

## Words the Cape slaves made: A socio-historical-linguistic study

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Although I am critical of the philological approaches to an understanding of the origin of Afrikaans, this article is not entirely free from such an approach. The words the slaves made are looked into through an examination of the social milieu in which those words were made, as well as the processes of acculturation which took place in that milieu and gave rise to new cultural traits; and the agglutination of these traits in a matrix with a definite theological philosophy acting as base. In a sense, it is a study of the internal history of Cape slavery. The languages from which the slave words were made, the literary traditions of these languages, and their influence on the literacy of the slaves, are investigated. I also explore the theological philosophy and the literacy processes that were perpetuated through a slave education system, which resulted in a rapid growth of a Cape slave culture, but which also resulted in a distinctive literary tradition called 'Arabic-Afrikaans'. Finally, the attitude of the descendants of the slaves, the Cape Muslims, towards the nineteenth-century Cape Dutch from which Afrikaans emerged, is discussed. Some interesting questions in this regard are raised, without conclusive answers being provided, and I end with a plea for a less formal Afrikaans, depoliticized and free to be used as a language of expression for a South African nation.

Nieteenstaande my kritiese beskouing van die taalkundige benaderings tot die ontstaan van Afrikaans, is hierdie artikel in 'n mate nie vry van so 'n benadering nie. Ek kyk na die woorde wat deur die slawe geskep is en terselfder tyd bespreek ek ook die maatskaplike omgewing waarin hulle geskep is, asook die prosesse van akkulturasie wat daarby betrokke was en wat aanleiding gegee het tot die ontstaan van nuwe kultuurtrekke in 'n matrys met 'n presiese godsdienstig-filosofiese basis. Hierdie artikel kan dus beskou word as 'n studie van die interne geskiedenis van Kaapse slawerny. In dié bespreking probeer ek 'n insig skep in die tale wat deur die slawe gebesig was, asook hul letterkundige tradisies en die invloed van hierdie tale en letterkundige tradisies op die lees-en-skrifkennis van die slawe. Ek gaan na hoe die godsdienstige wysbegeerte en die letterkundige prosesse bestendig was deur 'n slawe-opvoedkundige sisteem, wat aanleiding gegee het tot die groei van 'n Kaapse slawekultuur en die ontstaan van 'n selfstandige letterkundige tradisie, genoem 'Arabies-Afrikaans'. Ten slotte bespreek ek die houding van die Kaapse Moslems, die nageslag van die slawe, teenoor die negentiende-eeuse Kaapse Hollands waaruit Afrikaans ontstaan het. In hierdie verband word interessante vrae gestel, sonder om afdoende antwoorde te verskaf. Ek eindig met 'n pleidooi vir 'n minder formele Afrikaans, vry van politieke invloed en vry vir die gebruik as 'n betekenisvolle taal vir 'n Suid-Afrikaanse nasie.

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### Introduction

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Cape Muslims, who have their ancestral origins in the slaves of Cape Town, were using the Arabic script to transcribe their spoken creolized Dutch phonetically. During the remainder of the nineteenth century and up to the 1950s, this practice developed into a distinctive literary tradition, leading to the publication of several religious textbooks in Afrikaans in Arabic script. Of these publications, thus far 74 have been discovered and identified (Kähler, 1971). The bulk of these publications were produced between 1868 and 1910, and as such constitute an important part of the early literature of the Afrikaans language.

The fact that these publications were printed in the Arabic orthography, resulted in them being generally overlooked by the historians of the Afrikaans language. It was only in the 1950s that their existence was first brought to the attention of the white Afrikaner academics, when they were focussed on by Van Selms (1951). It was he who coined the term 'Arabic-Afrikaans', as a convenient label for this phenomenon of writing Afrikaans words in the Arabic script (Van Selms, 1951:7).

The discovery of these publications raised some interesting historical-linguistic and socio-linguistic questions;

and though some of these questions will be discussed, it is not my intention to provide conclusive answers. My concern is to determine the extent of literacy among the slaves, from the mid-eighteenth century to emancipation, and to show how this influenced the literary exploits of the Cape Muslims from 1840 onwards. At the same time I intend to look at the cultural world made, and the languages spoken, by the slaves; how these left their marks on the variant of Afrikaans spoken by the Cape Muslims over the last 140 years; and how this in turn influenced the lexicon of Standard Afrikaans.

For the purpose of the article the term 'literacy' needs to be clarified. As they were reading and writing in a script other than the Roman script, the slaves and the nineteenth-century Cape Muslims were not generally perceived to be literate by the standards of the dominant western-oriented culture of their social milieu. Literacy in this society was measured in terms of western norms (Davids, 1981). Nevertheless, despite the fact that the nineteenth-century Cape Muslim community signed their wills and death notices with crosses, the ability to read and write in Arabic script was widespread. The reading of Arabic script is considered important in a Muslim community, if only for the reading of the Arabic Quran and for prayers and spiritual satisfaction.

Since the establishment of the first organized Muslim school or *madrasah* for slaves and Free Blacks in 1793, several similar schools started to make their appearance, so that by 1832 no less than 12 Muslim schools or *madaris* (plural for *madrasah*) existed in Cape Town (Davids, 1987a:24). By 1854 Islamic education at the Cape was exceptionally well organized and under the control of a single *Imam Moota* (Mayson, 1865:12), or 'superintendent general of education' in today's parlance. From all accounts, the reading and writing in Arabic script formed an integral part of the educational thrust of these schools (Horrell, 1970:10). Institutions for the reading and writing in Arabic script were therefore not lacking in nineteenth-century Cape Town; and were enthusiastically patronized by the community. This is evident from a pencil sketch of a Cape Muslim school of the 1840s by Angus (1849) (Figure 1). I will look at the organization of the *madaris* in nineteenth-century Cape Muslim society as vehicles for the transmission of literary skills in the Cape Muslim community further on.

'Literacy', therefore, does not imply the ability to read and write only the Roman script. The ability to use other lettering symbols, such as Arabic or Buganese, is by definition an indication of literacy, for literacy implies the ability to communicate through the written word. In 1925 the literacy level of the Cape Muslims in Arabic reading was considered by at least one Christian missionary to be the highest amongst Muslims in the world (Zwemer, 1925:349).

Although I am concerned with 'the words the slaves made', I have opted not to adopt a philological approach. Neither could this article be considered a lexicon of Cape Muslim Afrikaans. It might be useful in the structuring of such a lexicon, which I, in any case, believe will take several researchers a considerable time

to compile. It is my experience that most authors on the controversial history of the origin of Afrikaans, who adopted a philological approach, tend to ignore the social-historical factors which came to play in the making of the Afrikaans language. The philological approach gives the origin of Afrikaans a white purism which tends to contradict the historical factors.

Thus, for instance, Combrinck — who follows the philological genetic tradition — argues against the significance of social contact at the Cape, stating that Malayo-Portuguese contributes to less than 1% of the Afrikaans vocabulary (Combrinck, 1978:75). David Brown, of the University of Natal, responded to this by writing:

'This shying away from pidgin and creole linguistics in discussing the genesis of Afrikaans has been an essential component of the invented continuity of Afrikaner culture and neo-Social Darwinist explanations of the origin of Afrikaans, which have dominated Afrikaans historical linguistics in South Africa. Writers such as Combrinck were engaged in establishing a "historicity" for Afrikaans based on a philological scientism rather than a social and historical linguistics. Such explanations of the social historical origins of creoles are not uncommon but they are an invention of linguistic tradition in the desire of creole people to boost their sense of origin in the face of metropolitan prejudice' (Brown, 1988:38).

The omission from Standard Afrikaans of words such as *aspris* (on purpose), *uiwe* (onions), *maskie* (perhaps), *ver-efte* (a little while ago), etc. (Elfers, 1908)<sup>1</sup>, which were in general use prior to the establishment of the Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (GRA) in 1876 (that 'number of jokers near Cape Town' who, according to



Figure 1 A pencil sketch by G.H. Angus (1849) showing Cape Muslim children being taught to read the Arabic Quran

the *Cape Argus* of 13 September 1877, were trying 'to reduce the "Plat Hollands" of the streets and the kitchen to a written language and perpetuate it', or more pertinently, Malayu words, which had acquired a distinct Afrikaans pronunciation, such as *ghielap* (from the Malayu *kilat* — lightning), *ghoentoem* (from the Malayu *guntur* — thunder), *mannie-kamer* (from the Malayu *kammar-mandi* — bathroom), and *slamblië-er* (used as a noun — slaughterer, but from the Malayu verb *samblee* — to slaughter, to which an Afrikaans suffix *-er* is added to form the noun), or simply *djamang* (toilet) or *graa-na* (eclipse), which were already in the nineteenth century bridged into the Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims (Muller, 1960:38), and still in daily use, show the inadequacy of the philological approach. In all probability these words, despite their persistent use by a vast section of Afrikaans speakers, were omitted from Standard Afrikaans, possibly because they amplify the creole nature of the language too strongly. Nevertheless, they tend to confirm Valkhoff's (1966) assertion that Afrikaans conforms to the linguistic processes evident in creolization and pidginization.

I am convinced that Cape Afrikaans emerged from the creolized Dutch spoken by the slaves, the Khoekhoen, and the lower classes at the Cape at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Teenstra, 1830:364). This creolized Dutch resulted from the social relations between master and slave, colonist and Khoesan during the early years of white settlement — and not merely as a transplant or genetic extension of the dialects of southern Holland during the seventeenth century, as maintained by some Afrikaner academics (Combrinck, 1979:75).

Given the exciting melting pot of cultures the Cape was during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, processes of acculturation — apart from philology — must have influenced the creolization of Dutch. This is more so if we consider that it was the interaction of various cultures and the borrowing of cultural traits, which gave rise to the very distinctive South African culture. It is known, for instance, that *boeremusiek* has its origin in the *krontjong* of Java (Van Selms, 1953b:12); *velskoene* and *biltong* are borrowings from the Khoekhoen and the San (Branford, 1980:323 & 324); that South African cuisine, especially *sosaties*, *bredie*, *bobotie*, and *koeksisters*, is the creation of the eastern slaves (Rood, 1978:1–4); and Cape Muslim secular music, which persisted since their slavery, has its origin in the Netherlands (Van Warmelo, 1964:21). If there have been such strong exchanges of cultural traits on the social level, then surely the extension of this pattern on the linguistic level must have been stronger. In view of these processes of acculturation and the polyglot nature (Barrow, 1806) of Cape society during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, I am forced to support Ronnie Belcher's view that the history of Afrikaans is to a large extent the story of communication between the white and the coloured races in the early years of South African history (Belcher, 1987:16).

In the final analysis we must look at the creolized Dutch or Cape Afrikaans spoken by the slaves and their descendants. After emancipation, the vast majority of

these people living in Cape Town became adherents to the Islamic faith. By 1842 this community, the Cape Muslims, constituted a third of the population of the mother city (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac*, 1842:XII) and were by then already busy transcribing, phonetically, their spoken Afrikaans in Arabic script.<sup>2</sup> Their Arabic-Afrikaans writings, apart from giving us an almost audio-tape recording of their spoken word and the Cape Dutch — or more precisely Cape Afrikaans — its first formal spelling arrangement, albeit in the Arabic script,<sup>3</sup> reflect most of the words created by them as slaves. As stated earlier, the roots of this distinctive literary tradition will be traced by looking at literacy amongst the slaves who lived in Cape Town from the mid-eighteenth century to emancipation. This will be my main theme. I will also look at the influences of the slave languages on Standard Afrikaans. But first, let us look at the origin and development of the Cape Muslim community in which most of the words the slaves made, are retained.

### Emergence of the Cape Muslim community

The Cape Muslim community has its origin in the slaves, brought to this southern tip of the African continent from five main regions of the world. These regions — it is generally agreed by historians — are the Indonesian Archipelago, Bengal, the South Indian coast and Sri Lanka, Madagaskar, and the East African coast (Ross, 1983:13). Here at the Cape they came to create a world of their own — a world which was distinct from that of their masters, with a cultural orientation which has its roots in Islam. Therefore, looking at 'the words the slaves made', some understanding of the development of the world in which those words were made, is necessary. The very processes which came to play in the shaping of their world, also came to play in the creation of their words. The most important of these forces was the process of acculturation.

The very fact that they were brought from several different cultural regions implies a diversity of cultures and a diversity of languages. Therefore right from the beginning there must have been an exchange of cultural traits, be this through cohabitation in the Company's slave quarters or interaction in small groupings in private homes, the fields where they worked, and in the growing town where they met. Such exchanges would have been necessary for survival; and resulted in the emergence of new cultural traits which in turn were transmitted to their children.

Inasmuch as the slaves had to acculturate to each other, they also had to acculturate to their masters (Ross, 1983:14). But there were differences in intensity of interaction between slave and master, and slave and slave. These differences resulted from differences in their social relationships. The social relationship between master and slave was governed by labour. The social relationship between slave and slave was much more personal and intimate, and was governed by the need of protection and comfort from the very brutality which slavery entails.<sup>4</sup> These differences in intensity of

interaction led to differences in accommodation of cultural traits. Therefore, while it appears that the slaves largely resisted the white master's culture, though some became Christian and adopted his life-style, the white master, through force of labour circumstances, had to accommodate some of the cultural traits of his slaves. This is evident from the fact that *atjar*, an eastern salad, was a necessity on the tables of the colonists in 1825 (Teenstra, 1830:365), and the creolization of Dutch was already noticed in the seventeenth century, when slave masters adopted slave words in their spoken Dutch (Raidt, 1983:127).

The slaves more readily acculturated to each other. It is this acculturation which is my concern, for it is this acculturation which gives the present-day Muslim community in Cape Town its distinctive culture. Aspects of the cultural traits, created by the slaves, are still discernible in some of the cultural practices of the Cape Muslims. Therefore, for example, the cutting of the orange leaves on the birthday of the Prophet of Islam (called *Maulūd-an-nabī*), is a practice unique to the Muslims of Cape Town. It is frowned upon by the Muslim purists, but survived as a cultural tradition. The practice is called *rampie-sny*, and the product a *rampie*, which is the cut and scented orange leaves folded in a colourful sachet. The *rampies* are prepared by the ladies in the mosque during the afternoon and distributed to the congregation during the evening service.

The word *rampie*, which has no Islamic base, must be derived from *Rampa*, which in Hindu mythology is the name given to three heroes, especially Ramachandra (Funk & Wagnalls, 1963:1043). The possibility exists that the association of *rampie* with the Prophet's birthday must have attracted some of the Hindu slaves to the fold of Islam. This possibility gains tremendous substance when it is considered that the epic poem recited during the cutting of the orange leaves and the making of the *rampies* expounds the heroic deeds of the Prophet of Islam. This epic poem, called the *Ruwayats*,<sup>5</sup> was written by Jaffar ibn Hasan al Barzanji. Copies, dating back to the era of Cape slavery, are known to exist in the Cape Muslim community. I have one such copy, written by a slave in the 1830s, in my possession.

