys to their historical roots. Every family member, in fact, carries these names as either a first or second name.

119 The meaning of Amjadiy is the most glorious and most distinguished. The term spells as Emced in Turkish. See, Devellioglu Ferit 2012 Osmanlıca- Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lügat, (In Turkish) Ankara.

120 Ottoman State Archives, 1740 Cevdet Efkafe, Sam'da Emcediye Vakfi Turbesi... No; 668 / 33230.

121 Ottoman State Archives, 1749 Cevdet Efkafe, Sam'da Emcediye Vakfiyesi... No; 660 /33295.

122 Ottoman State Archives, Interior Affairs, MKT.UM. 81 / 18, Vergiye muhalefet eden Hoşnav Aşireti'nin tedibi ile şekavetten dolayı kaçanların yerlerine döndürüldüğü. See also, Interior Affairs, 242 / 14714 İ.DH. 05/ July/1852.

123 Ucar , 2008 Page 129,257.

¹²⁴ The Encyclopedia of Islam: the Geography Minorsky Vladimir 1988 Hosnaw, 4 vols. and Suppl, Leiden

2.3 Abu Bakr Effendi's Birth

Abu Bakr Effendi¹²⁵ was born in Khoshnaw, in a village of Shahrazur¹²⁶ in Iraq in 1814.¹²⁷ Hence, as explained above, the family adopted the name Khoshnawy, instead of their original ancestral surname al- Amjadiy.¹²⁸

There are numerous opinions regarding Abu Bakr Effendi's birth date.¹²⁹ According to the majority of authors, who have written on this topic, his birth date is 1835. This date cannot be correct; however, as that would mean that when he came to South Africa he was only 27. When he arrived in South Africa he was already a professor of Islamic law (Mudarris). In the educational system of the madrasahs of the Ottoman State, in order to become a Mudarris, a person had to have pursued Islamic education until the completion of ten specific degrees. This normally took a minimum of twenty years subsequent to their primary education. In other words, a professor in the Ottoman State could not be younger than forty years of age, due to the lengthy educational process.¹³⁰

Moreover, Ottoman archival documents mention that his actual year of birth is 1814. The most important evidence can be found in his passport, which was issued in French by the Ottoman Foreign Office. According to this record, his age was 48 in 1862 when he left for the Cape.¹³¹ Moreover, his death notice clearly indicates that he was 67 at the time of his death,¹³² in 1880.¹³³

¹²⁵ Appendix I: A photo of Abu Bakr Effendi, there is an Arabic explanation in this photo regarding Effendi's titles which began with his degrees such as Al -Bahru-l-Muhaqqaq Al-Hibrul Muhaqqiq Al -Allamah Abu Bakr Effendi Al-Qurashiy Al-Amjadiy.

¹²⁶ Appendix II: A map of the territory, In the Ottoman period, the city belonged to the Kerkuk province (Kirkuk) which is situated in the southern side of the Turkey and called Şehrizar in Turkish.

¹²⁷ The researchers provided different details about Abu Bakr Effendi's birth date. However, according to his passport which was issued in French, his birth date was 1814.

¹²⁸ Throughout the history of Turk-Islam, homeland names have been used by inhabitants as an indicator of their original roots. This Anatolian tradition still continues in the same way. Religious scholars like Said-i Nursi or Hajji Bektas Veli are also called with their homeland's name. See. Mardin Serif 1988 Said-i Nursi Olayi, Istanbul.

¹²⁹ In 1956, first time Van Selms stated Effendi's birthdate as 1823. Then Achmad Davids stated that as 1835 according to Effendi's death notice and thus, it is repeated by other researchers. See, Davids 1980, P. 52. Argun, 2000, Page, 5, Ucar, 2007, P. 133,134.

¹³⁰ Ahmet Cevdet Pasa 2011 Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi (2 Cilt) Tarih- i Cevdet, P. 334 Istanbul.

¹³¹ Appendices III: The copy of Effendi's Passport. (Ottoman State Archives)

¹³² Cape Town Archives Repository Mooc /7/1/4074 Effendi Abu Beker Will, 1880.

¹³³ Appendix IV: Death Notice of Abubakr Effendi.

Abu Bakr Effendi's father was Molla Omer. His name is found in the foundation (Waqf) records as Molla Mevlana. Omer was a learned scholar like his ancestors, and taught his pupils within his own madrasah in his village. As far as it is known Molla Omer had only two children, Abdurrahman Amjadiy Khusnawy and Abdullah Abu Bakr Effendi.¹³⁴ Abdurrahman Effendi had two children, Shakir and Omer.¹³⁵ The second child came to South Africa with Abu Bakr Effendi and stayed for four years to help his uncle, up until 1866.¹³⁶ Not much is known about Abu Bakr Effendi's mother but as far as can be established from family members, she was a noble Ottoman lady.¹³⁷ According to the Effendi family, she came from the Ottoman Palace, which is not still sufficiently accurate in clarifying what the measure of her relationship was with the palace. According to the family she received property from a deceased's estate in Karache Bey in Istanbul.¹³⁸

Due to territorial conflicts in 1830¹³⁹ caused by Kurdish rebels opposing taxation by the Ottoman government, the Amjadiy family moved to Erzurum on the eastern side of Turkey. Molla Omer lost his life in one of those territorial conflicts in Shahrazur.¹⁴⁰ Many archival documents and family memorabilia disappeared during this period. These attacks also resulted in his madrasah being burned down.¹⁴¹ With the threat for the lives of their children the Amjadiy family had to migrate to Anatolia.¹⁴²

2.4 Effendi's Islamic Education

Abu Bakr Effendi grew up in a richly educated environment in Shahrazur in Iraq. As already mentioned, his father, Molla Omer was a mufti in his own madrasah. According to an

¹³⁴ Effendi is a title of respect or courtesy, equivalent to the English Sir, which was used in the Ottoman Empire. It is generally given to members of the learned professions and to government officials who have high ranks, such as Bey or Pasha.

¹³⁵ Ucar, 2007, P. 135.

¹³⁶ Effendi, 1991, P. 86.

¹³⁷ Uzunçarşılı, 1988/a, Page 161. See also, Effendi M. Zobri, unpublished article, The mystery of the book, Marasid ud Din. P.21. Cape Town

¹³⁸ Ibid. P. 13.

¹³⁹ Bruinessen, M. Van 1986 The Kurds between Iran and Iraq. Merip Report No 141. The Encyclopedia of Islam New Edition, 1986 "Khoshnaw" Vladimir F. Minorsky Leiden E. J. Brill.

¹⁴⁰ Ottoman State Archives, Interior Affairs, MKT.UM. 81 / 18, Vergiye muhalefet eden Hoşnav Aşireti'nin tedibi ile şekavetten dolayı kaçanların yerlerine döndürüldüğü. (Regarding the Kurdish rebellion against the taxation policy of the Ottoman Government) See also, Interior Affairs, 242 / 14714 İ.DH. 05/ July/1852.

¹⁴¹ Ucar, 2007, P. 135.

¹⁴² Effendi, unpublished article, P. 21.

archival document which was written in Arabic in 1623 (1039 Hijri) an established school in Sisava received an eternal allowance from the Ottoman State and provided free education for all.¹⁴³ In this document, Amir Suleyman al Ghazi provides a school curriculum for his student at the madrasah. The school program for a day is included below:

The School of Siysaawah (1129-1831) School Programme as Determined by Abu NaSr

The founder, Abu Nasr al-Amir Sulayman, Day 5 Every Thursday (yawm al-khamiys)

| | | |
|---------------|-------------------------|---|
| 00h00 | | Night time during sleep in which students may readily arise to perform the Salaat at-Tahajjud. |
| 01h00 - 06h00 | | |
| 06h00 | Salaat al- fajr | Salutations on the Prophet (SAW) |
| 07h00 | | There is no precise information about the operation of The school during these hours. It could be assumed that based upon the heavy program that begins right after The Salaa adh-Dhuhru (noon time prayer) that all students take time to rest. |
| 08h00 | | |
| 09h00 | | |
| 10h00 | | |
| 11h00 | | |
| 12h00 | Qaylu la (rest) | |
| 13h00 | Salaat al-Dhuhri | Abu NaSr al-Amiyr Sulaymaan made it a compulsory condition that all students gather together collectively and begin with the recitation of the Qur'aan which they must complete before the day is over that is before sunset. |
| | Beginning of the Qur'an | |
| 14h00 | | |
| | | |
| 15h00 | | |
| | Middle of Qur'an | |
| 16h00 | Salaat al-Asr | Second half of the Qur'aan recitation begins. And as Abu Nasr describes that the students must fully complete the Qur'aan with a Complete Recitation. |
| | Middle of Qur'an | |
| 17h00 | | |
| | | |
| 18h00 | | |
| | End of complete Qur'an | |
| 19h00 | Salaat al- Maghribi | Laylat al-Jumu'a begins |
| | | Brief respite in preparation for a heavy program |
| 20h00 | Salaat al- Isha'a'i | Salutations on the Prophet (SAW) |
| 21h00 | | Recitation of suwrat al- Kahfi. Recitation of 1000 salutations on the Prophet (S. A.W). Peace and blessings upon all the messengers and prophets and their families. Peace and blessings upon all the believing men and women. Peace and blessings upon him (abu Nasr) his ancestor forefathers and ancestor foremothers |
| 22h00 | | |
| | | |
| 23h00 | | |

¹⁴³ See, Appendix V: school for everybody ...*barath al- mufuha min madrasah-i Sisava muhimmati fil madrasah min ayi qabilat'un qanu ...* (Muhammad Zobri Effendi Private Library. Cape Town)

This is the school where Abu Bakr Effendi received his initial education, from the age of two to fifteen, between 1816 and 1830.¹⁴⁴ His father was his teacher. According to the Effendi family in South Africa, when Abu Bakr was a child his father Molla Omer took him to Mecca and prayed for him to follow his ancestral religious duties at the madrasah.¹⁴⁵ When Abu Bakr Effendi migrated to Erzurum he continued his religious education for a while and then he went to Istanbul to develop his knowledge at the madrasah. Istanbul was the city of education and civilization of the Ottoman State. There is no doubt Effendi's viewpoint and his understanding was enhanced while he was studying at the center of the Caliphate. Thereafter Effendi went back to Baghdad to complete his studies.¹⁴⁶ During his study in Baghdad he also went to Mecca for a while, in order to improve his knowledge and get a higher degree in Islamic fields.

In March 13 of 1861, Effendi was appointed to the Sarayönü Madrasah in Erzurum as a mudarris with the salary of a hundred and fifty Turkish pounds (Kuruş). According to an Ottoman Archival document Abu Bakr Effendi also worked in the Ottoman State Foreign Affairs for a while.¹⁴⁷ During this period, his reputation had already spread amongst the notable people in the Sublime Porte. During this time, he continued his studies in Istanbul in order to get higher religious degrees and enhance his career prospects. After attaining specific education within the madrasahs, the Ulama generally trained at the institute of the Ottoman State as a judge (Qadi),¹⁴⁸ foreigner secretary or a deputy for the governor in order to understand the aristocratic system of the state.¹⁴⁹ This is the rank of madrasahs in the Ottoman Empire from the highest to the lowest:

- I. Semniye
- II. Darulhadis
- III. Madrasahs built by earlier sultans in Bursa
- IV. Madrasahs endowed by great men of state

¹⁴⁴ Effendi Sukri 2000, unpublished book, P. 21, On the Trail of Mahdi, Iraq.

¹⁴⁵ Albayrak Sadık, 1981, Son Devir Osmanlı Uleması, P. 379 (Volume; 4-5) Istanbul.

¹⁴⁶ Eraslan Cezmi-Mustafa Baktır, Islam Ansiklopedisi, Vol.X, Diyanet Vakfi Yayınları, P.276,277 Istanbul.

¹⁴⁷ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs, HRV. 10/10988. See, Hayat Tarihi Mecmuasi, Eylül, 1965 Sayı, 8, Sahife, 31.

¹⁴⁸ The Qadi is a judge ruling in accordance with Islamic religious law (sharia) appointed by the ruler of a Muslim country.

¹⁴⁹ Uzuncarsili Ismail Hakki, 1988 Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı, P. 178, Ankara.

The great vizier and scholar of the Ottoman State in the nineteenth century, Ahmet Cevdet Pasha, who was also a close friend of Abu Bakr Effendi, describe the curriculum of the madrasahs during his time. Effendi studied in these madrasahs for more than ten years. According to Cevdet Pasha, the quality of the education in the Ottoman State was quite high.¹⁵⁰ The curriculum was as follows:

1. Philosophy- *Falsafah Ilmi*
2. Logic – *Mantiq Ilmi*
3. Psychology – *Nafs Ilmi*
4. Mathematics – *Riyaziyye Ilmi*
5. Geometry and Logarithms – *Cebir Ilmi*
6. Sufism - *Tasavvuf Ilmi*
7. Economics – *Iktisad ilmi*
8. Jurisprudence – *Fiqh Ilmi*
9. The scholastic theology – *Kelam ilmi*
10. The Holy Qur'an and recitation – *Kuran Ilmi*
11. The Qur'anic exegesis – *Tefsir ilmi*
12. The Prophetic Islamic tradition – *Hadis Ilmi*
13. Debates and disputations. – *Munazara ilmi*
14. Foreign languages, *Arabic, Persian, French, German, Russian*
15. The science of calligraphy and ornamental gilding – *Hat ve Tedzip ilmi*¹⁵¹
16. Calligraphic sciences—*Hüsni hat*
17. Linguistic sciences—*such as Arabic language, grammar and syntax*
18. Spiritual sciences, *theoretical, such as Islamic theology and practical, such as Islamic ethics and politics*¹⁵²

It can be deduced from this curriculum that the educational teaching was rich and extensive. Furthermore, the students at the madrasahs were trained at the related religious educational institute of the Ottoman State during their study. Abu Bakr Effendi had been a scholar in several madrasahs in various places within the Ottoman State.

¹⁵⁰ Cevdet Ahmet Pasha, 1992 *Hatıralar*, IV. P. 8,10,11,13. Istanbul. See also, Argun, Selim, P. 16.

¹⁵¹ Uzuncarsili, 1988/a P. 39.

¹⁵² İnalçık, 1973, P. 165–178.

2.5 Effendi's Marriage and Children

Abu Bakr Effendi married three times during his life. His first marriage was with an Ottoman woman while he was living in Erzurum in Turkey. Unfortunately not much is known about this marriage.¹⁵³

On the 8th April 1863 Abu Bakr Effendi married Rakea (Rukiye) Maker who was the daughter of Hajji Haruon, who lived in Keerom Street, in Cape Town. Rakea was actually the adopted daughter of Hajji Haruon, who was originally from English descent.¹⁵⁴ According to archival documents, Rakea was the daughter of Christians who had embraced Islam and then changed their names to Omer (John Maker)¹⁵⁵ and Rasiade (Annie Barry).¹⁵⁶ She conceived two children by Abu Bakr Effendi, one died while she was giving birth.¹⁵⁷ The second one is Ahmet Ataullah. Ahmet Ataullah was born in Cape Town¹⁵⁸ in March 1865.¹⁵⁹ He was the most active and energetic son of Abu Bakr Effendi, and was the first Muslim politician.¹⁶⁰ According to the official records in the Ottoman Foreign Office; he spoke English, Afrikaans, Turkish, Arabic and Urdu. Numerous Ottoman archival documents designate these noteworthy activities for the Muslims of South Africa; the Muslim community in Kimberley in South Africa celebrates the birthday of Abdul Hamid Khan II for building an Ottoman School in their city.¹⁶¹

According to an Ottoman Archival document, Ahmet Ataullah received his first degree from Istanbul.¹⁶² Thereafter he continued his studies at Jamiu'l Azhar in Egypt.¹⁶³ As a

¹⁵³ This topic has also been confused by scholars so far. Some historians mistakenly state that Fehime was the daughter of Effendi from his first marriage, which is not true. It is explained in the following pages. See also, Ucar 2008, P. 257.

¹⁵⁴ Cape Argus, 18 January 1893. Moslem candidate for Cape Town, P. 7.

¹⁵⁵ Cape Town Archives Repository, Record of Proceedings of Provisional Case, October -December, Anny Barry. Allias Rasida and John Maker, Allias Omar versus Good Hope Savings Bank Society, Starting 1858

¹⁵⁶ Cape Town Archives Repository, CSC 2/2/1/128 37 Record of Proceedings of Provisional Case, October -December, Ann 1858.

¹⁵⁷ Cape Argus, 8 January 1870. P 4 Rakea Maker vs. Abou Beker Effendi.

¹⁵⁸ Achmad Davids mistakenly stated that Rakea's second son disappeared in history which is incorrect. Rakea's second son was Ahmet Ataullah Effendi who was a historical figure in South African History. See, Davids-Da Costa 1994, P.26. Argun, 2000, P. 8.

¹⁵⁹ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs, Sicili Ahval Defteri, No; 96, P. 187.

¹⁶⁰ Cape Argus- 18/ 1/ 1893 A Moslem Candidate - Also see, Davids 1980, P. 54.

¹⁶¹ Ottoman State Archives, 29 May 1890 BOA. Y. A. Hus. 235/73 See also, 7 May 1895- Y. PRK. AZJ. 31/17.

¹⁶² Ottoman State Archives, 28 June 1896, 6 / 1312/C-080.

¹⁶³ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs, Sicili Ahval Defteri, No; 96, P. 187.

scholar, Ahmet Ataullah also wrote a religious book called *Tuhfat ul Islam*.¹⁶⁴ Sultan Abdul Hamid II rewarded the valuable endeavors of Ataullah Bey.¹⁶⁵ He opened a school in Kimberley, which was supported by the Caliphate.¹⁶⁶

Atatullah Bey married Muhsine, who was the sister of Dr. Abdullah Abdurrahman. He died in 1903¹⁶⁷ at the fairly young age of 39 in a tragic traffic accident while serving as the Ottoman ambassador in Singapore.¹⁶⁸ Upon his death he left his wife and four children behind, Fuat Ataullah¹⁶⁹, Rusdu Ataullah, Hayrunnisa¹⁷⁰ and Hatice. After the death of Ataullah Bey, Muhsine moved to London for her children's studies.¹⁷¹ Her brother Abdullah Abdurrahman was also studying medicine in England. Later the family moved to Turkey.¹⁷² After his death, his brother-in-law, Abdullah Abdurrahman initiated political activities for Muslim rights and Colored Identity within the Cape Parliament.

Abu Bakr Effendi's first marriage at the Cape had diverse challenges and struggles. As far as is understood from the Cape Court cases, he could not get along with his wife due to cultural and linguistic differences.¹⁷³ His issues in his marriage even reverberated in the media.¹⁷⁴ In 1866, Rakea Maker complained about her husband and went to the Cape Court as a plaintiff.¹⁷⁵ Effendi did not go to court, but sent a letter to one of the local newspapers and explained the controversy about his divorce. He stated that:

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. P. 187.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. P. 187.

¹⁶⁶ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs, HR.TO, no 538 / 94, 12/8/1893.

¹⁶⁷ Appendix VIII: Ahmet Ataullah Bey and news regarding his activities.

¹⁶⁸ According to the some sources he was killed by English secret agent due to his political affairs in the name of the Ottoman Caliphate. See, Abdurresid Ibrahim 1987, *Cin ve Hindistandaki Islamiyet*, Vol II, P. 200 (editor-Mehmet Paksu) Istanbul.

¹⁶⁹ The first Turkish English learning book was written by the son of Ahmet Ataullah Bey in 1942. See, Attaoullah Fuat Effendi 1942 *Turkish Self Taught* – London.

¹⁷⁰ According to the Ottoman State Archives, Havva Hayrünnisia studied in medical science in London and was supported with scholarship by the Turkish State in 1920. See, Ottoman State Archives, 13/10/1920, HR.SYS, No, 2654 Shelf number; 9. See also, Colak Guldane 2013 *Avrupada Osmanli Kizlari* P. 71-73 Istanbul

¹⁷¹ Khan Abdurrahman 1951, *My life and Experiences*, P. 36-38, 43 London.

¹⁷² According to the Ottoman Archives, the circumcision feast of Ahmet Ataullah Effendi's sons was organised by the decree of the Sultan Abdul Hamid which is very unique historical event in the history of the Ottoman State. See; Ottoman State Archives, Y.MTV. File :191 Folder :15 Date; 05 September 1901.

¹⁷³ Cape Town Archives Repository, CSC 2/1/1/138 – 84 Records of Proceedings of Illiquid Case, Rakea Maker versus Abon 1869.

¹⁷⁴ The Cape Argus, Saturday, January, 8, 1870, P. 3.

¹⁷⁵ The Cape Argus, Tuesday, 18th January, 1870, Abu Beker's Case. 1th September 1873, The Muhammedan Case, P. 3 Cape Town.

Sir, I did not intend writing on this subject, but it would appear from the remarks made by the press, that my conduct to her has been inhuman, I feel compelled in my own defense to address you in this matter. The plaintiff in the course of her evidence stated that I assaulted her on various occasions and all together treated her in a most shameful way. I was prepared at the trial of the case to refute this statement, not only by my own evidence but by that of several witnesses, but as her case of maintenance fell to the ground upon her own evidence, it was unnecessary for me to bring forward my witnesses. I regret, however, that this was not done, as I feel convinced that my own evidence and that of my witnesses would have satisfied not only the Court, but the public, that I had not treated her as she stated. It must appear strange that after I have treated her so badly and divorced her, yet that I should during her illness not only supply her with medical attendance and comforts but constantly called to inquire after her health. When at the time I was accused of treating her so shamefully, I had made a will, leaving part of my estate to her. The fact that during the time of our marriage, I supplied her with every comfort, furnished a house, allowed her as many as five servants at a time, and did everything possible to make her comfortable, but a snake in the grass has put me to great trouble, which is now at end. The time will come when I will expose her machinations. As regards the maintenance of the child, I have paid 10s per month for its support from infancy, besides supplying it with clothing, and from the 1st January, 1869, offered £1 per month, but the last offer was refused. These amounts may appear small to some, but Rukea had previous to her marriage to me earned less, and hardly had any training, the amount was quite sufficient for a person in her position.¹⁷⁶

There are various other stories about this marriage at the Cape Court that indicate the miserable relationship between them. Cultural differences and the language barrier made this relationship difficult.¹⁷⁷ When Abu Bakr Effendi came to Cape Town he could not even use the dictionary of his mother tongue, as it had no translation into English. He had to use an Arabic-English dictionary to communicate with his wife.¹⁷⁸ The issue should be considered from socio-cultural perspective.¹⁷⁹ After their separation, according to archival documents in Cape Town, Rakea Maker opened a Muslim Arabic school for women; it was the second Islamic school for girls in South Africa.¹⁸⁰ When we look at the matter from this perspective Rakea, actually had the opportunity to learn Arabic and the principles of Islam from her husband and proceeded to help other women to better educate themselves by opening a

¹⁷⁶ Cape Argos 8th January 1870.

¹⁷⁷ Cape Town Archives Repository, CSC 2/1/1/138 – 84 Records of Proceedings of Illiquid Case, Rakea Maker versus Abon 1869.

¹⁷⁸ First English Turkish dictionary was written by J.W Redhouse and published in 1871. In those days, French language was the official foreign language for the correspondences in the Ottoman State even in Turkey until 1950s.

¹⁷⁹ Davids Achmat- Da Costa 1994, Pages from Cape Muslim History P. 86 Cape Town.

¹⁸⁰ Cape Town Archives Repository, CO 4164 M 90 Memorial Rakea Maker for Muhammedan School, Cape Town. 1870. First Muslim School for girls established by Effendi and principal of the school was Tahora (Tahoorah) Effendi was the second wife of the Effendi.

school. Despite their domestic issues, Rakea wanted to resolve her relationship with her husband but, unfortunately this did not happen.¹⁸¹ In 1870, Rakea married again, this time to Hajji Abdullah. Apparently this caused a scandal as Rakea and Hajji Abdullah absconded to Mecca together and vanished from history.¹⁸²

It is also possible that Abu Bakr Effendi's domestic problems were used against him by some Imams to damaging his reputation in society.¹⁸³ For example, some of Effendi Islamic statements (fatwas) in his book¹⁸⁴ caused controversies among the Cape Muslim Society and were rejected by some Imams.¹⁸⁵ "Some Imams in Cape Town, in fact, accused Effendi for his interpretations of Islamic rulings, arguing that he was interested in imposing Hanafism in the Cape."¹⁸⁶ These types of misunderstandings and interpretations between Effendi and local Muslims circulated among the community and Effendi became a marginal scholar in the eyes of the people in Cape Town. In the following days, a relative of Rakea Maker sent a defensive letter to *the Cape Argus* and stated that:

Sirs- I am not surprised, from the boldness which Abubakr Effendi displays, and the means used by him to cover his conduct, that you should have had some hesitation in publishing my communication. The contents of the letter, no doubted startled you, but they are true, and can be corroborated on oath by a number of people. I can have no sympathy with Abubakr, but a regard for the authorities of the Sublime Porte, from whom I received much consideration when in Constantinople, prevented me from exposing his doings. Abu Bakr has not only in court, when I proceeded to swear Rukie Maker, called out that I have been the cause of all the unpleasantness between him and his late wife, but also made him similar statements to several of my co- religionists, and repeated the expressions in a letter which he published in one of your recent issues. This led me to send my communication to you for publication. I shall not take further trouble in the matter for the present, but only remark that in the event of Abu Bakr continuing to make willful misrepresentations, I will furnish the required proof to you on oath about what I have asserted.

The late Hadji Abdul Majist was my step-father, and he remarried Rakea Maker's own mother. This will explain why I have taken so much interest in Rakea Maker, and have been her adviser.

¹⁸¹ Cape Town Archives Repository, CSC 2/1/1/138 – 84 Records of Proceedings of Illiquid Case, Rakea Maker versus Abon 1869.

¹⁸² Loos Jackie, 2005 Wednesday September 7. Rukea was a woman of substance, way ahead of the times. Cape Argus, Page, 10.

¹⁸³ Loos Jackie 2005 14 September Image of religious leader and teacher tainted by controversy, The Cape Argus, P.10 Loos J. 2005 September 21 Astonishing accusations lead to claim for £ 20 in damages The Cape Argus, P. 12.

¹⁸⁴ Cape Town Archives Repository, Library 297 Abubakr Effendi: Bayannuddin; a Hanafie treatise on Islam.

¹⁸⁵ Cape Argus, Thursday, August, 28, 1873 Achmat Sadik and others vs. Abdul Gabiet.

¹⁸⁶ Cape Town, 1st September 1873, The Muhammedan Case, Page 3. See also Cape Argus, Thursday, August, 28, 1873 Achmat Sadik and others vs. Abdul Gabiet

Effendi did not pursue this argument and preferred to keep quiet. During this time, he wrote his books.¹⁸⁸

In 1866, Abu Bakr Effendi married Tahora Saban Cook,¹⁸⁹ the daughter of Eliza Saban and Jeremiah Cook, who had settled in Cape Town in 1847.¹⁹⁰ Tahora belonged to a wealthy English family. Her uncle was Captain James Cook, who “discovered” Canadian shores.¹⁹¹ Tahora was a student of Effendi in his school and then went on to become the principal of the Muslim School for girls which was established by Effendi in 1864. Abu Bakr Effendi had five children with Tahora, Fehime, Hesham Nimetullah, Muhammed Alaeddin, Omer Jeleleddin and Husain Fewzi.

As far as can be ascertained, Fehime was Effendi’s only daughter from this marriage. Later on, she would marry one of the great Ottoman scholars Seyyid Abdurrezzak Ilmi Effendi.¹⁹² According to a Cape Archive document she reclaimed Turkish citizenship; and the property left for her by her father.¹⁹³ Some private letters between Fehime and her brothers have documented the details of the family relations up to and after the death of Abu Bakr Effendi.¹⁹⁴ The eldest son of Effendi, Ahmed Ataullah invited his brother in-law and his sister to Cape Town in 1883.¹⁹⁵ Fehime was only able to come to Cape Town once to see her father.¹⁹⁶ Fehime’s husband Seyyid Abdulrezzak Effendi was a well-educated person.¹⁹⁷

¹⁸⁷ The Cape Argus, 18, 1870 Tuesday, January. The Effendi case.

¹⁸⁸ Effendi Abubakr, *The religious Duties of Islam as Taught and Explained by Abubakr Effendi*, 1960, Mia Brandel- Syrier, Leiden P. XLVIII.

¹⁸⁹ Appendix IX: A photo of Tahora Effendi with her sister Behiye.

¹⁹⁰ Cape Town Archives Repository CO 3918 398 Memorials Received Jeremiah Cook for William Weyman. Request to 1820.

¹⁹¹ Cape Town Archives Repository, J916.87 KIP A Kippis: A narrative of the voyages round the world, 1728

¹⁹² Ucar, 2008. P. 257.

¹⁹³ Cape Town Archives Repository; Letter from Governor to Earl of Kimberley, GH 23/37 (3); GH 1/413 no.171). 1 .4.1881.

¹⁹⁴ Effendi Family has got numerous letters and correspondences between family members in history which may be subject of another study and contain quite interesting events in South Africa. (Hesham Effendi Private Archives, Cape Town).

¹⁹⁵ Ucar, 2008. P. 257.

¹⁹⁶ This topic has also been confused by scholars so far. Some historians mistakenly state that Fehime was the daughter of Effendi from his second marriage, Tahoraa which is not true. There is much evidence to prove that the daughter of Effendi, Fehime was born in Cape Town from Abu Bakr Effendi’s last wife. Ucar , 2008, P.257-260. Argun 2000, P. 8. Davids – Da Costa, 1994, P. 83. See; Cape Town Archives Repository, GH 23/37 (3); GH 1/413 no.171) Loos Jackie, 28 September 2005, Cape Argus, The Turkish Professor’s last and final wishes, P. 16

¹⁹⁷ Ucar 2008. P. 259-269.

When Fehime married Abdulrezzak Effendi she moved to Istanbul and her family and grandchildren still live in Turkey. According to the Effendi family in Cape Town, when Abu Bakr Effendi left Turkey for South Africa, his wife passed away already.¹⁹⁸ He probably left his family to his brother Abdurrahman al- Amjadiy¹⁹⁹ in Erzurum and then went to the Cape of Good Hope.

Hesham Nimetullah Effendi was the first son of Abu Bakr Effendi (from Tahora Saban) and was born in 1867 in Cape Town.²⁰⁰ Hesham Nimetullah followed in his father's footsteps and became a great scholar. He went to Turkey and Mecca to study Islamic sciences, Arabic and Turkish and then went to Egypt and completed his study at the University of Al-Azhar. He received his official diploma of professorship from Mecca in 1890 and from Istanbul 1894. He was awarded the Mejidiea star by Sultan Abdul Hamid II in the same year.²⁰¹ On the 6th of January 1895, he applied to the Ottoman government to publish his religious books which were written in Afrikaans with Arabic script.²⁰² His books, *Hadha ilm hal lissibyan and Siraj al- Ida'ah*, were published in Istanbul in 1894. His books were used as handbooks in the *Madrasah al- Falah* in Claremont in Cape Town around 1912.²⁰³ According to archival documents at the Cape Archive, after his father's death, Hesham Nimetullah Effendi pursued educational activities at the Cape with his stepbrother Ahmet Ataullah Bey. When Ahmet Ataullah went to Kimberley, the Ottoman theological school in Cape Town was left with him as the only educator.²⁰⁴

Hesham Nimetullah was also the chairman of the Muslim Association at the Cape who fought for Muslims rights.²⁰⁵ Some of his speeches were printed in the local media and distributed within the Muslim society.²⁰⁶ Hesham Nimetullah was elected as chairman and explained the purpose of the meeting thus:

Gentlemen, I wish to thank you all for the honor you have conferred upon me by electing me as your president. Our object in forming this association is that we must try to promote the

¹⁹⁸ Effendi, 2000, P. 22.

¹⁹⁹ Abdurrahman was father of Omer Lutfi who also came to Cape Town with his uncle Effendi.

²⁰⁰ Appendix X: A photo of Hesham Nimetullah Effendi.

²⁰¹ Cape Argus 4 May 1903, Moslem Honours, P.3

²⁰² Ottoman State Archives, Irade Hususi, 10/ B 1312, No, 45.

²⁰³ Davids Achmat 2011, The Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims, P. 143, Pretoria.

²⁰⁴ Cape Town Archives Repository DOC 4/1/516 836 Mortgage Bond. Hesham Neamatollah Effendi 1897

²⁰⁵ Davids M. Ardiel, 2011 Mater thesis, (1904-1928) The Imam of Simons town and his Diary, P. 225. University of Cape Town.

²⁰⁶ The Cape Argus 19/3/1903 , South African Muslim Association P. 5, The Cape Argus Monday, 30th October 1895, Meeting at the Cape.

interests of the Moslems, social, religious, and political. We shall have much opposition from many of the Moslems, who will not understand what progress is. Their policy is to live and die in the name of custom and principles which they have been born into and brought up with, and they have some influence among the Moslems and it is to their benefit to stick to their old style and custom. If we observe minutely, we shall find that the Cape Moslems have actually gone backwards from where they were about fifty years ago, compared with other communities, save only in appearance and dress. The respect for their parents and superiors, which was noticeable in former years, is diminishing. What is the reason behind this state of affairs? Lack of education is what causes a lack of manners and respect. Our religion which distinctly teaches everything that is good has been turned into a mockery and a tool by some, judging by the rowdiness, nuisance and disputes which occur. Thereby we are looked upon as nothing short of barbarism, caused through the ignorance of many of the co-called leaders. Such matters will take a long time for illiterate people to understand. In reference to political affairs, we are not in a position to interfere much at present. Nevertheless we shall have to watch our interests, and if there is any legislation which affects us, then we must try our best to have them amended...²⁰⁷

Hesham Nimetullah tried to make Muslims aware of their religious identity at the Cape Colony. His challenges were aimed at gaining Muslims rights in society which made them more aware of their political consciousness. He emphasized the significance of education in society and stated that "lack of education is what caused a lack of manners". As an educator, he was challenged to develop the Islamic lifestyle of the Cape Muslims.

Hesham Nimetullah Effendi's activities were significant for South African Muslim society. He was one of the most prominent religious leaders at the Cape according to archival documents he has been always dedicated to followers amongst his congregation.²⁰⁸ While he was the Imam of a Bo-kaap mosque, his followers at the Nurul Osmaniyye mosque in Paarl where he had previously been Imam, sent a letter to the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire to get him back to Paarl.²⁰⁹

We are a little Muslim Community in Paarl, Cape Town, living without much guidance and education. We do not have a teacher to guide us. One of the sons of the late Sheik Abu Bakr Effendi, Mudarris Hesham Nimetullah Effendi, who achieved seven different high degrees in Islamic Law, served and contributed to people in South Africa in name of Islam. But unfortunately, a while ago Hesham Effendi moved to Cape Town from Paarl and we have been deprived of his help. We are desperate to gain his knowledge to educate our community. We trust Your Excellency will be pleased to give our prayer Your Excellency's favorable consideration. With the greatest esteem and respect,

²⁰⁷ The Cape Argus 19/3/1903, S. African Muslim Association. P. 5 Cape Town.

²⁰⁸ The Cape Argus Wednesday, March 9, 1898 A Muslim Tale of War ill-used in Mecca.

²⁰⁹ Ottoman State Archives, Foreigner Affairs, Y.A. Private, 506/142.

Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servants:

The Imam of the Nur-ul Osmaniye Mosque in Paarl, al Haji Yakub and the Members of Board of Trustees of Paarl Muslim Community al Haji Kiyameddin, Khatip Rejeb, Muezzin Mustafa, Khatib al Haji Abdulhakim ibn Miftahuddin, al Haji Hesham ibni Zekeriyya, Jabir ibn Yasir, Ibrahim Ibn Abdulyasir, al Haji Ibrahim.

