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PART TWO: DEBUNKING PREVAILING SCHOLARLY VIEWS PERTAINING TO THE APOSTASY OF ALLEGED DESCENDANTS OF SHAYKH YUSUF OF MAKASSAR

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Abstract

This paper is the second part of the two articles that discuss the controversy over the conversion of religion in the family of Shaykh Yusuf of Makassar after being exiled in South Africa during the Dutch colonial period at the end of the seventeenth century. This second part provides a critical and holistic analysis of the historical sources and historians' initial arguments regarding the two families, Shaykh Yusuf and his in-laws. This paper also tries to review the main arguments of this paper so as not to get caught up in excessive demystification. In addition, it also discusses the implementation of the Dutch colonial policies as well as the issue of poverty and the practice of marriage policies that have contributed to settling this conversion problem.

[Tulisan ini adalah bagian kedua dari dua tulisan yang membahas kontroversi pindah agama pada keluarga Syekh Yusus Makassar selepas diasingkan di Afrika Selatan pada masa kolonial Belanda akhir abad 17. Bagian kedua ini menyajikan analisis kritis dan holistik mengenai sumber-sumber sejarah dan argumen-argumen awal para sejarahwan mengenai dua keluarga tersebut. Tulisan ini juga mencoba meninjau kembali argumen utama dari tulisan ini agar tidak terjebak dalam demistikasi yang berlebihan. Selain itu juga membahas pelaksanaan kebijakan kolonial Belanda serta soal kemiskinan dan praktik kebijaksanaan pernikahan yang berkontribusi mengendapkan persoalan konversi ini.]

Keywords: critical analysis, historical sources, colonial policy, South Africa

A. Setting the 'Record' Straight: A Critical Analysis of Scholarly Interpretations of Historical Resources Linking Shaykh Yusuf to Zytie (Care Sale), The Rajah's Wife

Although his Master's thesis in 1981 was preceded in 1980 by a well researched article on Shaykh Yusuf written by Van Rensburg,[198] Prof Suleman Dangor was the first contemporary South African Muslim scholar to have written a thesis[199] dedicated to Shaykh Yusuf. In 1982 Dangor's thesis was published in book format. A revised (second) edition of this book was published in 1994,[200] coinciding with a time when South Africa was in the process of becoming a constitutional democracy, and Shaykh Yusuf regaining popularity among local Muslims. Several other theses (all doctoral) on Shaykh Yusuf, and books based on these theses, which were all written by Indonesian authors, followed. These include authors, such as: Azyumardi Azra in 1992[201] and 2004[202]; Abu Hamid in

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[198] Chris Greyling, "Schech Yusuf, the Founder of Islam in South Africa", *Religion in Southern Africa*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1980), p. 11.

[199] Suleman Essop Dangor, "A Critical Biography of Shaykh Yusuf", Master Thesis (Durban, South Africa: University of Durban-Westville, 1981).

[200] Suleman E. Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf of Makassar* (Durban: Iqra Publishers, 1994).

[201] Azyumardi Azra, "The Transmission of Islamic Reformism to Indonesia: Networks of Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian 'Ulamā' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", PhD. Dissertation (Columbia: Columbia University, 1992).

[202] Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2004).

1990[203] and 1994[204], and Nabilah Lubis in 1992[205] and 1996[206].

In 2005 Indonesian Professors A Azra and N Lubis and South African Professors R Shell and S Dangor gave presentations at a seminar focusing on Shaykh Yusuf held in Cape Town. The seminar, held at the Slave Lodge in Cape Town, was organised in conjunction with the Indonesian government.[207] Although Haron, does not mention his name, according to Dangor, who was present at the seminar, Abu Hamid was also present.[208] Abu Hamid is also reported to have first visited South Africa in 1994 and is credited as the person who initiated academic discourse on Shaykh Yusuf there.[209]

Prof Dangor has recently[210] published an updated third version of his book based on his initial 1981 thesis, his visit to Indonesia (1994), new publications, as well as recent personal communications with the descendant of Shaykh Yusuf, Ms Sahib. has also published two books in 2014[211] and 2017[212] on Shaykh Yusuf and is currently (2020) pursuing

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[203] Abu Hamid, "Syekh Yusuf Tajul Khalwati: Suatu Kajian Antropologi Agama", PhD. Dissertation (Ujung Pandang: Universitas Hasanuddin, 1990).