Thunberg's description of a Cape Muslim festival, which he observed on 28 June 1772, contains all the elements of a *Maulūd-an-nabī* or Prophet's birthday celebration as practised by the present-day Cape Muslim community (Rochlin, 1939:124). The column of coloured and gilt-ed paper could only have been *rampies*, which is still displayed in this manner or in piles at the front of the mosque. Nosegays, which are distributed with the *rampies*, are displayed in front of the column or pile of *rampies* even today. The chanting of the *djiekers* (Malayu — recitations in praise of the Prophet) are rendered in unison, followed by individual reading of the *Ruwayats* from a book. Even the starting time and the serving of tea have remained constant. From this evidence it is clear that the distinctive manner of the Cape Muslim celebration of the Prophet's birthday is deeply rooted in their history of slavery.

From at least one early-nineteenth-century observer we have the evidence that the Cape Muslim's distinctive way of celebrating the *Maulūd-an-nabī* is not an importation from the Indonesian Archipelago. Crawford informs us that the Archipelago's way of celebrating the Prophet's birthday conformed with that of other Muslim countries of the time. There was certainly no *rampies*. His evidence is particularly reliable, for he was keen to observe the influence of Hinduism, and the other forms of animistic worship, on the practice of Islam on the Islands (Crawford, 1820:261 & 262). Thus, for instance, he noted that the word *puwasa*, which is used to indicate the fast of Ramadan, and used by all seven of the main languages of the Archipelago, is of Hindu origin. It is interesting to note that the word *poewasa* is strongly bridged into the spoken Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims, and is used extensively to indicate 'fasting'.

This is but one example of a cultural innovation which resulted from the contact of cultures during the early years of slavery at the Cape. Another is the *Khalifa* or *Ratiep*, which involves the hitting of the body with sharp swords and the piercing of the flesh with sharp skewers, without causing the flow of blood, to the chanting of Arabic spiritual recitations. *Ratiep* is frowned upon by the present-day Cape Muslim clergy, and not regarded as part of the religious practices of Islam. Hence it is dying out. It was, nevertheless, popularly practised in nineteenth-century Cape Town, leading to a major dispute between the community and the authorities — who wanted to disallow it because of the associated noise — in 1854. Except for the Achmat brothers, Mochamat, Gamiem and Sadiek, all the other Imams of the time conceded that it was not an integral part of their religion, but requested that it be allowed on one day of the year, the twelfth day of the Muslim month of Rabil Ahir (Lima, 1856), a day which since then became known as *amantu ablas* (the twelfth night).

In essence *Ratiep* is a synthesis of two distinct cultural components, Islamic spiritual recitation and animistic ritual practices, and was in all probability used by the Muslims to attract the non-Muslim slaves to their fold. Attractive indeed it must have been, for despite their bondage of slavery, *Ratiep* would have given the slaves a personal power over their own bodies, a power which would have established for them a dignity. But at the same time, it must be remembered, many slaves came from non-Muslim cultures in Africa and the Indonesian Archipelago. Their socio-religious milieus of origin were thus steeped in mystical practices. These practices had to be accommodated. Hence at the Cape such practices such as *Ratiep* gained popularity. *Ratiep*, therefore, like 'Malay magic' which manifest itself strongly in the socio-cultural life of the nineteenth-century Cape Muslim community (Mayson, 1865:28), shows the syncretic mysticism which emerged in this community as a result of the process of acculturation.

But the new cultural traits which emerged, right from the early days of slavery at the Cape, never agglutinated into a slave world of its own. It was only by the 1770s, in terms of available evidence (Rochlin, 1939:214), that there appeared to be some sense of cultural belonging

among the slaves; and it was only at the end of the eighteenth century when Islam suddenly took root and became essentially the religion of the slaves in the mother city. This failure of the slaves in Cape Town to agglutinate into a world of their own in the beginning, despite their relative freedom of movement (Ross, 1983: 19), is one of the most puzzling aspects of the history of slavery in the Cape Colony. Ross, in trying to explain the failure of the urban slaves to organize themselves for religion or rebellion posits the following:

'the slave community had no ascriptive leaders, no one who stood out from his fellows for any qualities other than the force of his personality. The difference in status between a Javanese royal and a south Indian untouchable, for instance, was too great for effective communal action, even had the Dutch not kept a careful watch over the exiles' activities to prevent any such coalition' (1983:20).

Although I will agree that the slaves had no ascriptive leaders, and that social distance between the eastern exiles and slaves existed — though not for the same reason as suggested by Ross — the non-emergence of a world made by the slaves cannot be understood in such simplistic terms. The answer is much more complex, and in all probability lies in the social relations between the Free Black slave-owners and their slaves in Cape Town, for it was in the city where these relations existed. This, unfortunately, is an area of research which is sadly lacking. Hence, we far too often assume that the relationship between slave and Free Black slave-master was cordial; that the Free Blacks treated their slaves better than the whites, and that they purchased slaves merely to set them free (*Imperial Blue Book*, 1835:207–10). We tend to peg our assumptions on the evidence of Imam Achmat of Bengal, himself a freed slave (Cape Archives, CO 3984.798), given by him and Imam Muding to the Colebrooke & Bigge Commission in 1825 (*Imperial Blue Book*, 1835:207–10). But slavery is slavery, and the very notion of one person owning another conveys exploitation, if not brutality. We cannot, therefore, be certain as to what extent the evidence of the two Imams express a cultural or a statistical norm. From a mere glance at the Slave Registers in the Cape Archives (SO 6/12), we note four prominent early-nineteenth-century Cape Muslim personalities having a considerable number of slaves. It is evident from these documents that these slaves were not merely purchased for manumission. Their very occupations indicate that they were acquired for investment and capital production (Figure 2).

But before I analyse the relationship between Free Black slave-owner and slave, let me first determine who the Free Blacks were. Many of them were manumitted slaves or their descendants, but there were also amongst them easterners who fell foul of the VOC laws and were banished to the Cape. An analysis of their origins indicates that less than 2% were African, just over 50% were Cape born and the remainder Indian or Indonesian (Worden, 1985:144). There is no certainty as to their numbers, but it appears as if they increased during the eighteenth century (Elphick & Shell in Worden, 1985:

1. Imam Abdullah (Tuan Guru): Founder of the Dorp Street Mosque and the Dorp Street *Madrasah*. Leading Cape Muslim. These slaves became the property of his sons, Abdol Rakiep and Abdol Rauf.

#### His slaves

1. Mawaa	Female	about 55 years	From Trinate	Housemaid
2. Rachbat	Female	about 26 years	From Mozambique	Washmaid
3. Damon	Male	about 45 years	From Boughies	Fisherman
4. Maubara	Male	about 5 years	Cape born	
5. Sakernat	Male	11 October, 1816	Cape, of Rachbat	
6. Fakier	Male	21 October, 1817	Cape, of Rachbat	
7. Misschie	Male	10 October, 1820	Cape, of Rachbat	
8. Asenat	Female	11 April, 1822	Cape, of Rachbat	
9. Pwakaal	Male	2 March, 1824	Cape, of Rachbat	
10. Saitoe	Female	25 March, 1827	Cape, of Rachbat	
11. Crieb	Male	23 October, 1828	Cape, of Rachbat	

2. Abdol Wasie: A prominent Cape Muslim. Executor to the estate of Imam Abdullah (Tuan Guru). Involved in the Dorp Street Mosque *Madrasah*. Also an Imam.

#### His slaves

1. Pamela	Female	about 29 years	Cape born	Housemaid
2. Andries	Male	about 17¼ years	Cape born	
3. Daniel	Male	about 14 years	Cape born	
4. Soeting	Male	about 12 years	Cape born	
5. Soucour	Male	about 33 years	Cape born	Shoemaker
6. Isaac	Male	about 39 years	Cape born	Houseboy
7. Soonie	Female	about 61 years	Batavia	Housemaid
8. Jeck	Male	about 34 years	Cape born	Tailor
9. Floris	Male	about 28 years	Mozambique	Painter
10. Daniel	Male	about 43 years	Cape born	Tailor

3. Abdol Malik of Batavia: Listed in the Almanacs as a Malay doctor. An executor to the estate of Imam Abdullah. A prominent Cape Muslim.

#### His slaves

1. Louis	Male	about 60 years	Mozambique	Houseboy
2. Maart	Male	about 45 years	Mozambique	Labourer
3. Dort	Male	about 60 years	Batavia	Labourer
4. Betti	Female	about 35 years	Mozambique	Housemaid
5. Marcus	Male	about 45 years	Batavia	Mason
6. Carolus	Male	about 31 years	Cape born	Painter
7. Mentos	Male	about 57 years	Batavia	Mason
8. Roset	Female	about 59 years	Mozambique	Housemaid

4. Jan of Boughies: A very prominent Cape Muslim. Founder of the Palm Tree Mosque in Long Street. Arabic teacher at the Dorp Street *Madrasah* and an Imam.

#### His slaves

1. Mey	Male	about 41 years	Boughies	Fisherman
2. Said	Male	about 50 years	Batavia	Hawker
3. Willem	Male	about 15 years	Cape born	Tallow chandler
4. Landerlu	Male	about 60 years	Madagascar	Labourer
5. Phillis	Male	about 45 years	Malabar	Coolie
6. Joemat	Male	about 60 years	Batavia	Coolie
7. August	Male	about 60 years	Boughies	Fisherman
8. January	Male	about 70 years	Balie	Hawker
9. Eva	Female	about 50 years	Mozambique	Housemaid
10. Aletta	Female	about 45 years	Boughies	Housemaid
11. Slammat	Male	about 61 years	Boughies	Basket maker
12. Carolus	Male	about 30 years	Batavia	Painter
13. Isaac	Male	about 58 years	Mozambique	Labourer
14. Cato	Male	about 59 years	Madagascar	Labourer
15. May	Male	about 60 years	Batavia	Painter
16. Regina	Female	about 48 years	Cape born	Seamstress

Figure 2 The slaves of prominent Cape Muslims. Taken from the Slave Registers in the Cape Archives. Ages of slaves at time of registration in 1816

144). Their numbers probably increased after the small-pox epidemic of 1713, when those convicts who survived were released from the Castle of Good Hope (Shell, 1974). Worden indicated that there were 350 Free Blacks in Cape Town in 1773 (Worden, 1985:146), while Elphick & Shell (in Worden, 1985:144) maintain that they constituted between 15% and 20% of the Free Burger population. Their numbers increased considerably after 1800, and according to Teenstra (1830:355) they constituted 1 905 out of a total population of 19 900 in Cape Town in 1818.

In view of this statistical data, and the fact that there were no ascribed leaders amongst the slaves, we would have expected that such leadership as was needed for the slaves to make their world would have emerged from the eastern Free Black early in the eighteenth century. They were in many cases enemies of the Dutch, brought here by force. Amongst them were also Imams and learned Islamic teachers (Ross, 1983:20). They were therefore in a position to help the slaves create a world of their own, if not for rebellion, then for the consolidation of their religion (Ross, 1983:20). The latter more so, as religious freedom was not one of the virtues under VOC rule. This did not happen in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it was only after the 1750s that Free Black Imams started to assume leadership roles amongst the slaves and Free Blacks in the mother city (Davids, 1985).

The Free Blacks, however, had the right to purchase slaves, and in this regard were afforded the same protection in law as given to the white colonists (Worden, 1985:147). Many of them became slave owners, owning anything between one and fifteen slaves (Cape Archives SO 6/12). While it is true that 25% of manumissions in the eighteenth century were executed by Free Blacks (Worden, 1985:144), we do not know what percentage of these were slaves manumitted by family members. From the cases for which reasons for manumission are given, the percentage seems to be high (Leibbrant, 1905).

It was expensive to manumit a slave. A slave owner had to pay vast sums of money to the Diaconij, the 'welfare' wing of the Dutch Reformed Church, to cover the cost of assistance a freed slave might seek as poor relief (Worden, 1985:145). This condition certainly influenced the rate of manumission in the Colony which, in any case, was relatively low (Worden, 1985:147). We would, however, have expected that those Free Blacks with many slaves would have been more liberal in their approach to manumission. This does not appear to have been the case. Thus for instance the very prominent Cape Imam, Abdullah ibn Kadi Abdus Salaam (better known as Tuan Guru), though reminded by his attorney during the compilation of his will in 1801 that those slaves who adopted Christianity, according to the law, could not be retained in slavery (Cape Archives, MOOC 7/1/53 No. 66), still passed on his slaves as his estate to his children. There is no reason to suggest that his slaves adopted Christianity, for except those who died in slavery, the remainder were only manumitted on the death of his son, Abdol Rakiep, in 1834 (Cape Archives, SO 3/37 Nos 468-72). There is also no reason to believe that he

did not have the means to provide the sum, 50 rix-dollars, required by the Diaconij for on 20 January 1806 he took transfer of the thirty-five-year-old slave, Damon of Boughies, who he purchased for 320 rix-dollars (Cape Archives SO 6/23 page 25).

Tuan Guru's purchase of Damon of Boughies is an interesting one, for Tuan Guru was certainly an opinion maker, whose influence is felt even today when divergent theological issues are discussed.<sup>6</sup> On further investigation I discovered that Damon of Boughies was purchased a year prior to Tuan Guru's death, during the time that his second son, Abdol Rauf, was five years old. A condition of the purchase was that Damon be manumitted as soon as the purchase price was redeemed. He was manumitted in 1816 (Cape Archives, SO 12/3 No. 4). At the time Abdol Rauf was 15 years old, and his brother Abdol Rakiep a 23-year-old tailor in the mother city. It would appear that Damon was specifically purchased as a means of securing a steady income to provide for the education of Tuan Guru's children after his death. He wanted them to have a good education and be cared for until they marry or are able to provide for themselves (Cape Archives, MOOC 7/1/53 No. 66), and this had to be secured. His two other slaves were household slaves. Maawa of Trinate, the housekeeper, was already 44 years old, while Rachbat of Mozambique, the washmaid, was only 17 (Cape Archives, SO 6/12 page 15). They were hardly capable of producing the capital which would have been required, hence Damon of Boughies, a fisherman, had to be purchased. Fish, having been a staple commodity with the Muslims at the time (*Imperial Blue Book*, 1835: 209), would secure a steady income. Rachbat, however, increased the value of the estate considerably. She became the mother of seven slave children, three of whom died, the remaining four gaining their freedom with their mother in 1834 (Cape Archives, SO 3/37 Nos 469-72).