Paarl, 12 May 1901²¹⁰

This letter indicates the importance of his activities and impact in society. Thereafter at the beginning of the 1900s, Hesham Nimetullah moved to Port Elizabeth, where he continued to educate people as an Imam for rest of his life. His children live in Paarl and Port Elizabeth. Davids describes his activities as follows: "Hisham Nimetullah Effendi continued to play a prominent role in Cape Muslim society". He continued "one of Effendi's students declared that; "Hesham Nimetullah was an excellent and hard-working teacher, very generous and every so often on a Friday he would hand out small gifts to the children."²¹¹ He was the most learned man of the town, worked as a religious teacher and authority until he died in 1947 and was buried there."²¹²

Mohammed Alauddin²¹³ was the second son of Abu Bakr Effendi (from the second marriage) and was born 1869 in Cape Town. M. Alauddin Effendi was a great Qari²¹⁴ and Hafiz²¹⁵ who stayed in Claremont. According to the family members in Cape Town, he was also a tailor which was one of the most common jobs among the South African Ulama in the twentieth century.²¹⁶ His business was on Ralph Street in Claremont, but unfortunately not much is known about him. Moreover, according to the documents in Cape Archive, there are several mortgage bonds on this name which show that he lost a lot of property after his father's death.²¹⁷ His children used the Amjadiy and Effendi surnames and lived in South Africa as well as in Turkey. He died on 22 December 1949 at the age of 80 and was buried in the Mowbray cemetery in Cape Town.

²¹⁰ Ottoman State Archives, 29 November 1906, Foreign Affairs, BEO, 220870\2945.

²¹¹ Davids 2011, P. 143.

²¹² Selms Van A, 1968, P. 5.

²¹³ Appendix XI: A photo of Muhammed Alaeddin Effendi.

²¹⁴ A Muslim who can recite the Qur'an by heart.

²¹⁵ One who has memorized the entire Qur'an by heart.

²¹⁶ Du Plessis 1972, P. 26.

²¹⁷ Cape Town Archives Repository, DOC 4/1/447 3471 Mortgage Bond. Muhammad Allaodien Effendi 1895.

Omer Jelaledin Effendi²¹⁸ was the third son of Abu Bakr Effendi who was born in 1872 in Cape Town. When his father died he was nine years old. O. Jelaledin was also a well-educated person, who began an enterprise to establish a madrasah in Johannesburg.²¹⁹ In 1951, A. Van Selms came to Cape Town and interviewed O. Jelaledin who was living with his daughter, in Woodstock.²²⁰ O. Jelaledin introduced *Beyan al- Din* the book of Abu Bakr Effendi to Van Selms, and thereafter the book became well known. O. Jelaledin died in 1954 and was buried in the Mowbray cemetery. His grandchildren live in South Africa and in Turkey.

Husain Fewzi (Ghoisan) was the youngest son of Effendi who was born in 1874 and passed away at the fairly young age of fourteen, in August 1888.²²¹ Little is known about him.

2.6 Effendi's Works and Activities

Abu Bakr Effendi's arrival in Cape Town around one hundred and fifty years ago marked significant changes in the Islamic ways of life of the Muslim community.²²² The building which hosted the theological school he opened still stands on the corner of Wale and Bree Street in Cape Town.²²³ However, before Abu Bakr Effendi's move to the Cape, due to lack of guidance and proper leadership, the Muslim community at the Cape was in disarray.²²⁴ There were several disputes between Muslim groups because of conflicting religious practices. However, the Muslims were free to practise their own religion after years of being restricted. Left in the hands of over-eager Imams, the situation in the Cape colony was worsening. Davids states:

²¹⁸ Appendix XII: A photo of Omer Jelaledin Effendi.

²¹⁹ Appendix XIII: An advertisement of the Muslim School by Omar Jelaledin Effendi, See also; Ottoman State Archives, MF.MKT, no, 38. Cod, 1009, date, 1908; Singapur Başşehbenderi iken vefat eden Atallah Efendi'nin biraderi Ömer Celaleddin Efendi'nin idaresi altında Yuhannesburg'da bir mekteb açılması için talep edilen meblağın Hazine-i Celile'den verilmesi.

²²⁰ Cape Town Archives Repository 3/CT 4/2/1/3/1351 B 605 Re: Additions to Premises "Erzeroum" Mountain Road, Woodstock 1946, A.B Effendi was from the city called Erzurum. This house was named by Effendi and remained the property of his son O.J. Effendi.

²²¹ Cape Town Archives Repository CO, 1866, Memorials A-C, 4141.

²²² Appendix XIV: The first photograph of the Cape Muslims, 1863.

²²³ Effendi 1991, P.13.

²²⁴ Appendix XV: A news regarding the activities of the Effendi at the Cape of Good Hope.

The establishment of mosques around the concepts of congregations, an idea foreign to the teachings of Islam, also provided the opportunity for structuring social hierarchies within congregational structures. Using the functional position within the structure of the mosque, they created a class hierarchy. At the top of this hierarchy was the position of the Imam, followed by his Ghatibs or assistant-Imams, the muathins (those who give the call to prayer) and so on in that order, with the members being in the lower ranks. Being an Imam placed an individual in a powerful position. It provided him with a position of status, social power, leadership and a lucrative income. Those who were Imams held on to their positions.²²⁵

For this reason, in 1863, in response to the request of the Queen of England, the Ottoman scholar Abu Bakr Effendi was sent to Cape Town by the Sublime Porte to educate Muslims regarding the fundamental obligations of Islam. In a short time, he learned both English and Afrikaans in order to educate people in their own languages. In the year after his arrival, he gathered 300 children and later adults in his class and gave lectures on Arabic reading and writing. They learned about the Islamic faith and found a chance to practice its precepts. During this time, one of his students, grandson of Tuan Guru, Abdul Rakiep²²⁶ became the Imam of the Nur-ul Islam Mosque when he was only seventeen years old.²²⁷

The *Beyan al- Din* (an explanation of the religion of Islam) was written as a manuscript by Abu Bakr Effendi in 1869. The book was published in Istanbul in 1877 with the authority of the Sultan of the Ottoman State as a gift for Muslims in the Cape of Good Hope.²²⁸ This book was important for the South African Muslim Society as it was the first official book printed in Afrikaans in the Cape.²²⁹ This book of Abu Bakr Effendi is also accepted as the first existing publication in Arabic-Afrikaans, written in Arabic script. Prior statements that the *Merasid ud- Din* had never been published are incorrect. In fact, *Merasid ud- Din* and *Beyan al- Din* were published as one volume in 1877 due to the difficult financial situation of the Ottoman State in the nineteenth century.²³⁰ The original manuscript of the *Beyan al- Din* was written in 1869 and is situated in the private library of Abu Bakr Effendi's

²²⁵ Davids Achmat, 1995 Imams and conflict resolution practices among Cape Muslim in the Nineteenth Century. Page, 54 Cape Town. See also Da Costa-Davids 1985, P. 81-102.

²²⁶ Tuan Guru's grandson, Abdul Rakiep, the son of Imam Abdul Roove See, Cape Town Archives Repository, CSC 2/6/1/284 37 Motion. Hadje Minto, Hadje, Mahomet and Abdullah Boran versus Hadje Imaum Rakiep, Trustees of the Malay Mosque in Buitengracht Street, Cape 1906.

²²⁷ Davids, 1980, P. 114,115.

²²⁸ Worden Nigel, E. Van Heyningen, V. Bickford Smith, 2004, Cape Town, The making of a city, P. 188

²²⁹ Muller P.J, 1960, Afrikaanse Geskifte in Arabiese Karaacters, Pages, 37-45. Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library, Vol, 15 No, 2 Cape Town.

²³⁰ Ottoman State Archives, MF.MKT. 20 April 1876, file: 49 Shelf: 80; Ümit Burnu ahalisinin tedrisiyle görevli Ebubekir Efendi tarafından yazılan Beyanü'd-Din ile Merasidü'd-Din adlı kitapların acilen basımı.

great grandson, Muhammad Zobri Effendi and is slightly different from the one published in 1877 in Istanbul.²³¹ The book contains eight chapters:

Beyan al- Din

- ritual cleansing (pp. 2–66)
- ritual prayer (pp. 66–219)
- religious tax (pp. 219–258)
- fasting (pp. 258–284)

Merasid ud- Din

- slaughtering of livestock (pp. 284–302)
- religious prohibitions (pp. 302–344)
- drink (pp. 344–349)
- hunting (pp. 349–354)²³²

The importance of Effendi's religious book, *Beyan al- Din* is described by some researchers as using unusual orthographic techniques and providing a rare example of the sound of spoken Afrikaans in the middle of nineteenth century.²³³

Abu Bakr Effendi also wrote other religious books at the Cape but as far as it is known, only two of them were ever published.²³⁴ In 1876 Abu Bakr Effendi went back to Turkey to meet and congratulate the new sultan, Abdul Hamid II. The new Sultan recognized the significance of his works and supported his activities in South Africa. As mentioned above, Sultan Abdul Hamid II gave permission to publish two of his books called *Merasid ud- Din* and *Beyan al- Din* and signed them as a gift publication for South African Muslims.

²³¹ Cape Town Archives Repository / Cape Town/ 297, Abu Abubakr Effendi: Bayannuddin; a Hanafie treatise on Islam.

²³² Effendi, 1960. P.349.

²³³ Worden, Heyningen, Smith, 2004, P. 188.

²³⁴ Ottoman State Archives, MF.MKT, 80 file, 49, 20 April 1877.

2.7 Effendi's Death

Abu Bakr Effendi passed away in Cape Town on the 29th June 1880 at the age of 67.²³⁵ When he died many people realized the significance of his contribution to society. The sad news was made known in the media. Before he died he sent a letter to the Ottoman grand vizier, Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, notifying him of his situation. The letter, which also contains his will, ends the story of Abu Bakr Effendi at the Cape of Good Hope:

At this time, I have been very sick. If I die in this place, my legacy, all of my property, books and other belongings will remain with the local government, as I live here as a foreigner. However, if the Ottoman Government sends a letter to the Queen Victoria and mentions my situation to Her Majesty, she might inform the Colonial Secretary of the Cape and then my will shall not be touched. An Egyptian Muslim died here and the local Government took possession of all of his property.

And in the meantime, I have sent my son Achmad Ataullah to you to stay in Turkey to study Turkish. I have bought a part of the palace of Munif Effendi in Nuru Osmaniye (in Istanbul). I wish to sell this place and donate it to wherever you find beneficial and suitable. I ask that you may help me in this matter; I would be most appreciative and grateful. Also, I have five children, they are still small and there is nobody here to look after them. If they grow up here, I am afraid to they may lose their faith. Please accept my wishes and take care of them, take them to Istanbul with a person to study Islam over there. I would like them to study Islam in Istanbul. Although, you are an extremely busy statesman, I ask that you please accept my last wish, as my children shall be without guidance.

Abu Bakr

Cape of Good Hope, 1880²³⁶

When Abu Bakr Effendi passed away, the news occupied the pages of the local newspapers in South Africa.²³⁷ One of them is selected here which shows the social impact of the news within society.²³⁸

The Late Effendi Abu Bakr

Sir,

Will you kindly allow me space in your valuable columns to express my sincere grief at the death of our worthy teacher and friend Effendi Abou Beker, whose useful career terminated on Tuesday night at 10 o'clock. Since his first visit to South Africa we have enjoyed the

²³⁵ Cape Town Archives Repository, MOOC 7/1/4074 Effendi Abu Beker Will 1880.

²³⁶ Ottoman State Archives- Yildiz Evraki. No, 18, 13/546 Istanbul.

²³⁷ Cape Town Archives Repository Csc 2/2/1/192 123 Record of Proceedings of Provisional Case. Abdol Raghman and Adjadoed in estate Late Abou Beker Effendi versus Salie Esau 1881.

²³⁸ Cape Argus, 1th of July 1880 the death of the Effendi, P.3 Cape Town.

inestimable benefits of his learning and teaching. He made the youthful members of his worship his especial charge, he has taught them in such a manner that they now surpass in learning many grey-haired old men. The good he has done amongst us will bear fruit long after his name has passed away. I feel convinced that every true Moslem will mourn for his death and pray that whoever his successor may be that he may resemble our dear departed friend in kindness of heart, patience and learning, and that we may profit by the example he set us in his lifetime, and may feel with the poet that the:

“Lives of great men all remind us,
We may make our lives sublime
And, departing, leave behind us
Foot-prints, on the sand of time”

I leave it for an abler pen than mine, to one who has been longer with him and is therefore better acquainted with his inner life, to trace the life and history of this good old man who has gone from amongst us, but to the manner in which he has elevated our religion, and to his learning and erudition, I can give unqualified testimony. He was an able exponent of the religion he professed, and to which he did so much credit. Regretting that so worthy a subject has not had a worthier pen, and with many thanks for your kind indulgence. I am,

A Moslem²³⁹

Effendi lies in the Tana Baru Cemetery in Signal Hill which is the oldest Muslim graveyard in South Africa.

²³⁹ Cape Times, 2 July 1880, To the editors of the Cape Times, Page, 4, Cape Town.

CHAPTER III: EFFENDI IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the Effendi's family, their background as Ulama and the family's relations with the Ottoman Palace. In addition, it will illustrate why the Ottoman Government chose Abu Bakr Effendi for this mission and how the relationship between Ottoman State and South Africa developed. The relationship between the Ottoman Empire and South Africa will be explained in view of the British archival documents and other sources as well. Finally it will discuss the Ottoman interests in South Africa, when they started and the reasons why they continued, including;

- Why the Ottoman State sent religious emissaries to the Islamic countries Worldwide.
- Why Abu Bakr Effendi was chosen by the Caliphate as an Islamic Scholar.
- How Abu Bakr Effendi was sent to South Africa.

3.2 The emergence of the Ottoman Presence in Southern Africa

In order to better understand the Ottoman-South African relationship, it is necessary to know when, how and for what reason the Ottomans ventured into Africa and how the Ottoman influence began spreading among the Muslim countries on the continent as far as Morocco.²⁴⁰

The real acquaintance of the Ottoman Empire with the African continent began with the conquest of Egypt in 1517. From this time to 1924, the Ottoman State appears to have established political, economic, social, and cultural relations within the continent.²⁴¹

After the 1517 conquests, the Ottomans were especially interested in the region because of the Hajj. Having conquered the former Muslim defenders of the Hajj, the Ottomans, as the successors of those states in Africa, were charged with protecting and providing safe passage to all undertaking the Hajj.²⁴²

²⁴⁰ Orhonlu Cengiz 1996, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Güney Siyaseti Habes Eyaleti P. 1, 3 Ankara.

²⁴¹ Uğur Hatice 2005, Osmanlı Afrikası'nda bir sultanlık: Zengibar (Vol. 1). P. 21 Küre Yayınları.

²⁴² Gençoğlu Halim 2013, October 30, Traces of the Ottoman Empire in Mauritius, L'express.mu, <http://www.lexpress.mu/idee/traces-ottoman-empire-mauritius>.

Portuguese hegemony in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, however, gave them some control over Hajjis. In the same vein, other Muslim states in the region saw the Ottomans as their defenders and Muslim brothers.²⁴³ In 1528, the governor of Yemen, Sinan Pasha, was sent to Mozambique to build a Turkish mosque in Maputo, by the order of the Sultan Selim II.²⁴⁴ The governor of Yemen, Ali Bey, came to Mozambique in 1585, to leap into the breach to defend the local Muslim community against the Portuguese occupation. By the order of the grand seigneur of Yemen Hasan Pasha, Ali Bey came to Mozambique, the second time in 1589, with the Ottoman navy and defeated the Portuguese and captured a couple of Portuguese battleships.²⁴⁵ According to the English historian Dames, “at this time, if Sublime Porte could send a stronger navy to the Indian Ocean, Eastern Africa would enter the Ottoman sovereignty as Northern Africa did.”²⁴⁶

The Caliphate was seen as the head of Islam and this role was officially conducted by the Ottomansultans. The sultans claimed themselves to be religiously shadows of caliph or servant of caliph as other Muslim Turkish States in history. However since the sixteenth century, the Caliphate was officially operated by the Ottoman sultans and recognized as such by the Muslim World.²⁴⁷

Ottoman sultans became more interested in the Islamic World with the treaty of Kuchuk Kainarj (Kūçūk Kaynarca) in 1774. For the first time, the Ottoman State used the

²⁴³ Salih Özbaran, 1994 *The Ottoman Response to European Expansion: Studies on Ottoman-Portuguese Relations in the Indian Ocean and Ottoman Administration in the Arab Lands during the Sixteenth Century* (pp.70-1; 81) Istanbul.

²⁴⁴ In 1863, Effendi traveled to Mozambique in order to observe the Islamic life and situation there. He stated that: “The gracious act by his imperial Majesty was very much appreciated by the Muslim people of South Africa and Mozambique. I was directed by his majesty the Sultan to distribute some of these books among the people of Mozambique, so that the learned one could teach the poor and ignorant one”. Effendi, 1960, P. XLVI.

²⁴⁵ Kavas A, 2005 *Geçmişten Günümüze Afrika*. Kitabevi (in Turkish) P. 22-27 Istanbul.

²⁴⁶ Ucar, 2008 P. 34. According to the Tunisian Professor Abdulcelil Temimi “Translation of the 234 firmans from muhimme registers of Algeria, Tunisia and Libya Provinces into Arabic and French brings into the public view that the Ottoman policies on Africa were towards a life for the habitants of the region in security, justice and welfare” On Turkish Archives, 17-19 November 2005, Uluslararası Türk Arşivleri Sempozyumu, 17-19 Kasım 2005, İstanbul (Tebliğler - Tartışmalar) = International Symposium on Turkish Archives, 17-19 November 2005, İstanbul (Presentations & Discussions) = En-nedvetü't-devliyyetü li'l-arşifi't-Türkî, 17-19 Kasım 2005, İstanbul (Muhâdarât - Münâkaşât). - Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 2006. - XL, 632 s. - (T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü; yayın nu. 23) accessed on 8 December 2013 at <http://www.tarihtarih.com/?pnum=11325&pt=Devlet%20Arşivleri>, Istanbul.

²⁴⁷ Redhouse, 1877. P. 6.

Caliphate title in this treaty and declared itself as a protector state of Muslims.²⁴⁸ Moreover this influence went beyond the frontiers of the Ottoman State to wherever Muslims were present. Consequently, there was an extraordinary respect for the sultans of the Ottoman outside of the geographical boundaries of the Ottoman territory, which can be called mental boundaries of the State.²⁴⁹

Mardin notes that:

Sultan Abdul Hamid also sent emissaries to other Islamic countries to encourage them to resist imperialism; he built the Hijaz railway expressly to strengthen Islam, and he reintroduced courses in Islamic ethics to the educational system at a time when student opposition to such courses was spreading.²⁵⁰

As a result of the religious duties of the Caliphate which are known to follow Pan-Islamism principles in the nineteenth century, the Ottoman sultans sent scholars to the Islamic societies of the world such as Bukharin Sheik Suleyman to Russia, Sirvanizade Ahmet Hulusi to Afghanistan, Ferik Pasha to China, Emin Effendi to Zanzibar and in same vein, Abu Bakr Effendi to South Africa. For this reason, English government requested a spiritual scholar from the Sublime Porte for the South African Muslims.²⁵¹

By 1838, Ottoman-South African relations were established for the commercial reasons such as importing Angora Goats via India from the Ottoman State to the Cape Colony.²⁵² This mercantile relationship developed also with tobacco import from Turkey.²⁵³ However, officially Ottoman interest in the South African Muslim society began in the 1850's. Especially after the Crimean war in 1852, the English-Ottoman relationship had affected Turkish-South African relations which developed increasingly during the second half of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the relationship, an Ottoman Consul Attaché was sent to the Cape from London. On the 6th of September 1852, instead of the Consul

²⁴⁸ The legal system of the Ottoman Empire, based on the Qur'an and Turkish moral law of the Ottoman Empire, was distributing justice to the world. See, Lewis, Raphaela 1971. *Everyday Life in the Ottoman Empire*. Dorset Press. P. 208.

²⁴⁹ Reid 1967, P. 283. "Sultan Abdul Mejid had issued two Imperial firmans, one renewing Turkish protection over Atjeh, the other confirming Ibrahim in his royal status. A few years later Ibrahim sent \$10,000 towards Turkish war expenses in the Crimea and was rewarded with the Mejidie decoration."

²⁵⁰ Mardin, 1982. P. 177.

²⁵¹ Kasaba Reşat 1993, *Treaties and Friendships: British Imperialism, the Ottoman Empire, and China in the Nineteenth Century*, Page 232.

²⁵² Erdem H.A, 1999, *Bir basari oykusü, Güney Afrikada Tiftik Uretimi*, D.T Dergisi, P. 21 Istanbul.

²⁵³ South Africa National Archive Repository, TAD 1005 N780/2 Tobacco Industry in Cape Province JF Theron Tulbach. Turkish 1909, HKL 147 71/30 Tobaccos, South African Turkish Tobacco 1931, LDB 4068 Q234 Turkish Tobacco Industry, 1936.

Attaché, an official Consul began the work for the Ottoman State in South Africa. His name was William Greg and he was the first official emissary in Cape Town for the Ottoman State.

Sir,

Having submitted my credentials from the Right Honorable the secretary of State for foreign Affairs to the Lieutenant Governor - His Honour has been pleased of my forwarding the same to you with a view of having as consul of the Ottoman Empire my appointment duly nullified in the Government Gazette.

I have the honor to be Sir Your Servant

William Greig²⁵⁴

In 1852, the Muslim Community of Port Elizabeth wanted to build a mosque for their congregation.²⁵⁵ Due to financial problems, the mosque could not be completed for many years. Thereafter, the Muslim community requested financial help from the Caliphate. Sultan Abdulmejid Khan accepted this request and firstly sent them a letter as a protector of Muslims. These types of activities created considerable sympathy among the Muslims of South Africa in the nineteenth century. Sultan Abdulmejid had also awarded some of the local Muslims with a Mejidie gold star.²⁵⁶ Maximilien clearly illustrates the situation as follows:

As far back as the year 1856, the condition of our Mohammedan population attracted the attention of the late Sultan of Turkey, Abdul Medjid, who formed a very favorable opinion of them and during his reign he showed by every possible means that he was not indifferent to the welfare advancement of this class of people in South Africa. This patronage he practically carried out by several acts of condescension in behalf of the Malays, which were in the first instance promoted by the intercession of the Mr. de Roubaix, whose representation were thus graciously met and appreciated by the Sultan.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁴ Cape Town Archives Repository, CO 4069 147 Memorials. William John Greig. Relative to Him Being Recognized as 1853.

²⁵⁵ Appendix XVI: A photo of the Ottoman Mosque in Port Elizabeth (Ottoman State Archives)

²⁵⁶ Kavaz Ahmet, 2007 Ottoman Empire's Relations with Southern Africa- AÜİFD XLVIII No; II, s. 11-20, Ugur 2005, P. 63-65.

²⁵⁷ Kollish 1867, P. 31.

On the other hand, there was an old ritual among some Muslims, called Khalifa. This ritual originated in Indonesia and was a type of religious practice but totally against Islamic orthodoxy. Maximilien states that:²⁵⁸

This nocturnal nuisance grew into so riotous a form as to compel the interference of the authorities and one gentleman, De Roubaix, the acting as judge of police, whose experience of the Malay community was both extensive and useful, was called upon the act as “arbitrator” in the matter. Mr. Roubaix submitted the circumstances to the notice of the Turkish authorities, which led to the presentation to Mr. Roubaix by his imperial majesty, the late Abdul Mejid of a gold snuff box set in diamonds, in appreciation of such services. Nevertheless, the feasts, which the Khalifa involved, were highly amusing and as regards those of the conjurors, astonishing, not altogether unmingled with fear of accident.²⁵⁹

This religious conflict was a great opportunity for Petrus Emanuel De Roubaix who was to become the Ottoman Consul in the Cape.²⁶⁰ So much so that he became a famous politician while he was still a clerk in Cape Town. Accordingly, some Ottoman Archival documents were issued by the Sultans regarding Petrus Emanuel de Roubaix and his actions.²⁶¹ When Petrus Emanuel De Roubaix was a clerk in Cape Parliament he became a member of Legislative Council. In many events, he showed his opportunistic mentality which he only exhibited in order to gain a better position in society. According to documents in the Cape Archive, in mediating regarding certain issues among the Muslims, he intended to enhance his reputation but without success. Coates notes that “Petrus Emanuel De Roubaix inflated his abilities, actions and self-importance to a laughable extent, yet he was always wily enough not to be put to the test or expose his ignorance.”²⁶²

During this time, Roubaix worked for Muslim affairs, though his activities were not to genuinely help the Muslims but rather to provide financial support as well as gain more important status within the parliament at the Cape.²⁶³ Davids states that:

²⁵⁸ Ibid P. 31-32.

²⁵⁹ Ibid. P. 28-29.

²⁶⁰ Appendix XVII: A photo of Ottoman Consul General Petrus Emanuel De Roubaix

²⁶¹ Jackie Loos, 2001 A Colorful Celebration in Honor of the Sultan of Turkey. Cape Argus, Wednesday, 29 August, Cape Town.

²⁶² Coates Peter, 2010 April-June Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa Volume, 64, No 2. P.E. De Roubaix’s Delusions, The Ex-Member of Legislative Council Page, 86.

²⁶³ Davids 1980, P. 111,112.

De Roubaix was the Consul of the Sublime Porte at the Cape of Good Hope and on many occasions pleaded the plight of the Cape Muslims with the Sultan of Turkey. Unfortunately De Roubaix did not share their fears with regard to Responsible Government. He supported Responsible Government. For this, they believed he let them down. But worse, he scorned their petition for some of the names being signed in the same handwriting. On presenting their petition, and pointing out to him that he knows full well that some of them could not write, one of their deputation added: Mr De Roubaix we understand this much: we voted for you because you said you did not like Responsible Government, and we would not have voted for you if you had said you liked Responsible Government.²⁶⁴

In the same vein, when he became an Ottoman consul at the Cape, Roubaix showed his interest in the Muslim Affairs at the Cape. He had a photo of himself taken with an Ottoman fez as an Ottoman Pasha to get Muslims' attention as their representative. However, a donation was made by the Ottoman Empire in order to build a mosque in Port Elizabeth, but the funds were used according to his wishes. For instance the distribution of funds in the form of charity was effected to secure the Cape Muslim vote rather than provide them with the essential needs they required.²⁶⁵ *Cape Times* notes that after his death, "Mr Roubaix played a great game and he lost it but I do think that the chapter on the wondrous story of the diamond snuff-box should not be lost to posterity."²⁶⁶

Despite Roubaix's self-serving activities, on the whole, as an Islamic institute, the Caliphate played a crucial role during the emergence of Ottoman presence in South Africa. Abu Bakr Effendi was sent precisely to strengthen South African-Ottoman relations, which were based upon a religious foundation as well as spiritual mentorship.

3.3 The Effendi family's status in the Ottoman State

Abu Bakr Effendi was one of the most renowned Ulama of the Ottoman State in the nineteenth century. As already mentioned above he grew up in a cultured environment of Baghdad with his family. The Amjadiy Waqf and Madrasah (Ghazi Amir Suleiman Waqf) in Shahrizur were established in the twelfth century and had similar missions as other Madrasahs in the Muslim world. The Amjadiy Madrasah was established especially for the educational

²⁶⁴ Davids 1992, P. 16.

²⁶⁵ Coates 2010 January-March P. 39.

²⁶⁶ Coates 2010 April-June P. 92.

purpose of spreading Islamic knowledge and sciences.²⁶⁷ There is remarkable information in the Waqf records illustrating the importance of the family in this period.²⁶⁸

This madrasah provided a vital link with other religious institutes in the territory. The Ulama here were known among the Muslim peoples of the Ottoman State. Due to ancient, established educational activities of the Amir Suleiman Madrasah in Shahrizur Iraq, the Amjadiy family's reputation had become known in the territory even as far as Mecca and Syria.²⁶⁹ Amjadiys established their popularity while educating pupils at the Madrasah. Moreover, the Ottoman State had always supported Waqf institutes in its geographical boundaries throughout history.²⁷⁰ Therefore Madrasahs flourished during the Ottoman period. Some of the incomes of the religious institutes of the Ottoman sultans were allocated to charities in the Ottoman State.²⁷¹

Numerous scholars were educated in this madrasah and became great scholars in the Ottoman State. Some scholars worked under the Ottoman rules and contributed to the reputation of the Madrasah in Sharizur. No doubt, this important factor established a beneficial link between the Amjadiy family and Ottoman Governors during this period. Ottoman archival documents illuminate the link between Ahmadiye Waqf and Madrasah in Erzurum and Amjadiy Madrasah in Sharizur.²⁷²

In 1852, Effendi returned to Shahrizur to be awarded a professorship. According to an archival record, in the Amir Suleiman Madrasah, a number of scholars by the names of Molla Taha, Molla Ali, Qadi Abduljelil and Muhgtar Hasan Bey signed the certificate of mudarriship (professorship) for Effendi.²⁷³ On his return to Erzurum Effendi began teaching in the Sarayonu Madrasah. In the same city, Sayyid Abdul Rezzak who was one of the relatives of Effendi was also teaching Islamic sciences in the Ahmadiye Madrasah in

²⁶⁷ According to a Waqf record the madrasah was established in Sisava in Iraq in order to spread the Islamic sciences. (hadil beratul mufuha min madrasah-i Sisava muhimmeti lersfiali nesri al- ulumiddiniyye bil maarif al-irfaniyye..)

²⁶⁸ The Waqf records, (school for everybody in Sisava in Baghdad) ... *al madrasah waqfen muammaren Sisava zemin mazqure ... madrasah al ulum inshaa fiqna amera ulama Medine sayyidina ... fi kulli hissa Bagdad.*

²⁶⁹ Ottoman State Archives, Cevdet Tasnifi Efka, File, 330, Shelf no. 33295 29 of March 1749, Şam'da Emcediye Türbesi Vakfi tevliyetinin tevecihi.

²⁷⁰ Akgunduz Ahmet, 1988 *Islam Hukukunda ve Osmanli Tatbikatında Vakif Muessessesi*, P. 128 Ankara.

²⁷¹ Ottoman State Archives, MV, No: 54/ 40, 17 January 1890.

²⁷² Ottoman State Archives, MV, No: 40/ 52, 17 January 1890.

²⁷³ Ucar 2008, P.257.

Erzurum.²⁷⁴ After a while, Mudarris Abdul Rezzak Effendi married Effendi's daughter becoming his son-in-law.

3.4 Relationship with the Ottoman Sultan

As mentioned above, as a result of educational activities of the Amjadiy family throughout the history, Abu Bakr Effendi was accepted as an Alim by society at the centre of the State.²⁷⁵ Effendi utilized his personal relations with Ottoman notables during his study in Istanbul in 1850s. In the aristocratic system of the Ottoman State, only the most influential scholars were sent overseas to serve Muslims. In this regard, it can be said that not only was he highly educated but also had a good reputation. Without both of these, he would not have been sent abroad as a religious emissary to represent the State. According to a particular letter, Effendi bought a house in Istanbul in Nuri Osmaniye, which was one of the most elegant suburbs in the center of Istanbul in nineteenth century.²⁷⁶ It indicates the good life style Effendi enjoyed while living there.

Apart from this, Effendi most probably had a relative in Istanbul who helped support him. In the nineteenth century it was difficult to go to Istanbul without any guidance and stay there for some time. On the other hand, according to Effendi family, Effendi's mother came from the Ottoman Palace and had had property in Istanbul. As a result, he had ample opportunity to stay in Istanbul beyond the course of his studies. According to an Ottoman Archival document he was working in the office of foreign secretary of the State.²⁷⁷ At the beginning of 1860s, he was employed by the state as a "man of pen". According to the Ottoman Archival documents, he was chosen as a religious emissary to teach religious obligations of Islam. In recognition of his achievements, intellect and his deep knowledge of

²⁷⁴ Ottoman State Archives, MV, 40/52, 17 January 1890, Erzurum'da vaki Ahmediye Medresesi Evkafı'ndan mezkur medrese müderrisi Abdürezzak İlmî Efendi.

²⁷⁵ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs, HR. MTV No, 9/ 1 Ebubekir ibn Ömer, Emir Süleymanzade.

²⁷⁶ Cape Archives Repository, Cab, 4150 Abou Beker Effendi 1868.

²⁷⁷ Ottoman State Archives, "dahiliye kâtibi Sâib Bey'ın dairesinde bulunan Süleymaniyeli Ebubekir Medis-i Vâlâ'ya çağırılarak Azadan ve sudûrdan Siirtlu-zade Tahir Efendi tarafından sorulan bazı suallere uygun cevap verdiği..." Argun 2000, Güney Afrika'da Bir Osmanlı Elçisi: Ebu Bekir Efendi. *Düşünce Gündem* 4 (40): 29-31. İstanbul.

Islamic sciences which was emphasized in an Ottoman archival document, Effendi was sent to the Cape Colony.²⁷⁸

A slightly different record of events is provided by Omar Jelaleddin Effendi. According to the son of Abu Bakr Effendi, Omar Jelaleddin, the reason Effendi came to Istanbul was as follows:

When my father arrived in Istanbul at the palace of the Sultan, Abdul Majid, the Prime Minister, Khalil Pasha, and the aide the camp of the sultan, ‘Uthman Pasha, were standing at the top of the flight of steps to the entrance, and said to each other; ‘ Behold, Abu Bakr is coming. He wants assistance for his people, but we are not able to do anything for them. But we have received a letter from Queen Victoria. Her Muslim subjects in the Cape Colony have great disputes about some points of religion and have begged her to ask the Sultan that he may send a well-trained scholar to Africa. Let us send Abu Bakr.²⁷⁹

This story may be true but there is lack of evidence to prove it. In addition, according to an Ottoman archival document, Effendi’s situation differed slightly from the version given by Jelaleddin. Accordingly in 1861, Effendi had intended to go to Istanbul in order to investigate the reason his salary of his professorship had not been paid for some time. On the other hand, due to his remarkable reputation, some of his acquaintances in Erzurum had asked him to scrutinize their Waqf records in the Ottoman palace in Istanbul. During the Ottoman period, access to Istanbul was not granted without permission. Investigation of the family history in the Ottoman era was generally difficult unless one was an eminent Alim. Apparently some disputes broke out between two congregations regarding the Banuki Waqf which should have been investigated to clear up the confusion between them. According to a letter the people paid Effendi for this duty. It is noted in a letter from Molla Hasan Banuki regarding his ancestor’s waqf records that:

Despite the fact that our documents were sent to the government in Istanbul, our issue could not be resolved due to the lack of expertise. Subsequently an expert, Bagdadian mufti Abubakr Effendi was sent to Istanbul by us to act as our representative. According to our contract, in return for 5000 Turkish pounds, Abubakr Effendi will send us the related Waqf records. When he left we gave him 2000 Turkish pounds and end of his duty, we will give him outstanding amount. This was negotiated in front of eye witnesses.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs, Iradei Hariciye, No; 10847.

²⁷⁹ Effendi 1960 P.VII.

²⁸⁰ Ucar, 2008, P. 135.

Thereafter, Effendi left Erzurum for Istanbul. When he arrived in Istanbul he began his investigation of the Waqf records at the ministry of religious affairs and endowments. While researching the Waqf documents, he also applied to the Ottoman Government to replace his certificate of mudarriship. Therefore, while he was in Istanbul, he received his new professorship from the Ottoman Government.²⁸¹ In the course of time, Effendi was officially appointed as mudarris of Sarayonu for 150 Ottoman pounds (150 kurus) in 26 December 1861.²⁸² With regard to the duration of his stay in Istanbul, Effendi attained property in Istanbul and for this reason stayed longer than expected.²⁸³ As it is explained earlier, before Effendi died, he wished to sell and donate this estate for poor people in Istanbul.