[204] Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf Makassar: Seorang Ulama, Sufi dan Pejuang*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1994).

[205] Nabilah Lubis, "Zubdat al Asrār fi Tahqiq Ba'dh Masyarib al Ahyā", PhD. Dissertation (Jakarta: IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1984).

[206] Nabilah Lubis, *Syekh Yusuf Al-Taj Al-Makasari: Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia* (Jakarta: Fakultas Sastra UI, EFEO and Mizan, 1996).

[207] Muhammed Haron, "South(ern) African Research on Muslims and Islam: Aluta Continua", *Annual Review of Islam in Africa*, vol. 8 (2005), p. 2, http://www.cci.uct.ac.za/cci/publications/aria/download_issues/2005, accessed 31 Mar 2020.

[208] Suleman Essop Dangor, interview (8 Mar 2020).

[209] Shafiq Morton, "Shaikh Yusuf of Makasar: A 17th Century Saint from the Kris to the Qalam", *Muslim Views*, vol. 31, no. 2 (2017), p. 9; Shafiq Morton, "Shaikh Yusuf of Makasar: A 17th Century Saint from the Kris to the Qalam", *Surfing Behind the Wall* (13 Mar 2017), http://surfingbehindthewall.blogspot.com/2017/03/shaikh-yusuf-of-makasar-17th-century.html, accessed 31 Mar 2020.

[210] Suleman E. Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf of Makassar*, 3rd edition (Durban: Digniti, 2019).

[211] Muzdalifah Sahib, *Commentaries on the Work of Sheikh Yusuf Al-Maqassary in Zubdat Al-Asrār 'The Essence of Secrets'* (Makassar: Alauddin University Press, 2014).

[212] Muzdalifah Sahib, *Sheikh Yusuf Al-Makassary: His Life Story As a National Hero From Gowa, South Sulawesi To Cape Town South Africa, and a Reformer In Islamic Mystic*

a doctorate on him at a South African university.

In his 1981[213] thesis Prof Dangor presents the information and sources he used pertaining to Zytia's familial relationship with Shaykh Yusuf and the Sultan of Tambora as follows:

> One of Yusuf's daughters, Zytia Sara Marouff, who had married the exiled King of Tambora in the Cape, remained behind with her husband at the Cape..[214]

He repeats the above information verbatim in the second edition of his book[215] but adds additional information as follows:

> Another daughter of Shaykh Yusuf, Zytia Sara Marouff, later married the exiled king of Tambora at the Cape and she remained here with her husband *till he returned to his country in 1710*. [F de Haan, Priangan de Preanger regentschappers onder het Nederlandsche bestuur tot 1811, (Batavia, 1912), Vol Ill, p. 283; Jeffreys, 1939, p. 197] *Strangely, her name is not included in this list of children who accompanied him to the Cape.*[216]

Mindful of the sensitivity surrounding the conversions, in the latest (2019) edition of his book[217] Prof Dangor appears to present the same and further additional information pertaining to Zytie's familial relationship with Shaykh Yusuf in a neutral (unbiased) way as follows:

> (Zytie was) [a]nother of Shaykh Yusuf's daughters…Is it possible that the Dutch authorities recorded her as Sieto Romia? If not, then Shaykh Yusuf's family at the Cape would have included thirteen children. According to the sources cited…Shaykh Yusuf had fifteen children in total (assuming Zytie's name was not recorded by the Dutch authorities). Thirteen [not twelve] children had arrived with him at the Cape. [218]

In doing so, Dangor does not express a personal opinion. However, if Sieto/Siety Romia was a daughter, there appears to be no indication in his 2019 book of who her mother may be in either of the Family Trees

World (Ciputat: Orbit Publishing, 2017).

[213] Dangor, "A Critical Biography of Shaykh Yusuf", p. 43.

[214] J. Hoge, "The Family of the Rajah of Tambora at the Cape", *Africana Notes and News*, vol. IX, no. 1 (1951), p. 27.

[215] Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf of Makassar*, p. 40.

[216] My emphasis. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[217] Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf of Makassar*, pp. 18–9, 49.