This case study of the slaves of Tuan Guru clearly shows that the Free Blacks were using their slaves as an investment. Their investment in slaves was probably motivated by the fact that, as non-Christians, they were not allowed to have landed property without the special permission of the Governor (Rochlin, 1959). Investment in slaves might thus have been the easiest means of capital accumulation. That such investments were common throughout the eighteenth century, becoming an established tradition by the end of that century, is shown in Figure 2.

The slaves of the Free Blacks were thus not merely purchased to be freed. There might have been exceptional cases, but on the whole they were purchased for security and as an investment for capital accumulation. This determines a new set of social relations between Free Black slave-owner and slave, other than that which is normally accepted. Apart from creating a social distance and class structure the slaves were also looked upon as an economic investment.

It is, therefore, unlikely that the Free Blacks would have become involved in the organization of the slaves in any kind of structure which might be deemed resistant. If



the slaves were to be organized into a social entity, a matrix accommodating both their and the Free Black slave master's needs, was needed. It must by necessity make the slaves comfortable in their subjugation, giving them sufficient space for social mobility and at the same time protect the Free Blacks' ownership rights. Such a matrix does not seem to have been clearly defined prior to 1793.

Islam, though present at the Cape from the beginning, never became a vibrant binding force between slave and Free Black, except maybe for a short period around Sheikh Yusuf's settlement at Faure at the end of the seventeenth century — but this was of short duration (Davids, 1980:39). From the description of the two religious functions of the Cape Muslims of the 1770s (Rochlin, 1939:214), we get the impression of a ceremonial, rather than a resistant, Islam being practised. This would have been in conformity with the needs of both the slaves and the Free Blacks — both of whom needed religion as a cultural expression. This ceremonial approach still dominates the cultural-religious practices of the Cape Muslims, and is seen in such activities as *rampiesny*, *doopmal* (the naming ceremony, with all its trimmings, of the new-born, with crow-foot such as insignia on the forehead, the baby being carried on a tray decorated with flowers), and *kersopstiek* (the ceremonial lighting of candles on the twenty-seventh night of the month of Ramadan). These practices show how strong the syncretic mysticism of the eighteenth century, which resulted from acculturation, left its mark on the cultural life of the community. They also gave Cape Muslim Afrikaans such distinctive words as *doekoem* (Malayu — witchdoctor), *sieger-werk* (Arabic — witchcraft), *mie-ang* (Buganese — incense), *samba* (Malayu — be possessed by an evil spirit), and *mantra* (Sanskrit — exorcize). These words, such as *Ratiep* and *rampie*, are completely bridged into their everyday spoken Afrikaans.

That the followers of Islam at the Cape remained a small group during the eighteenth century, is evident from a statement by Abdol Barrie, one of the first students at the Dorp Street *Madrasah*. He stated that in 1793, with the establishment of this school, there were only a few students, but they increased so rapidly that soon (1795) a mosque was required (*South African Commercial Advertiser*, 27 February 1836). This school and mosque were the first institutions of the Cape Muslims, providing them with a vehicle and a cultural ecological base for the transmission of their cultural-religious ideas. The phenomenal success could only be ascribed to the theological-philosophical base provided by the founder, Tuan Guru. His philosophical theology provided the matrix for the slaves and Free Blacks to function together as a cultural-religious entity without threatening their respective stations in life. Yet at the same time, this theological philosophy provided for the slaves a possibility of social mobility; and a fair degree of protection from the harsh treatment of their Free Black slave-masters. From this embryo, Islam at the Cape developed to become the religion of a third of the population in Cape Town in 1842.

The basic elements of this matrix were drawn from the

rational-traditional philosophy of the eighth-century Ash'arite dogmatic position of Sunnism, of which Tuan Guru was a follower, and which philosophy he extensively expounds in the *Marifatul Islami wal Imani*, the manuscript he compiled in 1781, while still incarcerated on Robben Island. This manuscript became the main textbook of the school, and greatly stimulated writing amongst the slaves as parts were copied as student notebooks. Through over 600 pages, the Ash'arite concepts of *taqdir* (predetermination), *iradah* (the will of God), *taqwah* (piety, attained through fearing the wrath of God, and being submissive to His commands), and *ikhtisab* (acquisition — in the sense that God created the acts of man, and man acquire them) — all linked to *qadā* (the judgement of God) and *qadar*, (the power of God) — Tuan Guru manages to weave a system of social relations in which the slaves and their Free Black slave-owners could harmoniously coexist. In terms of this system of social relations, it was possible for a slave to be appointed the Imam of a congregation or an assistant Imam of a mosque, for differences between men were not measured in terms of social station or material possession, but differences in the acquisition of degrees of piety (*taqwah*) (ibn Kadi Abdus Salaam, 1781).

Thus Tuan Guru, in the year before he died, 1806, appointed Achmat of Bengal as the assistant Imam at the Dorp Street Mosque (*South African Commercial Advertiser*, 27 February 1836), though he was still a slave (Cape Archives, CO 3884.798), while the Simonstown Muslims appointed the slave, Abdolgaviel, as Imam of their congregation in 1823 (Deed No SIQI 47/1823).<sup>8</sup> Being slaves would not have prevented them from asserting their authority, for such authority would be in their *iradah*, i.e. the will of God as being determined for a person, further substantiated by the Quran — 'Obey God, and obey the Apostle, and those charge with authority among you' (Ali, 1983:Chapter IV, verse 59). In terms of Islamic jurisprudence or *fiqa*, they would not be able to lead the Friday Congregational, or *Juma'ah*, prayers, for which freedom from slavery was a prerequisite (Effendi, 1877:178; Ganief, 1928).<sup>8</sup> It was argued that the slave — being exempted from paying the compulsory poor rate, even though he has a *nisab* (taxable property) (Effendi, 1894:6) — is 'incomplete' (the communal word is *onvolkoem*) with regard to expressing the four basic principles of faith — belief, prayer, the poor rate, and fasting — required from the person who leads the *Juma'ah* prayer. This explains why Achmat of Bengal, who was still a slave, though a most pious man, was not immediately appointed to the position of Imam; and why Jan of Boughies in 1836 disputed that he was ever appointed as Imam (Cape Archives, CO 3984.798). Nevertheless, within the system of social relations, suggested by Tuan Guru, there was a degree of social mobility for the slaves within the Islamic structure.

The *Marifatul Islami wal Imani* had a profound influence on the social life of the Cape Muslims during the nineteenth century. It was their basic reference on religious issues, even cited as such in a Cape Supreme Court litigation in 1873 (Cape Archives, CSC — Illiquid Cases 1873 — *Saddik versus Rakiep*). Its basic philosophical

position still forms the approach to *aqīda* (the Islamic belief system), and became the subject of several Arabic-Afrikaans or Afrikaans (in Roman script) publications in the late nineteenth and during the twentieth centuries. The most recent of these publications is the *Akiedatoel Moesliem — 'n Kietaab oor Tougied* by Sheikh M.A. Fakier, and was published in 1983. However, I will look more intensely at the Ash'arite philosophical theology, and Tuan Guru's exposition of it, further on. At this point it is sufficient to note that this philosophical theology provided the matrix of the Cape slave world; and explains the Cape Muslims' determinism towards calamities or even politics, articulated in terms of *alles is in die takdier van Allah* (everything is predetermined by God); or that such and such a happening is *in die kadam en kadaa van Allah* (in the power and judgement of God).

### Languages of the slaves

It was in the world of the slaves, which from the evidence emerged only from 1793, that the largest number of distinctive words of Cape Muslim Afrikaans were made. The vast majority of these words were created to express their precise religious meaning in their new lingua franca, the creolized Dutch, and are derived from either Malayu or Arabic root words which are given a distinct Afrikaans ring. There are also several non-religious terms which resulted from their peculiar circumstances. Examples of both categories are:

mienta-maaf	مِنْتَا فَا	—	excuse me
sageegste	صَحِيحْسَت	—	most correct
rasoelskap	رَسُوْسَكَب	—	prophethood
asgaabs	اَسْحَابَس	—	companions
rieziek-giever	رِزْقِخْفَرَه	—	giver of bounty
slambie-er	سَلْمِيلِيَر	—	slaughterer
tramakasie	تَرْمَكَسِي	—	thank you

These words were sufficiently bridged into the spoken Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims, when they were used in early publications such as Abubakr Effendi's *Bayānudin*, which appeared in 1869, and which is the second — and possibly the most extensive — publication in the early history of the Afrikaans language.

A study of the morphology of these words, both in their original Arabic orthography or its Roman script transcriptions, can tell us much about that transition stage between the pidgin of the slaves and the creolization of Dutch. The use of typical Afrikaans suffixes such as *-skap*, *-er*, and *-s* for the plural form, did not just happen. It must have resulted from some sort of accommodation of a foreigner learning a dominant language in his

new environment. The pidginization of Dutch by the Khoekhoen and the slaves, which influenced the creolization of the Dutch spoken by the colonists, is well argued by Den Besten (1987:86). A study of the morphology of these distinctive words in Cape Muslim Afrikaans is beyond the limits of this article, though the words in themselves give an indication that a pidgin stage must have existed. This becomes even more obvious if we look at the diversity of languages spoken by the slaves, prior to them adopting the creolized Dutch.

The very diversity of origin suggests a diversity of languages amongst the slaves. Those slaves who were brought from the Indonesian Archipelago alone, had a possibility of seven main languages and fourteen different dialects (Crawford, 1820:130 Vol. 2). We must, therefore, be careful not to assume that every word borrowed from this family of Malayo-Polynesian languages was borrowed from Malay or Malayu. Malayu is one language of this family, though I acknowledge that the term 'Malay' is used in the generic, rather than in the specific, sense. This tendency creates confusion in Afrikaans etymology, and creates the impression that a singular language, Malayu, was spoken by all the eastern slaves. Thus, for instance, the Afrikaans etymologists tell us that the Afrikaans word *tronk* (prison) is derived from Malay. This is half the truth. The Malayu word for 'prison' is *panjara*, while 'prison' in Buganese and Sunda, a dialect of Bali, is *tarunka*. The word *tronk* could thus have come into Afrikaans through the Buganese or Balian slaves.

But be that as it may, apart from the slaves who came from the Indonesian Archipelago, there were several slaves who came from the African coastland. As Valkhoff (1966) correctly observed, the contact that these people had with the Portuguese mariners has left an impact on their languages. Thus a variety of Portuguese creoles must have been spoken by these slaves. Similarly, there were several slaves who came from Sri Lanka and the coastland of India. Boëseken calculated that 50% of the slaves who arrived prior to 1700 came from these regions (Boëseken, 1977). Bengali, therefore, must also have been spoken at the Cape. Add to this the various languages of the colonists — Dutch, German, French and later, English — and Khoesan, it is difficult to imagine a more polyglot society. Under such circumstances, and considering the need of the Dutch-speaking colonists to communicate with their slaves, the dominant Dutch could not help but to become creolized.

By the eighteenth century, Ross tells us that there were only three languages in general use at the Cape: Dutch, Malay, and Portuguese Creole (Ross, 1983:14 & 15). This might be true in general terms but 'Malay', at this time, was in fact divided into two distinct languages, Buganese and Malayu. This is clearly evident from the evidence produced by Franken (1953:70-3), though he does not draw this distinction himself. From the evidence he produced it is clear that the slaves communicated in at least three languages: Malayu, Buganese, and Portuguese — and from the evidence of Gedult van de Kaap, who testified in the Smuts murder case, and could



... speak Malayu, it is obvious that Baganese slaves spoke Baganese, which was not generally understood. Gedult said :

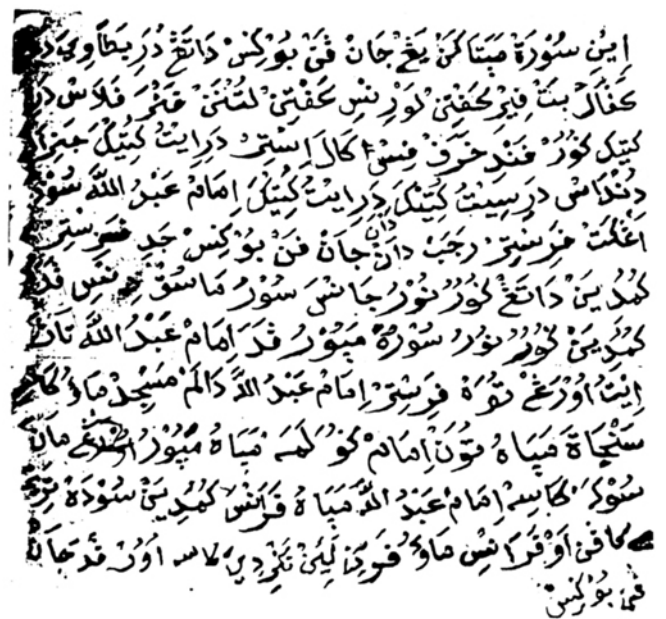
‘... op sijn kooij wacker geleegeen hebbende, hun discours in de Boegihese Taal onder de Boegiheseen geweest is, hebbende egte nu en dan wel een woord maleijts meede voortgebracht ... soo veel verstaan konde’ (Franken, 1953:69).

Ross, however, is not totally correct to assume that Baganese was spoken only amongst the Baganese slaves. It would appear that it might not have been generally understood but could, nevertheless, have been understood by a select group of non-Baganese slaves. Thus, in Tuan Guru’s *Marifatul Islami wal Imani* I found passages of Baganese in Arabic script. These passages I could not translate. Similarly Baganese inscriptions are to be found, in Baganese script, in a 1806 student notebook in my possession while Jan of Boughies, as late as 1843, signed his will in the Baganese script (Cape Archives, FOOC 7/1/187 No. 59). Neither is Ross correct in his claim that the script was ‘ancient’, and by implication, not in use. Crawford indicates in 1820 that it was still commonly used in the Celebese during that period.

Having established that both Malayu and Baganese were spoken by the eighteenth-century eastern slaves, let us turn our attention to the Portuguese creoles. Macrone (1937:75) is of the opinion that the Portuguese creole generally spoken by the slaves at the Cape was Malayo-Portuguese; and that this lingua franca was also used by the colonists in their communication with their slaves. There is no evidence to suggest that this was not the case. Malayo-Portuguese must have been understood by the eastern slaves. It was already a trading language in their area of origin, stretching from New Guinea to Madagascar, prior to the arrival of the Dutch in the region (Bird, 1883:19–22). As far as I know, Malayo-Portuguese was never used as a written medium by the Cape slaves, though the influence of Portuguese is clearly discernible in the very interesting memorial, written by Jan of Boughies to Sir Benjamin D’Urban, in Malayu in Arabic script. This memorial contains a sprinkling of Portuguese and Afrikaans words (Figure 3). Malayo-Portuguese seemed to have died out by the last decade of the eighteenth and the first decade of the nineteenth centuries, when Malayu, as a spoken and written language in Arabic script, came to dominate the scene.