3.5 Appointment to the Cape

In 1860, religious disputes had occurred amongst the Muslims in South Africa, although there was an Ottoman consul in South Africa, who worked as a legislative consul from Cape Town. As mentioned earlier, Petrus Emanul de Roubaix²⁸⁴ became interested in the religious issues of Muslims and got involved in their religious affairs in order to provide assistance to them. As a result of De Roubaix's activities for the Muslims, Roubaix initially received overwhelming support from the Muslim Society at the Cape. On the 15th of September, the Majesty of England was informed by the Governor General of England (George Grey) that De Roubaix had tried to assist in the Islamic affairs of the local Muslims at the Cape and according to protocol, this should be relayed to the Sultan of Turkey.²⁸⁵

In 1861, as a result of the Ottoman state's supportive role in funding the building of a mosque in Port Elizabeth and paying the salaries of Ulama from Mecca, a letter was sent to Ottoman Sultan from Cape Town to convey the respects, allegiance and appreciation of the Muslims.²⁸⁶

²⁸¹ Ibid. P. 136.

²⁸² Ibid. P. 136.

²⁸³ Effendi, unpublished book/b, "The Clock Is Ticking towards Armageddon" P.38. Iraq.

²⁸⁴ Rosenthal Eric, 1960, Southern African Dictionary of National Biography. P. 93 London.

²⁸⁵ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs, HR. MTV. 608/1 HR-TO 57/153. This issue (Khalifa) will be discussed in more detail on the following pages.

²⁸⁶ Appendix XVIII: The photo of the original letter by Chief Priest Muhamet Achmat

To the Imperial majesty, The Sultan of Turkey

I, Muhammad Achmat, chief priest of the Mussulmen population of Cape Town, South Africa beg most respectfully to extend to Your Majesty on the part of those I represent their grateful acknowledgements for all that Your predecessor has done towards forwarding their wishes and interest. We congratulate your imperial Majesty on Your accession to the Turkish throne, The Mussulmen of this colony beg to assure You of their attachment, and trust that Your majesty will be graciously pleased to extend to them the same kind attention as shown by Your illustrious predecessor, on all occasions affecting their interests and welfare, and they trust that Providence may in His merciful goodness, so order it that Your Majesty may be blessed with a long and happy life to rule over the destinies of Your faithful subjects.

Chief Priest Muhamet Achmat²⁸⁷

After some correspondence between London and the Cape Colony, the government of London became involved in the matter in order to find a solution. In archival documents, the religious issue was called “Muslim British subject at the Cape” among the governors.²⁸⁸ According to the South African Archive, the Cape government requested for an Islamic scholar for Cape Muslims.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman State and British Empire had established a good relationship.²⁸⁹ The relationship between the British and Ottoman must be understood in the context of the British trying to undermine the influence of their hitherto more powerful rivals (Dutch and Portuguese) in the Indian Ocean. The British were trying to use Muslims in the Indian Ocean in order to achieve that goal. Certain, British documents show how relations had developed and grown.²⁹⁰ This relationship went to the extent that, a few years later Queen Victoria sent a letter to Sultan Abdulaziz Khan and signed the letter “Your sister Victoria” clearly indicating the friendly relationship between the two

²⁸⁷ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs, Y. PRK, MF, 3\43. As it is seen above, one of the prominent Imams in Cape Town, Mohammed Achmat desired to show the appreciation of the Cape Muslim Community towards to the Ottoman Caliph in his letter which highlights the significance of the Ottoman-South African relations in the nineteenth century.

²⁸⁸ British National Archives Foreign Office: Embassy and Consulates, Turkey (formerly Ottoman Empire): General Correspondence. From the Sublime Porte Collection: Records created and inherited by the Foreign Office, 31 December 1863 Reference: FO 195/739.

²⁸⁹ As a result of good relationship, in July 1867, Sultan Abdul-Aziz paid a State visit to Britain and welcomed by Queen Victoria. See, Cambridge independent Press, *The Visit of the Sultan.—His Imperial Majesty the Sultan Abdul-Aziz, with his nephew and heir and his two sons.* Saturday 27 July 1867.

²⁹⁰ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs HR.SFR.3...24/7/1861 Shelf No: 59 File No: 14: Padişah ve saray: Sultan Abdülaziz'in cülusunun kraliçeye tebliği.

countries.²⁹¹ According to the Cape Archive the religious issue circulated in correspondence as follows:

The Honorable Secretary to Government, 1855

Sir, I have the honor to convey to you, for the consideration of your government, the accompanying copy of correspondence with the Foreign Office in respect of the memorandum, which is enclosed in the original form and should be returned by certain Moslems, British subjects, in Cape Town asking that a Moslem may be appointed and paid as Turkish Consul General at that place. I shall be glad to receive the observations of your Ministers on this matter at their early convenience.

I have the honor to be,

Governor, Sir H.B. Loch, G.C.B, G.C.M.G ²⁹²

The Ottoman Government had immediately considered the Muslim subject and an imperial degree was issued by the Sultan Abdul Aziz Khan. Thereafter, the Ottoman ambassador Musurus Pasha had informed the Mr. De Roubaix of the solution of the religious matter at the Cape.²⁹³

Your Excellency Ambassador Mr. Roubaix

I have the honor to transmit to you that I received your letters regarding the ways of the religious worships of the Muslims at the Cape. I have considered your information and it put in process for follow up. In the meantime, I am glad to inform you that a religious emissary is ready to be sent to Cape Town from Istanbul in order to resolve these religious problems. The English Government has already ordered the Cape Governor with regards to matter and informed them to guide and help this religious emissary at the Cape during his staying there.

London 25 November 1862

Musurus Pasha²⁹⁴

Some archival documents indicate that Effendi had to take an examination in order to prove his knowledge in Islamic sciences. Evidently he passed the exams and proved his in-

²⁹¹ British National Archives, GH 1/295 38 Papers Received From Secretary of State, London' General 1863, GH 1/297 89 Papers Received From Secretary of State, London' General 1863.

²⁹² Cape Town Archives Repository, CSC, 2/1/1/ 303, GH 23/28- 1859-1962, GH 23/30, 1856-1869.

²⁹³ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs, HR. MTV. 608/5.

²⁹⁴ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs, HR. MTV. 608/22.

depth knowledge in Islamic studies. According to an Ottoman Archival Document this situation developed as follows:

Due to some religious issues among the Muslim inhabitant at the Cape of Good Hope, an Islamic scholar was requested from the Sublime Porte by the British Empire. Therefore a scholar was chosen by the supreme consul of the parliament so as to observe his capacity and knowledge. Bagdadian Abu Bakr Effendi who was working with Saib Effendi²⁹⁵ at the office of ministry of internal affairs was the scholar chosen.

According to an Ottoman archival document, “the British Muslim subject” had been discussed in the Ottoman Palace on various occasions. The document illustrated that, the Cape Muslims had fallen into conflict regarding the different Islamic sects and erroneous religious beliefs.²⁹⁶ The view was held that they required some religious books from the Caliphate in Istanbul.²⁹⁷ Due to the loyalty of South African Muslims to the Caliphate, this request was accepted and the books were sent. Moreover, one of the wise and eminent Ulama should also be sent to the Cape of Good Hope to assist with the religious disputes of the Muslim Society. The Sublime Porte decided to send a theologian to the Cape with a suitable salary.²⁹⁸

To the Supreme Council of Justice of the State (Heyet-i Vukela)

An Ottoman Alim (scholar) from Shahrizur was chosen by Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and accepted as a religious emissary for the Caliphate to send to the Cape of Good Hope. The Alim, Abubakr Effendi is chosen as he is fluent in Arabic and he has got deep knowledge in religious topics. After the exam, it was decided to send this Alim 7500 Turkish pound for his travel to London. His other expenses from London to the Cape of Good Hope will be paid at the London Turkish Embassy. On arrival at the Cape Colony, his salary of 25 Turkish pounds will be given to him regularly by the Ottoman Government.²⁹⁹

Before Effendi came to Cape Town, he had a highly acclaimed degree of professorship in Istanbul. When the Ottoman Government decided to send him to Cape of Good Hope, he attempted an exam and then received his religious degree which shows his

²⁹⁵ Saib Effendi was secretary of ministry of internal affairs (dahiliye katibi) of the Ottoman State at the time. See, Kunalp Sinan, 1999, *Son Donem Osmanli Erkan ve Ricali, 1839-1922* (in Turkish), Istanbul.

²⁹⁶ Orakci 2007, P. 41.

²⁹⁷ These books are mostly Qur'an and Hadiths books and some catechism from earlier Islamic scholars such as Ghazali. (See Literature view of Effendi)

²⁹⁸ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs H.V. 10847.

²⁹⁹ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs, 17 May 1862, No 10847.

knowledge in Islamic fields. His diploma started with a prayer to Allah and then explained the significance of Effendi's erudition in Arabic. It began thus: al-bahr-ul-muhaqqaq al-hibr-ul-mudaqqaq Sheik al- ilm Sheik al-islam mufti al- arbaa immah (al-amiyr) which is translated into English below:³⁰⁰

تربية السيد القرشي الأمجدي
المأمور من جهة الخلافة والدولة العثمانية
لنشر علوم الدين والمعارف الربانية في هذه الأقطار
البحر المحقق والحبر المدقق
شيخ العلم و مفتى الأربع الأئمة مولانا ملا الصلبي عبد الله ابو بكر افندي
الخشناوي القرشي الأمجدي

**The Education and Descent
of
The Sayyid Al-Qurashiy Al-Amjadiy**

**The Commissioner from the Department of the Caliphate and the Ottoman State
to spread the Science of Religion and Divine Knowledge in these countries (of
Southern Africa).**

**The Universal Investigative Scholar and Scribe of Detailed Precision,
The Sheikh of Knowledge and Mufti of The Four Imams,
Mullah Maulana Abdullaah Abu Bakr Effendi
Al-Khushnaawiy Al-Qurashiy Al-Amjadiy.**

Thus, Effendi was appointed to Cape Colony in order to resolve the religious disputes at the tip of the Southern Africa. Upon his arrival diverse correspondence were circulated between the two governments. By November 1862, the Ottoman Ambassador in London, Musurus Pasha informed De Roubaix with an official letter:

I have the honor to transmit to you regarding the religious disputes among the Cape Muslims which was corresponded to us by his Excellency and finally a letter was received to London from the Sublime Porte in Istanbul. An Ottoman theologian, Sheik of knowledge, Abubakr Effendi is appointed by the Sultan of Ottoman State in order to open a religious school to teach the obligations of the Muslim Faith for Cape Muslims. The English Government has informed me about the topic for the second time and has also informed to the governor via Earl Russell to guide and assist to Abubakr Effendi in his activities in the Cape Muslim Society. I am hoping that the endeavors of new Ottoman theologian will be very beneficial for the Muslims and their religious issues will settle down.³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ Appendix XIX: Abu Bakr Effendi's tombstone began with Al Sayyid Al-Qurashiy Al-Amjadiy.

³⁰¹ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs HR. MTV. 608/22, 25 of November 1862.

Moreover in this archival document, there is additional information regarding the opening of an Islamic school to educate Muslims at the Cape. As seen above, Effendi was sent to the Cape Colony as the preferred religious emissary for South African Muslims.³⁰² On the 1st of October 1862, Effendi left to Istanbul to go to South Africa via London. Effendi and his nephew Omer Lutfu stayed in London for two months. According to Omar Jelaleddin Effendi his father went to visit Queen Victoria:

When Abubakr Effendi was in London he went to the palace, but the Lord Chamberlain told him that the Queen had gone to Scotland on holiday. The Lord Chamberlain showed great interest in Abubakr's mission and told him that a steamship was leaving the next day for Cape Town...³⁰³

Eventually, on the 3rd of December 1862³⁰⁴, they left Liverpool for Cape Town. After a long voyage Effendi and Omer Lutfu arrived at the Cape Colony on the 13th of January 1863.³⁰⁵ Thus began Effendi's religious activities for Cape Muslims at the tip of Southern Africa.

³⁰² Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs H.V. 10847.

³⁰³ Effendi 1960, P. VIII.

³⁰⁴ Ottoman State Archives, Meclis-i Mahsûs 1524/ 1862 file, 46/folder, 31 group code, MF. MKT. Afrikadaki Emir Biruni sehri ahalsinin irsadi için bazı fıkıh ve akaid kitaplarıyla birlikte ulemadan birisinin munasip bir harcirahla gönderilmesinin uygun olduğu.

³⁰⁵ Effendi 1994, P. 40.

CHAPTER IV: EFFENDI AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the key challenges of Abubakr Effendi faced during his life in Cape Town. It will look at what his mission was and his teaching approaches within the Muslim society. It explores the struggle he had with some of the Imams in Cape Town, the reasons for these struggles and the manner with which he dealt with them. In addition, it will look at the Imams' responses to Abu Bakr Effendi's reformist approaches and how these events were reported in the media. The observation he made regarding the Imams during this period will be considered in the light of his reformist attitude. In this chapter, the study will focus particularly on his accomplishments, his contribution to Muslim life and society in his position as an Alim. A range of related questions and topics will be addressed. These include: the content of his curriculum at his madrasah; the books he introduced; the reason for his becoming a controversial character in society; why he became involved in certain court cases; and lastly, how he managed his status in society, while also serving as a spiritual guide.

4.2 Relations with the Colonial State

On the 13th of January 1863, Abu Bakr Effendi arrived in Cape Town with his nephew Omer Lutfu. The Ottoman Ambassador, Mr. Emanuel De Roubaix had come to welcome him at the harbor of the Cape of Good Hope. Upon his arrival, Mr. De Roubaix³⁰⁶ offered a lift to Abu Bakr Effendi to town. Abu Bakr Effendi replied: "While such a crowd of Muslims are walking, how can I travel in the cart?"³⁰⁷ Effendi's behaviour comes from his traditional Islamic lifestyle. He showed respect to the people at the Cape which seems to be a good beginning to introduce himself to people who recognized him as an erudite teacher. There is an abundance of official correspondences between Musurus Pasha who was the Ottoman ambassador in London³⁰⁸ and Mr. Roubaix which provides a valuable account of his arrival.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶ Coates 2010, January-March, P.21.

³⁰⁷ Effendi 1994, P. 44.

³⁰⁸ Hofmeijr 1871, P. 26.

³⁰⁹ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs HR. MTV 608/22, 1862.

As a result of the supportive activities of De Roubaix, he received significant sympathy from the Muslims society at the Cape.³¹⁰ As soon as Effendi came to the Cape Colony, he began to regularly write to the Sublime Porte and explain all current matters at the Cape.³¹¹ His first letter was published in one of the most popular Ottoman newspapers, which was called *Mecmua-i Funun* and was issued in Istanbul until 1883. In his first letter Effendi states that:

Although my arrival at the Cape was reported in local newspapers, rumors that I was a pasha or the Imam of Mecca or something similar circulated around town. Due to their great respect for the Caliphate and Ottoman State, the local Muslims demonstrated great interest in visiting me. Mosyo (monsieur) Roubaix, who helps me for my issues in the town, accompanies me whenever requested.³¹²

As demonstrated by these letters, Effendi kept the Ottoman Government abreast of all developments. According to one of his first reports, he met the Cape Governor and was received respect. He notes:

Yesterday I met P. E Wodehouse and gave him my letter of recommendation that was received from foreign affairs department of England. He welcomed me with open arms and explained the religious situations among the Muslims. He then requested that I find swift solution for their issues. He informed me of the designated emissary Mosyo Roubaix appointed by the Ottoman Sultan to assist me in my works in the city.³¹³

Effendi also informed the Sublime Porte of his conditions at the Cape. He states that, “I have received a house from the Colony Government which has four rooms and sufficiently big.” Abu Bakr Effendi finished his letter with a prayer to God. “All my thanks are to Allah for his guidance”.³¹⁴ During his early days in Cape Town, the Cape Colonial Government wanted him to urgently tackle the religious disputes but as far as one can understand from one of his letters, Effendi showed his eminence as an educator by insisting that he began his work by analyzing the social structure of the Muslim Community.

Despite the urgent demands of Cape Colonial Government for me to resolve the religious issues, I prefer to work on the disputes gradually due to the greater religious conflicts in this society. Due to the orthodoxy of the Muslims society at the Cape, the disputes are able to be

³¹⁰ Effendi, 1960, P. VIII.

³¹¹ A different version of Effendi’s arrival is provided by his son, Omar Jelaleddin who shared his family story with Professor Van Selms in 1950s. Effendi 1960, P. VIII.

³¹² *Mecmuai- Funun*, 25 January 1863, Volume I, No, 9 Ramazan 1279.

³¹³ *Mecmua-i Funun*, 1863. Volume I, No 9, Ramazan 1279.

³¹⁴ *Mecmua-i Funun*, Volume I, No 10, Shavval 1279 -1863.

resolved over time with a proper guidance and help of the Almighty. The causes of the controversy center on the leadership by Imams and widespread ignorance of certain issues. I am hoping to see the community in reach of state of peace in place of the current hostility. Allah protects and blesses us from all evil, Insha'Allah.³¹⁵

As stated by Effendi above, the religious issues in society were not simplistic. He therefore preferred to examine the main causes of the disputes rationally in order to prepare a response to them. Moreover he wanted to collect information in his official capacity regarding the overall social situation of the Cape Colony and of Muslims' lifestyles. Effendi's first observations at the Colony were highly significant for Cape Muslim history in the nineteenth century. According to him:

Cape of Good Hope has an amazing climate and abundant vegetation. Despite the general levels of good health, many people die at a young age from the epidemic (smallpox).³¹⁶

During the early years of Effendi's activities at the Cape, an Ottoman seaman, Engineer Faik Bey, came to Cape Town en route to South America. Faik Bey visited Effendi at his house. On his return to Turkey, Faik Bey wrote some geographic information about the Cape in his memoirs.³¹⁷

In another correspondence between the Ottoman Government and Effendi, the latter reported that, "in Cape Town the county seat of the Cape of Good Hope, there are 8 mosques and various masjids in its villages. All of these mosques have individual congregation and perform their regular worship, which I observed personally."³¹⁸ Effendi gives a description of the historical background of the Cape Colony and the importance of Table Mountain for certain religious beliefs.

On Thursday, the first day of the 7th month of the 1286 the Hijra of Muhammad, the elected upon him be the fullness of blessings and upon his companions, the chosen, all of them; in the town called by its people Cape Town, situated at the foot of a high mountain revealing wondrous things and containing extraordinary matters, and which they call Mountain Qaf³¹⁹

³¹⁵ Mecmua-i Funun, Volume I, No; 9 Ramazan 1279 -1863.

³¹⁶ Mecmua-i Funun, Volume 1, No; 10 Shavval-1279 -1863.

³¹⁷ The seat of government of Cape Town is situated at the coordinates 35° 55 south and 18° 23 east. Its population is 40 000. The city has flashy buildings, two mosques, plenty of churches, a city area, a bazaar, an observatory and a reasonably good museum. Muhendis Faik, 1869. P. 58.

³¹⁸ Ottoman State Archives The Minister of Interior Affairs, HR. MTV. 608-1.

³¹⁹ In the original manuscript, Table Mountain was called Jabal Qaf by Abu Bakr Effendi. See also, Effendi 1960, P. XLVIII.

In his letter he notes that:

This is a center station of the British, Cape of Good Hope, situated at the tip of the continent. First the Portuguese and then the Dutch settled at the Cape which is now dominated by the British. Approximately, 200 hundreds years ago, this city began to emerge as a colony.³²⁰ However, in the last 20 years, the city has quickly developed. With its large buildings, and stylish home gardens style as well as railways one can see evidence of the European colonial powers. An amazing mountain is situated around the town which is called Mountain Qaf³²¹ by Muslim inhabitants. The spring water of the territory derives from this mountain.³²²

Effendi's observations are remarkably detailed and compatible with other historical accounts. Engineer Faik Bey and Omer Lutfi Effendi shared their observations which are quite similar and consistent with historical narratives.

4.3 Relations with the Muslims

When Abu Bakr Effendi arrived in the Cape Colony in 13 January 1863, he attempted to examine the social structure of the Muslim Community and reported to the Ottoman Government. According to his observation, traditional and cultural lines were very strongly established in this society. Languages, lifestyles, beliefs and numerous other issues varied greatly. There was little common ground to bring people together. For this reason, Effendi sent a letter to the Sublime Porte to report on these matters and emphasized that due to the societal differences, his official duty and mission were not going to be beneficial to this society. He phrased the impossibility of the task as "Writing on water".³²³ In a rather despondent letter, Effendi notes that:³²⁴

³²⁰ Abu Bakr Effendi mentioned discrimination in the society by European people. He notes that "Freedom of religion began in 1804, after the English occupation. In Dutch Period, life condition was worse in South African Slave Society." Mecmua-i Funun Volume II, No; 11 Zilkade 1279- 1863.

³²¹ In the published version, text of Abubakr Effendi, the mountain is recorded as Jabal Qaf, See; Cape Town Archives Repository, Library 297 Abu Abubakr Effendi: Bayannuddin; a Hanafie treatise on Islam, P.XXXVI, Istanbul

³²² Mecmua-i Funun, Volume I, No, 9 Ramazan 1279-1863.

³²³ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs, HR.MTV. 608-22, 1864.

³²⁴ Ucar 2008, P. 257.

In spite of the numerous Muslims in this area, they have no understanding of Islam and no religious knowledge. However, by performing the Hajj duties of Muslims, they keep the name of the Islam alive. Muslims in South Africa are loyal to the English but not to the Dutch. Before English occupation, Muslim people were abused under Dutch rule and therefore Muslims have a strong dislike for the Dutch. As mentioned in my previous letter, under the English rule, the Muslims are allowed to hold their worship and even build mosques. However, despite the Muslims having permission from the English government to build minarets, still, there are no minarets at the mosques.³²⁵

As a response to this letter from Effendi, on 10 April 1863, the secretary of the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Ottoman State, Seyyid Mustafa Saib Effendi sent a letter to Abu Bakr Effendi stating that some notable viziers, Ali and Fuad Pasha had ordered the secretary, Mustafa Saib, to write a letter to Effendi in order to motivate him on his mission. The letter was firm but also re-assuring and of an enquiring nature:

According to your letter, you state that your mission at the Cape of Good Hope is not going to be beneficial because of the numerous differences which exist and the difficulties of serving under these limited circumstances. As was previously stated, in these types of affairs, reaching the goal takes more time than is initially assumed. In this holy mission, as long as you work with patience and loyalty, most gracious Allah will help you. It is a general rule and works everywhere, if you desire to be successful; you should get the leaders of the society on your side and make friends with them.³²⁶ You should inform them in a gentle manner that “Our religious fellows have certain difficulties with regard to their religious affairs and therefore the head of Islam, the Ottoman Caliph has sent you to teach them and their children. This holy duty of yours was given to you by the Caliphate on behalf of Islam.” Then it will have an impact on them. (...) Your Highness, the Sultan of the State is satisfied with your efforts and the achievements in your mission for the Muslims. This should be sufficient cause to forget your homesickness. His Excellency Fuad and Ali Pasha also send their best regards.³²⁷

As can be observed in this letter, the Ottoman Government gave considerable importance to Effendi’s mission. Despite the distance from the territory and other geographical factors, the Caliphates supported Effendi during his religious services at the Cape. In this letter, the Ottoman notables commended Effendi for his religious works. After this letter, Effendi concentrated on his activities among the Muslim society at the Cape. He also laid emphasis, in his letters, on how a religious emissary should behave and work in an African territory. For instance, he offered very poignant advice by stating:

³²⁵ Mecmua-i Funun Volume I No; 10 Shavval 1279-1863.

³²⁶ Ucar 2008, P. 257.

³²⁷ Ibid. P 147.

The Ulama who are sent to this territory to teach Muslims for the sake of Allah, should know a couple of languages, apart from Arabic. If they work passionately and sincerely when they arrive here, they can be of great benefit to these Muslims. Moreover, the Ulama should talk to administrators of the local government and explain to them “We came here to teach Muslims and educate them; our salary is paid by our state only for this beneficial mission.”³²⁸

A letter signed by ‘The Muslim People’ of the Cape, written before Effendi’s arrival provides an important illustration of the religious situation at the Cape. It reads as follows:

As it is well known, 85 years ago some of Javanese Islands fell into the hands of the Dutch government. Our fathers were all tied up in chains, enslaved and brought here. We were afflicted with suffering and problems; the Honorable British Empire set us free from the slavery of the previous government and gave us liberty. For that, we thank the Empire for its help and grace, and in case of necessity, it is incumbent upon us to sacrifice ourselves for its cause. We once again express our thanks and gratitude. It is obvious that each nation has to know and apply its religion and way of life and it is natural that we also ought to observe our way of life and practice. But we forget our language of origin, the language of Javanese, the books and treatises are all written in that language and therefore we obviously need a teacher to read and teach them. Since the situation is like this, it is requested to bring a scholar-teacher from a Muslim country in order to teach and train us.

Cape of Good Hope³²⁹

The letter above clearly indicates the reasons Abu Bakr Effendi came to Cape Town. He made particular remarks on the lack of education amongst the Muslim community in his following sentences:

Most of these parts of Africa are inhabited by Muslims. Due to the sense of Muslim brotherhood among us, they desire to connect with the Caliphate for their religious issues. Although their lack of education is a serious problem, these poor people live a very simple life and are pure hearted. So if the Ottoman State is able to establish a good relationship with these inhabitants it would be very beneficial for both sides.³³⁰

However, in 1864, the religious activities of Effendi disturbed some governors of the British State. Some of governors had concerns regarding his reformist movements which were

³²⁸ Ottoman State Archives YEE. 18-533/466-93-37 Y.PRK. MF, 1/7, year 1863.

³²⁹ Effendi 1991, P. 7.

³³⁰ Mecmua-i Funun Volume II, No; 11 Zilkade 1279-1863.

reported in the media. One of the English newspapers gave an interesting information account of the crisis:

Abu Bakr is a distinguished and well-respected man in Istanbul. For this reason, Istanbul continues to pay him a salary, allowing him to improve the religious and moral condition of the Mussulmen of the Cape and has established a school there. He has communicated some interesting accounts of his proceedings, mentioning a small but significant issue which has sparked a lot of interest in Istanbul. Apparently he has got married there and is seen as a Mussulmen who is highly influential and fashionable in the Cape of Good Hope... Abu Bekr, Mussulmen missionary has contributed a series of letters in the Cape of Good Hope. The real history of Abu Bekr's (Effendi) mission is more interesting than can be imagined...³³¹

Apart from spending time in the Cape, Effendi also traveled to Mauritius to observe the situation of people living in this part of the world and the circumstances they lived in. He examined various matters and reported them to the Ottoman Government. One of the Ottoman Archival documents is very significant and shows the challenges he faced in Mauritius. Apparently people wanted to know how they should dress for religious practice and worship.³³²

Effendi observed matters at the Cape as a scholar and made a decision on the issues regarding how he should approach the people's problems which were totally different from his own cultural world. According to his letters he was eager to find a solution to the problems in the Muslim Society.

4.4 Religious Disputes and Resolutions

It is evident in history that the spread of Islam in South Africa in both past and present eras is not an easy process. This was especially true under the reign of white supremacy and its intolerant law. Regardless of this, the Muslim worship and faith in the South African Muslim-slave community have survived. This remarkable development created several sociological traumas during the rise of Islam in South African Society. Discrimination and religious segregation have resulted in a variety of issues which created a range of difficulties for the Muslims. Hermann notes that: "Many slaves turned to Islam in a rejection of the

³³¹ The London and China 1864, The Mussulmens at the Cape of Good Hope - P.43 January 27, London.

³³² Ottoman State Archives, (In French) Y.PRK.TKM. 3/4.

Christian church that was lukewarm about baptizing the colonist slaves or campaigning for more freedom for the slaves.”³³³ After the freedom of religion was granted, the South African Muslim Society began to learn their religion and practice their own faith. Islamic education became a necessity for the Muslims and as a result, great leaders such as Tuan Guru and Sheik Yusuf spent their entire lives educating and teaching Muslims about their religion. The process of the development of Islam took an inordinate amount of time and occurred under extremely difficult circumstances in a highly complex atmosphere.³³⁴

Taking the complicated socio-political context into account, it is observed that different native traditions degenerated into incorrect religious practice in this society because of the lack of education and accurate guidance. The archival documents show that religious disputes between different Muslim groups became a serious issue for the Cape Colony during the first half of the nineteenth century. Despite these negative influences, Muslims continued to practise their faith, in some cases without a Muslim leader. According to Davids, this controversial matter was perceived in the following manner:

The establishment of mosques around concepts of congregations, an idea foreign to the teachings of Islam, also provided the opportunity for structuring social hierarchies within congregational structures. It provided him [Imam] with a position of status, social power, leadership and a lucrative income. Those who were Imams held on to their position. It was also not uncommon for an Imam to plot or connive to secure the position for his sons or the closest male relative, irrespective of the nominees' leadership potential. With the position hotly contested, conflicts emerged as incompetent people were nominated or appointed, and loyal supporters completely ignored or overlooked.³³⁵

This narration provides an explanation of the religious controversies at the Cape of Good Hope in the nineteenth century. Muslim people without any other knowledge devoted themselves to their Imams without questioning.

The intervention of Abu Bakr Effendi with some of the local Muslims customs obviously affected the personal interests of some of the Imams who had previously welcomed him on his arrival in Cape Town. In this regard, Effendi's situation was slightly different from other South African religious leaders. The Ottoman State had sent him to Cape Town as a religious guide in order to educate the Muslim people, seemingly including the Imams who grew to resent this. Unlike the Imams discussed by Davids, Effendi's ancestors had been

³³³ Hermann Gilomee & Bernard Mbenga 2007 *New History of South Africa*, Page. IX, Cape Town.

³³⁴ Auwais Rafudeen, 2006, *Ritual and Political Critique: Tuan Guru's Subversive Pietism*, Page 95. *Journal for Islamic Studies*, Vol.26.

³³⁵ Davids, 2001 P. 54-55.

involved in this type of educational activities for hundreds of years in the Ottoman territory.³³⁶

Abu Bakr Effendi was only one of the many famous Islamic scholars from his family who served the Ottoman Palace. When he came to Cape Town, he was not preoccupied by religious leadership as other Imams or leaders in the Colony were.³³⁷ He focused on his educational activities to teach the Muslim people Islamic knowledge on behalf of the Ottoman Caliphate.

While in Cape Town, Effendi's activities apparently disturbed some Imams. As a result of his innovative and reformist works, some Imams saw him as a threat.³³⁸ Thereupon, Imams and their followers attacked Effendi so as to damage his public image. It is reported that certain Imams said to their Murids that:

When Effendi came to Cape Town, we thought he was a great scholar but with time we realized our mistake and began to ignore his statements regarding Islam to the extent that we decided that nobody should attend his school.³³⁹

After this statement of Imams, on 31 July 1863, Effendi wrote a letter to Cape Colonial Government pleading that they protect his pupils from opposing and increasingly unfriendly factions. An extract from the letter shows Effendi's exasperation with the situation, especially given that he seems to be at a loss over the source of the resentment directed towards himself, his school and his pupils:

Sir, Some of Hajji and Abdul Wahap's³⁴⁰ pupils are also in the school of the evening and a great many others. I do not make them come [nor do I] turn them out [sic] but keep a public school for everybody that wishes to learn the Muhammedan creed. [...] Hajji Abdul Wahap is ignorant in Muhammedan Faith and forcing for disputes trying to make quarrels with his pupils against me. [...] I do not know the reason why my name is in the newspaper during the time I have been here till now. They interfere [with] my pupils and also my nephew in the street they cannot pass without their interfering [with] them, calling them all words of bad

³³⁶ See, Appendix V: A copy of the original Waqf record regarding the Amjady Madrasah in Iraq.

³³⁷ Whereas other Imams' positions were slightly different from the position Effendi had, Davids notes that the practice of plotting against Imams to secure the position for close relatives was a common one. This is no more clearly illustrated than in the Cape Supreme Court case of 'Sahibo versus Abdol Kalil, a Supreme Court case which resulted from the nomination of Hassiem Sahibo as the successor to his father as Imam at the Jamia Mosque in 1885'. Davids November 1995, P. 54 -55.

³³⁸ There are numerous historical events to evidence this. See, Appendix XXIII: Photos of Cape Muslim women, before and after Abu Bakr Effendi

³³⁹ Mecmua-i Funun, Volume II No; 11.1863.

³⁴⁰ Abdul Wahhab was the Imam of the Jumah mosque in Cape Town in the half of the nineteenth century.

language. [...] My pupils do not answer at all. [...] This event has been [going on for] a long time among the people, till now mostly giving them orders not to come to my school...³⁴¹

As is seen from his letter, Effendi did not request to open a mosque to address Muslims. In the Alphabetic Directory of Cape Town from 1863 to 1880, he is referred to as a Turkish Professor Abu Bakr Effendi.³⁴² This indicates that he foregrounded his educational duties for the people in Cape Town as reiterated in his book. Effendi explains that as follows:

It was with the hope of guiding and helping these people, and teaching them to be good Muslims that I came to these shores from Istanbul, a journey of nearly 15,000 miles, to a strange country so far away, inhabited by people of different habits, and speaking a different language.³⁴³

As it is understood from the sources, over time, certain Imams lost their standing among their Muslim groupings. Thus, the new religious leadership of the South African Muslims was formed under the pressure of these circumstances in the nineteenth century. As mentioned, the main aim of the sending of Effendi to the Cape Colony was to resolve the religious issues. For this reason, Effendi brought numerous religious books with him. He focused particularly on religious matters to analyze the situation in the society.³⁴⁴ Effendi states that:

I have examined the religious disputes among the Muslims in this territory. Most of these religious disputes are against the Muslim canonical law (the Shari 'a). There is no consensus among the people in religious topics. One of the religious disputes among the Muslims is regarding the burial of the dead. Whilst certain Imams state that the feet should be put first into the grave others say that the head should be put in first. According to certain old beliefs, if someone grows a beard and then wants to cut it off, this man becomes an infidel and his funeral prayers should not be performed for him. Moreover, whoever claims that he is a Muslims, must cut off his moustache, otherwise nobody should give salaam to him anymore. In the month of Ramadhan, Muslims believe that their own saliva breaks their fasting. Therefore the people use a specific pot for their salivary during Ramadhan. Besides, according to them, chewing gum doesn't break their fasting. Additionally in their beliefs, when a woman gets married, if her dowry (mahr) less than 5 pounds, that marriage is not acceptable in Muslim law. In weddings, kissing each other and hugging one another is a general practice of the marriage. Apart from this, there are sixteen muazzin and fourteen people perform 'iqamah

³⁴¹ Cape Town Archives Repository, CO 4129 E6 Memorial Abu Effendi, regarding his School for Muhammedan 1863 National Archives of South Africa.

³⁴² Cape Town Archives Repository 316.87 Cape South African Alphabetic Director, 1873.

³⁴³ Effendi 1960, P. XVII.

³⁴⁴ Effendi 1994, P. 32.

(minor call to prayer) in salah (ritual prayer) in every mosque. In this manner, several false beliefs have led people astray without them having the knowledge to question them.³⁴⁵

Effendi continued his explanation, asserting that:

Due to the distance of these lands from the main centers of Islam and difficult circumstances of corresponding with Muslim countries, Muslims do not have an opportunity to learn the duties of the religion and Sunnah of Prophet Muhammad. However, approximately fifty years ago some Muslims went to Hejaz for haj duty. During their voyage, these Muslims learned the realities of Islam and religious practices in Mecca. When they compared these practices with their own, they realized the religious faults of their Imams at the Cape. Moreover, when they returned to South Africa, they declared their new knowledge to local Muslims. This event caused controversy among the Imams and they rejected these statements to protect their image. One of their disputes was about the appointment of the Imams in the mosques. According to an old tradition in Cape Town, the Imams claimed that the existing Imams should choose his successor before he dies. However, the Muslims who observed religious truth in Mecca rejected this rule and declared it unacceptable in Islam. This controversy even created disturbance for the local government of the Cape Colony.³⁴⁶

Abu Bakr Effendi proffered considerable Islamic information to the South African Muslims. In addition, he questioned how Muslim people lost their path in Islam. His narrations also brought to light some historical matters regarding how certain Imams abused their position for their self-interest, took liberties and granted themselves excesses using religion. Effendi reports that:

At the same time, they have got their own beliefs which are opposed to orthodox Islam. When some of these people went to Hajj, they also learned another false religious ritual from an ignorant Imam, whose name is Muhammad Salih ibn Ali Batavi and lives in Mecca. While these pure Muslims people were in Mecca, they received some erroneous religious books from him which were written in Javanese language and contained total inaccuracies. This situation caused further religious disputes. To the extent that, according to Muhammad Salih, Prophet Muhammad in the night of the Meraj³⁴⁷ spoke to Imam Shafi'i and said to him "Oh Shafi'i, I commend to you my people (Ummah) give attention to your teaching and be careful of your jurisprudence" and thus Muhammed Salih did not accept another Islamic sect. Besides, they only accepted four pillars of Islam instead of five. According to M. Salih's statements, forgiveness of the sins of Muslims depends on their Imam's opinion, with the result that Muslims have great fear for their Imams. In addition, if you make your Imam angry, your prayer (Ibadat) will not be accepted by Allah at all. Unfortunately believers of the Shafi'i congregation accepted these erroneous statements as facts of Islam. In this regard, I prefer to

³⁴⁵ Mecmua-i Funun Volume 2 No: 11, zilkade 1279, 1863.