[218] *Ibid.*, pp. 19–20.

supplied by both Dangor and Muzdalifah Sahib.[219]

However, it appears from Ms Sahib's Family Tree provided by her to independent slave historian, Mr MG Kamedien,[220] in 2013, that an alternative name for Siety Romia was "Puang Ammang, Zamaniyah" or "Poetiri Samang" and that her mother was Shaykh Yusuf's second wife, an Arab woman also called "Khadijah", who was a daughter of an Imam in Mecca who was also his teacher. Shaykh Yusuf was in Mecca from 1662 till 1667 during which time he married Khadijah. She gave birth to Poetiri and died whilst giving birth. This alternative name does appear as such on both the Family Trees referred to above. However, since Dangor believes, given her age and the fact that she was motherless when Shaykh Yusuf left Mecca (around 1667), that she may have remained behind with her mother's family.[221] However, if this was the case, then it does not explain why the name Sieto Romia (not Poetiri et al) appears on the list of children who arrived with Shaykh Yusuf at the Cape.[222] It is therefore possible that Poetiri and Siety Romia are not one and the same person and it still remains unclear how Siety Romia could possibly now be Zytie by another name. However, if Poetiri was born around 1663, and it was she who arrived at the Cape as Zytie, she would have been 35 years old when she married the Rajah, and 56 when he died in 1719. According to a Company Resolution (dated 1720), Zytie was 41 years old in 1720. She is therefore estimated to have been born in 1679 and was 40 years old when the Rajah died in 1719. These details indicate that they were two different people.

However, without detracting from the seminality of his 1981 thesis, it is contended that the information presented by Dangor in it, and repeated with more detail each time in the 1994 and latest (2019) editions of his book, may have been retrospectively influenced by early South African scholarship, which may in its turn have influenced later (contemporary) local and international scholarship that may or may not consider Zytie as the daughter of Shaykh Yusuf by his sixth wife, Care Pane.

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[219] *Ibid.*, pp. 85–6.

[220] See footnote 151 above.

[221] See Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf of Makassar*, (2019). p. 12.

[222] See Resolution 30 October 1699 detailed in footnote 114. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

As indicated above, it appears that Ms Sahib may have been influenced by Dangor's in 1994 observation above that Zytie was not included in the list of 12 children, to assume that she was not the daughter of Shaykh Yusuf.[223] As also indicated above, Ms Sahib includes Zytie in Shaykh Yusuf's family tree both as 'probably' being his daughter and as the wife of the Rajah of Tambora.[224]

Dangor, whose master's thesis was the first seminal work on Shaykh Yusuf in South Africa, relies on Hoge,[225] De Haan,[226] and Jeffreys[227] as reliable sources for the assertions that Zytie was married to the exiled Rajah of Tambora, that she was Shaykh Yusuf's daughter, and that she had returned with the Rajah to Indonesia in 1710 after he was pardoned during his first period of exile. These sources will now be examined to determine whether or not this information can be confirmed with certainty or refuted.

Hoge appears to have been the first scholar to draw a link between the baptismal and Company record (1720) below:

> At the baptism of his daughter on 22/12/1726 his (the Rajah's) name is given as Albubasi *Sultan* and that of his wife as Zytia Sara Marouff, both Mohammedans. In other documents, e.g. the wills of their children, she is called Sitina Sara Marouff. According to information given by *Dr. Abdurahman to Lady Duff Gordon*, she (Zytia) was a daughter of the famous Sheik Jussuf (Joseph)'[228].

The Company Resolution (dated 24 September 1720)[229] is freely

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[223] See also text to footnote 154 above.

[224] See also text to footnotes 151 and 152 above.

[225] Hoge, "The Family of the Rajah of Tambora at the Cape".

[226] Frederik de Haan, *Priangan: De Preanger-Regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch Bestuur tot 1811*, vol. 3 (Batavia: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1912).

[227] M.K. Jeffreys, "The Malay Tombs of the Holy Circle – VI: The Kramat at Zandvliet, Faure, Part 2: Sheik Joseph at the Cape", *The Cape Naturalist*, vol. 1, no. 6 (1939), pp. 195–199.

[228] Hoge, "The Family of the Rajah of Tambora at the Cape", pp. 27–8. My emphasis.