Thus, of the slave languages which were used during the eighteenth century, Malayu seemed to have outstripped the others by the end of the century. This could be attributed to the fact that it became the vehicle for the transmission of religious ideas amongst the slaves. Though this transmission was essentially oral, from the slave student notebooks which remained extant, it was certainly also written. The development of Malayu, as a written means of communication at the Cape, could thus only be understood if we look at the literary tradition of the two dominant eighteenth-century Cape eastern slave languages — Malayu and Baganese.

Malayu was the spoken language of the Malay Peninsula, and as the Peninsula was the natural route for the migration of the people of Eurasia to the Islands of the



Transcription: *ienie soerat majietaaka jang Jan wan Boekies daatang darie Batavia da ang kaval Batavier Kaptien Lourens Kaptien Loetnan vaner Plaats dari ientoe koetiegan goeroe van die Graaf vieskaal iesatier darie ientoe koetiegan ghanieraal Doendas darie sietoe koetiegan Imam Abdoellah soeda ankat priester Rajab dan Jan van Boekies jadi priester. Goewoenoeoe Jansan soerda maasoeck die dienst koetigan ientoe koemoediejan goewoenoeoe soeroe manjoeroe para Imam Abdoellah taawa ientoe oerang toewa priester Imam Abdoellah dalam masjid boewa kries sanjaata majahoe toewan Imam goewa lama manjoeroe oerang maa na soeka kaasie Imam Abdoellah majahoe Frans koemoediejan soeda tariemakaasie Ou Frans maa waa doe Frans tajoen die kries oewoer wat Jan van Boekies.*

Translation: This letter mentions that Jan of Boughies came from Batavia in the vessel *Batavier*. Captain Lourens — Lieutenant Captain van der Plaats. At the time the Governor was named Van der Graaf, the Fiscal Exeter in the time of General Dundas. At that time Imam Abdullah made Rajab a priest and also Jan of Boughies a priest. At the time Governor Janssen requested (or called) the service of the community. The Governor (Janssen) sent the mayor to Imam Abdullah to lead the people of the time. The priest Imam Abdullah was in the mosque when he was offered the krist. The Imam said thank you but I am an old man. The mayor ask who shall lead. Imam Abdullah said Frans shall lead the community, thank you, Old Frans. After a time (or later) Frans handed the krist over to Jan of Boughies.

Figure 3 The memorial of Jan van Boughies to Sir Benjamin D’Urban written in 1836. (Cape Archives, CO 3984.798)

Archipelago, Malayu spread very early throughout the region (Bone, 1973:271). By the end of the sixteenth century, when Dutch first made its appearance in the East Indies, a Malayu creole was already a trading language, established in the region (Bird, 1883:19–22).

Malayu — which has twenty consonants — five vowels and two diphthongs, was essentially a spoken language. It never developed a literary tradition or a distinct alphabet. What is clear from its vocabulary, is that it came virtually under the same influence of Sanskrit as the other languages in the region. A literary tradition appear to emerge only after 1276, when Sultan Muhammad Shah ascended to the throne of Malacca, and became the ruler of the first notable Malaysian Empire which was established by Iskander Shah in the thirteenth century

(Crawfurd, 1820:340). As a result of Arab traders, who started to make an appearance in the region, Iskander Shah adopted Islam, under which banner he embarked on an extensive military campaign. By the end of the thirteenth century, Malacca was not only the greatest military power in the Malay Peninsula, but was the most important centre for trade and Islamic missionary activity. In 1511, the flourishing Malaccan Sultanate was suddenly destroyed by the Portuguese, and subsequently, in 1641, Malacca was finally captured by the Dutch. By this time the Muslim influence of the Malaccan Sultanate had already made an impact on the many islands in the region, and Malayu in Arabic script was the established religious language in the region (Bone, 1973:261).

The adaptation of the Arabic alphabet to suit the Malaysian tongue, started by Sultan Muhammad Shah, was to leave its mark on the Arabic-Afrikaans writings of the Cape Muslims. On the whole, the Arabic vowel sounds suited that of Malayu, as much as it suited the basic vowel sounds of Afrikaans. There were, however, Malayu sounds which the Arabic alphabet could not convey. The creation of lettering symbols to represent these sounds were needed. This was achieved by the modification of existing Arabic letters by the addition of diacritical points, resulting in the Malaysian alphabet having 32, instead of the normal 29 letters of the Arabic alphabet. This Malaysian adaptation of the Arabic alphabet, with further modifications, became the alphabet which was used by the Arabic-Afrikaans writers at the Cape.

Buganese by contrast was the language of the people who occupied the south-western limb of the Celebes. The Boeghies or Bugeanese were probably the most advanced people of the Indonesian Archipelago, for apart from having domesticated animals, they knew how to work metals, cultivate cotton and manufacture cloth. They had a solar calendar of 365 days divided into 12 months of mainly 30 and 31 days and 1 month of 32 days. Above all they possessed the art of writing, and had invented an alphabet which expressed with adequate precision the sounds of their language which was softer than Malayu (Rochlin, 1934:96). They were, however, not the only people in the Archipelago to possess the art of writing. This distinction they shared with the Javanese and Macasarians, both of whom shared similar, though distinct lettering forms; and all three having advanced literary traditions when the Dutch appeared in the region (Crawfurd, 1820:4 & 69). It is, therefore, not surprising that the Bugeanese slaves communicated with each other in writing, using their native alphabet (Franken, 1953:68). I suspect that this must have been the practice of the Macasarian slaves as well, though I have no evidence to support this contention.

The existence of a literary tradition amongst the eastern slaves, especially the Bugeanese and the Macasarians, must have facilitated the development of writing skills in Malayu in Arabic script, when Malayu was adopted by Tuan Guru as a medium of the Dorp Street *Madrasah* in 1793. The adoption of Malayu as the medium of instruction was not without consideration. Bugeanese, Javanese and Macasarian were never used for the promotion or propagation of Islam in the Indonesian Archipelago.

The established religious language, Malayu, was the one more readily understood by the majority of the slaves, and would have facilitated the spread of the religion amongst the eastern slave population in the Cape slave world. The adoption of Malayu did not mean that the Bugeanese slaves immediately abandoned their language and writing tradition. On the contrary, they continued to use their language, as is clear from the evidence already produced (Cape Archives, MOOC 7/1/187 No. 59). This is further substantiated in the morphological and orthoepic changes observable in the development of that extensively used Afrikaans word *baie* (many).

The word *baie*, which began to appear regularly in the reports of the field-cornets from 1750 onwards, is derived from the Malayu word *banyak* meaning 'many'. The Bugeanese word for 'many' is *maiga*, but Crawfurd observes that the Bugeanese never end a word with a consonant. They use instead a vowel, or an aspirate or the soft nasal 'ng'. He writes:

'the organs of these people seems hardly capable to producing a consonant so structured, (i.e. a consonant at the end of a word — AD), so that even foreign words, when adopted in the language must undergo the change implied in this principle of orthoepy, whether they be from the guttural Arab, the grunting Dutch, or the hissing English' (Crawfurd, 1820:61).

The Boughies in Cape Town, when they adopted the word *banyak*, probably changed its pronunciation to conform with their linguistic tradition. It is in this changed form, *bai-ing*, that the word came to be absorbed into nineteenth-century Cape Afrikaans; being even pronounced as *bai-ing* by the students of the University of Stellenbosch in their colloquial Afrikaans in 1906 (*Ons Land*, 3 November 1906). It is interesting to note that the traveller, Teenstra, in his transcription of the conversation he had with the farmer and his wife in Caledon in 1825, renders the word as *banja* (1830:360); while the word *baie* as a substitute for the Dutch word *zeer* (many) is recorded as *banje*; *baiing* and *banjang* in eighteenth-century documents (Raidt, 1983:112). One notices here already the vowel ending, as a possible stage in the orthoepic development to the nasal 'ng'.

The use of Afrikaans or creolized Dutch cannot be overlooked, when looking at the languages spoken by the slaves. It was in Afrikaans that many of the words the slaves made, were absorbed. The very socio-economic circumstances in which they found themselves as slaves, required that they communicate in Dutch. Though this Dutch might have been a pidgin, it certainly had a bearing on the changes which occurred in Dutch, resulting in that language to become creolized, and from which creolized form Afrikaans developed. Den Besten is convinced that such a pidgin existed amongst the Khoe-khoen and the slaves, some time after contact, and argues that though the Dutch of the colonists never developed into a pidgin, their contact with the Khoe-khoen and the slaves led to the creolization of their spoken tongue (Den Besten, 1987:86).

From the earliest recordings of the creolized Dutch

spoken by the slaves, I observed grammatical constructions which would today be regarded as Afrikaans. The change of the Dutch word *wij* (we) to the Afrikaans *ons* is already seen in the words of the slave, Pieter of Madagascar, who in 1691 said: 'Neen, *ons* niet weer omkomen' (No, we will not return); and again in 1721, a slave said: '... *ons het* so lank bij malkanderen gebleeven tot dat (zijl.) *ons* gevangen *het* ...' (we have lived together so long until [you] captured us) (Raidt, 1983:112). Although I agree with Edith Raidt that Afrikaans did not have its present grammatical form in the early eighteenth century, I find it difficult to accept that these grammatical changes were copied from the colonists speaking a Dutch dialect. Firstly, I do not have any evidence of Cape Dutch sources to indicate that *wij* was substituted by *ons* in the spoken language of the colonists at the time; secondly, if I agree with her, I ignore the fact that Malayan grammar is remarkably simple and could possibly have influenced this change. The use of *ons* for the Dutch subjective *wij* could be a reflection of the Malayan grammar, in which language words are not modified or changed by inflection to express case, number or gender. Hence the eastern slaves were more likely to have applied a rule of grammar known to them, and used one word, *ons* for the pronoun 'we', instead of two different words *wij* and *onz(e)* for a single concept.

Nevertheless, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, a creolized Dutch was observed to be widely spoken at the Cape; and travellers found it necessary to know Dutch, in accordance with the Cape style, to communicate freely with the people (Scholtz, 1970:110). Teenstra, who visited the Cape during the early years of the nineteenth century, creates the impression that there were differences between the Dutch spoken by the farmer and his wife in Caledon, and that of their slave November (1830:363 & 364). It is hard to believe that this pidgin was a general reflection of the Afrikaans of the slaves in nineteenth-century Cape Town. Without any background to the origin of the slave November, we can only assume that the pidgin is a reflection of the Afrikaans of those slaves who were recent arrivals in the country and have not learned to master the language of their new social milieu. Even today, foreigners living in Bo-Kaap, after years of residence, do not fully master the local dialect.

My assumption is not totally without historical foundation. There was a tendency on the part of journalists, such as Meurant, Boniface and Bain, to put the creolized Dutch in the mouths of 'non-white' speakers, using it exclusively for comic effect (Davids, 1987a). This tends to amount to an admission that it was the language of the Khoekhoen, slaves and Free Blacks, the largest section of the population in Cape Town which in 1818 was calculated to be 19 900; of which 7 400 were white, 573 Khoekhoen, 8 272 slave and 1 905 Free Blacks (Teenstra, 1830:355). It is unlikely that such a large 'non-white' population, many of whom Cape born, and engaged in the main artisan occupations, would still have spoken the pidgin attributed to them by Teenstra. The creolized Dutch was in fact looked upon with derision by the white

sector of the population. This position seemed to prevail throughout the nineteenth century. A year after the establishment of the GRA, the *Cape Argus* writes in the following vein:

'An attempt is being made by a number of jokers near Cape Town to reduce the "plat Hollands" of the street and the kitchen to a written language and perpetuate it. They are carrying their joke well. They have a newspaper, have published a history of the Colony, an almanak, and to crown the joke — grammar. It is impossible to read these productions without laughing, because one cannot help feeling while reading that the writers are themselves laughing while they write. The spelling, the words, the idiom, the grammar — all such may at any time be taken phonetically from the mouth of any old Hottentot (*sic*)' (13 September 1877).

The Cape Dutch, as the creolized Dutch was referred to during the first 50 years of the nineteenth century, was extensively used by the slaves and the Free Blacks in Cape Town. However, it did not immediately replace Malayu, though it came to coexist with Malayu until about 1880.<sup>9</sup> The use of Cape Dutch by the slaves and Free Blacks in Cape Town during the early years of the nineteenth century is evident from a report in the *Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette* in 1830. The *Literary Gazette* reports that when an Englishman, W.T. Robertson, tried to print his English translation of the *Hidayutool Islaam (sic)* in Cape Town in 1830, he had to consider a version in the 'Dutch tongue for the benefit of the Malay Moslims (*sic*) throughout the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope'. The report also mentions that the attempt had to be abandoned as there were no suitable presses in Cape Town which could print Arabic lettering at the time (1830:18, Vol. 1 No. 2).

From this report, the most obvious conclusion is that Cape Dutch, or Afrikaans, was extensively used by the slaves and Free Blacks, who constituted the membership of the Muslim community in Cape Town at the time. The report also tends to indicate that they were already busy using the Arabic script to transcribe their spoken Cape Dutch.

Arabic-Afrikaans, the name given to this script, must have greatly facilitated the spread of Islam during the early years of the nineteenth century, drawing young Cape-born slaves, who probably had a limited understanding of Malayu, to the fold of the religion. Considering that it takes time for a spoken language to appear in script, I suspect that this process must have started some time during the second decade of the nineteenth century. From the first Arabic-Afrikaans manuscript which I discovered, written in the 1840s, it is obvious that a formal system of spelling was already operative at the time. This spelling system, in the Arabic phonetic tradition, called *taj'wid*, remains fairly constant up to the appearance of the last publication, the *Bayani salati Thuri ba'dal Juma'ati* (an explanation of the compulsory mid-day prayers after the Friday congregational prayers), by Sheikh Achmad Behardien which appeared in 1957.

From this discussion it is clear that the diversity of

languages spoken by the slaves at the Cape, only two were used extensively at emancipation — Malayu and Cape Dutch. Malayu, too, was eventually to die out. So strong, however, was its influence as a religious language, that Malayu religious terminology and expressions of respect still seems to be preferred above their Arabic equivalents. This tendency is clearly illustrated in Figures 4 & 5. What is interesting is that Malayu and Malayo-Polynesian derived words are given a distinct Afrikaans ring in the daily spoken Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims.