³⁴⁶ Mecmua-i Funun Volume 1 no; 9, Ramazan 1279- 1863.

³⁴⁷ The Isra and Mi'raj are the two parts of a Night Journey that, according to Islamic tradition, the prophet of Islam, Muhammad took during a single night around the year 621.

teach my students the facts of Islam from the Qur'an and Hadiths as much as I can. Allah protects these pure hearted Muslims Insha'Allah.³⁴⁸

Effendi also considered the subject of *Halaal* (permissible) and *Haram* (forbidden) in the context of Cape Muslim society. He noticed some mistaken beliefs at the Cape which were regarded as lawful by some groupings. Due to this, religious debates led to controversies in Muslim community. Thereafter, Effendi only focused on the Qur'an and Hadiths as a source of his jurisprudence for Cape Muslims. He clearly explained these matters in his well-known book, *Beyan al- Din*.³⁴⁹

Similarly, Effendi states that, according to the Muslims at the Cape, eating turkey's meat as well as the cow's and sheep's head are sinful (*Haram*). However, oddly enough, eating any kind of insect was allowed according to their Imams. In their opinion, first cousins could not get married to each other; however, they were allowed to marry with milk siblings and it was also permissible to marry one's stepmother (if the father and stepmother did not have offsprings).³⁵⁰

Effendi was a vocal critic of what he deemed as faulty beliefs among the Muslim Community at the Cape. He mentioned in a letter: "When I enlightened Muslims at the Cape, despite the fact that inhabitants listened to my advice, some of the Imams stated that, 'He is a Hanafi so Effendi's rules and fatwas are not acceptable in our mosques' whereas Imam e Shafi'i never issued such a fatwa based on what these Imams stated to their congregations."³⁵¹ Effendi also explained that:

For twenty years, a false sect (Tarikah) occurred among the Muslims, namely Pulle-i Rufah-i which contains erroneous beliefs about Islam. Before they start to worship (which is about injuring their body with chains) the followers of this congregation go to a club in order to imbibe alcohol so as to be braver while they injure themselves.³⁵² However while they hurt themselves during the prayer, the impact of the alcohol leads some of them to accidentally kill

³⁴⁸ Mecmua-i Funun c. 3 no, 25-36, 1866.

³⁴⁹ Effendi notes that, "It was necessary to give them advice and, in many instances, I had to try hard to reform some of their bad habits and practices, which were contrary to the religion of Islam. Wherever there occurred disagreement, I mentioned the proofs from the Qur'an and Sunna as a demonstration of what is the truth in religion and as an encouragement to cease their useless contention and dispute." Effendi 1960, P. XLVIII.

³⁵⁰ Mecmua-i Funun, Volume II 25-36, 1281, 1865.

³⁵¹ Mecmua-i Funun, Volume II, No; 26.1863.

³⁵² In fact, many scholars have written about this religious ritual which is very similar with the narration of Effendi. See, Davids 1995, P. 4. Da Costa- Davids, 1985, P. 81-102. Babb 2010, P.16.

other Murids³⁵³ during the worship. For this reason, the Cape Colony does not allow them to gather in the same place for prayer anymore. Every one of the Murids donates money to his Sheik for this worship on that night of the celebration. On those nights, local Muslims and Christians do not go outside so as to save themselves from this congregation. At an appropriate time, I intend to inform the government about these false religious practices. However, right now, I focus on teaching the children in my school.³⁵⁴ The Muslims in this land do not know the significance of eating either sinful or lawful meat. They eat any kind of fowl without distinguishing one from another.³⁵⁵

As demonstrated by these narrations of Effendi, these religious disputes amongst the Muslim groups in the Cape could only create tremendous conflict within the Muslim society during the second half of the nineteenth century. According to Davids, non-recognition of the authority of religious leaders had caused some of the religious conflicts between the various groups.³⁵⁶ There is evidence to show that the social confusion among the Muslims arose due to a vacuum of authority in the Muslim community. An example is the Palm Tree mosque court case. Davids provides the following explanation about the issue:³⁵⁷

The appointment of the Imam was in most instances an issue. He was not only the leader of the congregation and its spiritual head, but acted at times as its official spokesman, its adviser, its guide in social life and the central figure around whom the entire congregation revolved. The Imam was to the Muslims a person beyond reproach, to be trusted with every facet of life of the congregation. He had supreme powers and was answerable to no one.³⁵⁸

As far as it is understood from Effendi's reports, the actions of the Imams for their own gain created a new social class. In this upper class, Imams did not want to recognize any authority. Therefore, some of the Imams within the community did not even consider their most competent Imam, Tuan Guru's advice and some of the members of the congregation left the Auwal Mosque and opened another mosque in Long Street, the Palm Tree Mosque.³⁵⁹

Indeed, this class hierarchy of leadership occurred on several occasions at the Cape which proves my statement on the topic. Similarly, at a later stage, another issue occurred at the Cape with regard to the appointment of Imams creating a controversy amongst Imams. A son of Effendi, Ahmet Atatullah sent a letter to Omer Lutfi, his cousin. O. Lutfi had come to

³⁵³ A murid is an apprentice of the Murshid or spiritual teacher in the mosque.

³⁵⁴ Mecnua-i Funun Volume I, No; 25-36, 1281, 1865.

³⁵⁵ Mecnua-i Funun , Volume III no; 25-36, 1282- 1866.

³⁵⁶ Davids 1995, P. 59.

³⁵⁷ Davids 1980, P. 50.

³⁵⁸ Ibid. P. 50, 51.

³⁵⁹ Ibid. P. 50.

Cape Town with his uncle and returned to Turkey in 1866. The letter provides additional material to better understand the religious situations in the Muslim society in the nineteenth century.³⁶⁰

An Imam came to the Cape from Medina to teach Muslim students at the mosque of Abdul Wehhap. The congregation of the Mosque paid his salary for a year. But after three months, Abdul Wehhap complained about him saying, “He is not an Alim, he cannot even recite the Surat Al- Fatihah. Also he is a Hanafi; his salah³⁶¹ is not acceptable in our belief. “However, the Imam who came from Medina is in fact an Alim and Khaafiz. My father, Abu Bakr Effendi was married by him in Medina. This Imam is a Hanafi Muslim. Antagonism and Madhabs chaos and conflicts can not finish here until hereafter (Qiyamah).³⁶²

As it is understood from this letter, these types of religious issues occurred at the Cape in nineteenth century. Drastic events had occurred in the Cape Muslim environment which triggered off some other matters in the same years.

In the same vein, one of the first religious issues in the Muslim Community had arisen at the Palm Tree mosque during 1862, regarding the appointment of Imams. According to Argun, “the appointment of every Imam in the Cape created some form of dispute. Viewed in retrospect, this event mirrors an unacceptable situation.”³⁶³ When we look at the history of Palm Tree Mosque, ever since the Mosque was established, various disputes and disturbances took place.³⁶⁴ The Palm Tree Mosque was opened by Jan van Boughies in retaliation to the appointment of the Imam of the Auwal mosque by Chief Imam Tuan Guru. Thereupon, Jan van Boughies ceded his status from the Auwal Mosque and started his own congregation.³⁶⁵ Afterwards, Jan van Boughies began his religious activities at his new Mosque with his new congregation.³⁶⁶ This is the first great split amongst the Muslims of the Cape. In 1836, Imam Jan complained about one of the Imams, Achmat. Jan had never recognized Achmat as an Imam and for this reason, tried to damage Achmat’s image using the local media.³⁶⁷ Davids states, “the establishment of the new mosque compounded the animosity between Jan and

³⁶⁰ Ucar 2008 P. 308.

³⁶¹ Salah means prayer.

³⁶² Ucar 2008, P. 188.

³⁶³ Argun Selim, 2008 P.48.

³⁶⁴ Ibid. P. 123,124,125.

³⁶⁵ Ibid. P. 103.

³⁶⁶ Hadjie Abdul Kalil decided to break away from the Jameah Queen Victoria Mosque to establish his own mosque. Tayop, 1999, P. 32.

³⁶⁷ Imam Wali ad-Din Muhammad ibn Abdullah al-Khatib al-Tabrizi (died 742 AH) was a great Sunni scholar of Hadith, famous for his book Mishkat al-Masabih. See, Mishkat-ul-Masabih (a Summarised Version) 2008 Compiled By Wali-ud-din Bin Abdullah Al-Khatib Al-Umari Al-Tabrizi Arabic- English Translated by Abdul Hameed Siddiqui, Hard Back. Volume. III, India.

Achmat, an animosity which never subsided and which culminated into a major communal conflict in 1836.”³⁶⁸

Effendi went to the Cape Supreme Court and declared that mosques are endowments (Awqaf) in Islamic tradition and cannot be used for reasons other than religious activities which are very clear stated in Hadiths. To solve the ongoing Palm Tree Mosque dispute, the court relied heavily on Abu Bakr Effendi and accepted his evidence in the final judgment. Justice Water Mayer concurred with Justice Bell saying:

I agree with my brother Bell in reference to the evidence of Effendi. His credentials and his position satisfied the court that, in regard to the law of Turkey, what he has stated is entitled to respect and to be accepted by us.³⁶⁹

Finally Effendi’s rules were accepted by Cape Government and resolved the problem.³⁷⁰ According to Davids, it appears that Abu Bakr Effendi acted wrongfully, when he showed evidence of his religious authority in the Supreme Court. He states that, “The court ruled on the basis of *Miskat al-Mathabit*, a Hanafi treatise on Islamic knowledge presented by Effendi in support of his evidence, and that this was potentially problematic.” However, in terms of Islam and in the light of the religious context in which the issue unfolded, this is not a very strong contention because *Miskat al- Mathabit* is not a Hanafi book but it is a collection of Hadiths which was collected by a Shafi’i scholar Al-Baghawi.³⁷¹

The Shafi’i Jumu-ah’ question was another one of the most important religious disputes within the community.³⁷² The question was about the dispersal of the worshippers among so many mosques, which held inherent dangers for the forty – worshippers rule.³⁷³ The dispute caused controversy among the Imams and from 1870 to 1914; each of the Imams had acted according to his understanding of their congregations.³⁷⁴

³⁶⁸ Ibid. P. 116 In spite of Imam Jan’s incompatible attitudes, Achmat Davids notes ... “despite this blemish, Jan Van Boughies is certainly one of the most remarkable characters in the history of the Cape Muslims” P. 118.

³⁶⁹ Davids 1980, P. 121.

³⁷⁰ Ibid. P. 121-123.

³⁷¹ Al-Baghawi 1961, *Sharḥ al-Ṭībī ‘alá Mishkāt al-maṣābiḥ al-musammá bi-al-Kāshif ‘an ḥaqā’iq al-sunan.*

³⁷² Tayob, 1999 P.33.

³⁷³ Imam Shafi’i discussed requirements for the number of participants, the characteristics of the town in which the Friday prayer is performed, and specifics regarding those attending the prayer. Imam Shafi’i related that when the Prophet Muhammad reached Medina, he performed it with forty men. Therefore, Imam Shafi’i opined that forty is requisite for the Friday prayer. See, Schacht Joseph 1950. *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence.* P. 16 Oxford.

³⁷⁴ Davids 1980, P.50.

In 1914, on the request of the Cape Muslims, a delegation came from Zanzibar to the Cape. The head of the delegation was Sheik Abdullah ibn Muhammed Bakathier. By the end of his investigation, the delegation decided that the Friday Prayer should take place in Jamia Mosque on Chappini Street. However, that recommendation and ruling did not work either. Davids reports that the agreement did not fully settle the dispute. “The Imam of the Auwal Mosque refused to sign the agreement. He claimed that if there were to be one Ju-muah in Cape Town, such a Ju-muah could be performed only at his mosque, the Auwal Mosque as this was the oldest mosque in Cape Town.”³⁷⁵ So this event helps us to observe the presence of the non-recognition of the authority in Cape Muslim society. Before this event, the Imams did not accept the Effendi as a religious authority either. But most of the learned families and their children understood the significance of Abu Bakr Effendi’s knowledge and became his students.³⁷⁶ However, at that time, an important measure of society was not about the qualification of the Ulama. Religious knowledge was not even analyzed by the Imams, nor was it analyzed by their followers.³⁷⁷ From 1807³⁷⁸ to 1914,³⁷⁹ many religious matters arose amongst the Muslims at the Cape.³⁸⁰

It is possible to say, that the reasons for the religious disputes are educational rather than doctrinal. Essentially a leadership campaign by Imams caused these religious disputes. In historical context, Jeppie also emphasizes the significance of their social status within the society.³⁸¹

The Hanafi-Shafi’i dispute was already evident in the Palm Tree Mosque court case and as described by scholars such as Davids, but was particularly invigorated in the crayfish

³⁷⁵ Ibid. P. 59.

³⁷⁶ Three grandsons of Tuan Guru, Abdul Rakiép, Abdullah and Mogamat and also Hamien, son of Achmat van Bengalen, and Muhammed Dollie were students of Abu Bakr Efendi in his high theological school. Tahora Saban Cook, who was also one of the students of Effendi and afterwards became his wife, opened the first Islamic school for girls in Cape Town.

³⁷⁷ Ibid. one of the most competent Imams, Abdul Burns supports our statement in this case, “We are not allowed have our bodies carried over a long distance from where they die, say five of six miles; if this law was passed I, as an educated man, would submit to it, but our ignorant Malays would violate this law.” Davids 1980, P. 69.

³⁷⁸ Achmat Davids states that religious conflicts in Cape Muslim Society started with death of Imam Tuan Guru. See, Davids. 1980, P. 123.

³⁷⁹ The last Ottoman theologian in Cape Town, Professor Mahmud Effendi served to Cape Muslim Community at his school in the Castle Street in Cape Town. Thus, the religious guidance of the Ottoman Caliphate for the Muslim world gradually collapsed with the beginning of the First World War.

³⁸⁰ Davids 1980, P. 50, 124,125.

³⁸¹ Jeppie 1996, P. 154.

debate, which was perceived as a doctrinal matter, though actually, there was not a fundamental difference between the two views in the religious context.³⁸²

Abu Bakr Effendi, in his book, the *Beyan al- Din*, passed a judgment in which he stated that the consumption of shellfish and particularly crayfish is prohibited (haraam). This resulted in a conflict within the predominantly Shafi'i Cape Muslim Community who had up until that point accepted crayfish as indisputably permissible.³⁸³ From this point on, the situation for Effendi became even more complicated. "By 1869 the people's dissatisfaction with Abu Bakr Effendi reached fever pitch. A petition was taken around to have him removed from the Cape. His ruling that crayfish and snoek were Haraam caused a rift in the Muslim Community."³⁸⁴ In the Cape Supreme Court in 1866, Effendi used *Miskat al- Mathabit* as evidence in order to explain religious matters.³⁸⁵

There are many interesting documents regarding the matter of eating crayfish in the Cape Colony at the time. The topic is a controversial subject which also highlights different understandings and the disputes of the Madhabs in Islam. Effendi was an expert on these four sects of Islamic law, which is why he was sent to Cape Town to guide the Muslims according to the orthodox Islamic rules.³⁸⁶

It is rumored that one of Effendi's students said to another Muslim (a Shafi'i), "you have eaten crayfish so your ablution (*wudu*) cannot be acceptable, because crayfish is not lawful". Thereafter the Shafi'i gentleman, who was one of the students of Abdul Wahhap, acted in an antagonistic manner towards Effendi. Thereupon, Effendi was called to court as an authority of the Islamic law. Finally, Effendi's student won the court case and the matter circulated across Muslim society in the Cape.³⁸⁷

³⁸² Davids, 1980, P. 50.

³⁸³ Ibid. P. 54, 55, Crayfish matter was even debated in Mecca. Cape Muslims referred this matter to Mecca. See, the following chapter.

³⁸⁴ Davids, 1980, P. 54.

³⁸⁵ As we mentioned above, *Mishkat al-Masabih* is not a book with regard to Hanafie Fiqh as Davids' mentioned, it is actually a collection of Hadiths. But Davids wrote in his book; 'Hanafie treatise on Islam presented by Effendi in support of his evidence'. Because of his incorrect statement, unfortunately many researchers had followed same mistake and interpreted the matter in wrong way. It contains between Hadith, divided into 29 books and is considered by Sunni scholars an important writing.

³⁸⁶ As it mentioned in second chapter one of Effendi's titles was mufti ul arbaa (master of the four sects in Islam). Effendi 1960, Page, XXXII.

³⁸⁷ Cape Town Archives Repository, CSC, U 1/1/156 – No, 37.

When we examine Effendi's book, in *Beyan al- Din*, he states: "no animals which live in water should be eaten, except fish which, however, may not be eaten when found floating on the surface."³⁸⁸ Based on a Hadith, Effendi states that, 'two kinds of carrion and two kinds of blood have been made unlawful unto us namely as to carrion, that of fish and locusts and as to blood, that of the liver and the spleen."³⁸⁹ He continued that, "all other sea animals are ritually impure, and are unlawful, in accordance with the Qur'an verse (Ayah)."³⁹⁰ Finally it is easy to see from the book, that according to Effendi, with the exception of fish, all other sea animals are unlawful. All of Effendi's declarations are explained and proved with Ayahs and Hadiths in his book.³⁹¹ According to Hanafi Fiqh, crayfish is not haraam but reprehensible (*Makruh*). It is understood from these explanations that Effendi's interpretation regarding crayfish was different from all other Muslims Schools. For this reason, it could be said that Effendi did not actually follow Hanafi doctrines, which can be clearly seen from his jurisprudence. Achmat Davids also states that, "Abu Bakr Effendi does not declare his Hanafi leanings."³⁹²

The most important evidence which show the viewpoint of Abu Bakr Effendi towards the madhsabs is reflected in his explanations and interpretations of religious laws and rules, many of which are embedded in his letters, reports and books. Each Madhsab is based on proof provided by the Qur'an and the Sunnah. According to the Shafi'i, Maliki and Hanbali Madhsabs, it is permissible to eat all sea food. Similarly, according to the Hanafi sect, fish such as turbot, carp, and flipper are permissible to eat. However, the consumption of scavengers of the ocean (vermin) such as crayfish and prawn is considered reprehensible (*makruh*)³⁹³ because these creatures are regarded in society as dirty both in the respect of appearance and their type of flesh.³⁹⁴ This said, on close examination of his works³⁹⁵, Imam

³⁸⁸ Qur'an V 3. A. 2005 Yusuf Ali (Translator)

³⁸⁹ Effendi 1960, P. 158.

³⁹⁰ Ibid. P. 156.

³⁹¹ Ibid.156. It is very interesting that explanation also states in the holy Bible in the same way like the Qur'an See, Holy Bible January 2009 Large Print, New international version by Zondervan Leviticus-10-11/P. 119.

³⁹² Davids 2011, P. 121.

³⁹³ Makruh is a disliked or offensive act (literally "detestable"). Though it is not Haram a person who abstains from this act will be rewarded. Muslims are encouraged to avoid such actions when possible. This is one of the degrees of approval (ahqam) in Islamic law. Muhammed Ebû Zehra, 2005, *İslâm'da Fıkıhı Mezhepler Târihi*, II, P. 66-67. Istanbul.

³⁹⁴ "Forbidden to you (for food) are: dead meat, blood, the flesh of swine..." (Surah al-Ma'idah, V: 53) and also Nahl Sûresi, 14. Mâide Sûresi, 96. el-Mezâhibu'l-Erbaa, 2: 5. See, Muhammed, 2009, P.132.

³⁹⁵ İzmirli İsmail Hakkı, 1981 *Yeni İlm-i Kelâm*, 127 Ankara. Muhammed Ebû Zehra, 2014, *İslâm'da Fıkıhı Mezhepler Târihi*, II, 66-67. Istanbul.

Abu Hanifa does not give any further interpretation on the consumption of crayfish other than that it is considered *makruh*.³⁹⁶

In order to understand the issue as it applied in the Cape colony during Abu Bakr Effendi's time, we must examine his sources and then his ruling on based on these sources. As it is mentioned before, the Hadiths collection, entitled, *Mishkat al-Masabih* was used by Effendi in the Cape when he was called to court as an authority in Islamic issue.³⁹⁷ There are multiple issues on which different Hadiths support different rulings. There are Hadiths collections which are more popular among Hanafi's because they include the Hadiths which support the positions of Imam Abu Hanifa, and others which are more popular with Shafi'i, because they include the Hadiths which support the positions of Imam al-Shafi'i etc. However, the Hadiths collection, *Mishkat al-Masabih* was not written by a Hanafi scholar, but in fact, was a book of Hadiths which was collected by a Shafi'i scholar, al-Baghawi. The book, *Mishkat al-Masabih* was used by Effendi in the Cape court as a primary source to support his ruling about the Mosque question and several others.³⁹⁸ Also, sometimes Effendi used quotes from Malik bin Anas who was another great Muslim jurist and the founder of the Maliki madshab.³⁹⁹ Effendi's use of eclectic sources again illustrates that he did not follow any particular sect when resolving religious issues within the Cape Muslim community.⁴⁰⁰

Additionally and importantly, Abu Bakr Effendi used two major Hanafi sources in his entire life for his rulings on different subject matters. These were called the *Ruh al- Bayan* and *Multaqa al-Abhur*. The Hanafi tafsir, *Ruh al- Bayan* was written by the famous Ottoman scholar Ismail Hakki Bursevi who lived in Istanbul in the seventeenth century.⁴⁰¹ His well-known book, *Ruh al- Bayan* has been considered a great tafsir (exegesis) of the holy Qur'an,

³⁹⁶ Bilmen Omer Nasuhi, 1995 Hukuki Islamiyye ve Islahat-i Fikhiyye Kamusu, (a lexicon of Islamic Law and Terminology of Islamic Jurisprudence) Volume, VI, Page 342. Istanbul.

³⁹⁷ Jackie Loos, Cape Argus 2005 August 24 Theologian enriched Islam Page 12

³⁹⁸ Davids 2001, P. 54-55.

³⁹⁹ Ibid. P. 154.

⁴⁰⁰ Davids 2011, P. 120.

⁴⁰¹ Bursevi Seyh İsmail Hakki 2005, Ruhul- Beyan Tefsiri, Volume XII, Istanbul.

and it is written in Ottoman Turkish as twelve volumes.⁴⁰² According to the author of *Ruh al-Bayan* crayfish is reprehensible (*makruh*) and it is clearly stated in his tafsir.⁴⁰³

Another Hanafi tafsir source is the *Multaqa al- Abhur* which was written by a renowned Hanafi scholar al- Halabi in the 1680s.⁴⁰⁴ The tafsir became one of the fundamental sources of the Ottoman Muslim world and had been extensively used by Ottoman Ulama up until the twentieth century.⁴⁰⁵ In *Multaqa al- Abhur*, all Islamic subjects are explained according to Hanafi Fiqh.⁴⁰⁶ In *Multaqa al- Abhur*, Ibrahim Halabi also explained the situation of sea foods based on Islamic sources and stated that crayfish is *makruh*. So, as with all other considerable Hanafi sources, *Ruh al- Bayan* and *Multaqa al-Abhur* also state that crayfish is *makruh*.⁴⁰⁷

Despite these great Hanafi sources which were taught in the Ottoman Madrasahs, Abu Bakr Effendi's ruling on the consumption of the sea foods differed from these for the pointed out that crayfish is *Haram*. In making this ruling, Effendi based himself on the demands of his time rather than the teachings from books of a particular school. This did not prevent Effendi from being misunderstood. When Mia Brandel translated the *Beyan al- Din*, she stated that:

Abu Bakr's text is a close copy of the *Multaqa al- Abhur* of Muhammed b. Ibrahim al Halabi, the most recent authoritative elementary handbook of the Hanafite School of Law which has been in current school use throughout the Turkish Empire from the 16th century onwards.⁴⁰⁸

This statement made by Mia Brandel caused the common and unfortunate misunderstanding that, based on the similarity between Effendi's text and the well-known Hanafi book, *Multaqa al-Abhur*, Effendi was a Hanafi scholar.⁴⁰⁹ Because of this misconception, key rulings that set Abu Bakr Effendi apart as a scholar were easily overlooked.

⁴⁰² This book was even mentioned in the travelogue of Omar Lutfi who was the nephew of Abu Bakr Effendi, stayed in Cape Town for four years and helped his uncle at his theological school until 1866. See, Efendi Omer Lutfi, 1994 *Yüz Yıl Önce Güney Afrika*, Umit Burnu Seyahatnamesi, edited by Huseyin Yorumaz, Page, 33. Istanbul: Kitapevi Yayıncılık.

⁴⁰³ Bursevi 2005, Vol. 6. P. 275-76.

⁴⁰⁴ Has Sukru Selim, 1981, A study of Ibrahim al- Halabi with special reference to the *Multaqa*, PhD thesis, University of Edinburg.

⁴⁰⁵ Ersoy Mehmet Akif 2009, *Safahat*, Page 403 Istanbul.

⁴⁰⁶ Hanioglu, M. Sukru 2010, A brief history of the Late Ottoman Empire Page, 96, United States.

⁴⁰⁷ Bilmen, Volume, IV. P. 68.

⁴⁰⁸ Effendi 1960, Page, VII.

⁴⁰⁹ *Multaqa al- Abhur* (1517) is the major work of al Halabi, based on the works of four earlier jurists.

It is therefore important to reiterate that despite the existence of these great Hanafi sources and the fact that these and other sources were used by Abu Bakr Effendi in his theological school at the Cape, Effendi's own interpretation on consumption of crayfish was that crayfish is forbidden (*Haram*). This runs counter to the Hanafi sources that agree that crayfish is only *makruh*. This ruling, in my opinion, sets the scholar apart.

Moreover, when we look at Effendi's book, *Beyan al-Din*, it can clearly be seen that his explanation on the religious topics are based on primary sources of early Islam rather than Hanafi texts.⁴¹⁰ Therefore Effendi notes that "Wherever there occurred disagreement, I mentioned the proofs from the Qur'an and Sunna as a demonstration of what is the truth in religion."⁴¹¹ Similarly Effendi's interpretation on prayer (*salah*) time was different from Hanafi teachings,⁴¹² which is also noticed by the translator of the *Beyan al-Din* and Brandel Syrier in the footnote.⁴¹³ Another of his rulings (fatwas) that differed from the Hanafi School was regarding the slaughtering of animals and the utterance of Bismillah.⁴¹⁴

Scholars of Hanafi,⁴¹⁵ Maliki and Hanbali sects understood the expression "do not eat from which Allah's name is not mentioned" as "animals slaughtered without Bismillah" and built the following views based on this explanation.⁴¹⁶ According to the Shafi'i School, however, before slaughtering the animal, it is not necessary to mention Allah's name. Regarding the topic, Ulama of the Shafi'i School state that the notion has become widespread that the mention of Allah's name is not obligatory but that it is only a Sunna. This would imply that a slaughtered animal is lawful even if the slaughterer purposely does not mention Allah's name.⁴¹⁷ In essence therefore, while the majority of the jurists in the four Madhabs rule in favour of Bismillah, Shafi'i Ulama state that the animal will be Halaal even if in the

⁴¹⁰ Effendi 1960, P. 6,7,176.

⁴¹¹ Ibid. P. XLVII.

⁴¹² Ibid. P. 84 and 85 footnote.

⁴¹³ Effendi 1960, P. 152.

⁴¹⁴ In the name of Allah is the translation of the Islamic phrase Bismillah (Bismillah).

⁴¹⁵ Elmalılı Muhammed Hamdi Yazır 1936, Hak Dini Kur'an Dili Yeni Mealli Türkçe Tefsir, İstanbul, Vol: III, s.2064.

⁴¹⁶ Muhammed Emin İbn Âbidîn, Hâşiyetü Reddi'l-Muhtâr ale'd-Dürri'l-Muhtâr, İstanbul, 1984, Vol: VI, P.299-302.

⁴¹⁷ Stilt Kristen 2012, Islamic Law in Action Authority, Discretion, and Everyday Experiences in Mamluk Egypt, P.96.

situation where pronouncing the name of Allah is intentionally omitted and they argue that to recite the name of Allah is merely a Sunna.⁴¹⁸

Importantly for this thesis is the fact that in the context of the Cape, Effendi interpreted the issue by relying on an ayah of the Qur'an as follows:

Do not eat of that upon which the name of Allah has not been mentioned, for indeed, it is grave disobedience. And indeed do the devils inspire their allies [among men] to dispute with you. And if you were to obey them, indeed, you would be associates [of others with Him].⁴¹⁹

While this ayah is interpreted differently in general in four of Islamic schools, Effendi, in particular gave his own interpretation which stated, that if, while slaughtering an animal one does not say Bismillah intentionally, it is in fact Haram.⁴²⁰ What this means is that when ruling on this fatwa at the Cape, Effendi revealed his opinion on Bismillah to be slightly different from that of the Hanafi School. This interesting diversion of Effendi's from what can be considered the norm in the Hanafi School's ruling is explained in following chapter in greater detail.⁴²¹

At that particular time in the history of the Cape, Effendi demonstrated that as the situation demanded, he relied on primary sources rather than political pressure to make his rulings.⁴²² His different rulings were therefore informed and considered, but did not indiscriminately follow school-based interpretations. As explained above, with his unusual fatwas, Effendi eluded sects and therefore demonstrated exceptional scholarship when it came to resolving religious matters across different sects.⁴²³

Despite this reality, Effendi was known as a Hanafi scholar within the Cape Muslim society. His unique teaching methods and selection of sources he used at his schools as well as approaches to Islamic matters were different from the Shafi'i Imams at the Cape. At that time, the Shafi'i was recognized as a main madhsab at the Cape and due to the fact that Effendi differed in his rulings, several speculations were made about Effendi's madhsab and

⁴¹⁸ Mufti Ikram Ul Haq 2012, *The Fiqh of mechanical slaughter*, P. 3, 4. Los Angeles.

⁴¹⁹The Holy Qur'an, Surah 6. Al-An'am, Ayah 121. Also see, "If you are believers of His evidences, eat the things which Allah's name is mentioned." (Al An'am, 118).

⁴²⁰ Effendi Abubakr 1982, *Demonstration of Religious Practise of Islam as Taught and Explained by Abubakr Effendi*, translation by Mia Brandel Syrier. Editors, Husayn Fawzy Amjady, M. Zobri Effendi P. 184. , see chapter 5, *The impact of Beyan al-Din and Merasid ud- Din*, P.95.

⁴²¹ Effendi 1960, P. 184. And also chapter 5, *The impact of Beyan al-Din and Merasid ud- Din*, P.95.

⁴²² *Mishkat al-Masabih* 2/424. and the Holy Qur'an Surah al-Ma'idah, V: 53.

⁴²³ Even today, it is a common knowledge in Turkish territory that crayfish is *makruh*. Similarly, smoking cigarette is *makruh*. For this reason, crayfish is eaten by some Hanafi people in Turkey.

religious viewpoint.⁴²⁴ Some believed that he was Hanafi also because he hailed from Turkey, which had a Hanafi majority.

The pertinence today of the Hanafi–Shafi’i dispute between Imam Achmat Sadiq and Imam Abdol Rakiep in the early Cape Muslim Society can be explained through close of examination of archival documents. One such document relates to Abu Bakr Effendi’s advice to Imam Rakiep, the grandson of the great Imam Tuan Guru who became the Imam of Nurul Islam mosque when he was 17 years old.⁴²⁵

Initially a dispute arose over whether Friday prayers could happen at the Nurul Islam mosque when the number of people attending prayers was below the required one fourth of the congregation. Concerned about his small congregation, Imam Rakiep went to his teacher, Abu Bakr Effendi for advice. Effendi advised Imam Rakiep should use his own judgement in the matter since it was his congregation. Consequently, Imam Rakiep decided to follow Hanafi rules when it came to forming the congregation. As a result, the complaint from a focus on numbers to the fact this new Imam, Rakiep was in fact is a Hanafi in practice, rather than a Shafi’i in the Friday prayers. For this reason, Imam Sadiq said to Rakiep “you are not following the faith which your grandfather brought to the Cape”.⁴²⁶

On closer inspection, the dispute between Imam Sadiq and Rakiep appears to be a whispering argument more than a doctrinal dispute. Rakiep’s performance of the Friday prayers might have been against Shafi’i tradition but not against the fundamental rules of Islam. Even today, when Shafi’i followers go to Mecca for Hajj duty, they act according to Hanafi traditions because the strict wudu⁴²⁷ rule of Shafi’i School would be hard to observe in such a context. This demonstrates that the main principle of the religion is based on logic and rationalism of Islam rather than sectarian beliefs. Mia Brandel throws light on the crux of the matter as it manifested at the Cape:

For outsiders the differences between the two schools may seem insignificant measured against the very real unity of Islam and its peculiar all-pervasive homogeneous climate, but for Muslim of South Africa these differences have become of great importance and have been and

⁴²⁴ Tayob 1995, P. 48.

⁴²⁵ Ibid. P. 49-50.

⁴²⁶ Davids 1980, P. 101.

⁴²⁷ Wudu is Islamic act of washing parts of the body using water for ritual prayers and for handling and reading the Qur’an.

are subject of actual strife and disagreement, even today. In this unfortunately South African Muslims follow the psycho-sociological pattern of other minority civilizations.⁴²⁸

Another common statement: “Being a Turk, the Effendi is a Hanafi”⁴²⁹ is superficial and based in general inaccuracy of thought among the Muslim society at the Cape because in Turkish territories generally, popular jurisprudence (Fiqh) is couched within Sunni Islam, the Hanafi Madhsab. Closer examination of facts reveals that first of all, Effendi was born and grew up in Iraq where Muslims diligently follow the Shafi’i school of Islam.

Secondly, conveniently overlooked is the fact that Effendi’s interpretation of certain fatwas differs significantly from that of the Hanafi School. For example, Effendi’s fatwa regarding crayfish contradicts Hanafi jurisprudence. This demonstrates that as a Muslim scholar, Effendi used his personal judgment based solely on the interpretation of Qur’an and Hadiths, and not on Madhhabs.

In his well-known book *Beyan al- Din*⁴³⁰, Effendi very clearly argues for logic and scholarly judgement to take precedence over slavishly following either Hanafi or Shafi’i doctrine in order for Muslim societies to adhere to the fundamental rules of Islam. In response, a statement made by Mia Brandel that *Beyan al- Din* caused the common misunderstanding that the text was similar to the well-known Hanafi book, *Multaqa al- Abhur*⁴³¹. Admittedly, in the Ottoman madrasahs, Ulama used numerous references of religious texts of the Shafi’i school such as al-Ghazali's most important work, *Ihya' ulum al- Din*.⁴³² However the use of Shafi’i source does not necessarily make a scholar Shafi’i or Hanafi.⁴³³ Briefly, Effendi might have used a Hanafi or Shafi’i reference book but neither this factor nor his background suffices to assume his belonging to any sectarian group of Islam. In fact, the jurisprudence or fatwa as stated in Effendi's book, “No animals which live in water

⁴²⁸ Effendi 1960, P. IX.

⁴²⁹ Standard and Mail 26 August 1873, See also, Cape Archive, illiquid cases, CSC 1873.