[229] *Resolutions of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa*, no. C. 54 (1720), http://databases.tanap.net/cgh/make_pdf.cfm?artikelid=22264, accessed 31 Mar 2020. I would like to thank my colleagues Profs

translated and shortened as follows:

> The below request of the widow of the deceased Radja of Tambora presented in the following terms to the (then) Governor at the Cape, Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes [He was Governor from 28 March 1714 to 8 September 1724: It is shown with due respect, Care Sale, 41 years old, how her husband the late Radja of Tambora and her children, who were sent here by order of the Government of Batavia. That her husband died here one year ago (1719). She finds herself in extreme poverty by reason of the deaths of most of her slaves and other disasters that befell her. She is unable to adequately maintain herself and her five children. She therefore wishes to leave for Batavia. She pleads that she may be permitted to leave for Batavia with her four sons named Ibraim Adaham, age 21; Mochamat Aseek, 9; Mochamat Daijan, 7; Mochamat Asim aged 4; and one daughter, Sitina Asia, aged 17. This request will be conveyed to the government in Batavia.

Having had sight of a photo image of Sitina Asia's original baptismal record (of the Dutch Reformed Church Cape Town 1718-1742), I can confirm (as Hoge did in 1951 already) that it clearly indicates that 'Abulbasi Sultan' (aka the Radja of Tambora in the Company Resolution above) and 'Zytie Sara Marouff' (aka Care Sale in the 1720 Company Resolution above), 'both Muhammedans', were the parents of the "aged" (but then only 26 years old) Maria Dorothea Soltania who was baptised on 22 December 1726.

It appears from a further Company Resolution (dated 8 December 1722),[230] addressed to the same Governor Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes, that little had changed as far as the financial position of this family was concerned. This Company Resolution (dated 8 December 1722) is freely translated and shortened as follows:

> Lastly, the meeting considered the following request of the widow of the deceased Raja of Tambora: The widow…has, since the death of her

F du Toit and J de Visser for their assistance with the free translation from Dutch into English.

[230] See *Resolutions of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa*, no. C. 61 (1722), http://databases.tanap.net/cgh/make_pdf.cfm?artikelid=22372, accessed 31 Mar 2020. I would like to thank Professor F du Toit and Professor J de Visser's father for their assistance with the free translation of this extract.

> husband more than three years ago, been supplied with little means to live on, aside from three slaves who have worked for her and her children. She was able to maintain herself and her children within reason, but now that the slaves have been taken away a while ago, she has fallen into a bad state. She does not have anything to maintain herself and, by reason of her age, she is unable to gain employment through which she can maintain herself and her three younger sons, because of their youth, are unable to contribute anything. She has to pay monthly rent in the sum of 7 Rds., and this has caused her and her children to become destitute. In this time of need, she requests that she be granted something more by way of maintenance, especially that the three slaves should again be allocated to her and/or that she be paid a monthly sum to enable her to meet her rental obligations and maintenance needs. This will enable her to live honourably until old age, for which beneficence she will be forever grateful. It is resolved, for the reasons provided, that she will be paid a monthly amount of 6 Rds as was provided to the so-called Prince of Ternate who, by reason of his misbehaviour, was sent from here to Robben Island to work there for the Company.

According to the Rajah's widow, Care Sale, their position had since her last request (dated 24 September 1720) not improved three years later. The allocated Company allowance left much to be desired. This was exacerbated by the removal of her allocated slaves and the fact that her three sons (then aged 11, 9 and 6) were too young to work and supplement their income. As a consequence, the Company, without in any way short changing itself, decided to increase her allowance by six rixdollars per month. Interestingly, and as will be detailed in Section 7, this request of Care Sals comes after her eldest son, then aged 23, had both converted to Christianity (November 1721) and entered into marriage (September 1722). It also appears that, instead of requesting to return home as she did in 1720, she had by resigning 'to live honestly until old age', accepted her fate of staying in South Africa. It can also be inferred from the Resolution that she may have been motivated to once again write to the Governor because, given the recent marriage of her eldest son, she may not have been able to place too much reliance on him for support.