**Cape Muslim educational system**

Up to now I have been looking at the milieu in which,

and the vehicle(s) through which, the words of the slaves were made. To understand how these words were transmitted, and eventually perpetuated, in the community it is necessary to look at the Cape Muslim educational system. Like most aspects of their socio-cultural life, their system of education also remained fairly static over the years. The educational method was essentially a rote learning process, and the Malayu rhythmic mnemonics — imported from Indonesia during their days of slavery, and used for the teaching of the consonant and vowel sounds of the Arabic alphabet — was up to recently still used in Cape Town. There is thus hardly a Cape Muslim, over the age of 30 years, who has not been taught Arabic reading in this manner, and does not remember these

No.	Cape Muslim Afrikaans	Malayo-Polynesian	Arabic	Meaning
1	<i>abdas</i>	Malayu, from Persian — <i>abdast</i>	<i>wudu</i>	ritual ablution
2	<i>bang</i>	From Malayu — <i>bang</i>	<i>azān</i>	call for prayer
3	<i>barries</i>	From Malayu — <i>berīs</i>	<i>ḥarakah</i>	vowel indicators
4	<i>batja</i>	Malayu from Sanskrit — <i>batja</i>	<i>qī'rah</i>	read/recite
5	<i>labarang</i>	From Sunda — <i>lebaran</i>	<i>eid</i>	festival
6	<i>maskawie</i>	From Malayu — <i>maskawin</i>	<i>maḥr</i>	dowry
7	<i>malboet</i>	From Sunda — <i>merbot</i>	<i>marbūt</i>	messenger
8	<i>mannie</i>	From Malayu — <i>mandi</i>	<i>ghusul</i>	bath
9	<i>masiet</i>	From Sunda/Malayu — <i>masjid</i>	<i>masjid</i>	mosque
10	<i>poewasa</i>	Malayu, from Sanskrit — <i>puwasa</i>	<i>suam</i>	fasting
11	<i>pang</i>	From Malayu — <i>bapang</i>	<i>abā</i>	father/uncle
12	<i>tramakasie</i>	From Malayu — <i>terima kasih</i>	<i>sukran</i>	thank you

**Figure 4** Malayo-Polynesian derived Cape-Muslim Afrikaans terms preferred to the Arabic religious terminology

Cape Muslim Afrikaans	Malayo-Polynesian origin	Meaning and usage
<i>adjoemat</i>	Malayu & Javanese ( <i>djimat</i> )	talisman: <i>hy het my 'n adjoemat ghagce om die evil spirit weg te hou</i> (he gave me a talisman to keep the evil spirit away)
<i>baadjie</i>	Malayu & Sunda ( <i>badju</i> ) from Hindi ( <i>bāzū</i> )	jacket: <i>'n mooi baadjie</i> (a nice jacket)
<i>baklai</i>	Malayu ( <i>berkelahi</i> )	fight: <i>hy het baklai, nou het hy 'n blou oeg</i> (he fought, now he has a black eye)
<i>bangoeroe</i>	Buganese & Malayu ( <i>ban-guru</i> )	membership to a mosque congregation: <i>hy bangoeroe by Imam Salie se masiet</i> (he belongs to the mosque congregation of Imam Salie)
<i>djapandoelie</i>	Malayu ( <i>djama duli</i> )	ancient: <i>djapandoelie se tyd</i> (ancient time)
<i>graa-na</i>	Malayu ( <i>gerhana</i> ) from Sanskrit ( <i>grahana</i> )	eclipse: <i>graa-na van die son</i> (eclipse of the sun)
<i>kanallah</i>	Malayu ( <i>karna Allah</i> )	please: <i>kom help my kanala</i> (help me please)
<i>oor/krawiltjie</i>	Malayu ( <i>kerabu</i> ): krabbetje in Standard Afrikaans	earring: <i>mooi krawiltjies</i> (nice earrings)
<i>lamba</i>	Sunda ( <i>lamar</i> ) & Malayu ( <i>lamara</i> )	to become engaged: <i>hy het sy mense gestuur om te vra om met Asa te lamba</i> (he sent his people to request his engagement to Asa)
<i>maskie</i>	Malayu ( <i>meski/pun</i> ) from Malayu-Portuguese ( <i>mais que</i> )	maybe: <i>maskie kom ek</i> (maybe I will come) or even though: <i>maskie groei daar nie hare nie</i> (even though there grow no hair)
<i>manieg-al</i>	Malayu ( <i>meninggal</i> )	to die: <i>Salie is gha-manieng-al</i> (Salie died)
<i>moe-lie-at</i>	Malayu ( <i>meliat sikarang!</i> )	watch it!: <i>moe-lie-at vir hom!</i> (watch him!) used as an exclamation
<i>nonnie</i>	Malayu ( <i>non-i</i> )	young girl: <i>'n mooi nonnie</i> (a pretty girl)
<i>panoepang</i>	Malayu ( <i>menupang</i> )	crew member of a boat: <i>ek panoepang vir Ali</i> (I am a member of Ali's [boat] crew)
<i>pit-tjies</i>	Malayu ( <i>bidji</i> ) from Sanskrit ( <i>bija</i> )	kernel: <i>daannebol pit-tjies</i> (pine kernels)
<i>soempa</i>	Malayu ( <i>sumpah</i> )	swear: <i>Ek soempa dat ek dit nie ghadoen het nie</i> (I swear I did not do it)
<i>soppang</i>	Buganese ( <i>supan</i> )	dignified: <i>Sy is baijang soppang</i> (she is very dignified)
<i>sadjie</i>	Malayu ( <i>menjadji</i> ) from Sanskrit ( <i>sajjiker</i> )	to serve food: <i>kom sadjie</i> (come help to get the food ready for serving)
<i>tamaai</i>	Malayu ( <i>utama</i> ) from Sanskrit ( <i>uttama</i> )	very big: <i>'n tamaai-e vis</i> (a very big fish)
<i>djamar</i>	Malayu ( <i>tjemara</i> ) from Sanskrit ( <i>camarader</i> )	very sorry: <i>Ek is djamar</i> (I am very sorry)
<i>tjoewaar/soewaar</i>	Malayu ( <i>tjoba</i> )	assuredly: <i>tjoewaar dis reg</i> (assuredly it is correct)
<i>tjommel</i>	Sunda ( <i>tjomel</i> )	talk: <i>Djy tjommel te veel</i> (you talk too much)
<i>kiri-slaam</i>	Sunda ( <i>kirim</i> ); Arabic ( <i>salaam</i> )	best greetings: <i>Sé vir hulle baijang kiri-slaam</i> (give them our best greetings)
<i>motjie</i>	Javanese ( <i>muntji</i> )	woman: <i>die motjie</i> (the woman = the wife) also used as 'a piece of fish' ( <i>'n motjie vis</i> )

**Figure 5** Malayo-Polynesian derived words still in use in the Cape Muslim community

rhythmic mnemonics. Here is a part of one of them, (read as Afrikaans):

*Alief dettis 'a'; alief bouwa 'ie'; alief dappan 'oe'*  
*'a', 'ie', 'oe'.*  
*Bah dettis 'bah'; bah bouwa 'bieh'; bah dappan 'boeh'*  
*'bah', 'bieh', 'boeh'*  
*Ta dettis 'ta'; ta bouwa 'tie'; ta dappan 'toe'*  
*'ta', 'tie', 'toe'*  
*Tha dettis 'tha'; tha bouwa 'thie'; tha dappan 'thoe'*  
*'tha', 'thie', 'thoe'*  
 (and so on until the end of the Arabic alphabet).

The rote learning approach is, however, more clearly amplified in the method of the *koples boek*. In terms of this method, the student is required to transcribe a lesson, either from a chalkboard or dedication by a teacher, in a book called the *koples boek*. The student is then required to memorize it at home (getting the lesson into his head or *kop* in the literal sense) and recite it from memory to the teacher on the next occasion. If his/her retention is good, the student is given a new lesson and the process is repeated. It was from some of these student notebooks or *koples boeke*, which have survived, that we are able to gain some idea of the teaching methods of the Dorp Street *Madrasah*. I have two such notebooks, dated 1806 and 1808, and several others from various times in the nineteenth century in my possession. These student notebooks give us an idea of the continuity of the educational method which existed in the nineteenth century.

Although Islamic education today is terribly fragmented, there was a time in their nineteenth-century Cape history that the Cape Muslims had a highly organized system of education (Mayson, 1865:24). It was through this system of education that the words the slaves made were perpetuated; but it was also through this system of education that the matrix of the slave world was maintained. Through educational concepts and the basic philosophy of the school the balance between the needs of the slaves and the needs of the Free Black slave-owners were maintained.

The Cape Muslim Islamic educational system started with the establishment of the Dorp Street *Madrasah* in 1793. As the first institution of the Cape Muslims, it proved tremendously successful. By 1807, this *madrasah* or school had a population of 372 slave and Free Black students (Horrell, 1970:10), a number which was to increase to 491 by 1825 (*Imperial Blue Book*, 1835:210). If we consider that, despite the intense Christian missionary activity, only 86 slaves out of a possibility of 35 698 in the Cape Colony were baptized between 1810 and 1824, approximately six per year (Shell, 1974), the tremendous influence of the school in the early years of the nineteenth century on the slave and Free Black community becomes clearly evident. We could thus well understand the concern of the Earl of Caledon about the activities of the Imams who were teaching the slaves precepts from the Quran and to read and write Arabic. The teaching of reading and writing gave Cape Muslim *'madrasah* education two Malayu terms still used today,

*toellies* (to write) and *batcha* (to read).

The tremendous success of the Dorp Street *Madrasah* is attributed to the verve and enthusiasm of its founding Imams. Most of them were slave-owners; and all of them under the leadership of Imam Abdullah ibn Kadi Abdus Salaam. It was his efforts in the establishment of the school which earned for Imam Abdullah ibn Kadi Abdus Salaam the nickname 'Tuan Guru', meaning 'Mister Teacher'. It was also his philosophical theology which formed the philosophy of Islamic education at the Cape, a philosophy still pursued even to this day.

Tuan Guru was, according to his will (Cape Archives, MOOC 7/1/53 No. 66), a *geweesent prins vant' landschap Tidore in Ternaten* (a former prince of the principality of Tidore in the Ternate Islands). Why he was brought to the Cape is difficult to ascertain with certainty. From the few details thus far discovered in the Cape Archives, he and three others were banished to the Cape for conspiring with the British against the Dutch. They arrived here on 6 April 1780, and were incarcerated on Robben Island (Cape Archives, CJ 2568 dated 25 April, 1781). While in prison, he wrote the *Marifatul Islami wal Imani* (manifestation of Islam and faith), an extensive and comprehensive exposition of the Ash'arite dogmatic creed of Sunnism which was completed in 1781. On his release from prison, he went to settle in Dorp Street, Cape Town, where he established the *madrasah* (Cape Archives, RDG 115).

Tuan Guru's philosophical theology, which formed the matrix of the Cape slave world, and the basic philosophy of the educational approach at the Dorp Street *Madrasah*, is discussed extensively in the *Marifatul Islami wal Imani*. In this book, Tuan Guru declares that he is a Shafi'ite in theology and an Ash'arite in dogmatics. By this he implied that in ritual practice (*Fiqa*), or jurisprudence, he was a follower of Imam Shafī, one of the four Imams of the Ahli Sunni wal Jamāt, i.e. those who adhere to the Traditions of the Prophet, also known as Sunnis or Traditionalists. In dogma of belief (*aqīda*) he was a follower of Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Isma'il al-Ash'ari. This makes Tuan Guru a Rational-Traditionalist. Therefore to understand the rational philosophical-theological arguments on the dogma of belief, as expounded in the *Marifatul Islami wal Imani*, and which in turn influenced the socio-religious life of the slaves and Free Blacks, it is useful to look briefly at the historical traditions from which these theological-philosophical arguments emerged.

The founder of Tuan Guru's rational-traditional dogmatic school, Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Ismail al-Ash'ari, was born in Basra in 873. He was originally a Mu'atazilite, and thus an Islamic theological philosopher who — with others in this philosophic mould — were combining certain Islamic dogmas with Greek philosophical conceptions and to whom reason and logic were more important than tradition (i.e. the practices of the Prophet) and revelation (i.e. the teachings of the Quran). In 912, Al-Ash'ari abandoned the mu'atazilites and adopted the teachings of the Ahli Sunni wal Jamāt, being greatly influenced by Imam Ahmad Hambal, the founder of the conservative Hambalite school of Sunnism.

Hereafter he devoted himself to the intellectual defence of the Sunni dogmatic position until his death in 935 (Watt, 1962:82–9; Fakier, 1983:157–60). It is said that the movement towards a rational defence of the central dogma of belief of Sunnism (i.e. the Sunni concepts of *aqīda*) found its climax in the teachings of two great theological philosophers, al-Maturidi and al-Ash'ari (Watt, 1962:82).

The 'conversion' of al-Ash'ari to Sunnism and his subsequent differences with the Mu'atazilites need not be discussed in detail. It is sufficient to note that the essential difference between al-Ash'ari and the Mu'atazilites was the rejection of their notion that the Quran was created; in fact al-Ash'ari declared that it was uncreated and the very speech of God (Watt, 1962:85). Al-Ash'ari never totally abandoned reason, but worked out a position which may best be described as the support of revelation and tradition by reason, with reason being subordinate to revelation. It is around this conceptualization that the Ash'arite philosophical theology developed its concepts of *aqīda* (belief). And it is in terms on this philosophical background that Tuan Guru wrote the *Marifatul Islami wal Imani* in 1781.

The *Marifatul Islami wal Imani* deals exclusively with the concepts of belief (*aqīda*) and as such deals with that part of the *Shari'ah* (Islamic Law) known as the *Ilmul Kalam*, i.e. the principles of belief or knowledge of the existence of God — the *Shari'ah* being divided into two distinct parts, the *Ilmul Kalam* and *fiqa*. *Fiqa* is concerned with the practices of the religion, governing its rules and regulations, and hence projected as Islamic jurisprudence.

The manuscript is written in Arabic with interlineal translations in Malayu, occasionally Buganese, in Arabic script. It is vibrant with theological arguments grappling with the concepts of belief, with each argument, true to the Ash'arite tradition, supported by reason and *dalīl*, i.e. the Quran and Traditions. The main concepts of belief are excellently illustrated by diagrammatic explanatory representations. For the reader an understanding is created that in the final analysis, man's station in life, his material position and well being, his very existence, are determined by the will of God; and it is **only** in his power to change the destiny of man. Man, however, has been given reason and the power to discriminate between good and evil, both of which are created by God, but man must strive to acquire (*iktisab*) good by being submissive to God's will and attain piety (*takwah*). This constitute the basic philosophy of the *Marifatul Islami wal Imani*.