⁴³⁰ Effendi 1960, P. 220.

⁴³¹ *Mulataqa al Abhur* (1517) is the major work of al Halabi.

⁴³² *Ihya' ulum al-din* means revival of religious sciences.

⁴³³ In the same vein, in Ottoman madrasahs, many Maliki scholars’ works were used as reference books such Ibn Khaldūn’s *Muqaddimah* or the *Risālah* of Ibn Abi Zayd, who was the Mālikī jurist. (Ad. 922-996) It is evident that all Sunni scholars who belonged to any of four Madsahbs were considered notable Ulama in Sunni Islamic tradition in the Ottoman reign.

should be eaten, except fish”⁴³⁴ might be sufficient to challenge his categorization into any of the four Sunni Madhabs.⁴³⁵

The impact of Effendi’s influence is evident in that, even today, none of the members of Effendi family state they are Hanafi. Mohammed Zobri Effendi explains in his book⁴³⁶ that this is because Sayed’s family (Al Quraysh) agree that it is better to follow the Qur’an and Sunna rather than get caught up sectarian differences. According to him, members of the Abu Bakr Effendi family do not follow any Madhhab. He states that:

We do not follow any madhabs. We al- Amjadiy only accept what is in Qur'an and Sunnah because the Quraysh are the backbone (*Al- Itra*) of the people however, Sayyid and Sharif were elected from tribes other than the Quraysh.⁴³⁷

Another issue, which caused conflict, was that the Hanafi followers would not allow marriages to take place between themselves and the Shafi’i followers, although it is possible today. An archival document surprisingly sheds light on the topic which was captured in a letter written by Effendi for the Cape Muslims.

Sir, I wish you to grant my request as I am stated in this British Colony as having liberty in matrimony law in the Muhammedan religion for those pupils under me or those under my instruction, I beg his Excellency to pass a free bill for marriage and death. My pupils and I wish to have assistance from his Excellency that I may have full power and authority in the Muhammedan religion in this British Colony with the consent of his Excellency.

Abue Bekr Efendi, Sheikh of Ilim⁴³⁸

In this letter, it is possible to see that Effendi tried to challenge Muslim society at the Cape. Another archival document illustrates a social relation which developed after Effendi came to Cape Town. According to the Ottoman Ambassador Petrus Emanuel de Roubaix:

⁴³⁴ Qur'an V 3. A. 2005 Yusuf Ali (Translator) South Africa.

⁴³⁵ Mia Brandel also states that, Islam like, any other of the higher religions of the World, does not change its basic tenets and this text is therefore, as valid today as it was at the time when Abu Bakr used it in his teaching of the Cape Malays. See, Effendi 1960, P. VII.

⁴³⁶ Effendi, Unpublished Book/a, P. 36.

⁴³⁷ M. Zobri Effendi established his statement based on a hadith; “Indeed, I am leaving among you, that which if you hold fast to them, you shall not be misguided after me. One of them is greater than the other: (First is) The book of God is a rope extended from the sky to the earth, and (the second is) my family, the people of my house (ahlul bait), and they shall not split until they meet me at the hawd, so look at how you deal with them after me.” For further detail, see the website of Muhammad Zobri Effendi, <http://www.thehiddenbook.net/>

⁴³⁸ Cape Town Archives Repository, Co 4129 E6 Memorial Abubakr Effendi, Regarding His School for Muhammedans 1863.

Despite the doctrinal disputes between two groups, (Tarief and Abdulmejid) most of the Imams agreed with Effendi and his solution regarding Friday prayer. Effendi already investigated on the factors of religious disputes among the Muslims. He studied particularly marriage practices and the legacy to prepare a text for the Muslims. This text was translated to English from Turkish by Belgium consulate Mr. Henri and one copy was transmitted to me as well as the Cape Governor. Earlier, Muslims were requesting help from the authorities of Islamic affairs in Turkey. Whereupon, His Excellency, Sultan Abdulmejid sent him a salaried professor earning £360 instead of a written answer. I am expecting that you to show the necessary respect for this scholar who is an expert of Islam which you need.⁴³⁹

As seen above, Effendi also wrote a marriage law book for Cape Muslims to improve their lifestyle. In spite of religious conflicts among the Imams, it may be said that the religious disputes among the Muslims definitely developed the Islamic culture and understanding at the Cape in the nineteenth century. Effendi's jurisprudence brought new approaches and knowledge into Muslim Society. His activities sparked important debates and enabled reformist changes to occur in some religious practices, which in turn strengthened Muslim consciousness in Cape Town.

4.5 Effendi's approaches towards the Muslim Community

Before analyzing the distinctive approaches of Effendi to the Muslim community at the Cape, it is necessary to explore his personal religious viewpoint. As explained in the first chapter, Effendi was born in Iraq which belonged to the Ottoman State of the time. Iraq is a Muslim country and followed Shafi'i madhab of Islam, which is one of the orthodox (Sunni) paths in Islamic tradition. Although Hanafi Fiqh was accepted by the Ottoman Sultans and became popular among the people in Anatolia, Ottoman Sultans never interfered with people's religious faiths and madhabs throughout history. Therefore, Shafi'i, Maliki, Hanbali doctrines flourished in Turkish territory and were always respected by the Ottoman Ulama. In addition, followers of these Islamic sects were never segregated from others. Four of the Islamic sects were accepted in the same category in the Ottoman society. For instance, an Ottoman general Hassan Pasha who was a Shafi'i served in Mecca for the Ottoman State in

⁴³⁹ Ottoman State Archives HR.MTV. 608-22, 1864.

the nineteenth century. Hassan Pasha signed Effendi's controversial text about crayfish as a Shafi'i authority in Mecca.⁴⁴⁰

Effendi studied in the Ottoman institutes, which were mostly teaching with Hanafi books but not according to Hanafi doctrine. Thus, the main sources of the school programs at the madrasahs in the Ottoman State were mostly Hadiths books and the holy Qur'an.⁴⁴¹ For this reason one of the title of Effendi was "mufti ul arbaa" namely, the doctor of the four sects of Islam.⁴⁴²

Effendi's outlook is likely to have changed with time while he was living in South Africa. His experiences and newly gained knowledge became a source of inspiration for him. Especially during his religious activities in Cape Town he re-analyzed the significance of the religious duties in Islam. The diversity within the Muslim community and their rituals were a fascination to him, which he mentioned in his letters.⁴⁴³

Effendi's well-known books *Beyan al- Din* and *Merasid ud- Din* provide important evidence in gaining an understanding his outlook on Islam. In both his books, he desperately tried to emphasize importance of Hadiths and the Qur'an in Islamic life style. As far as is seen from his statements in his books, Effendi's jurisprudence was based on the Qur'an and Hadiths as well as Sunna.⁴⁴⁴ Many religious topics caused controversial disputes while he was acting as a spiritual emissary at the Cape especially after the publishing his works. However, the following chapter will analyze his books from a religious point of view in order to illustrate his religious understanding.

Effendi's dress code for Muslim women at the Cape was a significant event in South African Muslim History. In this regard, it can be ascertained that Effendi's dress code was a social-cultural reform for society. This event had taken place in the media at the Cape. Dorothea Fairbridge states:

In 1861 the women still wore the charming costume which is today giving way to the yashmak. They were dressed in stiffly starched skirts over innumerable petticoats, full white lawn sleeves, and a gay little shawl of coloured silk drawn tightly about their shoulders. Their heavy black hair, polished with coconat oil, was plied high and fastened with elaborate gold

⁴⁴⁰ See, Appendix XXIX, The copy of the Arabic-Afrikaans letter 5.

⁴⁴¹ Uzuncarsili 1988/a, P. 23, 26.

⁴⁴² Effendi 1960, P. XV.

⁴⁴³ Mecmua-i Funun, Vol. II, No; 11(Zilkade 1279) 1863.

⁴⁴⁴ Effendi 1960, P. 6, 7, 9, 12, 32, 40, 107, 152, 158, 176.

skewers, and on each olive cheek a flat black curl was pressed. Unluckily, a few years' later two Muslim missionaries were sent from Turkey to inquire into the conditions of the souls of the faithful in this remote outpost of Islam. They were scandalized at the uncovered heads of pretty, graceful Malay girls and... they sailed away leaving every woman's head covered with a dook.⁴⁴⁵

These important matters would have been the topic of some conversation by the notables of the Cape, because as emphasized before, in spite of Effendi's considerable independent activities, the governors of the Cape British Colony had never been happy having a Muslim scholar at the Cape from the Caliphate.⁴⁴⁶ From this point of view, it can be said that Effendi was a social reformer in the Cape Muslim Society. His broad worldview provided many opportunities for reform in society. As he stated in one of his letters, after his long observation, he visited many places in Southern Africa. He went to Mozambique and opened a school there.⁴⁴⁷ Local Muslims in Mozambique showed respect for his activities and supported him. Thereafter he visited islands including Mauritius and conversed with the Muslims there in behalf of Caliphate. However, he applied most of his efforts in Cape Town.

Effendi's religious activities and their influences created an important development in the Muslim community.⁴⁴⁸ Thus the impact of Effendi affected media and appeared as follows:

We should accept these wonderful people (Malays) as friends. An emissary came to the Cape to change the religious sect of the Malay Muslims. So for this reason, we realize he has already begun his missionary activities.⁴⁴⁹

Although this statement is historically incorrect, this indicates the significance of Effendi's influence in the society in the nineteenth century. As is seen, Effendi's religious works and approaches were considerable in terms of the educational development at the Cape Society.

⁴⁴⁵ Du Plessis 1972, P. 32.

⁴⁴⁶ Cape Town Archives Repository CSC, 2/1/1/160, No. 62. See also, GH, 31/10, 1865.

⁴⁴⁷ Sicard Von S December 2008, Islam Culture Muslims, Christians Religion Political action committees Mozambique. Vol. 28, Issue, 3, P. 478.

⁴⁴⁸ Rochlin 1939, P. 220.

⁴⁴⁹ Standard and Mail, 21 December 1875, Cape Town.

4.6 Institutions (mosque, school, etc.)

In 1863, Abu Bakr Effendi opened a Higher Theology School at the corner of Wale and Bree streets.⁴⁵⁰ His school became very popular over a short period.⁴⁵¹ The primary teaching offered to his students was regarding Islam. It is preferable to explain Effendi's situation using his own words, as provided in one of his letters:

Due to the current lack of an educational background amongst the Muslim children in this area, I focus only on teaching the most important religious duties of Islam to them at my school. With the help of Allah, I am hoping to see amazing results for my endeavours. All thanks are due to Allah, who created men and jinn to worship him, peace and blessing upon the best of creation, our beloved Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h)⁴⁵²

All in all, probably one of the most important services of Effendi was the opening of the theological school. Due to his educated family background, he always gave importance to educational activities for Muslims. More importantly, Effendi realized the necessity of education in the Colony. He states in his book:

I started by opening a Theological School beginning with books written in my own hand, dividing them into eight books on the different aspects of the religion. I wrote the text in Arabic and the explanations in Cape Dutch. I then began teaching the Koran to those followers with some education. In time, I succeeded in training some of the more intelligent among them in the Arabic language, and in the essentials necessary for the proper observance of the Muslim religion.⁴⁵³

Effendi continued his services at his school and also opened another school for the girls.⁴⁵⁴ His wife, Tahora Saban Effendi became the headmistress of the school in 1866. According to the school curriculum, Effendi's wife, Tahora taught Arabic, Dutch and English language and Qur'an reading and writing as well as public decency in Islam.⁴⁵⁵ Effendi's practices for women are also remarkable in terms of the socio-cultural development in society at that time. He states that:

⁴⁵⁰ Appendix: XX A photo of the Ottoman Theological School in Cape Town.

⁴⁵¹ Gençoğlu Halim, Ekim 2013, Afrikanin ilk Osmanli Mektebi, P. 44 Yedikita, Istanbul.

⁴⁵² Memmua-i Funun, Volume II, No; 11, `Zilkade 1279-1863.

⁴⁵³ Effendi 1960, P.XVIII.

⁴⁵⁴ Appendix XXI: A photo of first Muslim school for girls in Cape Town.

⁴⁵⁵ Appendix XXII: The copies of the curriculum of the first girl school in Cape Town, (David Baker Effendi Private Library - Port Elizabeth)

As mentioned in my previous letter, In spite of the Muslims in this land, a lot of actions of Muslims go against the Islamic law. Muslims women dress up like Christian women. Unlike Christian women, Muslims women do not put on feathers on their dresses. Even their hair is open when they walk on streets. Also according to them, sitting together with men is not shame and sin.⁴⁵⁶

Members of an Ottoman War fleet made similar observations. The fleet, consisting of the two ships Izmir and Bursa, was sent to the Indian Ocean by the Ottoman State in order to protect Hajj convoys on the coast of the Red Sea for religious pilgrimages between 1865 and 1880s. It is interesting to read the observations from another Ottoman intellectual and Engineer Faik Bey who visited to Cape Town as a seaman in 1866. Like Effendi, he also noted that:

All Muslims wrap a red handkerchief on their head. Imams put a little conical hat on this red handkerchief to separate them from others but women do not cover their hair and dress like the English. Moreover, because of the lack of religious knowledge of the Muslims, they use a cap while there are fasting during Ramadhan.⁴⁵⁷

While these Ottoman Corvettes were scheduled to take the Atlantic Ocean route towards to Cape of Good Hope, they lost their way and had to stop at the harbour in Rio de Janeiro. The Imam of the corvette, Abdurrahman Baghdadi Effendi also wrote his memoirs about the voyage on his return to Istanbul and published it in 1868. What is worth mentioning here is that in another continent, Abdurrahman Baghdadi Effendi, another Ottoman Muslim scholar, also found similar false religious practices amongst Brazilian Muslims.⁴⁵⁸ According to Abdurrahman Effendi, the Muslims, mostly slaves of African origin, had many false beliefs and performed unusual religious rituals in the Muslim community.

If someone wishes to embrace Islam they have to pay a significant deposit to the Imam, if his money is sufficient, then only can he convert to Islam.⁴⁵⁹ During the month of Ramadhan, Muslims spit out their saliva into a cub even while they perform religious ritual at mosque.⁴⁶⁰ All Muslims shave their moustaches in this country. Whoever does not shave his moustache is treated as infidel (Kafir). Otherwise no one gives him salaam anymore.⁴⁶¹ All Muslim women

⁴⁵⁶ Mecmua-i Funun Volume. III no; 25-36, 1882-1866.

⁴⁵⁷ Faik Muhendis 2011, P. 52-58.

⁴⁵⁸ Baghdadi Abdurrahman Effendi, 2013, *Brezilya Seyahatnâmesi*, Page, 25, 32. Translated from Ottoman alphabet to modern Turkish by N. Ahmet Özalp, Kitabevi Yayınları.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid, P. 32.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid. P.36.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid. P.40.

dress up like Christian. These poor Muslims have no clue about Islam. I firstly began to teach them the significance of cleanliness.⁴⁶²

Abdurrahman Effendi left his imamate⁴⁶³ duty in the Bursa corvette, and due to a kind request from local people in Brazil, he stayed there for four years to educate Muslims. For this reason, the engineer of the Bursa corvette Faik Bey noted in his memoir that “Abdurrahman Effendi left us and deserted the fleet”⁴⁶⁴ which in fact demonstrated the latter’s a humble attitude to stay in Brazil under such conditions for sake of Islam.

As such, it can be seen that the challenges facing religious scholars across the globe were similar and the main challenge was the lack of Islamic knowledge in the Muslim community. To address this, both Effendis decided to establish schools in Brazil and at the Cape.

In addition, one of the archival documents indicates that Abu Bakr Effendi tried to establish a Waqf system at his school to feed the poor people. The letter below bears testimony to this:

Sir, Abou Baker Effendi requests to write to his Excellency and wishes to inform him that three... [sic] houses we bought in Wale and Bree Street, the small one is for himself to live in and the large corner house he is keeping school and church in and lets some part of it to poor people just for a [sic] rent to pay their expenses for school at night such as oil and candles. Now he receives a bill for municipal rates 5 shillings 10 pence which the Effendi thinks that the house wherein [sic] the school is situated should not be charged municipal rates. The Effendi has written to the municipality in [sic] before but he has not received answer.

Abou Baker Effendi Sheik of Ilim, 1866⁴⁶⁵

As mentioned before, Effendi always informed the Ottoman Government with regard to his observations and activities in Southern Africa. He also explained educational circumstances at the madrasahs in the Colony. He notes that:

In this territory, there are only six madrasahs for the children which are situated in the centre of the Cape of Good Hope. In these madrasahs, Imams are only able to teach the surah of

⁴⁶² Ibid. P. 42.

⁴⁶³ The word Imamate refers office or position of imam.

⁴⁶⁴ Muhendis Faik. 2011 *Türk Denizcilerinin İlk Amerika Seferi-Seyahatname-i Bahri Muhit*, edited by N. Ahmet Ozalp. Page 52. Istanbul.

⁴⁶⁵ Cape Town Archives Repository; Co 4129 E6 Memorial, Abu Bakr Effendi Regarding his School for Muhemmaden 1863.

Yaseen and surah of Tebaraka. However, the inhabitant Muslims pronounces the words of the prayer in their way. For instance; *se-se, cim-jim, he-ha, zel-zil, ra-ga, sin-shen, şin-sham, sad-sed, dat-let...* They also pronounce the Kalima Shahadat eshed anla illac illallac [...] instead of *Ash-hadu 'an laa'i-laa-ha 'il-lal-laa-hu wa Ashhadu anna Muhammadan 'abduhu wa Rasuluh Allah*⁴⁶⁶

Omer Lutfi Effendi also explains the situation in his book and gives credible information regarding the Muslim public status at the Cape. He states that:

As soon as we arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, in fact, only fifteen days later, we opened a school and begun to teach our pupils. Due to the great passion of these pure hearted students, we succeeded in gathering more than three hundred students in twenty days. Abubakr Effendi has personally been involved with teaching these pupils. Firstly we taught to students from the beginning of the Qur'an's alphabet (Alif-Ba) Afterward, Abu Bakr Effendi read some books about the Fiqh (Islamic Law) which are called *Fiqh ul-Aqbar* and *Multeq ul-Abhur*. Some of students Ismail and Ubeyd who are beautifully voiced, became Hafiz. With the incredible endeavours of Abubakr Effendi, numerous students became learned Imams and opened their own madrasahs in the town...⁴⁶⁷

Omer Lutfi Effendi continues his narration regarding their challenges at the school for Cape Muslims during the year.⁴⁶⁸

At the same time, we taught old Muslims basic knowledge of Islamic rules in the evening. We taught them *Surat-ul Fatihah* one by one. Sunday is a public holiday in this region. Therefore, all of the Muslims gathered at schools and Haji Abu Bakr Effendi provided discourses for them from the *Tafsir ul Qabir, Ruh'ul Bayan*.⁴⁶⁹ The Muslims gathered there listened very carefully for hours and hours and then wept. Finally they prayed to the Caliphate and went home after the *salat al- zuhr*.⁴⁷⁰

In spite of the difficult circumstances, Effendi pursued his religious challenges at the Cape.⁴⁷¹ In his school, he developed many students who later became educators at the Cape.

⁴⁶⁶ Mecmua-i Funun Volume III, No, 25-36, 1282- 1866.

⁴⁶⁷ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs Irade-i hariciye, No; 14526, 1287 also see, YEE, 18,553/585,93,38

⁴⁶⁸ In the meantime, one of the friends of Effendi sent a letter to Cape Town to inform him about his new certificate of professorship. "I have the honour to send you kindest regards from Captain Mehmet Pasha. I also sent an Ottoman school certificate to you, dated 1864 which I collected from Mr Turabi Effendi." Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs iradei hariciye No, 10847.

⁴⁶⁹ See, The encyclopaedia of Islam, 1988 Ruhul al-Bayan by Shaikh Isma'il Haqqi. Volume IV. P 191 London.

⁴⁷⁰ Effendi 1994, P. 45-49.

⁴⁷¹ The books used by Abubakr Effendi in his school are now situated in the library of his great-ground son Zobri Effendi. An important Muslim scholar and theologian Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Kitab al-'Ilal wa Ma'rifat al-Rijal: The Book of Narrations Containing Hidden Flaws and of Knowledge of the Men (of Hadeeth)* Riyad: Al-

Religious scholars like Abdul Ragip, Abdullah and Mogamat and also Hamien, son of Achmat van Bengalen, and later Muhammed Dollie⁴⁷² were students of Effendi in his high theological school. Archival records provide further evidence about this from the reports around the death of a well-known teacher of Islam (Ma Hadji). Mrs. Hadji Koolsum Moerat's died on Friday at her house in Rurger Street, Cape Town, at the age of 79. According to media reports, "Ma Hadji was highly respected in Moslem circles in the Cape Peninsula. She was a teacher of the Islamic religion and had been a pupil of Sheikh-al Ilim Moofity Sayed Abu Bakr Effendi founder of the imperial Ottoman school in Cape Town, and was looked upon as the most learned woman in Islam at the Cape."⁴⁷³

This article indicates the impact Effendi had on the Muslim environment during his time at the Cape. According to his reports, he became very successful at his school on teaching Islamic matters. The following letter is a perfect illustration of the challenges he faced:

All my gratitude goes to the most glorious Allah. During the last 13 years, as a result of my challenges of teaching Islam in this territory, quite a big community of Muslim people have learned the principles of Islam. After their education, they could open schools to teach their boys and girls. They made copies of my *Beyan'ud -Din* and *Merasidud -Din* and taught their students. For this reason, many of my students could become teachers and were able to earn money for themselves. In religious affairs, the disputes completely stopped, Alhamdulillah. More importantly, in the beginning, some of Imams had abused these poor people's goodwill for their own benefit, but now, their children understand reasons why the Imams were wrong. After the educational activities at my school, Muslims were not interested in certain Imams and their behaviour. These Imams lost their good reputation. Thanks to Allah, my happiness is all about being able to see the victory against ignorance in this society.⁴⁷⁴

According to an Ottoman Archival document Hajj Abdullah and Mr. Husameddin went to Istanbul to declare their satisfaction with regards to the duty performed by Abu Bakr

Maktabah al-Islamiyyah Muhammad Abu Mansur al-Maturidi Kitab Ta'wilat al-Qur'an ('Book of the Interpretations of the Qur'an') As mentioned above, Al Tafsir ul Kabir, by an Ottoman Alim, Sheik Ismail Hakki Bursevî' Rûhu'l-Beyân and Mishkat al-Masabih "collections of Hadiths by Muhammad bin 'Abd Allâh Khatib Al-Tabrizi and also famous religious book Ihya' ulum al-Din, "Revival of Religious Sciences" of al-Ghazâlî, Multekal Ebhur by Muhammed al- Hanafi and Fikful Akbar by Imam-I Azam which are selected in his library.

⁴⁷² Cape Town Archives Repository CSC 2/2/1/219 64 Record of Proceedings of Provisional Case, Mochamat Dollie versus.

⁴⁷³ Cape Standard, Thursday December 6 of 1938, Page 2 Death of Ma Hadji, Cape Town.

⁴⁷⁴ Basiret Gazette, Page, 2-3, No; 1570, 27 June 1876, Istanbul.

Effendi in the colonial state. These two Muslim guests from the Cape Colony showed deep appreciation for the Effendi's activities.⁴⁷⁵

Some archival documents provide additional valuable information regarding the works of Effendi in establishing a crucial link between the Ottoman State and South African Muslims in the nineteenth century. It is noted that the Ottoman ambassador De Roubaix abused his position and spent the half of the money that was sent to him for South African Muslims to build a mosque in Port Elizabeth. According to archival documents, "Ottoman State sent money to Cape Town as a donation to build a mosque in Port Elizabeth. During the period of the late Grand Vizier Ali Pasha, he was dismissed from his position. For this reason, I kindly suggest that you be careful with regard to Petrus Emanuel De Roubaix."⁴⁷⁶

Another letter from Muhiddin Effendi in Cape Town illustrates the issue with regard to the current situation. Muhittin Effendi states that in his letter below:

In fact, Mosyo de Roubaix was one of the clerks in the government for the colonial governor. He became committed to the Cape Muslims and to looking after their rights. But after he became a member of parliament, he broke his promises towards the Muslims. He subsequently tried to gain the sympathy of the Sultans of the Ottoman State and ultimately, after all of his efforts, became a Consul-General for Turkey. But later, the Muslims realized the situation and he was dismissed from this position.⁴⁷⁷

Similarly another letter from the head of Muslim Community in Johannesburg and educator of the Port Elizabeth School, Seyyid Ahmed Tahir Effendi states that:

Ebu Salih who was one of the Muslim members of Islamic community donated his property to the Muslim community to build a mosque in Port Elizabeth. However, there wasn't a strong Muslim community in this area at the time, so the community was only able to build a Mesjid. Afterwards, via the Ottoman Consul-General, the Sultan of the Ottoman State, Abdul Aziz Khan, sent four hundreds Ottoman Liras to the Muslim Community for the construction of the mosque. However, the Ottoman Consul General de Roubaix used half of this donation for him and gave the community 200 hundred Liras. By the late Abu Bakr Effendi's efforts, the mosque was built in Ottoman style and called Azizziye Mosque.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁵ Ottoman State Archives – Foreign Affairs of Turkey Irade-i Hariciye, No; 12907, March 1867, 1283.

⁴⁷⁶ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs, H.R.TO. 64/41 17 April 1890.

⁴⁷⁷ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs of Turkey, HR.MTV. 608\22, 17th February 1870.

⁴⁷⁸ Ottoman State Archives 16 November 1900, Y. MTV. 214/95.

As far as it is understood from these two letters De Roubaix and Effendi cooperated for a range of reasons.⁴⁷⁹ When Effendi finally understood the main aim of De Roubaix, he complained about him to Sublime Porte.⁴⁸⁰ Effendi's observations show his considerable challenges all around South Africa. He notes that:

According to the latest census, although, one thousand Muslims live in Port Natal, there is no Mosque or Mesjid, and no Imam to make Salah for Muslims when they die. The Northern side of Natal, Mator (native) blacks established two separate governments. In this area, the Muslims had to make their Ibadat (prayer) at their house; they remained, largely uneducated due to their living conditions. So some teachers need to be sent immediately to this territory for them.⁴⁸¹

After Effendi's death, his activities were mentioned by some notables in many places. A famous Ottoman Turkish statesman, grand vizier Ahmet Cevdet Pasha made a significant statement on Effendi's religious challenges in Southern Africa. A. Cevdet Pasha states that:

In England some people have converted to Islam and they have even built a mosque which has appeared in newspapers. Due to the response of their state office, one of the Ulama was sent there by the order of His Excellency. In fact, this is the time to send a scholar to Europe and even America. But unfortunately, it is difficult to send educated teachers all over the world. Madrasahs cannot educate Ulama in this way anymore. Only certain students can become real Alim, and they are very rare. The late Ali Pasha tried to find a scholar to send to the Cape of Good Hope and asked me for help and finally found a scholar to send to the Cape. A Muslim scholar, Abu Bakr Effendi, came to Istanbul from Anatolia. They arranged with the Effendi and sent him to the Cape. Although he did not know the foreign language, he was sent to the Cape out of necessity. He was a very esteemed and beneficial scholar. At Good Hope, he learned English and also the local language of the indigenous people, Afrikaans. He improved Islamic education and reformed the Muslims lives. His activities were extremely respectful and he gained their respect there. Even after his death, his son Ahmed Ataullah Effendi continued his affairs.⁴⁸²

When Effendi died, he left numerous followers behind. His followers gathered around one of the most prominent students of Effendi, Muhammad Dollie and as a congregation; they

⁴⁷⁹ Coates January March, P. 41.

⁴⁸⁰ Orakçı 2007, P. 44,53.

⁴⁸¹ Mecmua-I Funun Volume II, No; 25-36, 1865.

⁴⁸² Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs, No; 14526, 1287. Also see, YEE, 93/ 38, 18,553/585.

built a Hanafi Mosque in Cape Town. The Hanafi Mosque is situated on the corner of Dorp and Long Street and was constructed by the followers of Abu Bakr Effendi. The first Imam of the Mosque was Achmat Sedick.⁴⁸³ According to Tayob, “most important, shortly after Efendi’s death, his followers bought land for the Moslem sect Hanafe in 1881, to establish the first Hanafe teachings, shaped in the familiar Cape discourse, and were concretized in a mosque.”⁴⁸⁴ The leadership of Abu Bakr Effendi is self-evident in this context.

Undoubtedly Effendi brought about significant changes in various codes of conduct and thinking. He infused a new mind-set in the local adherents of Islam with regard to dress and conduct in the training of local Imams. He started the first Islamic schools for boys and girls respectively, based on Ottoman teaching methods. He embraced all the Muslims as a scholar and taught them. He was innovative in the training of local Imams.

4.7 Conclusion

Effendi was the scholar commissioned by the Caliphate, represented by the Ottoman State to spread the science of religion and Islamic knowledge in South Africa. An Imam recorded Effendi’s death in his diary, which enables readers to have a better understanding of Effendi’s influence on society. In his diary, the Imam M. Mohamed notes that: “Die Kommissaris van die die Kalifaat die Sheikh van kennis en die Mufti van die vier Imams, Abou Baker Efendi... Hy het gesterf...”⁴⁸⁵

In this regard, it may be said that Effendi was a social reformer. He was acting against the colonial system as an activites to improve living conditions for Muslims at the Cape. Some researchers have called him as controversial figure because he was a controversialist in his right.⁴⁸⁶ His challenges indicate that he was one of the pioneers and progressive figure in

⁴⁸³ Davids 1980, P. 172, 175.

⁴⁸⁴ Tayob 1999, P. 33.

⁴⁸⁵ “The Ottoman scholar, who was sent from the Caliphate for the Mufti of the four madhabs, Abubakr Effendi, passed away”. As it is mentioned before, in fact; there are still many interesting books and or diaries of members of the prominent families in South Africa but unfortunately they were written in Afrikaans with Arabic script which are not possible to read and understand for foreign scholars. However, I believe that when South African scholars will consider and study on these historical materials, many unknown topics in history will come forth from obscurity about the past of Southern Africa. Another diary written in the nineteenth century is situated in the private library of Sheik Murat of Paarl. See also Davids, 2011, PhD thesis. The Imam of Simon’s Town and His Diary, University of Cape Town.

⁴⁸⁶ Orakci 2007, P.52.

South African history in the nineteenth century. When we look at his religious activities it is easy to see how radical his understanding in Islamic jurisprudence was. Effendi significantly changed South African Muslim life with his Islamic rules. For instance, no Imam or sheik considered women's dress code seriously until he declared his jurisprudence on the matter.⁴⁸⁷ Furthermore, some of the intended reforms opposed the current system at the Cape Colony but the level of social unrest necessitated change in line with his worldview. In spite of this reality, Effendi took a risk when he explained his opinion on the religious topic in society. When Abu Bakr Effendi died in 1880, the Cape Times noted that:

A man of importance to his own people was carried to his rest in Cape Town yesterday. Abu Bakr Effendi could have told a strange history of the circumstances under which he came to this colony, sent hither as he was from Turkey to instruct the faithful.⁴⁸⁸

In this sense, it is possible to say that religious leaders like Abu Bakr Effendi created a new Islamic consciousness in Muslim society in South Africa.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁷ Appendix XXIII: Photos of Cape Muslim women before and after Abu Bakr Effendi.

⁴⁸⁸ The Cape Times, July 1, 1880. South Africa.

⁴⁸⁹ Ebrahim Mogamat Hoosain, 2004 Sheikh Ismail Hanif Edwards his life and works, P. 38 South Africa.

CHAPTER V: EFFENDI AND HIS WORKS

Presentation and description of contents

5.1 Introduction

Abu Bakr Effendi served the Cape Muslim Community from 1863 to 1880. During this time he wrote several books, one of which contained the following explanation “I then began teaching the Qur’an to those followers with some education. Pupils increased in number and I realized the impossibility of continuing only with my handwritten books. I then decided to concentrate on two books only, namely *Beyan al- Din*⁴⁹⁰ and *Marasid ud- Din*, and to discontinue using the six other books.”

The resourceful work of Abu Bakr Effendi which he named *Beyan al- Din* (Explanations of the Religion of Islam) is an ingenious literary and religious milestone in South African history. This chapter will discuss the contents of *Beyan al- Din* and explain why this work is not a Hanafi book (as was understood by Muslim society) but rather that it is the closest reference to Prophet Mohammed’s teachings, the Qur’an and Hadiths, containing some Hanafi extracts. Apart from *Beyan al- Din*, this chapter will propound on a previously unknown subject regarding the *Beyan al- Din* and *Meraside ud- Din*, pertaining to observation on Islam. It will examine the purpose of *Beyan al- Din* and its contribution to Muslims social life as well as its impact within the society at the Cape. Finally, it will discuss Effendi’s influence on society and the impact of his crucial works.

5.2 Beyan al- Din and Marasid ud- Din

Abu Bakr Effendi wrote several religious books during his stay at the Cape of Good Hope. Undoubtedly, the two most important were *Beyan al- Din* and *Meraside ud- Din*, which were written in manuscript form in 1869. Before explaining the significance of these two books, an observation should be made on a previously unknown historical matter regarding these books. It was believed that the *Meraside ud- Din* never got published; however the book was published together with the *Beyan al- Din* in one volume to save costs during the decline

⁴⁹⁰ Appendix XXIV: The front and first page of *Beyan al- Din*, Manuscript (M. Zobri Effendi Private Library)

of the Ottoman Empire. The two books were based upon the religious jurisprudence of Islam and observations according to Hadiths and the holy Qur'an. *Merasid ud- Din* was written in Arabic script especially for other African citizens such as Mozambicans. Therefore *Merasid ud- Din* was found in both Mozambique and Mauritius as its author's mission was to spread Islamic knowledge to the World.⁴⁹¹ Effendi explains this in his book, noting:

This gracious act by His Imperial Majesty was very much appreciated by the Muslim people of South Africa and Mozambique. In Mozambique there is a Mosque built by the famous Turkish architect Sinan Pasha by the order of Sultan Selim, where the special Friday prayers take place and are attended by the Muslim community of Mozambique, where I was present on many occasions. I was directed by His Majesty the Sultan to distribute some of these books among the people of Mozambique, so that the learned ones could teach the poor and ignorant ones.⁴⁹²

Abu Bakr Effendi also provides information in the introduction of his book about his social activities in Southern Africa.

Beyan al- Din is the most interesting book that was written in Afrikaans with Arabic script by Effendi.⁴⁹³ The book contains unique knowledge on ritualistic practices related to prayer which is more than only theoretical and doctrinal as the writing explains the basic religious duties of Islam. The common misapprehension continues to exist amongst scholars around the identification of these books. In 1876, Effendi went to Istanbul via Mecca with his two sons.⁴⁹⁴ While Effendi was in Istanbul he met with the new Sultan and presented him his books *Merasid ud -Din* and *Beyan al- Din*. Sultan Abdul Hamid II showed his interest in the considerable works of Effendi and issued a decree to publish the books⁴⁹⁵. However, because of the economic circumstances of the State, the publishing house of the Ottoman State decided to publish the books as one volume. Hereby 1500 copies of *Merasid ud- Din* and *Beyan al- Din* were published as a single volume in the government printing office in Istanbul in 1877.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹¹ Effendi 1960, P. XXI.

⁴⁹² Ibid. P. XXII.

⁴⁹³ Davids 2011, P. 122.

⁴⁹⁴ Cape Argus, Wednesday, March 9, 1898.

⁴⁹⁵ Ottoman State Archives, MF.MKT, 46 / 31, Afrika'da Ümit Burnu ve mülhakatındaki Müslümanların öğretimi için gerekli olan Beyanü'd-Din ve Merasidü'd-Din isimli kitapların basımı ve basımı için gerekli ücretin temini. 26/May /1877.

⁴⁹⁶ Ottoman State Archives, MF.MKT, No: 49 / 80 Ümit Burnu ahalisinin tedrisiyle görevli Ebubekir Efendi tarafından yazılan Beyanü'd-Din ile Merasidü'd-Din adlı kitapların acilen basımı.