It appears from a Resolution dated in November of the same year (1722) that the exiled Prince of Ternate, referred to in the above

Resolution, was sent to Robben Island because of evil and disorderly behaviour which involved enriching himself through illegal gambling and fornication activities.[231] As will be detailed in Section 7, it appears that the Rajah's sons, also princes, and his daughter, a princess, may have wisely chose conversion rather than having to resort to such activities or to have to only rely on the Company for subsistence which, as the Resolutions (1720 and 1722) indicate, was clearly proving to be problematic. Dr John Hoge states at the beginning of his article (1951) that his "…notes refer to documents in the Cape Archives, *unless indicated otherwise*",[232] and asserts that the Rajah was married to Shaykh Yusuf's daughter on the basis of third hand (unofficial) information supplied by a *Dr. Abdurahman* to a Lady Duff Gordon. Hoge's reference for this information is noted as 'Lady Duff Gordon, *Letters from the Cape*, p.55'.[233] Hoge provides no date or further bibliographical information, hence the actual source he used is unknown to me and was difficult to ascertain. Lady Duff Gordon's *Letters from the Cape* (1862–1863) appeared in 1865. This was followed by her *Letters from Egypt* (1863–1865) in 1865 and her *Last Letters from Egypt* in 1875.

An internet search reveals little biographical information on John Hoge other than that he appeared to be a professor of the German language.[234] Dr Abdullah Abdurahman, who I assume Hoge was referring to simply because there is an indirect link between him and Lady Duff Gordon, was a South African born Muslim politician and medical doctor.[235]

Lady Lucie Duff Gordon was a translator and writer who hailed

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[231] See *Resolutions of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa*, no. C. 61 (1722), http://databases.tanap.net/cgh/make_pdf.cfm?artikelid=22369, accessed 31 Mar 2020.

[232] Hoge, 'The Family of the Rajah of Tambora at the Cape', p. 27.

[233] *Ibid.* Its note no. 4, my emphasis.

[234] See Hans Heese, *Amsterdam tot Zeeland: Slawestand tot Middestand? 'n Stellenbosse slawegeskiedenis, 1679-1834* (South Africa: Sun Press, 2016), p. iii.

[235] See Eve Wong, "The Doctor of District Six: Exploring the Private and Family History of Dr Abdullah Abdurahman, City Councillor for District Six of Cape Town (1904-1940)", Master Thesis (South Africa: University of Cape Town, 2016), pp. 5–6. Incidentally, the Dr Abdurahman I refer to also entered into two marriages with Christian women (the first in 1894 which ended in divorce in 1925, and the second in 1925 by Islamic rites).

from England. Dr Abdurahman's paternal grandfather, Abdul Jamalee, was a Muslim slave at the Cape who bought his own freedom and thereafter, that of his wife, Betsy.[236] I perused three compilations of Lady Duff Gordon's *Letters from the Cape* (which letters are also repeated in her *Letters from Egypt*) and all of which are available on the internet.[237]

All versions of her *Letters from the Cape* reveal that Dr. Abdurahman's grandparents (Abdul Jamalee and Betsy) were friends of Lady Duff Gordon and that they had became acquainted during her visit to the Cape in 1861. The version with a page number 55 that Hoge may have referred to has no such information. While reference is also made to Dr Abdurahman's father (Abdurahman) who at the time was in Cairo pursuing Islamic studies (and prior to that in Mecca), there is nothing in these letters that refer either to Dr Abdurahman himself, Zytia or Shaykh Yusuf. Abdurahman, in turn, also sent his son, Abdullah, abroad to study medicine. It is also highly unlikely that Hoge may have referred to this Dr Abdurahman or other or later correspondence between the doctor and Lady Duff because she died in 1869 and Dr Abdurahman was only born in 1872, three years after she had died. He died in 1940 at the age of 68. Furthermore, although a search of Duff-Gordon's *Letters from Egypt* (1862-1863) highlights that there are six references to an 'Abdurachman' and 91 references to a 'Sheykh Yussuf', given especially the time gap and the context of those letters, this 'Sheykh Yussuf' is definitely unrelated to the Indonesian Shaykh Yusuf under discussion in this article. However, Lady Duff Gordon does make reference in her *Letters from the Cape* to a 'young Abdurrachman' (who was Dr Abduraghman's father) and his studies in Mecca. Prior to her departure from the Cape she also asked her husband to enquire, on behalf of her friends, who were Dr Abduraghman's grandparents, after his father's wellbeing. She travelled to Egypt in 1862. It is uncertain whether the reference to 'Abdurachman' in

[236] *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2.