The main theme of the first section of the manuscript, after the concepts of Islam and faith (*Imān*) have been clarified, are the will of God and the power of God. The entire social structure functions around these two themes; and man's primary concern is to acquire good and attain piety (*takwah*) which is in God's judgement (*qadā*) and God's power (*qadar*). These concepts are given Quranic support (*dalīl*) by an extensive explanatory translation of Chapter LXVII, (*Sūrah Mulk* – Chapter Dominion) of the Quran, which chapter expounds

the power and the will of God. Man in his struggle to attain piety may, in his sufferings and afflictions, appeal to God who is just and merciful. In terms of this, Tuan Guru formulates medicinal spiritual prescriptions, i.e. *azīmats* (talismans) and *ishārah* (remedies) as a means of appealing to God.

These medicinal spiritual prescriptions, to which no more than 10 out of the 600 pages of the manuscript are devoted, are strategically placed throughout the book, each to confirm and emphasize the will and the power of God. This does not make Tuan Guru a member of any *Tariqa* or Sufi mystical order, but is in fact a Rational-Traditional Ash'arite response to two basic verses of the Quran. The Quran clearly states that in its words are healing powers (Chapter XVII verse 82); and refers to the power granted by God to the Prophet Jesus to heal the sick by his permission and his will (Chapter V verse 113).<sup>10</sup>

It is the determinism inherent in the Ash'arite Rational-Traditional philosophical theology which conditioned the slaves in the acceptance of their subjugation; and assured for them good treatment from their Free Black slave-masters, who feared the 'acquisition' (*iktisab*) of evil which they might attain through injustice and ill-treatment of their slaves. This explains, apart from the fact that this system gave them social mobility, why the slaves never resisted their slavery, even after the formation of their Cape slave world. It also explains why the nineteenth-century Cape Muslims never organized politically, as a community, against the state formation; but resisted the regulations imposed upon them during the nineteenth-century smallpox epidemics, and the closure of their urban cemeteries in 1886 (Davids, 1983). It was only when state regulations were perceived as being contrary to *takdir* (i.e. the predetermined will of God), that the Cape Muslims reacted. Interference in God's will (*iradah*) is contrary to a tenet of belief. It is — in Tuan Guru's terms — attributing to God *karahah*, defined by him as 'the persuasion of God against his will' which he says is 'impossible' (*mustakhil*) as an attribute of God (ibn Kadi Abdus Salaam, 1781).

The second section, if we can call it a section (for the manuscript is not divided into sections or chapters), starts with a biography of Muhammad Yusuf ibn As-Sunusi, who was born in Tlemsen, Algeria in 1486. He was a foremost Ash'arite Sufi theological philosopher who formulated a short creed on belief called the 'Sunusiyya'. The Sunusiyya, which became known in Cape Town as the *twintagh siefaats* (i.e. the 20 attributes), asserts that every believer must know 20 attributes (*sifah*) necessary in respect of God, and 20 attributes impossible (*mustakhil*) for him. The Sunusiyya is extensively philosophical, for within the 20 attributes necessary for God are seven attributes of form, which have to be distinguished from seven very similar attributes pertaining to form. Within its reasoning context, the Sunusiyya gives recognition to all the 99 attributes which Muslims, according to the Quran, ought to recognize as basic principles of belief. The Sunusiyya, as formulated by as-Sunusi, is reproduced *in toto* in the manuscript, and translated by Tuan Guru in Malayu in Arabic script. It



acts as a convenient embodiment of the basic philosophy which Tuan Guru expounded in the first section of the manuscript.<sup>11</sup>

It is the Sunusiyya which proved the most popular and convenient part of the manuscript for rote learning; and several copies were transcribed from the original *Marifatul Islami wal Imani*, with the Malayu translation, as handbooks and readers for the students of the Dorp Street *Madrasah*. I have two such copies in my possession and I have examined several others, including the one used by the slave Imam Abdolgaviel of Simonstown, which have remained extant. It represents the most extensive examples of the literacy exploits of the Cape Muslim slaves prior to emancipation. It is also my contention that the Sunusiyya or *twintagh siefaats* provided the slaves with an understanding of a rational unitary God, which the Christian missionaries with the concept of Trinity could not penetrate. Most important, however, is the fact that the Sunusiyya remained the main teaching subject of the Cape Muslim schools (*madaris*) until well into the 1950s–1960s, when we as children were required to memorize its concepts and reasoning context without fully comprehending them.

Tuan Guru's *Marifatul Islami wal Imani*, especially the portion dealing with the 20 attributes or the Sunusiyya, became the main text of the Dorp Street *Madrasah* during its founding years. The other important subject was Arabic reading. At least one handwritten Arabic primer of the school survived, and is currently filed in the South African Library. Arabic as a language does not appear to have been taught, though Jan of Boughies was designated Arabic teacher (*South African Commercial Advertiser*, 13 February 1836). His duties probably involved teaching the students to read the Arabic script in which Malayu was written, and for the reading of the Arabic Quran. Several handwritten copies of the Arabic Quran were written from memory by Tuan Guru and the former slave, Rajah of Boughies, as additional readers.<sup>12</sup> The reading of the Arabic Quran is a spiritual requirement, necessary for the reading of the prayers. This does not necessitate a knowledge of the Arabic language. That Arabic, as a language, was not taught is evident from the very few Arabic loan-words in Cape Muslim Afrikaans. Such loan words from Arabic are mainly confined to religious terminology, where these words were already inflected in Malayu from which language they were bridged into Cape Muslim Afrikaans. Then too, the need of Malayu translations indicate the limited knowledge the students had of the Arabic language.

From one of the student notebooks in my possession, it would appear that the basic aspects of ritual ablution and prayers were taught. *Fiqa* or Islamic jurisprudence seems to have been introduced only after 1797, when Tuan Guru translated the *Al-thil misani*; and in 1798, the *Talilul-Ghairah*. Both these manuscripts deal extensively with Islamic ritual practice and the related laws.<sup>13</sup> It was, nevertheless, the *Marifatul Islami wal Imani* which seemed to have had the greatest impact on the Cape slave and Free Black community; and which provided the impetus for Islamic education at the Cape. By 1832,

the Muslim slave and Free Black population had increased to such an extent that, apart from the Dorp Street *Madrasah*, which had a population of 492 students, there were at least 12 other Muslim schools in Cape Town (Davids, 1985). By 1854, Islamic education at the Cape was highly organized and under the control of a single co-ordinator, Achmat Saddik Achmat, the assistant Imam of the Auwal Mosque in Dorp Street. Judging from the student notebooks or *koples boeke* which have survived, the basic philosophy of education, formulated by Tuan Guru, was still pursued. The basic order of the educational system started to disintegrate from 1863 onwards, when Abubakr Effendi started the Ottoman Theological School, outside of the mainstream educational system (Du Plessis, 1986:33). Nevertheless, the Dorp Street *Madrasah* started a prolific process of literacy amongst the slaves.

### Literacy amongst the slaves

We have very little evidence from which to determine with accuracy the extent of literacy amongst the slaves prior to 1750. This does not mean that the eastern slaves, who were brought to the Cape in the beginning, did not have the ability to read and write. They, however, came from a background steeped in literary traditions, and among whose people it was common practice to record their folklore in their specific script. This was probably a result of the contact which the islands of the Archipelago had with Hinduism, prior to the advent of Islam, and thus the literary tradition of Sanskrit, which has left its mark if not on the structuring of their alphabets, then on the vocabulary of their languages. There was, as Crawford observes, differences in the extent of the development of these literary traditions, with the most developed being that of the people of the Celebese — the Buganese and the Macasarians (Crawford, 1820:59–65). Coming from such a background, steeped in literary traditions, there might have been amongst the early eastern slaves those who had an ability to read and write, albeit in an eastern script.

The first evidence we have of a possibility of a literary process amongst the slaves, comes from Sheikh Yusuf's sanctuary at Macasar, near Faure. Oral history relates that those fugitive slaves who rallied around Yusuf at Zandvleit, Macasar, were taught to read the Quran. I have little reason to doubt this oral tradition. The Sheikh is known to have been a prolific writer, and many of his tracts, in both Arabic and Macasar, had been preserved at the archives at Leiden. Some of these tracts forms the basis of a MA dissertation by Ewald von Kleist, at the Albert Ludwigs University in Freiburg, Germany, and from which work I gained some idea of the thinking of Sheikh Yusuf (Von Kleist, 1986). There is no certainty as to whether some of these works were written in Cape Town. In my interview with Von Kleist, when he handed me a copy of his dissertation, this issue could not be clarified. But even if none of these works were written in Cape Town, a prolific writer like Sheikh Yusuf would certainly have appreciated the value of the written word as a facilitator in the education process of the slaves who



rallied around his sanctuary.

From the Arabic annexures of Von Kleist's thesis, I came to know that Sheikh Yusuf was a Sufi, i.e. an Islamic spiritualist, and an adherent of the Khalwathia order of the *Naqsbandiyyah Tariqa* (spiritual brotherhood). Central to the Khalwathia order is obedience of the followers to the direction and instructions of the spiritual leader. One of its practices is the recitation of spiritual hymns (*thiks*) on the third, seventh, and fortieth night at the grave of a departed soul.

That both these practices still exist, is indicative of the influence of Sheikh Yusuf in the Cape Muslim community. In the absence of historical evidence it is difficult to determine how these practices were transmitted through the community. This is particularly true with the transmission of the spiritual hymns. The first evidence which I have that it might have been transmitted by the written word through the eighteenth century, is the appearance of the main core of these spiritual hymns (called the *arawah*) in my 1808 student notebook. It is in a different handwriting to the other entries in this book. Hence I am not certain as to when it was written.

These practices, however, gave rise to two important word concepts in Cape Muslim spiritual life. The one concept is *merang*, which is derived from the Javanese word *reme-an*, meaning feast, and which in the Cape patois of the Cape Muslims came to be applied to both the practice of participating in the recitation of the spiritual hymns of the *arawah* and the accompanied feasting. The other concept is *bangoeroe*. It is used in the sense of membership of a mosque congregation under the leadership of a specific Imam. The word *bangoeroe* is derived from Buganese and Macasar, in which languages it implies spiritual teacher or leader, with specific reference to the spiritual order. There is, however, a distinct difference between the meaning of the word in its original context and as it came to be applied by the Cape Muslims. In the first instance a spiritual connection between the person and the spiritual leader is implied. In the second instance, or the Cape usage, the emphasis is on membership to a broader congregation under a leadership. This is expressed as: *Ek bangoeroe by Imam Salie se Masiet* (I belong to the congregation of the mosque of Imam Salie).

The shift in the meaning of the word *bangoeroe* has important historical implications. It is at least one indication that the *Turuq* (plural for *Tariqa*) or spiritual brotherhoods did not play a major role in the making of the Cape slave world. Probably the strongest evidence which discounts the possibility of the *Turuq* acting as a matrix for the emergence of the Cape slave world is the syncretic mysticism evident in so many of the Cape Muslims' cultural practices. Such practices contradict the purity of the spiritualism which the *Turuq* generates and nurtures. If the *Turuq* did play such an important role, a practice such as *doekoem-werk* or 'Malay black magic' would not have become such an inherent part of the culture of the nineteenth-century Cape Muslims (Mayson, 1865:28). Most of these practices, even *doekoem-werk*, could be accommodated in the rational philosophical

theology of the Ash'arite dogmatic school which, as I argued earlier, provided the matrix of the milieu of the Cape slave world. For in terms of the Ash'arite reasoning, these practices do not undermine the fundamental principles of *aqida* or belief; and thus, while *doekoem-werk* will be frowned upon, it could be explained in terms of the Ash'arite concept of 'acquisition' (*iktisab*), which in this instance would be the acquisition of evil and deemed a hinderance to the attainment of piety.

The only *Tariqa* known to have been existing, and for which historical evidence can be found, is the Khalwathia order of the *Naqsbandiyyah* spiritual brotherhood, introduced by Sheikh Yusuf of Macasar (Von Kleist, 1986). Adil Bradlow's claim of the existence of the *Quadaria* and the 'Alawia *Turuq* in the eighteenth century is unfortunately erroneous (Bradlow, 1988). There is no reliable evidence to support such a claim. These two *Turuq* are in fact late nineteenth-century arrivals. They were brought here by two prominent personages — Sheikh Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraki and Sayed Moegsien.<sup>14</sup> Sheikh Abdurahim, who came from Basra in Iraq, was a most prolific writer of Arabic-Afrikaans (Kähler, 1971:189). He 'discovered' both the graves on the hills near Bakoven, and is said to have visited them frequently.<sup>15</sup>

The 'Alawia *Tariqa*, which he introduced, only became popular after 1910 when Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien, a student of Sheikh Abdurahim, translated the *Ratibul-Haddad*, a compilation of *thikrs* (spiritual hymns), by Abdullah ibn 'Alawi al Haddad, into Arabic-Afrikaans (Kähler, 1971:107). If these *Turuq* were popular in nineteenth-century Cape Town, then surely their *thikrs* would have been transcribed, if not translated, much earlier. There is no such work available, while literature on the Ash'arite dogmatic position — in both Malayu and Arabic-Afrikaans — by Cape writers dominate the literacy exploits of the Cape Muslim in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Kähler, 1971). The *Quadaria Tariqa* was introduced by Sayed Moegsien, who hails from Arabia, and settled in Cape Town around the beginning of the twentieth century. It was he who 'discovered' the grave on Signal Hill, near Kloof Road.<sup>16</sup>

While not denying that there may be spiritual persons buried at the Bakoven and Signal Hill graves, the oral accounts of their histories are too contradictory to act as a base for a sound scientific theory on the emergence of Islam at the Cape. Their histories, as Jeffreys (1936:119) already indicated in the 1930s, are riddled with uncertainty and contradiction. Nevertheless, these two *Turuq* gave twentieth-century Cape Muslim Afrikaans such words as *ghaddad* (spiritual prayer meeting), *ghaddad-melk* (a special milk mixture, normally served at a *ghaddad*), and *samman-werk* (the spiritual exercises of the *Qudaria Tariqa*). Apart from the absence of these words from the nineteenth-century Cape Muslim Afrikaans literature, their strong Arabic roots suggest that they were late arrivals in the vocabulary of the Cape Muslims.

Thus it was only the Khalwathia order which could, and possibly did, provide a focal point for gatherings of groupings of slaves, inculcating in them a degree of consciousness of kind. Many aspects of this order were

incorporated into the spiritual life of the Cape Muslims, though the order itself did not act as a matrix for the Cape slave world. The very quietism inherent in its nature tends to make it individualistic. The one mystery is still the transmission of the spiritual hymns (*thikrs*) of the Khalwathia order in the slave community. Was it transmitted orally or through the written word? I do not know for certain.