By 1950, Andrenaous Van Selms had become interested in the book and wrote a number of articles on the significance of the writing style of Abu Bakr Effendi. Selms emphasized the importance of the book in his studies of the vowel system on the Arabic-Afrikaans languages.⁴⁹⁷ In this manner, Van Selms led some of his students to study the *Beyan al- Din*.

A student of Van Selms, Mia Brandel Syrier studied the *Beyan al- Din* and translated it from Arabic-Afrikaans to English in 1956. Her study was named *Religious Duties Explained as Taught by Abubakr Effendi*. It was published in Leiden in 1960. When she translated the book, she used one of the books published in 1877 from Istanbul. In the introduction of her translation, she mentions that the book is *Beyan al- Din*, while in fact; the book was published in Istanbul as a combined volume, *Merasid ud- Din and Beyan al- Din*. The original manuscript of *Beyan al- Din*, written in 1869 was analysed for the first time in the course of this research and is situated in the private library of Muhammad Zobri Effendi. It has substantially more pages than the published version. The original manuscript of the book, *Beyan al- Din* is 875 pages long but when printed it is 254 pages long including *Merasid ud- Din*. Furthermore the book's translation by Syrier from Arabic-Afrikaans is only 185 pages long. The manuscript finishes with a section (section 284) on fasting. Logically this raises questions because the printed version ends with a section on hunting. A possible explanation is that the manuscripts of both books were combined.

It is also noteworthy that due to the economic condition of the Ottoman State in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, some of the pages of these books were taken out in order to make it shorter for publishing purposes. Probably when it was published, these two books were much longer than the printed version. For example, the researcher observes that there was an additional page about a prayer for the Sultan and the Caliphate in the original text of *Beyan al- Din* which is not in the printed version in 1877.⁴⁹⁸ When Effendi wrote his books, the Sultan of the Ottoman State was Abdulaziz Khan and his successor was crown prince Shazade Yusuf Selahuddin Effendi. Therefore, Abu Bakr Effendi starts with a prayer for them in his manuscript. However when Effendi went to Turkey to publish his books, the sultan had changed and new Sultan Abdulhamid Khan ruled. It is possible that Effendi may have wanted to take out this page from his book as it could have offended the new Sultan.

⁴⁹⁷ Selms 1951, P. XII, I.

⁴⁹⁸ The page starts with a prayer and introduction in Arabic as follows: *Al- Osmanniyye al- saltanat'ul istihqaq (...)* Sultan al- Ghazi Abdulaziz Khan ibn Sultan al- Ghazi Mahmud Khan ibn Sultan al- Ghazi Abdulhamid Khan al- haseb al- naseb Aali Shazede Yusuf Selahud'din Effendi (...) and continues with a prayer for the Ottoman Caliphate and its notables.

Also, when Mia Brandel translated these books, she excluded certain pages from the combined version due to difficulties in translating the text. Syrier wrote a long introduction to her translation stating:

Islam, like any other of the higher religions of the world, does not change its basic tenets and this text is therefore as valid today as it was at the time when Abu Bakr used it in his teaching of the Cape Malays.⁴⁹⁹

According to Syrier, including both sections in the book appears to be mostly in agreement with the Islamic law. It was divided into 8 parts, each dealing with a specific part of Islamic law:

Beyan al- Din

1. ritual cleansing (pp. 2–66)
2. ritual prayer (pp. 66–219)
3. religious tax (pp. 219–258)
4. fasting (pp. 258–284)

Merasid ud- Din

5. slaughtering of livestock (pp. 284–302)
6. religious prohibitions (pp. 302–344)
7. drink (pp. 344–349)
8. hunting (pp. 349–354)

The *Beyan al- Din* can be seen as Effendi's most prominent publication from a number of points of view.⁵⁰⁰ To date it has been studied, examined and written about by several scholars throughout the world. In the Turkish introduction to his first printed edition, Effendi gives a first hand account of what is a very interesting account of the religious situation at the Cape at that time. Effendi notes in his introduction that:

⁴⁹⁹ Effendi 1960, P. VII.

⁵⁰⁰ Davids 2011, P. 122.

The majority of the Muslim inhabitants of Cape Town, Dalgoa Bay and the neighboring towns were not conversant with the Arabic language, exceptions being a very few who were Arab immigrants and those who were of Arab descent. I realized that in order to make myself understood, I would have to master the language (Cape Dutch i.e. Afrikaans) spoken by the majority and I therefore set myself the great task of learning “Cape Dutch” to enable me to explain to them the Qur’aan and the meaning of the Arabic idioms necessary to carry out the basic rules of the religion, to translate the text and teach these people in their own language the true Islamic religion. It was necessary to give them advice and, in many instances, I had to try hard to reform some of their bad habits and practices, which were contrary to the religion of Islam. I experienced difficulty with a minority, who were reluctant to give up their bad habits and foul deeds, but the majority was eager to learn and follow the correct Qur’aanic laws and regulations for the proper observance of the Muslim religion. Some began to realize how the religious disputes they used to have prior to my arrival were futile and unnecessary in the absence of a guiding authority like myself on religious matters. Therefore, I came to these shores from Istanbul to a strange country so far away, inhabited by people with different habits, and speaking different languages.⁵⁰¹

After the Turkish introduction to his book, Effendi also wrote two other introductions, one in Arabic and the other in Afrikaans. The three introductions are not the same but provided their own information. Readers may be interested in asking why Effendi wrote three introductions for his book in different languages. One of the introductions was written for *Meracid ud Din*, in Arabic for other inhabitants of African continent like Mozambique and Mauritius. The Afrikaans introduction was written particularly for the Cape Muslim Society. However, the Turkish introduction was written in order to explain Effendi’s endeavors to His Excellency, the Sultan. For these reasons Effendi wrote three different introductions for his book.

When Mia Brandel studied the book, she tried to illustrate its importance for certain academic reasons. In her introduction she attempted to highlight the significance of the book both from a linguistic and religious perspective. Syrier states:

Abubakr’s book deals mainly with the ibadat, i.e, the part dealing with worship in Muslim Law but omits the chapter on the pilgrimage. Instead of this, certain subjects are usually dealt with in the Mu’amalat... One can only guess at the author’s reasons for doing so. Since he intended to write a further book for publication in his own introduction he mentions a second, separate book, with the name Marasid ud Din, he may have wanted to concentrated in this first book certain subjects deemed to be of the most urgent concern for the Malay Community’.⁵⁰²

⁵⁰¹ This part of the book was translated by Abdullaah Abu bakr Rushdiy, the author’s grandson.

⁵⁰² Effendi 1960, P. XXXVI.

As is seen above, Brandel noticed the separation of the *Mulamalat* (social transactions) and *Ibadat* (acts of worship). She did not appear to be aware that two books were published in one volume. In all probability, Brandel was not aware of the existence of the handwritten version of *Beyan al- Din*. Despite this, she made certain poignant remarks illuminating the significance of her translation. Moreover Brandel informed readers of Effendi's jurisprudence, based upon fundamental Islamic sources. She noted that "All quotations Qur'an verses and Hadits given in support of a statement or as evidence of a duty or a degree of obligatoriness of an action have been inserted from the margin."⁵⁰³

Similarly, Effendi notes in his introduction, "whenever disagreement occurred, I made use of proofs from the Qur'an and Sunna as a demonstration of what the truth is in religion and as an encouragement to cease their useless contentions and disputes."⁵⁰⁴

Syrier's translation carefully explains the aim of the book and how it contributed to the Islamic society of the Cape. In this regard, Syrier states that:

Abubakr Effendi's elementary law book is aimed mainly at teaching his students the specific commandments of Allah with reference to daily life and worship, it is essential to understand not only the distinctions brought about by the Jurist consuls, but also the importance which Muslim attach to these distinctions.⁵⁰⁵

The manuscript version of the *Beyan al- Din* seems to be written simply, because apparently Effendi did not consider the literary nature of the text but rather focused on the significance of the religious topics. According to the book, he attempted to educate his students in a simple manner on the religious duties of Islam. Effendi strove to explain the importance of cleaning as part of the purification ritual in Islam and gave examples from Qur'an and Hadiths.⁵⁰⁶

At the beginning of his writing, Effendi emphasizes his primary, traditional, Islamic texts and uses references from the book on Hadiths by Ali ibn Abu Talib who was the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h). Effendi also uses a reference in the

⁵⁰³ Ibid. P XLII.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid. P. XLVII-XLVIII.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid. P. XXVIII.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid. P. 5, 6.

following pages from a book written by Tabrani Abdul Kasim Suleiman ibn Ahmad. Reference was also made to the book by Abdullah ibn Abbas a cousin of the Prophet Muhammad who was greatly admired for his knowledge of profound and sacred traditions of jurisprudence and comments on the Qur'an.⁵⁰⁷

5.3 The impact of *Beyan al-Din* and *Merasid ud- Din*

Effendi's books impacted on the South African Muslim Society in two different ways. By virtue of the books, a social religious consciousness developed in the Muslim Community. This is important as many of the practices and beliefs he propagated still continue in the Muslim society. Davids states that:

The book of Effendi had caused tremendous controversy in Muslim Society at the Cape at the second half of the nineteenth century. In all probability most of the disagreement occurred because of his statements on Shafe's rules.⁵⁰⁸

The Shafi'i - Hanafi religious dispute at the Cape which occurred after the influence of Effendi is interpreted in various ways. Syrier, the translator of the *Beyan al- Din*, wrote a lengthy introduction to her translation and provided a detailed explanation regarding Islamic understanding in the community at the Cape.⁵⁰⁹ She remarks that:

The differences between the two schools may seem insignificant measured against the very real unit of Islam and its peculiar all-pervasive and homogeneous climate, but for Muslims of South Africa these differences have become of great importance and have been and are subjects of actual strife and disagreement, even today. In this, unfortunately South African Muslims follow the psycho-sociological pattern of other minority civilizations. In a sense cut off from the mainstream of their culture and debarred from creative participation in the prevalent culture of their new homeland, the urgent need to hold onto their own often tends to work destructively within, and to increase sensitivity to minor divergences amongst people so placed. In this context, Muslims tend to forget that all four legal schools are recognized as orthodox Islam.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid. P. 6, 7.

⁵⁰⁸ Davids 1980, P. 54-56. See also, Cape Town Archives Repository, CSC 2/1/1/160 No 62.

⁵⁰⁹ Cape Argus, 28 August 1873.

⁵¹⁰ Effendi 1960, P. IX.

The analyses of Syrier on the subject are quite important in the context of the Muslim history of South Africa. Effendi's statements in his books were discussed by several Ulama in Mecca. The letters were written by South African Ulama to debate on Effendi's jurisprudence among Muslim scholars in Mecca. The letters were written in Afrikaans with Arabic script in correspondence form which answered the questions regarding the religious disputes on the jurisprudence of Effendi.⁵¹¹

One of the letters mentions that Imam al-Shafi'i stated that Christians and Jewish have several rules in their books that are also acceptable rules. For example, an animal slaughtered according to their rules can be considered, permissible to eat, namely *Halaal*, because their Prophets are also true messengers of Orthodox Islam. However an Alim, named Ahmed ibn Hamza Mir Mithad (a prominent Sheik in Mecca) rejected this by saying: "No Ulama can give this kind of fatwa because according to the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad this is not right." Thereafter, Abdul al-Qadir ibn Muhammed Ali al-Hanafi states that: "Shafi'i Ulama should go back to the Prophet's time to re-examine the Islamic facts." Ahmed Muhammed Amin and Muhammed Salih al-Hanafi are very strict in their points of view on this subject. In the Arabic text, the Ulama discussed the differences of two sects in Sunni Islam.⁵¹² Finally they decided that Effendi explains these Islamic rules based on the Qur'an and Hadiths in *Beyan al-Din*.⁵¹³

In another letter about his book, *Beyan al-Din*, Abu Bakr Effendi states that while slaughtering an animal if one does not say *Bismillah* intentionally, it is *Haram*. Shafi'i Ulama debated on the significance of *Bismillah*,⁵¹⁴ saying that it is not a strict condition to mention Allah's name when slaughtering an animal. To add to this, Shafi'i Ulama state that even animals slaughtered by 'Ahl al-Kitāb'⁵¹⁵ (a Christian or a Jew) are permissible. Ahmad ibn Amin al-Hanafi also says that Jews and Christians can slaughter animals without mentioning the formula *Bismillah* because they also believe in the same Creator. He states that the Torah and Bible are also books of Allah. If Christians and Jews want to do it with the same intention

⁵¹¹ Cape Town Archives Repository, CSC 2/1/1/156 No: 37.

⁵¹² Appendix XXV: The copy of the Arabic-Afrikaans letter 1.

⁵¹³ Effendi Abubakr 1982, *Demonstration of Religious Practise of Islam as Taught and Explained* by Abubakr Effendi, translation by Mia Brandel Syrier. Editors Husayn Fawzy Amjady, M. Zobri Effendi Page, 184.

⁵¹⁴ Besmele is a word which refers in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

⁵¹⁵ 'Ahl al-Kitāb' is a term used to designate non-Muslim adherents to faiths which have a revealed scripture called, in Arabic, Ahl-Al-Kitab. The people of the Book" or "people of the Scripture". The two types of adherents to faiths that the Qur'an mentions as people of the book are the Jews and Christians.

(*Niyat*) of the Muslims, it is also acceptable. The majority of Hanafi Ulama however, state that this fatwa of al- Shafi'i is invalid (*Batil*).⁵¹⁶

Another topic of discussion is whether it is possible to change from one Madhhab to the other. Hanafi Ulama claim that we must consider the view held in the majority of the Muslim World.⁵¹⁷

Similarly, one of the letters questioned the importance of mentioning the formula *Bismillah*, while slaughtering. The letter also explains what is invalid (*Batil*) and not. In this respect, the controversy arises over the most accurate interpretation according to the Shafi'i madhab. The question asked by a scholar (*Alim*) to other Ulama of the Hanafi school is the following: if one man is a scholar and tries to change people's affiliation to another madhab, does he have that right and secondly is it obligatory (*wajieb*) or not? The response was given by Shafi'i Ulama by Hanafi is that the Alim must act according to the Qur'an. To respond to the second question, the Ulama examined all the Hadiths and concluded that in fact, the people of different madhabs need not change their sect as Allah is satisfied with all of them. The Ulama's rules are accepted by all sects including the Shafi'i. This issue as presented in *Beyan al- Din*⁵¹⁸ was also discussed in Mecca and raised much controversy until it was resolved in Effendi's favour.

In a final letter, titled *al- jawab* (the answer), four scholars belonging to different madhabs give different interpretations on such topics. But in reality, there is no fundamental gap between them. The Ulama of the four legal schools of Islam share consensus on the main issue. Abdullah ibn Abdurrahman Hamid al Hanafi who is a Hanafi mufti in Mecca states that while Shafi'i Ulama in the Cape have considered Abu Bakr Effendi's statements as invalid, (*Batil*) religious differences cannot be called *Batil*.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁶ The Qur'an clearly says that the food of the Jews and Christians is Halaal (Al: Maida 5:5) The reasons behind ruling of those Ulama who declare it to be prohibited is not verse from the Qur'an, but the fact that it might not have been slaughtered properly but killed in another way.

⁵¹⁷ Appendix XXVI: The copy of the Arabic-Afrikaans letter 2.

⁵¹⁸ Appendix XXVII: The copy of the Arabic-Afrikaans letter 3.

⁵¹⁹ Appendix XXIX: The copy of the Arabic-Afrikaans letter 5.

The Sunni Ulama completed writing this page in Mecca and signed it. The letter is signed by fifteen scholars, two belonging to the Shafi'i madhhab, two belonging to the Hanbali one, and nine belonging to the Hanafi school.⁵²⁰

Effendi's response to these religious controversies was quite sensible as he only focused on his teachings as a scholar. In the meantime, he reported all of these events to the Ottoman Government in a letter which gives interesting information about that time. In his letter, Effendi mentions that:

In Makkah al- Mukarramah, two Imams abolished the Khutba from their mosques on behalf of the Caliphate and declared to their Murids that, "Turkish people are infidel (Kafir). Having a Sultanate should be an Arabs's right. Hanafi Muslims are not the Ummah of Prophet Muhammad. Hanafi Muslims are not acceptable in our mosques." When I gave them my book, Beyan'ud-Din, these people did not accept it. They said; "Prophet Muhammad did not interpret (Tafsir) the Qur'an. So how can you do it?" Apparently, they were not aware of the facts of Islam. From the Caliphate, a couple of Ulama should go to the Hijaz to regulate all of these issues and advise them, especially certain Javanese Imams who have fanatical beliefs about Shafi'i Madhab. Some of these Imams have tried to become authorities in Mecca. They have already gone to Mehmet Pasha and Velid Pasha's Madrasahs and tried to declare their incorrect religious knowledge to people. Certain Ulama from Istanbul (Caliphate) have to immediately go to the Hijaz to resolve this religious issue.⁵²¹

This letter of Effendi illustrates the reasons for religious disputes in Muslim society. In fact, diverse religious understandings in the Muslim World cannot create religious conflict as long as Muslim people consider the Qur'an and Hadiths to be the main sources of Islam. Moreover it may be said that the differences of Islamic jurisprudences contribute to the development of the social Islamic consciousness. Even Prophet Muhammad stated that, "to make Mashwara (consultation) among Ulama will bring great barakah (blessing) in Society."⁵²² This intellectual attitude provides an understanding of the development of the role of Ulama in the Muslim World.⁵²³ Indeed, the explanation of this Hadith is very important in this regard. Moreover, throughout history, religious debates have caused tremendous criticism of the

⁵²⁰ The letter was signed by Rahmetullah Halil al- Rahman al- Hanafi, Ahmed ibn Amin al- Hanafi, Muhammed ibn Muhammed Salih al- Hanafi, Yusuf bin Davud al- Hanafi, Ahmet ibn Hamza al- Hamid al- Hanafi, Abdulkader ibn Muhammed Ali al- Hanafi, Muhammed Sukru al- Maliki, Ali ibn Muhammad Saban Sani al- Hanafi, Abbas ibn Cafer Siddik al- Hanafi, Muhammed Amin al- Hanbeli, Halil Pasha al- Shafi'i, Abrurrahman ibn Hasan al- Hanbeli, Abdul Mustafa Mirdat al- Shafi'i, Muhammed Effendi al- Hanafi, Muhammed Hamza al- Hanafi. See, Appendix XXVIII: The copy of the Arabic-Afrikaans letter 4.

⁵²¹ Ottoman State Archives, Foreign Affairs, Y.MTV. 5/8, - 14 December 1880.

⁵²² Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, 1874 Kısas-ı Enbiya ve Tevarih-i Hulefa: Volume I Page 23 Istanbul.

⁵²³ Bukhari Imam, 2011 Khalq Af'aalul Ibaad, P. 332.

Ulama. For example, the great Alim Imam Abu Hanifa was criticised by another prominent Islamic scholar Imam Bukhari due to a fatwa he issued regarding the translation of the Qur'an into Persian.⁵²⁴

According to my understanding, Abu Bakr Effendi warmly advocated the re-opening of the gate of *ijtihad* (judicial opinion) to modernizing the Islamic society at the Cape as far as worldly affairs were concerned.

A son of Effendi, Hesham Nimetullah wrote a letter to his friend and emphasized the religious situation at the Cape in the nineteenth century. He noted that, the examination of Islamic matters and the guidance of scholars contribute to one's development of expertise in Islamic fields. The lack of knowledge leads to a misunderstanding of Islamic rules and its aftermath causes religious conflict among the Muslims as it happened at the Cape. For this reason, Effendi's religious statements on the Islamic realities could not be understood by some of the Cape Muslims of those times. Hesham Nimetullah Effendi stated that,

Unfortunately, some of Muslims at the Cape are not able to understand the significance of the development in society. Their wishes are all about living conservatively according to their traditions until they die. These principles keep them in darkness.⁵²⁵

Effendi's books were written pragmatically, providing a modern understanding of Islam for the Cape Muslim conservative society. With his jurisprudence Effendi aimed to resolve the never-ending religious disputes on the basis of the Qur'an. Indeed, only a year after arriving in the Cape, he explained his successful activities at the Cape Colony in a letter:

Thank goodness, the tremendous fighting and conflicts ended after my discourses and advise. Muslims behavior gradually and positively changed. Ultimately, fifty-aged old hostilities finished in this community, Alhamdulillah.⁵²⁶

Despite the criticism of the Effendi's rules by some Imams, many Islamic scholars in Southern Africa later declared their satisfaction regarding the favourable actions and rules of Effendi. In addition, some of Effendi's students were also satisfied with his efforts and teaching methods in Cape Town. A letter from a later period gives information about the impact Effendi made at the Cape:

⁵²⁴ Bukhari Imam Muhammad bin Ismail, 2007 *Manners in Islam*, (Al Abad Al Islam) P. 178.

⁵²⁵ A personal letter 1899, Private Library of Muhammed Zobri Effendi, Cape Town.

⁵²⁶ *Mecmua-i Funun* Volume II, no; 13, Ramazan 1280- 17 May, 1864.

We are Muslims living in Cape Town, in Southern Africa and we desire to educate our girl children at a school, but as yet do not have a school for girls. For 14 years, the girls were educated at a Muslim school for girls, which were established by late Abu Bakr Effendi. After his death the school was kept open by his students Hesna, Hatije Abdurrahman and Valiyt Muhammad Mufti. At the present, only 80 girl students can attend the school. As a result of the poverty at the Cape, hundreds of girls walk around on the streets unattended. They need to be educated and guided. Due to financial constraints we cannot afford the expense of a school. If Your Majesty may please help the school, we would appreciate it very much. Otherwise, this school may close.⁵²⁷

Another impact of Effendi's book was its linguistic effect on society.⁵²⁸ The *Beyan al-Din* is the most important Arabic-Afrikaans text in South African history.⁵²⁹ As it is known, Arabic Afrikaans was a form of Afrikaans that was written in Arabic script. It began in the 1830s in the madrasahs in Cape Town. However, it is doubtful if 'Arabic Afrikaans' can be considered a language or dialect of its own.

As far as can be established, seventy-four Arabic Afrikaans texts exist in South Africa. The earliest, the *Hidayat al-Islam*, is dated 1845, though its original manuscript no longer exists. The oldest surviving manuscript, which describes basic Islamic teaching, was written by the Imam Abdul-Kahhar ibn Abdul-Malik in 1868. However, the most professional version was written in 1869 by Abu Bakr Effendi.⁵³⁰ Reportedly, one of the best examples of this literature was the exposition of the Religion (*Uiteensetting van die Godsdien*), a book laying out Islamic traditions according to Hanafi religious law which was understood in this way by Ulama at the Cape in nineteenth century.⁵³¹ The text was written by Abu Bakr Effendi and was printed using Arabic script throughout, but contained transcriptions in Afrikaans.⁵³²

An example that used Arabic vowels was a handwritten Arabic–Afrikaans bilingual Qur'an. To quote an example, let us see the ways in which Surah 67 verse 1 is translated,⁵³³

Arabic: tabāarak alladī biyadih-i l-mulk-u تَبَارَكَ الَّذِي بِيَدِهِ الْمُلْكُ = "Blessed be he in whose hand is the kingdom."

⁵²⁷ Ottoman State Archives, Y.A, Private, 310\62, 6 September 1894.

⁵²⁸ Appendix XXX: An Afrikaans letter from the Effendi (Cape Town Archive)

⁵²⁹ Appendix XXXI: Abu Bakr Effendi's handwritten in English (Cape Archive)

⁵³⁰ Rochlin 1933, P 53.

⁵³¹ Muhammad 2003, P. 39.

⁵³² Davids 2010, P. 120.

⁵³³ Dangor 2007, P. 145,146.

Afrikaans: °n dī kūnuñ skap is bīdī hūka Allah ta`ālā °n vārlik Allah ta`ālā is bās fir aldī its

ان دي كُونُغْ سَكْبِ اس بِيْدِي هُوْكَ اللهُ تَعَالَا ان قَارْلِكْ اللهُ تَعَالَا اس بَاس فِرْ اَلْدِي اِنْسْ

= "En die koningskap is by die hoë Allah ta`ālā en waarlik Allah ta`ālā is die meester van alle dinge."

Meaning: "And the kingship is with the high Allah (May he be exalted) and truly Allah (May he be exalted) is master for all things."

اِنْسْ اَلْدِي فِرْ بَاس اِسْ تَعَالَا اَلْ لِهْ قَارْلِكْ اِن تَعَالَا اللهُ هُوْكَ بِيْدِي اس سَكْبِ كُونُغْ دي ان

“En die koningskap is by die hoege Allah ta`ālā en waarlik Allah ta`ālā is baas vir al die iets.”

(A sample of Arabic Afrikaans, quoting from the Qur`ān – Sūrat al-Mulk 67:1)

Effendi’s teaching method sometimes differed from the Shafi’i School followed by the Malays. However it was through his teachings that the linguistic innovation which we will look at evolved.⁵³⁴

On the other hand, *Beyan al- Din* and *Merasid ud- Din* are recognized as the first existing publications in Arabic-Afrikaans literature. According to Davids, Effendi’s major contribution was his ingenious manipulation of the lettering symbols of the Arabic phonetic science and he also commented on the “innovative orthographic engineering” such as the rare technical writing style in Arabic script.⁵³⁵

The works of Effendi are also considered by some current scholars and have generated research interest among writers. Tayob states that:

He (Effendi) also wrote one of the first religious catechisms in Afrikaans using Arabic characters, thus becoming one of the many religious leaders who developed Arabic Afrikaans.⁵³⁶ Effendi also contributed to the expanded scope of Islamic legal interpretation at the Cape.⁵³⁷

Particularly, from a linguistic point of view, Effendi’s book became the most important source for certain researchers. Many scholars have studied *Beyan al- Din*, and

⁵³⁴ Davids 2010, P. 122.

⁵³⁵ Davids 1990, P. 1, 5, 6.

⁵³⁶ Tayob 1999, P.33.

⁵³⁷ Tayob 1995, P. 48.

analyzed this book's Arabic -Afrikaans structures from a linguistic viewpoint.⁵³⁸ Effendi's theories drive his deep knowledge of Arabic. According to Davids, Effendi's greatest contribution was *Beyan al- Din*, which was written phonetically in Arabic. Davids notes that:

The unusual orthographic techniques he adopted provide a rare example of the sound of spoken Afrikaans in mid- century Cape Town.⁵³⁹ In terms of its linguistic usage *Beyan al Din* breaks from the very strong influence of Dutch evident in the "kopiesboeke" of the pre-1860 period.⁵⁴⁰

The *Beyan al- Din* was written using a different Afrikaans method which structurally changed the rules of the traditional Afrikaans writing style. Therefore, as a result of the linguistic structure of the book, *Beyan al- Din* created a historical milestone in the history of Afrikaans. This has been accepted by other scholars. However, the most remarkable comment on this topic was made by Davids who has studied the traditional structure of Arabic-Afrikaans extensively.⁵⁴¹ Davids remarks that:

The pre-Abubakr Effendi Arabic-Afrikaans writer had great difficulty in representing the Afrikaans sound e and i in Arabic script. These sounds do not exist in Arabic or Malayu and hence the alphabets of these languages do not have vocalism that could be used to indicate them in the Arabic Afrikaans script. Abubakr Effendi resolved this difficulty by creating two vocalisms to indicate the Afrikaans letters.⁵⁴²

However, it can be said that, *Beyan al- Din* was neglected by many scholars before being given new prominence by Davids. Scholars like Haron and Dangor emphasized the significance of Effendi's works in their publications especially from a linguistic point of view. Haron also considers the book as instrumental in the development of the Afrikaans.⁵⁴³ Besides, wider studies have been done on the *Beyan al- Din* by Davids. Davids researched the vowel system of Afrikaans in *Beyan al- Din*. He states that:

⁵³⁸ Rochlin 1933, Vol. 7, No. 1. Haron 2003, Vol. 14. Davids, 1999 Yasien Mohamed 20 Mar 2007, Teaching Arabic in South Africa: historical and pedagogical trends. Dangor 2007.

⁵³⁹ Worden, Smith, Bickford 2004, P.188.

⁵⁴⁰ Davids 2010, P. 116.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid. P.116.

⁵⁴² Ibid. P. 118.

⁵⁴³ Haron 2001, P. 11, 14.

We must therefore, be careful not to view the Afrikaans of *Beyan al Din* as typical of the Afrikaans spoken by the Cape Muslims at the time. I can confirm that the language the language of *Beyan al Din* is not typical of Cape Muslim Afrikaans in the 1860s. I do however concede that Abubakr Effendi's Afrikaans was comprehensible to the Cape Muslims of the time, as it is indeed still comprehensible to present day members of the Cape Muslim community. In mitigation of Abubakr Effendi's failure to write the Afrikaans spoken by the community, one has to admit that the writing of *Beyan al Din* was a remarkable achievement. It becomes even more remarkable when it is considered that he was English and Cape Muslim Afrikaans while writing this book. He was indeed an exceptional linguist.⁵⁴⁴

David's statements are valuable in understanding the significance of the *Beyan al- Din* as an Arabic-Afrikaans text. This book is a milestone in the history of Arabic-Afrikaans writing which that led to two new classifications, namely the "Pre Abu Bakr Effendi" and "Post Abu Bakr Effendi" periods.⁵⁴⁵ As mentioned above, the works of Effendi should be considered from many dimensions to better understand his contribution to Islamic knowledge at the Cape in nineteenth century. Viewed from religious and linguistic perspectives, his works still need to feature in the field of South African historiography⁵⁴⁶ and related research particularly when scholars examine the manuscript form of *Beyan al- Din*, as they will not only understand the importance of its catechism but its linguistic and historical value.

5.4 Other works

As far as is known, Abu Bakr Effendi wrote eight books on religious topics but we are only aware of the existence of three of his books. As previously mentioned, the *Beyan al- Din* and *Merasid ud- Din* were published by the order of the Ottoman Sultan, Abdulhamid II and sent to Cape Town as a gift. In this publication, Effendi also mentioned another of his books, called *Miftaah-ud-Din* (The key of religion). Mia Brandel notes in her translation that "Abubakr Effendi made readers aware in his book, that there are many more desired actions, some of which we have been written down in a book called *Miftaah-ud-Din* which means the key of the Religion."⁵⁴⁷ However, to date, none of the copies of the *Miftaah-ud-Din* have been found.

⁵⁴⁴ Davids 2010, P. 119-120.

⁵⁴⁵ Davids 1990, P. 5-6.

⁵⁴⁶ Davids 1989, P. 37, 41.

⁵⁴⁷ Effendi 1960, P. 9.

Another interesting and unique book makes us aware of Effendi's educational discipline.⁵⁴⁸ It was written by his second wife, Tahora who was the headmistress of Muslim girl's school at the Cape. The book contains the school program and religious knowledge on Islam that was based on the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad and his close friends (Companions), among whom are the Prophet's cousin Abbas and Ali, and his children. Caliph Omer and Abu Bakr were frequently mentioned in the school curriculum in order to reveal the lifestyle of first Muslims at the Cape.⁵⁴⁹

According to an archival document, Effendi also opened a secular school in Buitengragt Street in Cape Town.⁵⁵⁰ In this school, for first time he taught social sciences such geography, mathematics and a couple of languages (Dutch, Arabic, and English). Tayob states that:

Effendi's inclination to the growing reform movement in the Middle East is also shown by his concern for the education of women. Muslim women were generally neglected in the mosque schools set up by the Imams in Cape Town. Effendi recognized this need because of increasing Christian missionary activity, and began his school for women in 1870.⁵⁵¹

As is understood from Tayob's sentences, Effendi also considered the influence of the Christian missionaries among the Muslims at the Cape. It is rumoured that, numerous Christians converted to Islam because of Effendi's educational activities at the Cape. As a result, Effendi's educational heritage remained directed to the Muslims society, which was one of the most significant legacies of his challenges at the tip of southern Africa.⁵⁵²

Beyan al- Din is unique since it was written as a result of "the traditional sciences had been obliterated and the knowledge of the Lord's learning had disappeared in these regions of South Africa"⁵⁵³ This explanation considerably emphasizes the significance of catechism's

⁵⁴⁸ See Appendix XXII: The copies of the curriculum of the first girl school in Cape Town, (David Baker Effendi Private Library - Port Elizabeth)

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid. P 10.

⁵⁵⁰ Cape Town Archives Repository, CSC 2/1/1/159 no, 37.

⁵⁵¹ Tayob 1995, P. 80.

⁵⁵² Appendix XXXII: A photo of the Ottoman Mosque in Cape Town (Hanafi Masjid in Long Street)

⁵⁵³ Effendi 1960, P. L.

fundamental goal. In addition, Effendi states, subsequently I decided to write a concise explanation of the main points of the Law in the language best known to them.”⁵⁵⁴

Written by an Islamic scholar of the nineteenth century, Effendi’s catechism is an important work in religious sciences which provides interest on Arabic-Afrikaans writing at the Cape. Effendi contributed to the Islamic life at the Cape with his publications which led to his popularity and he has remained a well-known theologian until present.⁵⁵⁵ His reformist rules in *Beyan al- Din* caused an intellectual debate among Imams but this controversy also led to a new religious awareness among the Ulama in South Africa.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid. P. L. “dan is nodig iek moet skrieve met die taal wat mier doedelek is tosin hoeielie, laat hoeielie kin wiet Agam met gemaakelek oep die riegtie maniere...” (in Afrikaans)

⁵⁵⁵ Appendix XXXIII: Abu Bakr Effendi’s room in the Afrikaans Language Museum in Paarl.

CHAPTER VI: THE LEGACY OF ABU BAKR EFFENDI

6.1 Introduction

The final chapter summarizes the observations of this thesis in the light of the valuable new evidence which have been brought to light through this study. It will draw conclusions with regards to the author's viewpoint on Abu Bakr Effendi's challenges, accomplishments and legacy. A summary will be given of the new material uncovered including its relevance and the influence it had on the choice of topic for this thesis. This chapter will briefly describe upon Effendi's cultural and religious legacy at the Cape as a reformist scholar and religious man.

6.2 Conclusion

Sheik of knowledge, the Ottoman theologian Abu Bakr Effendi's religious activities and their impact are described in this study so as to illuminate some previously unknown historical matters regarding the history of Islam in South Africa. Furthermore, the study illustrates the contribution of his works to the emergence of a Muslim identity and consciousness in Southern Africa. Particularly, his reformist challenges caused the religious knowledge held by the Muslim Community of the day to be assessed and led to important religious developments, the impact of which can still be seen in the present day.

Moreover, this thesis informs readers on the life of Effendi from his childhood to his death and can thus be considered a mini biography. Evidence is shown of Effendi's background, tracing his Quraishy family lineage to the Prophet Muhammad. Observations are made on the high level of education Effendi achieved and his family's social standing in the Ottoman State. The influence of being at the heart of great civilizations such as Baghdad and Istanbul are considered as significant in Effendi's development as an educator, theologian and religious reformist.

Islamic scholars such as Abu Bakr Effendi have played extremely crucial roles in Muslim Society throughout history. The role they played is important not only from a

religious viewpoint from sociological one as well. Prophet Muhammad says, “The best people in the World are Ulama but the worst person in the World is again one of Ulama.”⁵⁵⁶ This means that the Ulama have a great responsibility toward the Muslim World due to their rules regarding the affairs of Muslim society both in this world as well as hereafter. A well-known Islamic phrase states that ‘Scholars are the inheritors of the Prophets.’ In this sense, Islamic scholars and the role they play have always been considered important for Muslims. As an Islamic scholar, Abu Bakr Effendi’s role is remarkable in terms of the influence he had at the Cape.