The first real evidence we have of literacy amongst the slaves, is Franken's famous Baganese letter (Franken, 1953:69). That this letter remained extant could be attributed to its use as evidence in the case of the murder of Michiel Smuts, the Company's bookkeeper. Smuts was murdered by a group of runaway slaves under the leadership of Alexander of Sumatra, in 1760 (Ross, 1983:19). Franken suggests that this letter was written by September of Boughies (1953:67). From the contents, it would appear that the letter was written by another hand and addressed to September. Nevertheless, the letter gives us an idea of the status September of Boughies enjoyed amongst the Baganese slaves in Cape Town. He was looked upon as their 'doctor' and advice giver — the one person willing to listen to the sufferings they endured. More important, however, is that the letter tells us that September of Boughies had the ability to read and write, and that he was communicating in writing with other Baganese slaves in the Colony. This in turn implies that he was not the only literate Baganese slave in Cape Town.

That writing was a common activity with September, is confirmed by the slave Gedult of the Cape. September, we are told, had the habit of sitting on his bed writing (Franken, 1953:69). A network of written correspondence must have existed amongst the Baganese slaves, and although this is the only letter which survived, I do not believe that it was the only one written.

Nor do I believe that a network of correspondence existed only amongst the Baganese slaves. From the 1770s accounts of reading by the slaves at the religious festivals witnessed by Foster and Thunberg (Rochlin, 1939:214), we gain the impression that the reading of the Arabic script might have been much more common than normally suspected. The Arabic script was also the one used for Malayu, and if they could read the Arabic script, there is no reason why it could not have been used for Malayu correspondence amongst the Malayu-speaking slaves. Foster in particular mentions that the slaves gathered in the homes of Free Blacks, to read and chant the Arabic prayers (Rochlin, 1939:214). However, I have to admit that without hard-core evidence it is difficult to prove this point.

It was, however, with the establishment of the Dorp Street *Madrasah* that we start to get an idea of the real extent of literacy amongst the slaves. We know that with Tuan Guru there were numerous former slaves who had the ability to read and write. This ability was not necessarily acquired at the Cape, but in all probability was acquired in the literary traditions of their ancestral homelands. I have already looked at these traditions. Men such as Frans of Bengal, Jan of Boughies, Rajah of Boughies, Abdol Wasie, and Abdol Malik of Batavia

must have had the ability to read and write when they became involved in the Dorp Street *Madrasah*.

Frans of Bengal, whom we know to have been a slave, (Cape Archives, A604/9), and who in 1806 led the Javaansche Artillery at the Battle of Blouberg, must have been able to read and write to have assumed, and eventually nominated by Tuan Guru (Cape Archives, CO 3984.798), to play the leadership role he did. In his memorial to Sir George Young in 1800, in which he requested a mosque site in Vanderleur Street, District Six (Cape Archives, BO 154 item 236; BRD 17), he presents us with the first indication that there was a willingness on the part of the slaves and Free Blacks to write their vernacular Dutch in the Arabic script — a process which ultimately developed into Arabic-Afrikaans. His knowledge of Malayu, and his ability to write this language in the Arabic script, is demonstrated when he was called upon, on 2 May 1807, to transcribe in Malayu a codicil in Arabic script of Tuan Guru's will for the official records of the Master's Office (Cape Archives, MOOC 7/1/53 No. 661/2). But it is his signature on his 1800 memorial, when he signed his name using the Arabic letters

fāh ف  
rāh ر  
alif |  
nūn ن  
shīn س  
فرانس — Fraans

which indicate to us that there was a process happening in which they were willing to transcribe the creolized Dutch in their sacred script (Cape Archives, BRD 17).

Riejaab or Rajah of Boughies, who was appointed by Tuan Guru in 1798 as his successor as Imam at the Auwal Mosque in Dorp Street, could also not have acquired his literacy ability at the Dorp Street *Madrasah*. In fact he was called upon to write copies of the Quran as additional readers for the students; an indication that he did not only know the Quran, but was proficient enough to be entrusted with this very important responsibility. The misreading of the Quran not only invalidates the prayer, but is considered a serious spiritual offence. Hence, accuracy in transcription was vitally important. A copy of one of his handwritten Qurans shows his accuracy, and is presently in the possession of Imam Yaaseen Harris, the Secretary of the Muslim Judicial Council. It is unfortunate that he died prior to him having been able to assume the Imamship of the Auwal Mosque when the position became vacant (Cape Archives, CO 3984.798).

Probably the most talented linguist amongst those around Tuan Guru at the Dorp Street *Madrasah* was Jan of Boughies. He was a slave who arrived here in 1786 on the Dutch vessel *Batavier*, not from the Celebese, as his name suggests, but from Batavia (Cape Archives, CO 3984.798). Here he was purchased by the free woman, Salia of Macasar. She too must have been a former slave. Fortune seemed to have favoured him, for slave and

slave-mistress fell in love, and were married in accordance with the Islamic rites. This marriage earned Jan his freedom (Cape Archives, RDG — Opgaafrolle, 1800 and MOOC 7/1/187 No. 59). Of his background in Batavia and the Celebese, nothing is known. What is known, is that he had an exceptional talent with languages. He wrote and spoke Buganese, as indicated by the codicil to his will (Cape Archives, MOOC 7/1/187 No. 59); spoke and wrote Malayu, as indicated by his 1836 memorial (Cape Archives, CO 3984.798); and was the designated Arabic teacher at Dorp Street *Madrasah* (*South African Commercial Advertiser*, 13 February 1836). I cannot imagine that he learned all these languages here, for he was only a recent arrival when the Dorp Street *Madrasah* was established. At the Cape, however, he came to learn the creolized Dutch, as his Dutch letter to the *South African Commercial Advertiser* in 1836 indicates. Jan of Boughies broke away from the Dorp Street institutions, and established his own mosque and *madrasah* at what is today the Palm Tree Mosque in Long Street.

Of interest is the memorial he wrote, in Malayu in Arabic script, to Sir Benjamin D'Urban in 1836 (Cape Archives, CO 3984.798). This memorial is probably the only example we have, showing the influence of Dutch on the spoken Malayu of the slaves. From this example, of which a copy with transcription and translation is reproduced as an illustration (Figure 3), we can conclude that there was a willingness to accommodate, and ultimately replace, Malayu with the dominant Dutch of the common social milieu, by the slaves. Phrases and words such as *die dienst* (the service), *priester* (priest), *kaptein* (captain), *ghanaraal* (general), *die kriest oewar* (the krist over), etc., which puncture the Malayu of the memorial, indicate this process of accommodation and replacement of Malayu.

It also helps us to understand the nature of the pidgin, which at one stage might have been spoken by the foreign slaves. We have an example of its advanced stage of development in the *Tuhfatul Ahwām* (a gift for friends), an Arabic-Afrikaans manuscript written by Abdul Kahaar ibn Abdul Malik (Berdien) in Port Elizabeth in 1868. Judging from other Arabic-Afrikaans manuscripts and documents, it was not the way the Cape Muslims, the descendants of the slaves of Cape Town, spoke and wrote their Afrikaans during this period. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to reproduce a few lines from the *Tuhfatul Ahwām* to give the reader an idea of the pidgin which at one stage must possibly have been spoken by the slaves and Free Blacks in the mother city. This transcription is from Kähler, who has the original read:

*maar aldie tuangs* (Malayu – gentlemen) *wat die kitāb* (Arabic – book) *Tuhfatu'l-ahwām batja* (Malayu – read) *in war its makir moet dit karnā Allah karnā rasūl* (Malayu – with the help of God and the help of the Prophet) *righ mak moet djamar* (Malayu – pity) *ghait sam war oer sagh ik soe aldie minsi ... alti mit hit ik oek ... daar oer karnā Allah karnū rasūl ik mintakan* (Malayu – request) ... *ai broers mulmin* (Arabic – believers) *ik hit*

*die kitāb ghalir oem trint nigi mandi in dit af ghaskraif van Hindi oeb Hoelans ghasit war oer oens minsi voer staan nie almal 'Arab in Hindi nie ...*

But be that as it may, with the literacy talents amongst its teachers, it was natural for the Dorp Street *Madrasah* to encourage the art of reading and writing amongst the students. They were taught to read the Arabic script, as the Earl of Caledon so correctly observed (Horrell, 1970:10). But it was not with the purpose of understanding the Arabic language. The purpose was to teach the Arabic script for the writing of Malayu, so that the religious concepts could be remembered clearly in a language known to the students. Whatever Arabic they learned in the process, was purely a bonus. Hence the use of translations in Malayu, together with the Arabic text, is an outstanding feature of the student notebooks or *koples boeke* which have remained extant. In one of these, dated 1808, a bright student wrote the following in Arabic on the inside cover: *Hatha kitabu'l-Wilagh* which, when translated into English reads: 'This book belongs to Wilagh'. The name 'Wilagh' is an interesting one, and is not normally used in Arabic or Malayu as a name of a person. This was probably the slave name of the student, for 'Wilagh' in Afrikaans means *weeluis* (bed bug), and was probably a result of the dehumanization which slaves had to endure as part of the process of slavery. The Arabic does not sound that negative, and was probably his way to protect and project his dignified self.

A diligent student of the Dorp Street *Madrasah*, and one who was to write his own manuscripts and copies of the Quran, was Jan Berdien, the ancestor of the prominent Bardien/Berdien family of Port Elizabeth (Abrahams, 1988). Jan Berdien was born in Cape Town. His mother was a slave, Eva by name, who never experienced the feeling of freedom. She died while still the property of one Jacobs Joseph Peroo, a slave-owner resident in Church Street, Cape Town, around 1818 (Cape Archives, SO 4/2 No. 102, SO 3/27 & SO 6/23). It would appear as if the entire family was owned by Peroo. When and how Jan Berdien obtained his freedom has as yet not been established, but in 1828 he made an application to purchase the freedom of his three sisters, Racht, Rosina and Galati, from the estate of Peroo (Cape Archives, SO 4/2 No. 102).

After the Battle of the Axe in 1846, Jan Berdien and his two illustrious sons settled in Uitenhage, where he assumed the name Jabarudien, and became the first Imam of the first mosque built on the Eastern Cape (*Queenstown Free Press*, 9 June 1868). From his manuscripts, written in Arabic with Malayu translation, the influence of the teachings and philosophy of the Dorp Street *Madrasah* is clearly discernible. It shows how extensive the teachings of Tuan Guru spread amongst the Muslims in the Cape Colony; and explains why there is so little difference between the Cape Muslims in Cape Town and those on the Eastern Cape in their approaches to the principles of belief.

Thus from the humble beginnings of trying to teach

the slaves to read and write in the Arabic script, a literary tradition, which was fully developed in 1838 with the final emancipation of the slaves, emerged. During the next four decades of the nineteenth century numerous manuscripts, both in Malayu and Afrikaans in Arabic script, were written. With such prolific writers, and a desire for reading in the community, the need for printing became an absolute necessity. The first attempt at Arabic printing was made in Cape Town in 1856. Though no copy of this work remained extant, it is believed to have been the first printed book in Afrikaans (Van Selms, 1953a). From the newspaper reports which announced the event, the only certainty is that it was printed in Arabic lettering (*Het Volksblad*, 2 February 1856). There are at least three possible languages in which this book could have been written — Arabic, Malayu and Afrikaans — and in the absence of a copy, it is difficult to ascertain the language medium with certainty.

It was, however, only after the *Bayānudin* (an explanation of the religion) by Abubakr Effendi was printed in Constantinople in 1877, almost ten years after the book was circulated as loose handwritten pages in the Cape Muslim community, (Cape Archives, CSC — Illiquid Cases, 1874 — *Mutingh versus Abdoellah*), that Arabic-Afrikaans publications started to appear regularly. By the end of the nineteenth century, no less than 11 Arabic-Afrikaans publications were produced. To Abubakr Effendi's *Bayānudin* is accredited the distinction of being the first Arabic-Afrikaans publication.

It was through the Arabic-Afrikaans publications that the words the slaves made were transmitted and perpetuated from generation to generation in the Cape Muslim community. These words gave Cape Muslim Afrikaans its distinctive characteristics. I am convinced that without the presence of the slaves in Cape Town, and without the words they made, there would probably not have been a Cape Afrikaans language. But by the same token, without the presence of the slaves, there would not have been a distinctive literary tradition called 'Arabic-Afrikaans'. This does not give the Cape Muslims the right to claim Afrikaans as theirs. A language does not belong, it exists in living relations to people. Afrikaans is thus not the product of a single group. It resulted from interaction of diverse people in the historic process of co-existence.

### Afrikaans and the Cape Muslims

When Pannevis started to contemplate the use of Afrikaans for Bible translation in 1872, Afrikaans was already an established religious language in the Cape Muslim community. By this time it was already used as a medium of instruction in their religious schools, and as the language of translation for their holy sermons in the precincts of their holy mosques (Davids, 1987b). But more important for the language itself, is that it was their language of social and economic communication in their daily lives, rapidly replacing Malayu which their slave ancestors brought with them — so much so, that Malayu was no longer a spoken language in Cape Town in 1903. It

was used by them for advertising their commercial wares as the *handill* in Arabic-Afrikaans, discovered by Piet Muller (1960:43), so clearly illustrate. At the same time it was also used for letter-writing, of which an example is the letter written by Achmat Effendi after his defeat in the 1894 general elections for a seat in the Cape Parliament. But at the same time it was also used by the housewife to compile her simple grocery list or the keeping of their accounts, as the account book of Awaldien the Fezmaker so vividly illustrates.<sup>17</sup>

The use of the Arabic script for their written communications is an indication of the esteem they had for the language. The Arabic script is regarded by them as a sacred script, selected by God for the writing of their Holy Quran, and hence have a place of reverence in their socio-religious life. It was, therefore, not they who looked upon Afrikaans as a language of inferiority, or coined for it its negative name, *kombuistaal* (kitchen language). They saw it as an inherent part of their psyche, and were prepared to transmit it in writing, using their sacred script.

When Afrikaans started to be extensively used by the Cape Muslim community, is difficult to say. From the student notebooks in my possession (two pages of a mid-1850s one is produced as an illustration, Figure 6) this process probably started during their years of slavery, for by the 1840s and 1850s, it was already established as a medium of instruction in their religious schools (Mayson, 1865:28). This is further confirmed by the spelling system employed by the students, a spelling system which remained fairly constant, as my research (in process) already confirms.<sup>18</sup> There is, however, a strong influence of the Dutch orthography in these early writings. By 1880, their spoken Afrikaans had already assumed a modern idiom, relatively free from the strong Dutch orthography as the following passage, from a manuscript written by Ghatieb Magmoud, a Cape Muslim, in 1880 illustrates:

*'En die Arkaan (principles) van Islaam is vyf. En om te glo waarlik lat daar nie een ander Allah ta aala (God the most high) is nie om voor opregh iebaadat (worship) te maak nie as maar net voor Allah to aala a-leen. En waarlik lat nabie (prophet) Moegammad een be-steering is van Allah ta aala. Allah ta aala see-teer (Malayu — order; this term is no longer in use) ons om te maak vyf salaah (five prayers) op in dagh toet ons dood. En Allah ta aala see-teer ons moet zakaat (give charity) as ons veertagh pont het en dit is een djaar voelkoem wegh ghasit het dan moet ons gheef vir arme mense een pont.'*

Except for the letters *v* and *f*, which in Arabic in indicated by the same letter, the Arabic *fāh*, and the use of the Roman letter *y* for the Arabic diphthong *ai* in the Afrikaans word *vyf*, I have tried to transcribe the passage with Roman lettering which conform as closely as possible to the Arabic lettering used in the original text. Nevertheless, it was the use of this kind of Afrikaans idiom which caused Herbertus Elfers, a Dutch grammarian, to write as follows in 1908:

'Perhaps the best representative of Cape Dutch



Transcription: *Allahoemma iejakana'aboedoe* — *Jaa Allah vier ocai* (Afrikaans 'U') *a-leen iek maak 'iebaadat* (Arabic 'worship') *Walaka noesallie* — *vier ocai a-leen iek maak salaah* (Arabic 'prayers') *wanasjoedoe* — *vier ocai a-leen iek maak sajah* (Arabic 'prostration') *wa-ielaika nas'aa-ien* — *ien wai* (Dutch 'wij') *ghief ghoede ghiehoortait vier diet wat ocai oorde vier ons wa nagh'iedoe nar joe wai maak wat ocai wiel hai, wai vier soek van ocai raghmataka* (Arabic 'blessings') *ocai sain ghoedeghait wa naghsha 'athabaka wai is bang vier ocai seer van die hemel ienna 'a thabaka ocai seer van dien heel bie a'doekoevaarie* — *vier die kaafier* (Arabic 'unbelievers') *moelgiegoen ghieraak. m'ana* (Arabic 'explanation') *van aamantoe* (Arabic 'article of belief') *aamantoe* — *iek ghoelof biellahie Allah ta 'aa-la is maar een hiet niet ghalai knis miet gaa-niesaan nie.*

Translation: O God for thee alone do I worship. For thee alone I make prayer. For thee alone I make prostration. And we pay attention to that which you order us. We follow thy commands. We request your blessings, your kindness. We are afraid for what thee send from heaven — thy hurt of the hell for the unbelievers. Explanation of *amantu* — I believe God the Most High is but one and is not equal to anyone.

Figure 6 Transliteration and translation of two pages from a *kopies boek* (student notebook) dated between 1850 and 1860

(Cape Afrikaans — AD) are (*sic*) to be found among the Malay population of the Cape Peninsula, whose worship is conducted in a foreign tongue, and the Bastards (*sic*) born and bred at German mission stations, where Cape Dutch forms the only medium of expression. Among either of these classes one may find a readiness of speech unalloyed with foreign elements, which provide easy vent for all sentiments and every feeling, though confined to the narrow limits of a patois' (1908:6).

This Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims remained relatively free from English influences until about the 1930s. With the advent of the radio, English words started to make more frequent appearances in their spoken Afrikaans (Van Warmelo, 1964:21), though their Arabic-Afrikaans literature remained relatively free from this language's influence. This shying away from English in their Arabic-Afrikaans literature could be attributed to

their attitude towards the English language. Already at the beginning of the twentieth century, they looked upon English as the language of the infidel, and an indulgence in it was regarded as eminent signs of faithlessness in God (*Cape Argus*, 5 January 1897).

Although I agree with Scholtz that there are only a few words of slave origin in Standard Afrikaans (1970:110) (probably because so many extensively used communal words were omitted with the standardization of Afrikaans), with standardization some vital words such as *baie*, *baklei* and *baadjie*, which were created by the slaves, could not be omitted from the language. These words, together with *nooi*, *blatjang*, *koejawel*, *sambok*, *piering*, *piesang*, *soebat*, *bredie*, *tronk*, *spanspek*, *rissie*, *katjeepering*, etc., were early borrowings, and in all probability led to the creolization of Dutch from the beginning of the seventeenth century. To argue as Scholtz does, that the majority of slave-derived words are nouns, and hence could not have had an influence on the origin

of Afrikaans, is to overlook the nature of the process of creolization.

Creolization, by its very nature, results from close and prolonged contact between people speaking dissimilar languages. A creolized language usually incorporates a simplified vocabulary from the dominant language into the grammatical system of the native tongue. The simplified grammar and syntax of Afrikaans would suggest an influence of the Khoekhoen and the slaves, whose languages have simplified grammatical structures. Their grammatical structures, with the dialects of the lower class Hollanders, together probably resulted in the development of the grammatical structures and forms which makes Afrikaans so different from modern Dutch. Van der Post makes this observation about Afrikaans generally. He writes:

'... unlike the Dutch of Holland, the grammar of Afrikaans has no gender and no number. This, of course, is one of the outstanding characteristics of Malay' (1977:127 & 128).

It was thus easier for the slaves and the Khoekhoen to have copied the grammatical structures which conformed to their linguistic practices, and because they were the majority population, probably directed the development of the language into its present grammatical direction.

It was, however, not my intention with this article to examine the influence of the grammatical structure of the Malayo-Polynesian languages on the grammatical structures of Afrikaans. What I am suggesting is that Afrikaans philologists ought to pay more attention to this, instead of looking only at the influence of European languages on Afrikaans grammatical constructions. Yet at the same time, I urge them not to ignore the European influence completely, for then we will only create another kind of imbalance, as indeed is the case with Valkhoff.

Similarly, we need to look at the influence which the Malayo-Polynesian languages exerted on pronunciation in Afrikaans. We know for instance that no adequate explanation as yet has been advanced for the nasal intonation of Afrikaans vowels in certain words such as *mens*, *dans*, *brons*, *ongeluk*, *fotolens*, etc. (Raidt, 1983: 177). These nasal intonations could in all probability be a direct influence of Buganese, or to a lesser extent Malayu, in which languages nasal intonation is a common characteristic. It could also have been an influence from Arabic, in which script Afrikaans during its early years was written extensively by the slaves and their descendants. Nasal intonation is used extensively in Arabic for effective musical recitation. In vocalized Arabic script, the vocalism used to indicate nasal intonation is called the *nūn-tanwīn*, which has three distinctive forms, and three distinctive names

fathatain      //  

kasratain      //  

dammatain      ◡  

And though the *nūn-tanwīn* is not frequently used in the Arabic-Afrikaans script, they do create confusion for the non-initiated readers when they appear in such script. A typical example is the Arabic spelling of the Afrikaans word *mense* by Abubakr Effendi in the *Bayānūdīn* (1877:2). Van Selms, apart from misreading the vowels indicated by Effendi, ignores the *dammatain* structure of the *nūn-tanwīn*, which the writer uses to indicate the nasal intonation and transcribed the word as *miesie* (Van Selms, 1979:2). If he had noticed the *dammatain*, he would have realized that a 'hidden *n*' was intended by the writer, as the Arabic lettering structure of the word indicates

ميسيس — *mense*.

Finally, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Afrikaans was an established language in the Cape Muslim community, and was used at all levels of social and religious intercourse. For the first 25 years of this century, the Cape Muslims, in very much the same way as the white Afrikaners, started to manipulate Afrikaans for group exclusivity and political gain. The first indication of this is the establishment of the South African Muslims' Association. This politically motivated organization had group exclusivity as a political cornerstone. It was exclusive to 'Dutch speaking Malays' (*Cape Times*, 20 March 1903) and excluded Afghans, Indian, and Arab Muslims from membership (*Cape Times*, 26 June 1903). Then again in 1925, Muhammad Arshud Gamiet, as president of the Cape Malay Association, used Afrikaans to flirt with Hertzog's Pact Government in an effort to gain for his people a recognition as 'Cape Malays', effectively setting them aside for the 'Indian' Muslims, who were generally classified 'Asiatic' and regarded by the State as temporary sojourners (Davids, 1981). The Cape Muslim manipulation of Afrikaans for political gain is beyond the limits of this article, and unfortunately have to wait for another time. Nevertheless, their persistent adherence to Afrikaans gained for the Cape Muslims some recognition from their white Afrikaner compatriots; and the thanks of D.F. Malan, as Minister of Education, when he addressed them in the Cape Town City Hall in 1925 and thanked them for keeping Afrikaans alive in the urban areas during the time when the language was faced with extinction (*Cape Argus*, 18 June 1925).

### Some concluding thoughts

1. The words the slaves made helped to shape the world the slaves made. Necessary to the creation of both the words and the world were the diverse languages, their diverse cultures and their diverse mystical orientations, all of which became blended together by a single philosophical-theological matrix, which in turn gave rise to a distinctive culture, perpetuated through a single literary tradition. But all this in turn again contributed to the making of a broader culture and a distinctive nation of which their descendants constitute a part. This nation is known for its divergity, inequality, and yet at the same time, its interdependency. This interdependency holds

the only hope if this nation is to forge ahead. Its very history shows that it became a nation as a result of acculturation; and its future survival, therefore, will depend on how willing the diverse elements of this nation will be in accommodating each other's needs on a basis of total equality.

2. It was the words the slaves made which helped to create the language of this nation — Afrikaans. For the slaves and their descendants, it was a language which was free; useful for the expression of their pain, the articulation of their needs, the indulgences of their love, the beauty of their dreams and the utterances of their anger. Politics stifled this, when this language became the handmaiden of those who wanted to claim all for themselves at the expense of the rest. Standardization of this language, on the other hand, has given this language a formalism which tends to stifle its creativity. Therefore, I plea:

- depoliticize Afrikaans, and give people of colour their rightful recognition for their contribution in the making of the language;
- let Afrikaans be FREE from its unnecessary formalism, so that it may walk once again, barefoot to the braai.

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### Notes

1. These words are all lifted from H. Elfers's vocabulary which appears at the end of his book. The word *aspris* is already used by Abubakr Effendi in the *Bayānudin* which appeared in 1869; while *uiwe* and *aspris* is listed by Sheikh Abdurahim in his 1905 publication — *'n Vyftalige Woorde Leis*.
2. This is evident from the 1845 student notebook I have discovered, and in which the Cape Afrikaans is still strongly influenced by Dutch orthography.
3. At the moment I am researching this spelling system for an MA dissertation at the University of Natal.
4. I came to this conclusion on the basis of the works by Ross (1983) and Worden (1985).
5. This book's original name is *Mauludan Barzanji*, and is the subject of an interesting Arabic-Afrikaans translation by Sheikh Ismail Ganief (Edwards) in the 1930s.
6. During the recent dispute, on which was the correct day to celebrate the festival of Eidul Adha, i.e. the Festival of Sacrifice, the traditions established by Tuan Guru were used by traditionalists to influence the majority favourably to their way of thinking.
7. Deed Office Cape Town — Attached to this Deed is a letter from C. Bird (Colonial Secretary) which reads: 'Whereas Abdolgaviel Priest/slave and Thomas and Manilla from Batavia — Manuel, Joseph, January, Carolus, Wadid and Rejab of the Cape and Lendor from Bengal/Free Blacks/ have addressed a memorial to His Excellency the Governor on 30th Nov. 1822 praying for the reasons therein stated, that a certain extent of land be allowed to them at Simonstown for the purpose of being enclosed as a burial place for the Blacks of the Mahometan Faith ...'
8. Both the Hanafee and Shafee Sunni Schools of Thought are in agreement on this.
9. Up to now I have failed to locate an Arabic-Malayu manuscript written in Cape Town after 1880. In 1880 Ghatieb Magmoud found it necessary to use both Cape Afrikaans and Malayu for the manuscript he wrote in Arabic lettering in that year.
10. '... and though healest those born blind, and the lepers, By My Leave.' Yusuf Ali (1983:278, footnote 820) writes: '“by My leave” are (*sic*) repeated with each miracle to emphasise the fact that they arose, not out of the power or will of Jesus, but by the leave and Will and Power of God, who is superior over Jesus as He is superior over all other mortals.'
11. Watt (1962:155) confirms the salient features of Tuan Guru's biography of Muhammad Yusuf As-Sunusi, the Ash'arite philosopher, though his account is in a less flowery style than that of the great teacher. Watt, however, points out that we must not confuse Muhammad Yusuf As-Sunusi with Sidi-Muhammad ibn Ali as-Sunusi, the nineteenth-century founder of the Sunusiyya Tariqa — an Islamic sufi brotherhood. The militaristic philosophy of this brotherhood contradicts the determinism of the Ash'arites. It is unlikely that the great teacher, Tuan Guru, was influenced by this Tariqa which, in any case, was formulated only after his death in 1807.
12. Oral tradition. This oral tradition is confirmed by the existence of two copies of the Quran, written by Tuan Guru, and one copy, written by Rajah of Boughies. The copy of Rajah was written in 1798, and is presently in the possession of Imam Yaaseen Harris, Secretary of the Muslim Judicial Council.
13. These manuscripts are in the possession of Sheikh Abdul Malik Abdurauf of Church Street, Landsdowne.
14. It would appear, from the evidence produced by Kähler (1971:11 &12), that the only grave of the 'Circle of Holy Tombs' visited during the early part of the nineteenth century is the grave of Sheikh Yusuf. Kähler uses a book, the *Qanoon-e-Islam*, which was written by Jaffur Shurreef and translated by G.A. Herklots. This book was printed by Parburry, Allen & Co in London in 1882, and was given to him by one Nakedien of 11 Pier Street, Port Elizabeth. Kähler's findings seems to be confirmed by two persons knowledgeable about *Turuq* in Cape Town. These persons, Hadjie Sulaiman DaCosta of Dorp Street, and M. Mustapha Keraan, who is a Sheikh of the Quadaria Tariqa,



claim that the Quadaria and 'Alawia Turuq are late nineteenth-century arrivals in Cape Town.

15. Oral evidence, related by Hadjie Sulaiman DaCosta of Dorp Street; Johaar Arnold; the present custodian of the tomb of Nurul Mobin at Bakowen, Hadjie Hajiera Arnold; and adopted daughter; and my sister, Asa Slamang, a student of Sheikh Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraki.
16. Oral tradition related by Mustapha Keraan, a Sheikh of the Quadaria Tariqa and a researcher at the University of Cape Town School of Medicine. Sheikh Moegsien's wife is still alive and resides in Kensington, Cape.
17. I have a copy of Achmat Effendi's letter, while the account book of Awaldien is with Unus Abrahams of Salt River.
18. The Arabic-Afrikaans spelling system is being investigated as part of my MA dissertation.

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