As a result of the religious duties of Caliphate which appear aligned with the principles of Pan- Islamism in the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Sultans sent scholars to the Islamic societies of the world such as Bukharin Sheik Suleiman to Russia, Sirvanizade Ahmet Hulusi to Afghanistan, Ferik Pasha to Chine and Emin Effendi to Zanzibar. In the same vein, Abu Bakr Effendi was sent to Cape Colony to educate Muslims there. It has been shown that in addition to Effendi’s childhood in the civilized Islamic society of Baghdad and his Islamic education in Mecca and Istanbul, Effendi was accepted as an authority of the faith in the centre of the Caliphate in the nineteenth century. The educational significance of Istanbul is beautifully described in the following Ottoman poem:

There is no place where knowledge and learning
Find so ready a welcome as Istanbul
Bey, Pasha Effendi Chelebi
Here are the choicest of them all
Soldiers and scholars and knights
Here are the kings of them all.⁵⁵⁷

The poem illustrates why scholars like Abu Bakr Effendi, who studied in a madrasah in Istanbul and received his religious degree on Islamic subjects, were afforded a tremendous privilege to improve their knowledge and outlook whilst in the city.

Abu Bakr Effendi was one of the most prominent Ulama who was sent to South Africa by the Caliphate from Istanbul and spent nearly the last twenty years of his life at the Cape in

⁵⁵⁶ Paşa Ahmet Cevdet 2012, Faideli Bilgiler, Page 90 Istanbul.

⁵⁵⁷ Lewis Bernard 1963, Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire Page 96 Norman

order to teach Islam. His spiritual role at the Muslim Community can certainly be seen as different from other religious scholars in South African history. The studies on Effendi are not sufficient to understand his extra ordinary impact. His religious activities should be analysed from many dimensions, which may open different doors for scholarly research in terms of the re-examining historical facts in South African history. He was a strict religious pioneer at the Cape who contributed to the shaping of the Muslim Society in the late nineteenth century.

Firstly, it should be considered that the emergence of the Ottoman presence in South Africa actually started with Effendi's educational activities at the Cape of Good Hope. On his arrival he began to observe the social structures of the Cape. His recorded observations give sufficient rationalization as to the significance of his activities. His religious duties, which he received from the Caliphate, were minor compared to his own efforts and challenges at Cape. Effendi was merely sent to Cape Town to resolve the religious disputes among the Muslim groups there but also went to Zanzibar, Mauritius, Mozambique and Madagascar to understand the social circumstances in which the Muslims lived in those nations. He reported all his observations to the Ottoman Government in order to find beneficial solutions for the Muslims.

Some Islamic doctrinal disputes occurred among the Muslims and Effendi was invited to the Supreme Court of the Cape as an Islamic authority. The Cape Government accepted his rules and Effendi resolved the religious issues in Palm Three Mosque. Expectedly, the outcome of the case did not satisfy everybody. While one side became satisfied, the other side inevitably complained about Effendi's rules within their congregation. Finally they claimed that 'Effendi is a Hanafi but Cape Muslims are Shafi'i' so his rules were declared unacceptable. However, Effendi had used a Hadiths book (which is one of the famous Hadiths collections *Mishkat al- Masabih*) while he was in court. Similarly Effendi was called several times to the Cape Supreme Court to find solutions on the religious subjects for Muslims. Effendi considered the subjects as an independent scholar and only used Qur'an and Hadiths in these court cases. Contrary to common belief, Effendi was an Islamic scholar who only followed the tradition of Prophet Muhammad (Sunna) during his lifetime. Effendi's fatwa regarding the craysfish is the most visible evidence to support this reality in the historical context.

Beyan al- Din is accepted as a most extensive religious book at the Cape. It had a tremendous impact on the religious society of the time and continues to this day. In terms of

both religious and linguistic point of views, *Beyan al- Din* is a remarkable catechism and changed the various traditional writing styles and the vowel system in the context of Arabic-Afrikaans. Certain scholars like Davids studied *Beyan al- Din* and emphasized its importance. However, the manuscript copy of the book which is situated in the Cape Town libraries has not previously been seen or analysed by scholars. When South African scholars will study the handwritten book by Effendi, a plethora of new knowledge is likely to unfold on many historical matters.

There is an interesting story about the cultural legacy of Effendi which proves the argument on the subject. In 1914, the British Empire brought many slaves from all over the world to fight for them in the Great War. The Slave soldiers were fighting in the Gallipoli War against the Ottoman Army to occupy Istanbul. After the war, the British slave soldiers returned to their country. When some of them returned to South Africa which was a British Colony at that time, the slave soldiers noticed the Turkish Fez on the heads of the South African Malays. The slave soldiers were worried about the Ottoman presence. They had seen the same fez in the Ottoman territory during the campaign while fighting against Ottoman Soldiers. At that time, South African Malay Muslims used to wear the Ottoman traditional hat on account of the influence of Abu Bakr Effendi. From this, the British Soldiers assumed that Ottoman army had occupied the Cape Colony when they were at war with them in Istanbul.⁵⁵⁸

Similarly, in the national archives of South Africa, there are many interesting documents related to this topic which put history into context and lead to better understanding of the events for historians.⁵⁵⁹ One of them is the Turkish flag issue which was an illustration of the British- Turkish political relations during this time. The flag of the Ottoman State symbolised the sovereignty of the justice of the Caliphates, and the Ottoman State during their sultanate. The Turkish Flags occupied mosques in many countries when they were praying for the Sultan of the Ottoman State. It is an important historical reality that the Ottoman fez and flying of the Ottoman flags in the mosques in South Africa depicts the deep appreciations of the South African Muslim Community for the Ottoman State This is indeed a noteworthy historical reality.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁸ Shell 2000, P. 340. See also, Orakçı, 2010, P. 74.

⁵⁵⁹ National Archive of South Africa, GG 686, 9/11/9 War 1914 – 1917 Turkey Y. Flying of Turkish Flag on Mohamedan Mosques.

⁵⁶⁰ National Archive of South Africa, Sab, GG Vol, 686, Ref, 9/11/9.

After Abu Bakr Effendi, the Ottoman Caliphs did not neglect Muslims at the Cape. Imam Mahmud Effendi, Professor of the Ottoman Arabic School was appointed by the Ottoman Government as a teacher of the Ottoman School in Cape Town at a salary of ten Turkish pounds per month in 1894.⁵⁶¹ A free school for children of the Muslim faith was established by the Imperial Ottoman Government until 1914.⁵⁶² Every year, Mudarris Mahmud Effendi made a sacrifice of several sheep, the flesh of which was distributed among the poor of his parish at his school in Castle Street in Cape Town.⁵⁶³ All these events were remarkably covered by the local media in South Africa. Mahmud Effendi lived in 71 Wale Street which is now the Bo-kaap Museum. When Mahmud Effendi died, his son continued the same religious activities at Nurul Burhaniye School in Castle Street. In spite of these considerable activities, neither Mahmud Effendi nor his son, Muhammad Dervish Effendi left any written trace of their work. This factor probably makes Abu Bakr Effendi different from other Muslim theologians. Abu Bakr Effendi added cultural value to the Muslim society. As a result of his energetic personality he contributed to spread Islamic knowledge and in the Islamic public sphere at the Cape.

Effendi was a notable educator not only for members of the Muslim Society but also in his close environment. His strong influence as a teacher affected everyone around him. Firstly he educated his wife, Rukiye Maker and she became a learned person. In 1866 when they divorced, Rukiye opened an Islamic school for girls and taught Arabic to her pupils. She certainly received this Islamic knowledge from her former husband and became an intellectual teacher in the Muslim society at the Cape. Thereafter Effendi married Tahora Saban and within a short time she also became the headmaster of the Muslim Girl's School. Several women *huffaz* (reciters of Qur'an) were brought up in the Ottoman school which contributed to the spread of Islam in South Africa. In the meantime, Effendi educated his own children, especially Hesham Nimetullah and Ahmet Ataullah who later became notable intellectual scholars in South Africa.

The Effendi family was instrumental in the shaping of the Islamic values in the public sphere in Southern Africa. Hesham Effendi became the chairman of the Cape Muslim Community and taught people in Cape Town and Paarl as well as in Port Elizabeth. Ahmet

⁵⁶¹Ottoman State Archives, İ.MF 22/L /1317 (Hijri) No: 5/1317/L-2 Ümitburnu'nda Kab Şehrinde Nur-ı Burhaniye Mektebi'ni tesis eden Muallimi Hacı Mahmud Fakih'in Hasan Efendi'nin maaşına zam yapılması ve nişan verilmesi.

⁵⁶² Cape Argus, August, 7, 1909, The Moslem School, P. 3

⁵⁶³ Cape Argus, 12/12/1910, Moslem Sacred Festival, P. 2

Ataullah Effendi opened an Islamic school in Kimberley and also became the first Muslim politician and activist in South Africa. Ahmat Ataullah married Dr Abdullah Abdurrahman's sister and these family relations created a new consciousness among the Muslims. Effendi's grandchildren married Tuan Guru's grand children and members of the Hendricks's family. Abu Bakr Effendi also appointed a great Islamic scholar Mohammed Dervish Allawie from Yemen and brought him to South Africa as a prominent guide for Hajj duties. Alawie stayed in Cape Town and received his salary from the Ottoman Government for the rest of his life.

All these distinguished Muslim families created an educated Muslim community at the Cape which developed a more knowledgeable social consciousness among Muslim leaders. A student of Effendi, Muhammad Dollie started the Hanafi congregation and opened a Hanafi Mosque in Long Street. A grandson of Tuan Guru, Ahmet Rakeip, one of the most prominent students of Effendi, became Imam at the Nurul Islam Mosque when he was 17 years old. Correspondence circulated between England and Cape Colony around the religious activities of Effendi who became a source of inspiration to some Christians, who converted to Islam.⁵⁶⁴ His religious movement affected society in numerous ways. Additionally, the *Ottoman Hamidiye Cricket Club* was established in Bo-Kaap due to his influence. These historical events indicate how Effendi impacted on Muslim society as an Islamic scholar.⁵⁶⁵

A local newspaper described Effendi in the following manner: "one of his most distinctive features when compared to other leaders at the Cape of Good Hope was his ability to express an opinion fearlessly on any religious matter even at the cost of sacrificing his popularity."⁵⁶⁶

In spite of various difficulties, Abu Bakr Effendi worked patiently and was tasked with the challenge of finding solutions as quickly as possible for South African Muslims. During this time, he considered returning to his country on a couple of occasions not only due to the linguistic and cultural differences in but also due to the social issues which, at times, made him miserable. Probably he also missed his family and homeland. According to a Cape Archive document, one of his houses' names was recorded as *Erzurum* which was his home

⁵⁶⁴ British National Archives, The London and Chine, Page 43 The Mussulmens at the Cape of Good Hope January 1864 London

⁵⁶⁵ Cape Standard, Monday, December, 13, 1937, Ottomans Leave on December 26. <http://ottomancc.org.za/>

⁵⁶⁶ Muslims Views, October 2000, A Literary and Religious Milestone by Dr M C D'Arcy, Cape Town.

town in Turkey.⁵⁶⁷ This is a sufficient indicator of his state of mind at that time. However, Abu Bakr Effendi never gave up on his goals and stayed in Cape Town his entire life.

⁵⁶⁷ Cape Town Archives Repository, 3/CT 4/2/1/3/1351 B 605, Additions to Premises, Erzeroum Mountain Road, Woodstock 1946.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: A photo of Abu Bakr Effendi (1814 - 1880)



Appendix II: A Map of the Territory, Shahrizur Iraq



Appendix III: The Copy of Effendi's Passport (Ottoman Archives, Foreign Affairs)



Appendix IV: Death Notice of Abubakr Effendi – 1880 (Cape Town Archives Repository)

72/113 Filed 1st July 1880

DEATH NOTICE. 316

Pursuant to the Provisions contained in Section 9, Ordinance 101.

1.—Name of the Deceased. *Abu Bakr Effendi*

2.—Birth-place of the Deceased. *Ceylon*

3.—Name of Parents of the Deceased.

4.—Age of the Deceased. *about 57*

5.—Condition in Life. *Malay Priest*

6.—Married or Unmarried, Widower or Widow. *Married*

7.—The Day of the Death. *29 June 1880*

8.—At what House, or where the Person died. *in De Scheut Cape Town*

9.—Names of the Children of the Deceased, and whether Males or Females.

1. *Abdullah Atikowal*

2. *Fahima married to Abdul Pazar*

3. *Hecaton*

4. *Aladun*

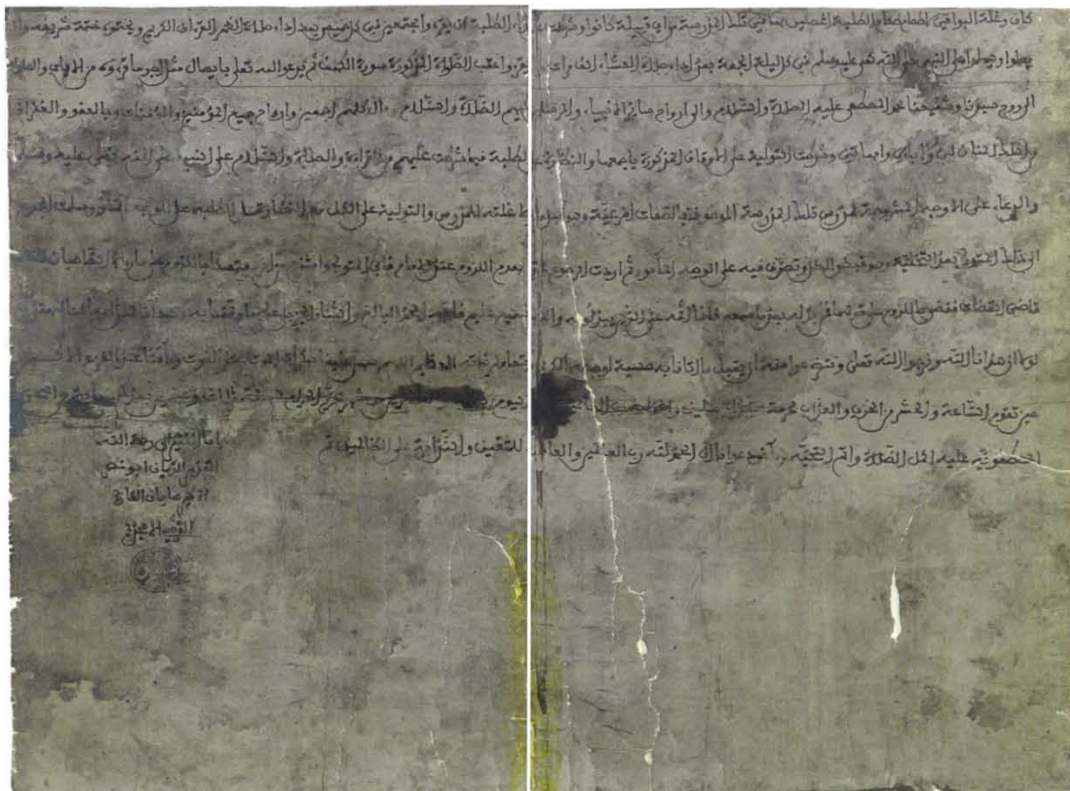
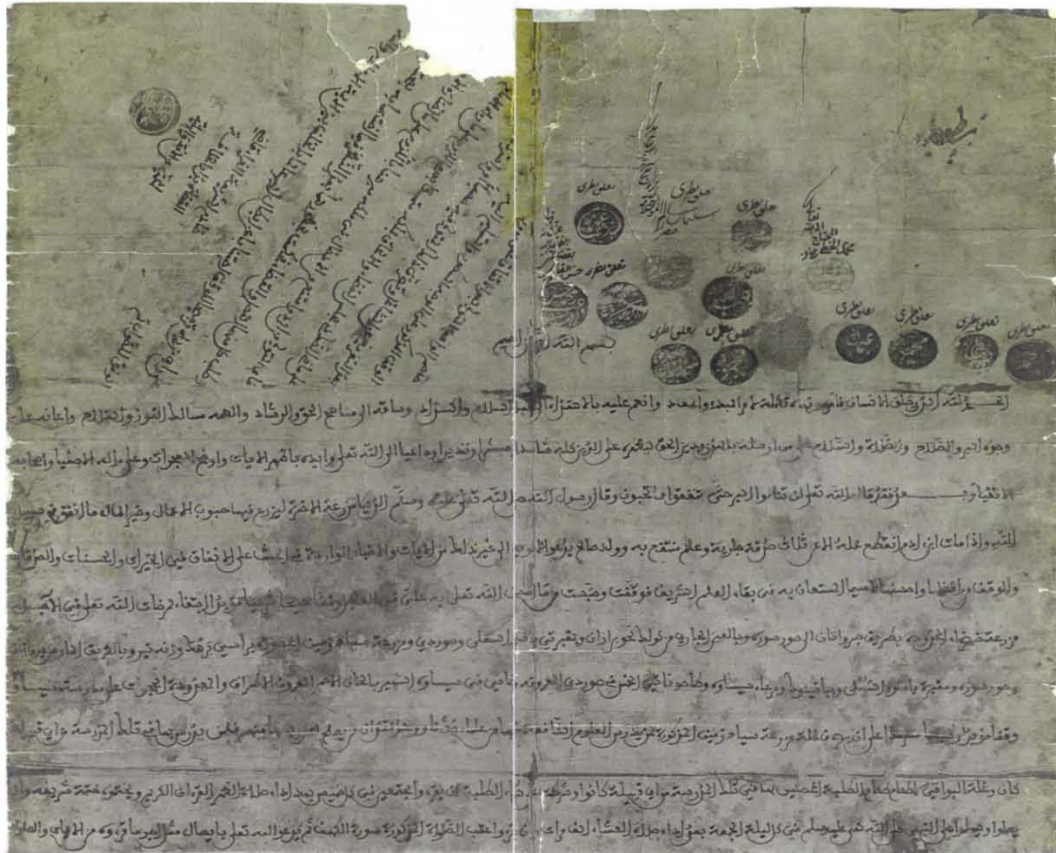
5. *Sajalodun*

6. *Sozyn*

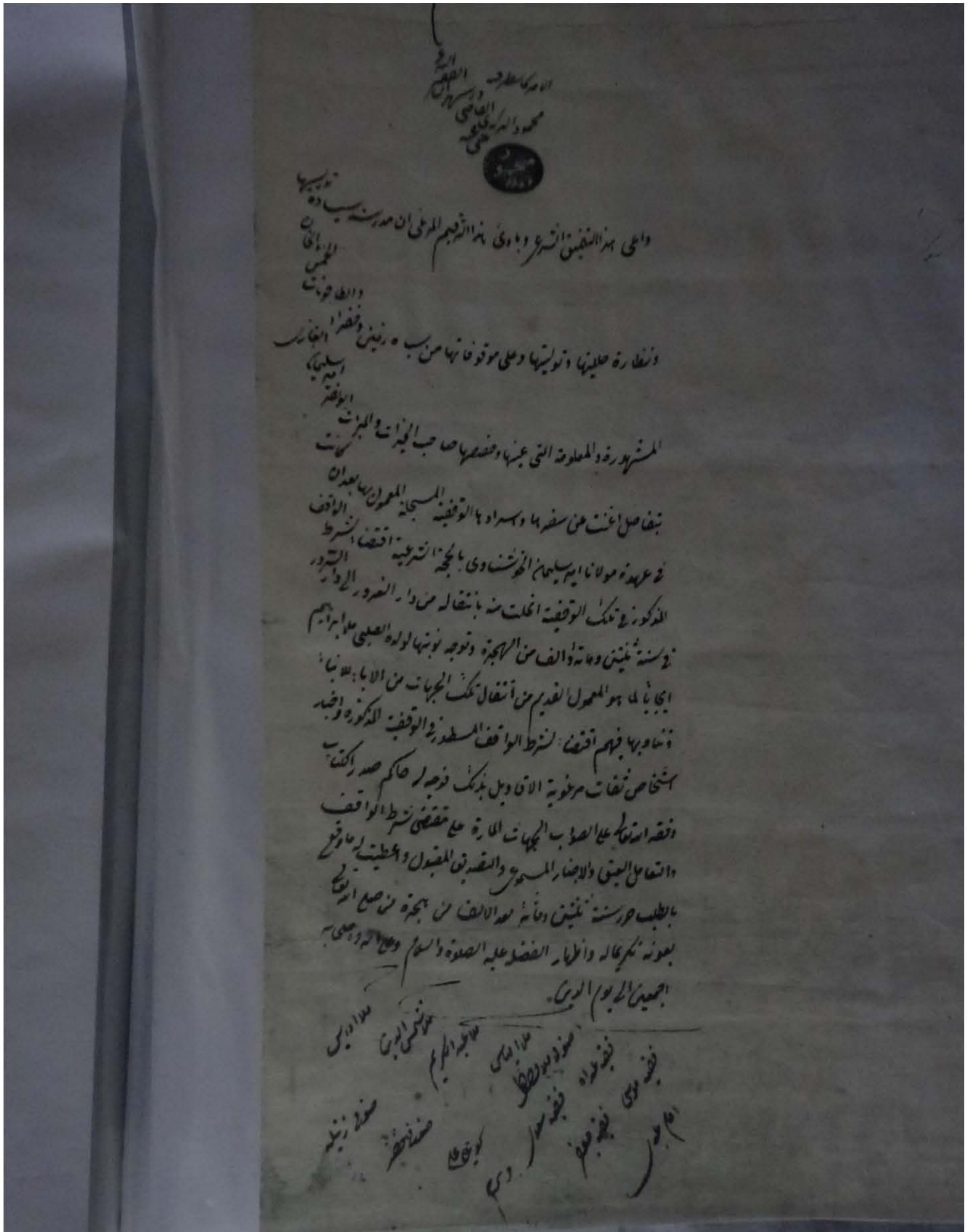
10.—Whether deceased has left any Property, and of what kind. *Movable & Immovable*

If the Deceased is not a married Person, or not married in Community of Goods,—or has left Will,—this Notice must be made within Six Days after death.

Appendix V: The Waqf Record Regarding the Amjadiy Madrasah (523 A.H. – 1129)



Appendix VII: A Waqf Record Regarding the Amjadiy Madrasah (Hijri 1148 A.D 1736)



Appendix VIII: Ahmet Ataulah Bey and a News Regarding His Activities



THE TURKISH CONSUL-GENERAL
AT SINGAPORE IN COLOMBO.

The *Ceylon Standard* of the 17th instant states that the Hon. Ahmed Attaullah Bey Effendi, Turkish Consul-General at Singapore, is at present in Colombo, on his way to Singapore, whether he will proceed by the next P. and O. steamer. He has travelled in England, America, France, Austria, Egypt, Turkey, South Africa, Arabia and India. He is the eldest son of the late Professor Abu Bekir Effendi, whom the Sublime Porte at the request of the British Foreign Office sent from Constantinople to the Cape of Good Hope in 1861 to settle the religious disputes there among the Malay community. The Hon. Ahmed Attaullah Bey Effendi succeeded his father at the Cape, and was appointed Professor to the Imperial Ottoman School, Kimberley. During Ahmed Attaullah Bey's seventeen years' service in South Africa, he has laboured to advance the cause of education among the Malay Indians and Cape Muhammadans, has shown an intelligent interest in many other movements and institutions in South Africa, and has done much for the cause of social and moral reform. He was a strong supporter of the Progressive (Cecil Rhodes') Party, and his loss to the South African Muhammadans will be the grief of the Straits Muhammadans.

Appendix IX: A Photo of Tahora Effendi (on the leftside, sitting on the chair)



Appendix X: A Photo of Hesham Nimetullah Effendi (Hesham Effendi Private Library)



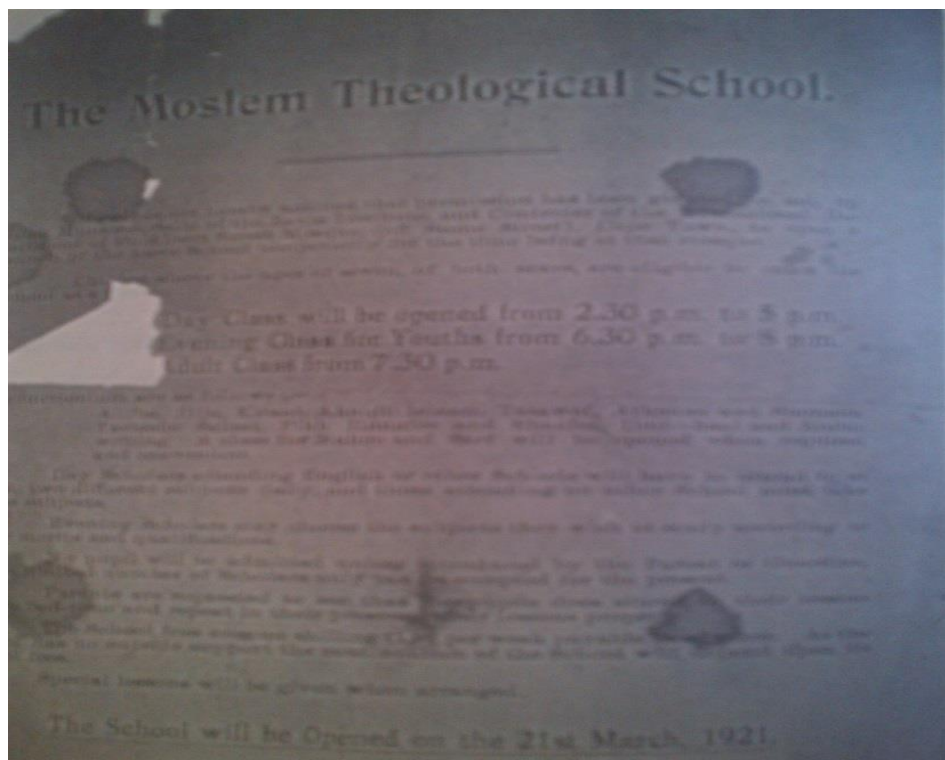
Appendix XI: A Photo of Muhammed Alaeddin Effendi (H. Effendi Private Library)



Appendix XII: A Photo of Omer Jelaledin Effendi (Hesham Effendi Private Library)



**Appendix XIII: An Advertisement of the Ottoman Muslim School in Juhannesburg by
Omar Jelaledin Effendi, 1908 (Ottoman State Archives, MF.MKT, 38/ 1009)**



Appendix XIV: The First Photograph of the Cape Muslims, 1863

(Abu Bakr Effendi, sitting in front, in black)



Appendix XV: A News Regarding the Activities of the Effendi at the Cape

FEBRUARY 20, 1864.

**THE TURKISH CONSUL-GENERAL AND
THE MALAYS.**

On Thursday several of the Mahomedan Priests of Cape Town had an interview with the Hon. Mr. de Roubaix, Consul-General for Turkey. The interview took place at the special request of the priests, who were anxious to have an account of the honourable gentleman's visit to Constantinople.

The Consul-General addressed the parties present at considerable length, and gave the following account of the appointment of the Abou Bekir Effendi, and the incident, of his visit to Constantinople:—

It affords me great satisfaction to perceive that there is a desire on your part to cast off the bad feeling which I am sorry to find was revived amongst you since my absence from the colony. You very justly give me credit when you say that I have done all I possibly could to improve your condition in this colony, and I felt amply rewarded for all the trouble I had taken in accomplishing that object by the appearances of improvement which you manifested in your conduct, and your disposition to yield to my counsel and advice. I have invariably pointed out to you the ill effects which the continual quarrels produced in you, and I need not now, I am sure, recapitulate them to you again. I find it, however, necessary to enter into a matter which has occurred whilst I was in Europe, and become a subject of notoriety even in our Colonial Parliament, and which, I am sorry to find, has been totally misrepresented, and is calculated, unless contradicted, not only to damage yourself, but also represent the doings of parties in an unfavourable light, which their proceedings do not merit. It grieves me to see that you, who knew the statements made to be incorrect, should have remained quiet, and, if reports be true, that some were parties to the false representations. I need hardly tell you that the matter to which I allude stands connected with the mission of Abou Bekir Effendi, who is now in Cape Town. The present opportunity, now that some of you are assembled here, and when I am enabled to advance facts which are within your own knowledge, I conceive to be a fitting one to enter into the history of the affair, with a view of refuting all erroneous reports which have already been, and may hereafter be, circulated respecting the case in question. It will be remembered that a serious quarrel arose between the Mustafa Tarief and Abdol Majiet, worshipping in one mosque in this city. This, of course, led to serious disturbances amongst the members belonging to the mosque, and it is well known that the interference of the police was resorted to to quell the disturbance. The case was brought before the Police Court, and after one or two attempts on the part of Colonel Hill, the Magistrate, and Mr. Lyuar, the Clerk of the Peace, to settle the question, I...

Appendix XVI: A Photo of the Ottoman Mosque in Port Elizabeth (Ottoman State Archives, Istanbul)

در سالنامه ششمین ۱۳۰۰ یازدهم

شرايط اشترا

ولایتده سنه لکی ۱۳۰۰ آلتی
آلتی ۸۰ غروش اولوب اوج
آلتی یوقدر . قیرله دن مقوا
بوروا بله کوندرک ایچون سنوی
یکری غروش فضله آلتیر .

ساعت امتیاز ومدیری
احمد احسان

شرايط اشترا

دو سالنامه سنه لکی ۱۳۰۰
آلتی آلتی ۷۵ . اوج آلتی
۴۰ غروشدر . بوسته ایله
سکوندر بیرسه ولایات بدل
ایخذ اولتور .

بیشبه کونلری چیقار منافع ملک و دولتته خادم مصور عثمانلی غزته سی

№ : 765

Director-propriétaire
Ahmed IHSAN

SERVETIFUNOUN
JOURNAL ILLUSTRE TURC PARAISSANT LE JEUDI
CONSTANTINOPLE

15^{me} année

BUREAUX :
78, Grand' rue de la
Sublime Porte

عدد : ۷۶۵

بیشبه ۸ کلون اول سنه ۱۳۲۱

اون یکنجی سنه — اونونجی جلد



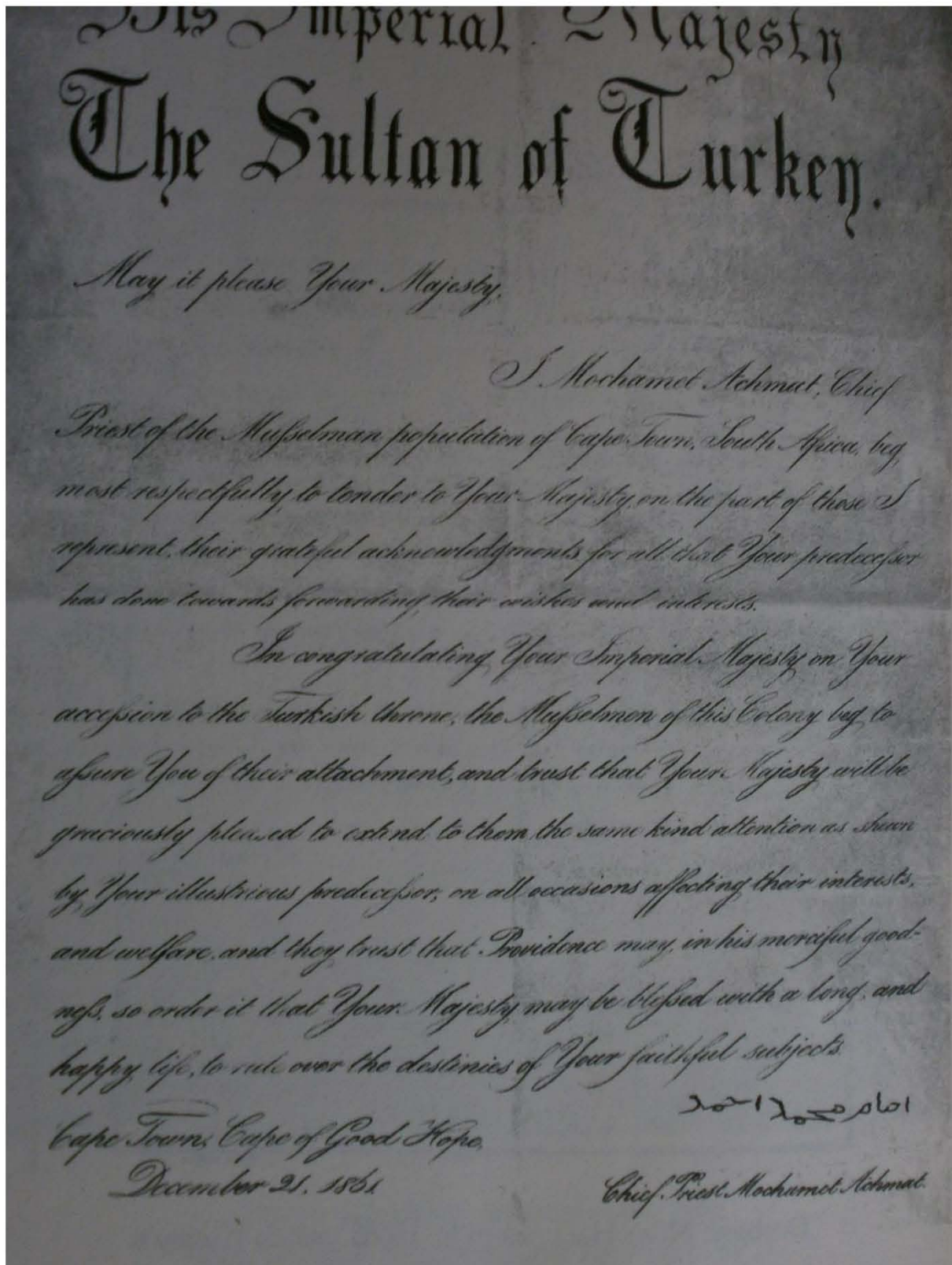
آفریقای جنوبیده امید بروننده پورت الیزابت شهرنده بوکره مجدداً الفنا اولنان جامع شریف
La nouvelle mosquée du Port-Elisabeth au Cap

KUTUPHANESİ
1906

Appendix XVII: A Photo of the Ottoman Consul General Petrus Emanuel De Roubaix



Appendix XVIII: A Photo of the Original Letter by Chief Priest Muhamet Achmat



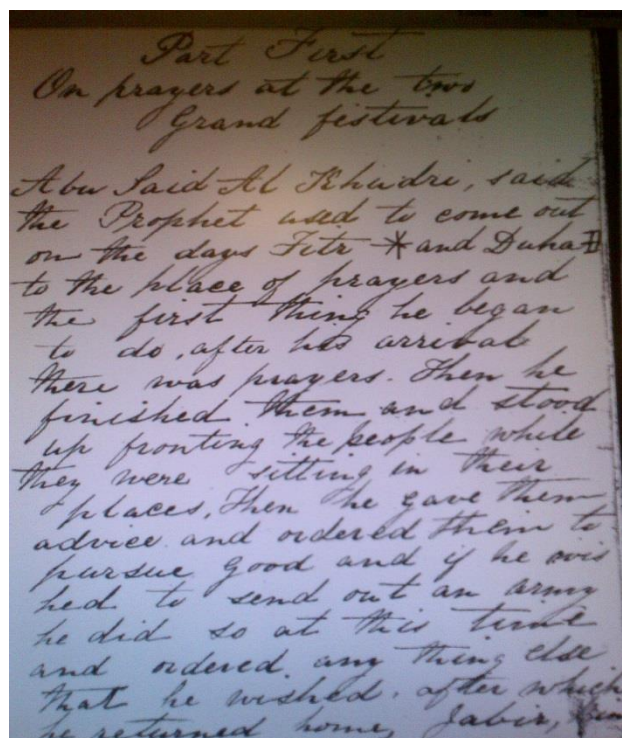
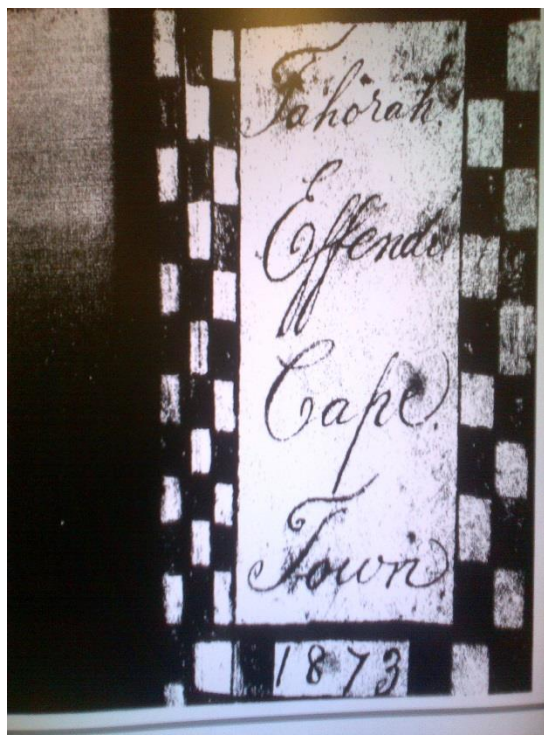
Appendix: XX A Photo of the Ottoman Theological School in Cape Town



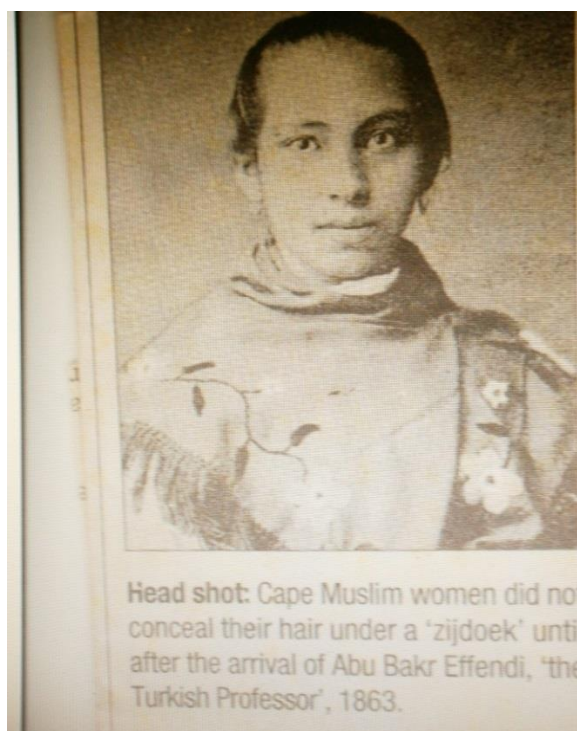
Appendix XXI: A Photo of the First Muslim School for Girls in Cape Town



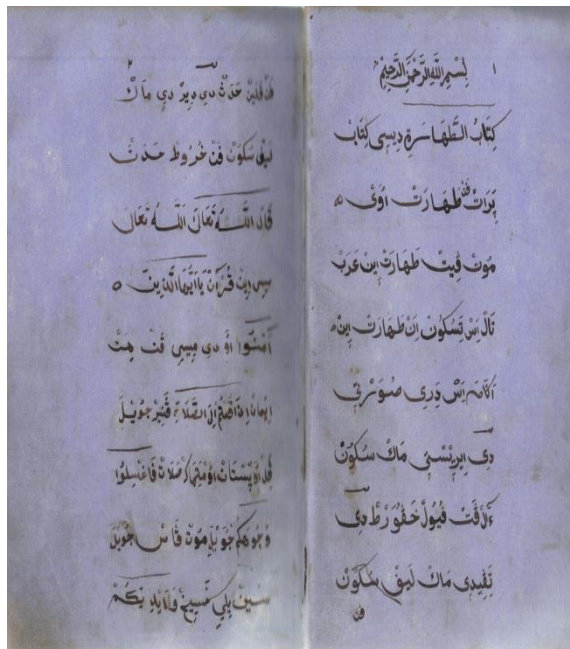
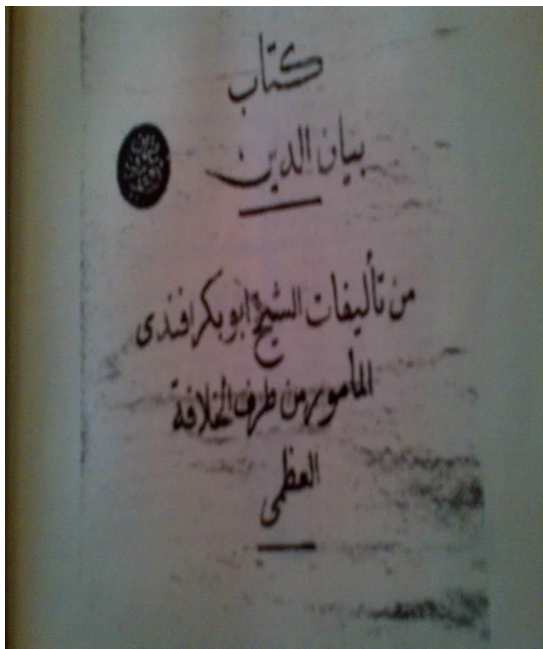
**Appendix XXII: The Copy of the Curriculum of the First Girl School in Cape Town,
(David Baker Effendi Private Library - Port Elizabeth)**



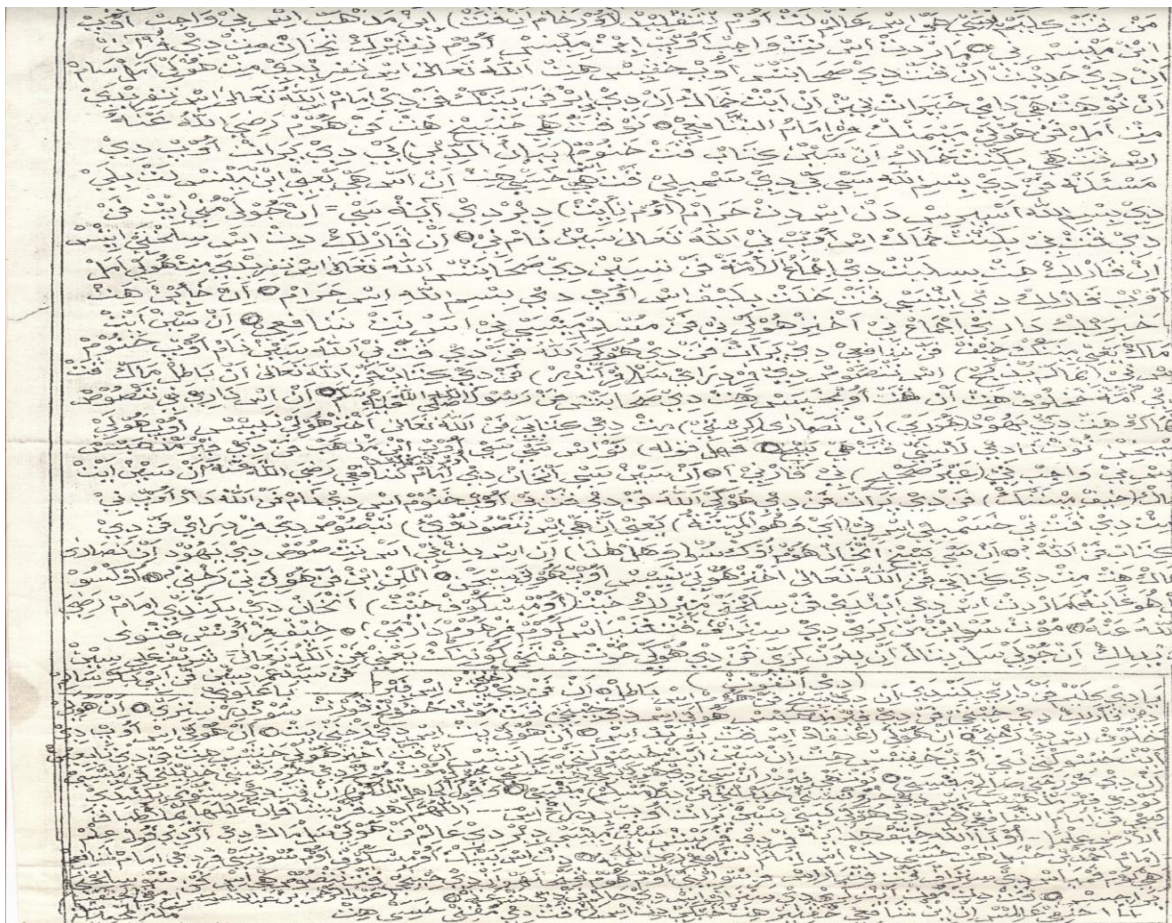
Appendix XXIII: Photos of Cape Muslim Women, Before and After Abu Bakr Effendi



Appendix XXIV: The Front and First Page of Beyan al- Din (M. Zobri Effendi Private Library. The front page is missing from M. Zobri Effendi's library; the front page below has been copied from the Ottoman State Archive)



Appendix XXV: The Copy of the Arabic-Afrikaans Letter 1



Appendix XXVI: The Copy of the Arabic-Afrikaans Letter 2

ولم يحرف هذا الإجماع أحد إن خابني هت خيرتك داري إجماع في من بعدهم من المسامحة
 في دي خيبي فت أهنر هووي حقيسي هت في في مسامحة منسي في إلا الشافعي أسنت
 شافعي و تأويله أي الشافعي أن سبب آيت ماك تعني منك خيف في شافعي
 قوله تعالى دي برات عن دي هووي الله تعالى ما لم يدرك الله عليه فت في الله تعالى
 سبب نام أو بي منوم أسبني ما لم يدرك من دي فت في حسامه في أسبني كالتي يف
 لكتاب الله تعالى أسب تنصوف دي في دي برات في دي كتاب في الله تعالى
 والظالم ما اعتقد الأمة أن باطل ماك فت دي أسب في خوف هت وحفظه الأصحاب
 أن فت أو يخبس هت دي صحابسي من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في رسول
 الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وهل هذا الأمل ما فعله اليهود والنصارى لئلا يلبس الله تعالى
 أن أسب دري في تنصوف ماك هت دي هووي (في أن بصارك كرسيه) من دي
 كتابي في الله تعالى بعد أنبأ لهم عليهم السلام أهنر هووي يئس أو بي هووي سبني
 إلى آخر ما ذكره نوت نادر لا سبني فت في بكت ماك هت فهل قوله لو أسب سبني سبني
 أن توليد مذهب من أملا هب الأربعة فذلك أو من تقديده أو بي أسب في دي ويز
 مذهب يئس بواهب أسبني وأهني غير صحيح أسب في خي به وقوله في حق الإمام
 الشافعي رضي الله عنه أن سبب يئس أحنان دي إمام شافعي رضي الله عنه وتأويله قوله تعالى
 أن سبني آيت ماك ليف منك) في دي برات عن دي هووي الله تعالى ما لم يدرك اسم الله
 عليه في دي فت في أو بي منوم أسب دي نام في الله تعالى دار أو بي في ما لم يدرك من دي
 فت في حسامه في أسبني أي وهو المبنية يعني أي أسب تنصوف دي ذكر أسب كما
 لكتاب الله تعالى تنصوف دي في دي برات في دي كتاب في الله تعالى وقوله في حفظه أيضا
 أن سبني يئس أحنان هو أو كسو وهل هذا أن أسب في الأمل ما فعله اليهود والنصارى
 أسب تنصوف دي يهودان نصارى ماك هت لئلا يلبس الله تعالى من دي كتابي في الله تعالى بعد
 أنبأ لهم أهنر هووي يئس عليهم السلام أو بي هووي سبني كل منهما الذي أسب في هووي في غير
 صحيح أيضا في أهنر أو كسو بل هو عاينه في أسوة الأديما ريت أسب دي أسبني في
 سبني منبرك خيس (أو مسكوف هت) في حق الإمام المنصور رضي الله تعالى عنه أحنان دي
 لئلا يدرك إمام رضي الله عنه سبني عاينه أهنر الأتق به نوت سواي من كمي دي
 سبني فت في سبني كرم في هووي دار في أفنونا موصيا ولم الأجر والنوابين الملك الوهاب

Appendix XXVII: The Copy of the Arabic-Afrikaans Letter 3

حَيْفِي نِي كُونَاكَ يَعْجِي فِي اللَّهِ تَعَالَى = مَنِّي لِمَ عَلِي مَسِيحِي فِي السَّيِّئَاتِ مَسِيحِي فِي أَبِي بَكْرٍ سَالِمٍ بِأَعْلَى
 (الْجَوَاب) دِي أَنْفَوْرْت
 نَعْرَانِ نَعْمَ الْمَكْتُوبِ وَقَوْلُهُ بِأَطْلَ يَا بِي كَلِمَةٍ فِي ذَا رِي بِلَيْدِي أَنْ دِي مَسِيحِي فِي هُوَ شَيْءٌ بِأَطْلَ وَعِي
 طَرِي الْحَقِّ عَاطِلَ أَنْ تَنِي دِي خِي نِي بِيْتِ أَيْ فِي رَانِ سَوْنِي مَسِيحِي فَإِنْ أَرِي بِأَطْلَ الْمَذْهَبِ لِأَرْبَعَةِ
 دِي قَوْلِكَ دِي خِي نِي بِيْتِ أَيْ فِي رَانِ سَوْنِي مَسِيحِي هُوَ أَهْلُ الْإِتِّبَاعِ يَلَا نَزَاعَ هُوَ لِي أَيْ دِي خِي
 فَتَمُونَ هُوَ لِي خَوْرْتِ سَوْنِي مَسِيحِي وَدِي تَمَهُمْ هُوَ الْقَوْمُ أَنْ هُوَ لِي هَلُوفَ أَيْ دِي خِي
 وَاعْتِقَادُهُ هُوَ السَّلِيمُ أَنْ هُوَ لِي اعْتِقَادُ أَيْ فِتْ دِي بِيْتِ أَيْ وَطَرِيْفُهُمْ هُوَ الْمَسْتَقْبَلُ أَنْ هُوَ
 بِيْتِ أَيْ دِي خِي نِي بِيْتِ وَهَمَّ عَلَى مَا كَانَ عَلَيْهِ الْبَيْتِ الْمُخْتَارُ أَنْ هُوَ لِي أَيْ أَوْتِ دِي فِتْ دِي أَيْ
 حَسُو لِي بِيْتِ أَوْتِ خِي نِي هِيَتْ وَأَهْلِيهِ الْأَهْلِيَارُ أَنْ سَبِيْتِ أَيْ حَسُو لِي هِيَتْ وَنِي
 مِنْ التَّابِعِينَ أَنْ فِتْ أَيْ هُوَ لِي خِي نِي هِيَتْ فِي دِي تَابِعِينَ وَالسَّلَفِ الصَّالِحِينَ أَنْ دِي خَوْرِي
 صِلَا مَسِيحِي عَلَى هَذَا وَقَدْ اجْتَمَعَ السَّلَامِيُّ سَلَفًا وَخَلْفًا أَنْ دَا رِي أَيْ أَوْتِ مَسِيحِي أَيْ هُوَ لِي
 فِي فَتْوَيْ دِي أَنْ فِي دِي أَيْ هُوَ لِي وَهَلِيهِ تَوَارِثُ الْعَصُورِ أَنْ دَا رِي هِيَتْ خَارِجِي فِي نِيْتِ نُو
 نِيْتِ وَأَنْفَوْرْتِ عَلَى أَنْ لِي فِي مَذْهَبِ أَهْلِ خَوْرِي أَنْ هُوَ لِي هِيَتْ أَوْتِ مَسِيحِي لِي كَلِمَاتِ دَا رِي
 أَنْ لِي فِي هُوَ لِي مَسِيحِي أَيْ أَيْشِ فِتْ مَوْتِ بِيْتِ مَسِيحِي فَوْرْتِ بِيْتِ أَيْ لِي مَسِيحِي لِي مَسِيحِي
 دِي لِي أَنْ نِي هُوَ لِي أَيْ مَسِيحِي لِي كَلِمَاتِ الْكَلِمَاتِ الْكَلِمَاتِ نَادِي هُوَ لِي خِي نِي دِي تَابِعِينَ
 سَبِيْتِ خِي نِي أَنْ أَوْتِ مَسِيحِي الْمَذْهَبِ فَتَا وَهُوَ لِي وَهَلِيْتِ الْبَيْتِ الْمَطْطَفِي الْمُرْسَلِ أَنْ نَادِي خِي نِي
 فِي أَيْ حَسُو لِي بِيْتِ فِتْ خِي نِي أَيْ إِلَى أَنْ قَالَ أَوْتِ مَسِيحِي = وَقَالَ فِي عَقْدِ الْحَبِيْتِ أَنْ دِي
 مَسِيحِي دِي أَيْ خِي نِي أَنْ دِي كَلِمَاتِ مَسِيحِي نَامِ أَيْ عَقْدِ نِيْتِ وَالرَّسُولُ الَّذِي صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ
 وَسَلَّمَ = التَّابِعُوا السَّوَادَ الْأَعْظَمَ دِي رَسُولِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ هُوَ لِي مَوْتِ فِتْ دِي وَنِي
 لِي دِي فِي مَسِيحِي نُو دِي فِتْ مَسِيحِي أَيْ دِي حَرُوسِي خِي نِي مَسِيحِي وَقَوْلُهُ الْكَلِمَاتِ
 الْمَذْهَبِ أَنْ دِي كَلِمَاتِ مَسِيحِي بِلَيْدِي سَبِي فِي حَقِّ الْمَلَامِ الْأَمَامِ دِي هُوَ لِي أَيْ رَهْمَةُ اللَّهِ اللَّهُ مَوْتِ
 فِي رَهْمَتِهِ خِي نِي الَّذِي عَلَيْهِ قَوْلُ النَّبِيِّ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ هُوَ لِي خِي نِي
 دِي هُوَ لِي سَبِي وَأَنْ أَوْتِ بِيْتِ = اللَّهُمَّ أَهْدِنِي سَبِيلَهُ فَإِنْ عَاطِلَهُ بِأَطْلَ فَإِنْ لَرَضِي عَاطِلَهُ
 أَوْ يَا اللَّهُ خِي نِي هَذَا دِي فِتْ سَبِي مَسِيحِي دِي دِي كَلِمَاتِ هُوَ لِي سَلَامُ دِي أَيْ دِي
 قَوْلُهُ عَاطِلَهُ فِي خِي نِي الْأَمَامِ أَيْ خِي نِي هُوَ لِي أَيْ أَمَامِ أَيْ خِي نِي خِي نِي فِي خِي نِي دِي خِي نِي
 هُوَ لِي سَبِي فِي رَهْمَتِهِ دِي أَيْ أَمَامِ السَّابِقِي رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ عَايَةُ الْأَسَاخَةِ فِي خِي نِي الْأَمَامِ
 رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ أَيْ دِي بِيْتِ أَيْ أَوْ مَسِيحِي خِي نِي خِي نِي التَّعْزِيرُ لِي كَلِمَاتِ هُوَ لِي قَوْمِ مَسِيحِي
 دِي سَبِي وَأَنْ دِي بَارِ أَيْ دِي نُوْسَنِيْتِ فِي سَوَانِ بِيْتِ الْأَرْبَعِ لَهُ أَوْ هُوَ لِي نُهُورِ الْأَمَامِ
 أَنْ دِي خِي نِي فِتْ لِي مَسِيحِي فِي مَقَالَةٍ فِي سَوَانِي نِي أَيْ فِي ذَلِكَ الْكَلِمَاتِ
 الشَّرْعِيَّةِ أَنْ دِي خِي نِي فِتْ مَوْتِ أَيْ دِي سَبِي أَيْ دِي خِي نِي دِي لِي كَلِمَاتِ هُوَ لِي خِي نِي
 تَمَّ كَلِمَاتِ عِلْمِ السَّلَامَةِ الْحَقِيَّةِ هَلَا لِي خِي نِي عَشْرَةَ تَضَمَّنَاتِ هُوَ لِي خِي نِي هُوَ لِي خِي نِي
 (١) محمد أمين الحنفي (٢) عبد القادر الحنفي (٣) محمد علي الحنفي (٤) عبد الحميد الحنفي (٥) محمد أمين الحنفي (٦) عبد الحميد الحنفي (٧) محمد أمين الحنفي (٨) عبد الحميد الحنفي (٩) محمد أمين الحنفي (١٠) عبد الحميد الحنفي

Appendix XXVIII: The Copy of the Arabic-Afrikaans Letter 4

وقد سؤرتهم في حق النبي صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم
 رضوان الله عليهم اجمعين وما وفي حق الامام الشافعي رضي الله عنه خصوصاً من غاية جهل و
 فسق و فحولة في حق تأويل الامام رضي الله عنه هذا الاثبات بقوله اليهود والنصارى
 يكذب الله تعالى بعد انبياءهم عليهم السلام غاية الاسائة في حق الامام رضي الله عنه
 فذا والمذموم لتلك الامور المذكورة يستحق اللوم والتعزير اللائق به والله اعلم وعلمه انتم
 الحمد لله وحده
 لا شبهة لا مدعى ان ما زعمه هذا الزاعم الجاحل عن حياة الحق
 وصيحه المهدى من جملة الضلال المبين وكبح عما اجمع عليه
 الأئمة الذين خصوصاً قدحه في هذا الامام الشافعي الهمام الذي سار بفضله وعلو شأنه
 المتمثل بين الامام - يستحق بما صدر عنه مما ذكر التعزير اللائق به وبأمثاله المقيد
 رجع فام سبحانه الثبات على طريق الحق الى يوم الدين كتبه فقير ربه واسير ذنبه خادم العلم
 بالمسجد الحرام وشيخ الخطباء والأئمة جماعة المشرفة صانها المولى من الفساد الى يوم القيام
 الحمد لله وحده
 لا شك ان ما زعمه هذا المدعى الشقي باطل و فاسد وقبيح
 في حق هؤلاء العلماء الاعلام وبالخصوص في حق الامام الشافعي الهمام ابن ادريس الذي
 صارت بفضله الركبان واعترف كل انسان يستوجب التعزير بين الامام الرابع له ولان
 له من الماميين اللام واسئل الله تعالى ذي المن والاحسان ان يمهني علي وعلى سائر المسلمين
 بالعرف والغفران كتبه الفقير الحقير الراجي من الله المنان الفوز بالنجاة في اعلى الجنان
 وشفاعة النبي الامي عبد الرحمن بن حسن العجيمي الحنفي (تم وضع ختمه نخنه)
 ما افنى به هؤلاء العلماء الاعلام وهؤلاء الانام ومنه ابيح الظلم حفظهم
 من يد قول المبطل وتعزيره تعزير اللائق به هو الحق اصواب لا عدول عنه ولا ريب
 عند ذكركم لا باب حيث تكلم في أئمة المسلمين وابن عم سيد المرسلين من سائر
 بفضله الركبان وشهدت بحقه ومجده العلماء والرهبان فواجب على ولاة الامور
 امضاء تعزيره وردعه وتخييره ليردوه هو وامثاله من المفسدين فانه من الذين كتبت السنن
 عن كل كاذب وكل بدعي اتى بالعياب والله الموفق وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم
 كتبه راجي رضا الخبير عبد القادر بن محمد علي الملا من الامام المسجل الحرام الحنفي
 الحمد لله وحده لا شك ان هذا الزاعم التعبد المنكر لوجه التقليد القاص في حق الامام الهمام
 الشافعي رضي الله تعالى عنه بما لا يرضى احد لعيبه فضلاً عن ان يلجيد قد استوجب كما صدر عنه
 التعزير الشديد بالضرب والحبس المديد حسبما افاده العلماء والكرام بالله الحرام والله اعلم
 لا شك ان هذا المنكر لوجه التقليد الطاعن في حق الامام
 الهمام الشافعي رضي الله عنه بما لا يرضى اهل الجيد كل استوجب كما صدر عنه التعزير الشديد
 بالضرب والحبس المديد والله سبحانه وتعالى اعلم كتبه الراجي عفوية الحنان عبد المعظم مراد
 لا شك ان قول هذا الزاعم الظالم افضل في جميع ما ذكره من ثبوت ان ما افنى المفاني الحرام
 والاعتماد الاعلام هو الموفق لكتاب الله وسنة سيد الانام وهو الذي يوجب الجمع اليه
 الحمد لله وحده لا شك ان هذا المنكر لوجه التقليد الطاعن في حق الامام الهمام
 الشافعي رضي الله تعالى عنه بما لا يرضى احد لعيبه فضلاً عن ان يلجيد قد استوجب كما صدر عنه
 التعزير الشديد بالضرب والحبس المديد حسبما افاده العلماء والكرام بالله الحرام والله اعلم
 لا شك ان هذا المنكر لوجه التقليد الطاعن في حق الامام الهمام
 الشافعي رضي الله تعالى عنه بما لا يرضى احد لعيبه فضلاً عن ان يلجيد قد استوجب كما صدر عنه
 التعزير الشديد بالضرب والحبس المديد حسبما افاده العلماء والكرام بالله الحرام والله اعلم

Appendix XXIX: The Copy of the Arabic-Afrikaans Letter 5

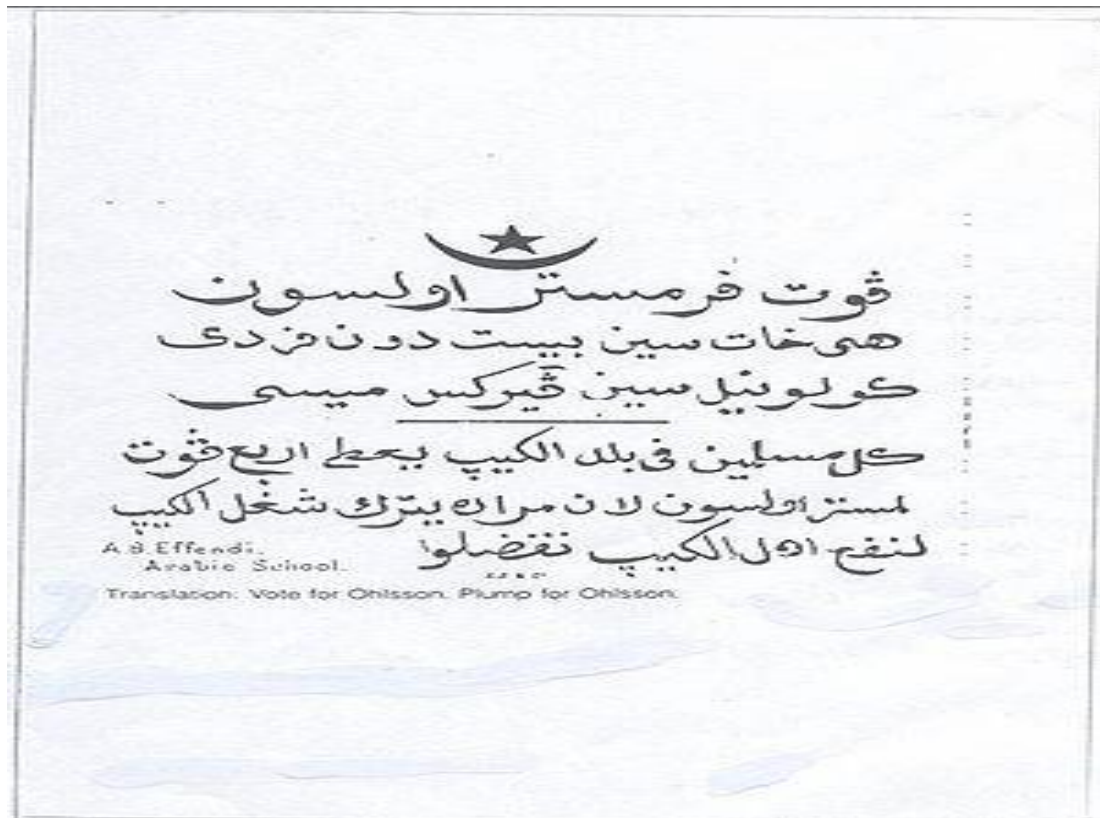
في حق الامام الشافعي رضي الله تعالى عنه - آمين

ما قول ساداتنا علماء الاسلام من الاضاف الكرام في رجل يبني انا العالم زعم ان تقليد
منه من المذاهب الاربعة ليس بواجب على الانسان وانما الواجب عليه العمل بالقران
والحديث وما كان عليه الصحابة رضي الله عنهم ونوصل بذلك الى التلخيص في حق كنيته
من الاثمة رضي الله تعالى عنهم خصوصا الامام الشافعي ثم اقال في حقه رضي الله عنه
ما ذكره في كتابه المسمى بيان الدين عند الحل على مسئلة التسمية على الذميمة حيث
قال - ولو ترك التسمية عند اهرم لآية ولا تأكلوا مما الرينا كما استر الله عليه وانه لفسق
وانه ان عقد الاجماع فيما بين الصحاب رضي الله عنهم لم يرد على ان من ترك التسمية عند
حرام ولا يحرق هذا الاجماع احد من بعدهم من المسلمين الا الشافعي وتأويله اي الشافعي
قوله تعالى بما الرينا اسم الله عليه بما الرينا كما التريف انما الله تعالى وابطال
لما اعتقده الأمة وحفظه الاصحاب من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وهل هذا الا
مثل ما فعله اليهود والنصارى يكتب الله تعالى بعد انبيائهم عليهم السلام الى اخر ما
ذكره فهل قوله ان تقليد من قبل المذاهب الاربعة ليس بواجب غير صحيح وقوله
في حق الامام الشافعي رضي الله عنه وتأويله قوله تعالى بما الرينا كما التريف
اي وهو المينة كالترتيب لكتاب الله تعالى وقوله في حقه ايضا وهل هذا الا مثل
ما فعله اليهود والنصارى يكتب الله تعالى بعد انبيائهم عليهم السلام كل منهم غير
صحيح ايضا بل هو غاية في اسائة الادب في حق الامام المذكور رضي الله تعالى عنه
يستحق عليه التعزير الاثني به افنونا من ضحاك الجاهل والنواب من ملوك الجاهل
شريف علي بن سيدي عري بن علي بن صالح اعلموي

تعمان زعم المذكور وقوله باطل وعن طريق الحق عاظم قال ارباب المذاهب الاربعة هم اهل الاتباع بلا تفرع
وغيرهم هو القويم واعترافهم هو السليم وطريقهم هو المستقيم وهم على ما كان عليه النبي المختار واصحابه
الاخبار ومن بعدهم من التابعين والسلف الصالحين وعلى هذا وقع اجماع المسلمين سلفا وحلدا وعليه
توارثت العصور والتفقوا على ان يسبق من ذهب احد من ائمة اربع فرجع فرجعهم الى الجاهل الكتاب العزيز
المذكور حديث النبي المصطفى المرسل قال صلحنا البحر في الاشياء وما خالف الائمة الاربعة فهو مخالف للاجماع
وان كان فيه خلاف غيرهم فقد صح الحرف في اليقين ان الاجماع قد انعقد على علم
العلم بل ذهب مخالف للائمة الاربعة وقال في عند الجهد قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
التبعوا السواد الاعظم ولما اندرست المذاهب الخمسة الاربعة كان اتباعها اذاعا
السواد الاعظم والخروج عنها خروجا من السواد الاعظم وقول الجاهل المذكور في حق الامام الصالح
رضه الله الذي حمل عليه قول النبي عليه الصلاة والسلام كما اخرج في الاربعة الخليل وابن عباس
او غيرهم عن ابي هريرة رضي الله عنه في الخبر هو الشافعي رضي الله عنه حكاه البيهقي في المعروفة
في غاية الاسائة في حق الامام رضي الله عنه يستحق التعزير الاثني بما الاربع له ولا مشا له عن
فيسم مقال والرأي في ذلك الحرام الشرعية (عبدالله بن عبد الرحمن) حامدا ومصليا مسالما الخ في مكة المكرمة
ثم كتب عليه علماء السادة الحنفية مكة الحقة خمس عشرة تصديقات جزاه الله احسن جزائه

| | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| (١) رحمة الله الخليل الحنفي ميرداد الحنفي | (٢) احمد بن حنبل الحنفي | (٣) عباس بن جعفر صديق الحنفي | (٤) عبد الرحمن بن حنبل الحنفي | (٥) احمد بن حنبل الحنفي | (٦) محمد بن حنبل الحنفي |
| عبد المطلب ميرداد | محمد بن حنبل حنيفة | محمد بن حنبل حنيفة | محمد بن حنبل حنيفة | محمد بن حنبل حنيفة | محمد بن حنبل حنيفة |

Appendix XXX: A Letter from the Effendi



Appendix XXXI: Abu Bakr Effendi's Handwritten Letter (Cape Town Archive)

Cape Town
 July 28 1863
 Excellency
 Sir, R. B. C. Wodehouse
 Governor and Commandant of
 this Colony

Sir I wish you to grant my request,
 as I am stated in this circumstance
 of Cape Town this short time I have
 been here. I have not taken any
 Mosque or Church neither spoke to
 them against these laws I am daily
 in my house continually keeping
 school.

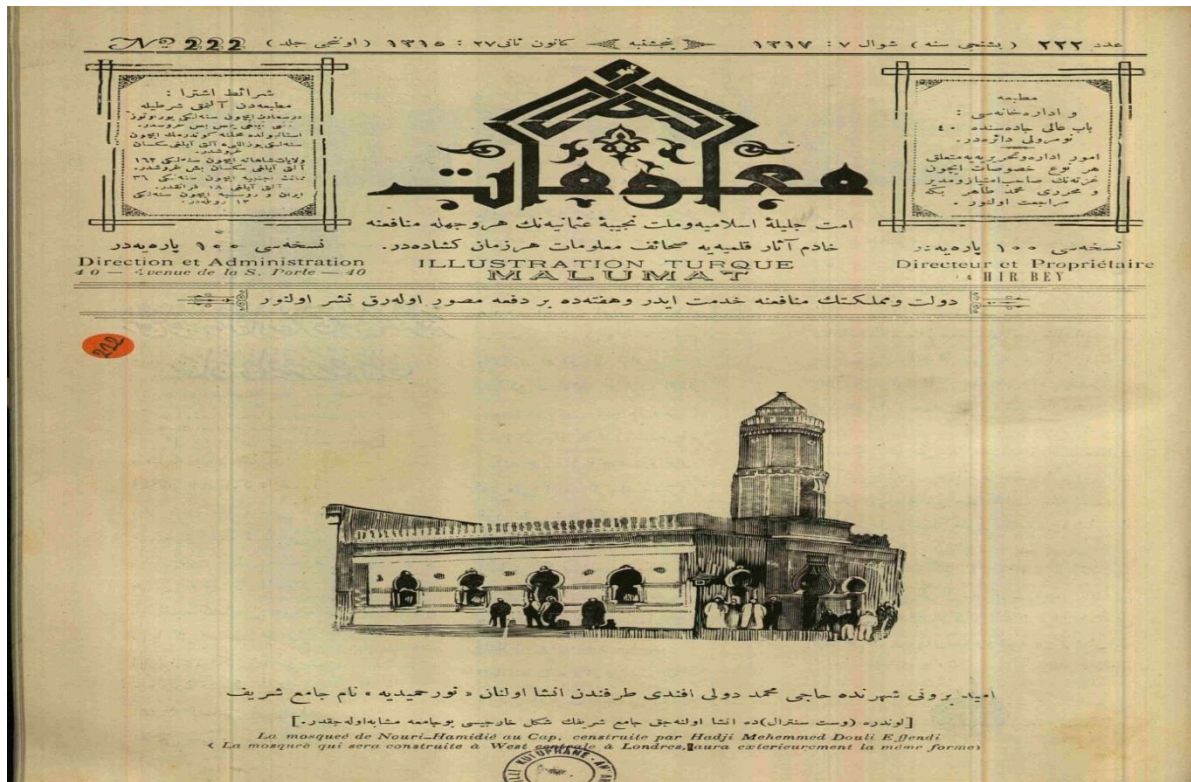
I have open a public school for children
 teaching them reading writing and
 versification and in the evening
 for elderly persons in Religion of the
 Mahomedan faith, some of Hadji
 Abdol Wahab's pupils are also in the
 school of the evening in a great

to this that I may go on with
 the mission, I am come for

I remain
 Yrs Obedient
 Sheykhool Olim
 Abu Bakr Effendi

Ans. (661) 31st July 1863

Appendix XXXII: A Photo of the Hanafi Masjid in Cape Town (Ottoman Archives)



Appendix XXXIII: Abu Bakr Effendi's Room at the Afrikaans Language Museum in Paarl