[237] See Lady Duff Gordon, *Letters from the Cape*, ed. by John Purves (London: Humphrey Milford, 1921), http://www.gutenberg.org/files/886/886-h/886-h.htm, accessed 31 Mar 2020; Lady Lucie Duff Gordon, *Last Letters from Egypt: To Which Are Added Letters from the Cape* (London: Macmillan, 1875); Lucie Duff Gordon, *Letters from Egypt*, Revised edition, ed. by Janet Rose (London: R. Brimley Johnson, 1902). *Letters from Egypt* was not originally published in a complete form; a fuller edition, with an introduction by George Meredith, was edited in 1902 by Mrs Janet Ross.

her *Letters from Egypt* may have had any link to Dr Abdurahman's father, Hadji 'Abdool Rachman' of Cape Town.

Furthermore, other than Hoge[238] who first recorded the link between the trio, it appears that, in addition to Dangor,[239] one other source (Heese)[240] refers to a Dr. Abdurahman as follows:

> "In 1697 Albubasi Sultan, the Muslim Rajah of Tambora, was exiled to the Cape…While at the Cape he 'married' Sitina Sara Marouff. Because they were both Muslims, no marriage or baptism documents exist which identifies Sitina's origins. *Dr. Abdurahman* declared in a statement that she was the daughter of well-known sheik Yusuf of Maccassar."

Unfortunately, no reference is given for the statement attributed to Dr Abdurahman. At the Cape Muslim marriages to date remain formally unrecognised.[241]

As indicated above, Dangor uses Dr De Haan's 'Priangan' as a source. At the time, De Haan was the national archivist in Batavia (now Jakarta) in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). It transpires that De Haan in his turn also appears to use a source by the archivist of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Hendrik Carel Vos Leibbrandt, as a reference in his *Priangan*[242] as follows:

> *…die zegt dat Joesoef…een zijner dochters huwde aan de Kaap met den Vorst van Tambora, die later uit dit ballingsoord naar zijn land terugkeerde* (one of his daughters married, at the Cape, the Rajah of Tambora, who later returned from this place of exile to his country[243]).

In summary, De Haan states that one of Shaykh Yusuf's daughters

[238] Hoge, "The Family of the Rajah of Tambora at the Cape".

[239] Dangor, "A Critical Biography of Shaykh Yusuf".

[240] H.F. Heese, *Cape Melting Pot: The Role and Status of the Mixed Population at the Cape*, trans. by Delia Robertson (Bellville: Institute for Historical Research of the University of the Western Cape, 1984), p. 63.

[241] For a detailed discussion see Najma Moosa and Suleman Essop Dangor, 'An Introduction to Muslim Personal Law in South Africa: Past to Present', in *Muslim Personal Law in South Africa: Evolution and Future Status'*, ed. by Najma Moosa and Suleman Essop Dangor (Clermont, Cape Town: Juta, 2019), pp. 1–25. See text to footnote 323

[242] Haan, *Priangan: De Preanger-Regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch Bestuur tot 1811*, 3: 283.

[243] I would like to thank my colleague Prof F du Toit for his translation of this extract into English.

married the Rajah, that the marriage occurred at the Cape, and that the Rajah later returned to Indonesia. De Haan therefore also does not identify the Shaykh's daughter by name and does not specify whether the Rajah's wife accompanied him on his return to Indonesia.

The following is an extract from Leibbrant,[244] the source to which De Haan refers:

> …His name was Tuanse. He was generally known as Sheik Joseph. *Valentyn* describes him as a Galeran or Macassar nobleman of very high rank, and commanding influence in Java, Macassar, and the whole Archipelago… *One of his daughters had been married to the exiled King of Tambora, and remained here with her husband until his recall*…His wives - the name of the chief of whom was Karakonta - his children and retinue, all accompanied him to Zandvliet….

Like De Haan, Leibbrandt does not specify the daughter of Shaykh Yusuf, but unlike De Haan does not make any mention of the marriage between the daughter and the Rajah as having occurred in the Cape. However, Leibbrandt in the extract above, as also inferred from and confirmed by a Company Resolution (dated 14 June 1694),[245] highlights both that Cara Contoe was the 'chief' or head wife of the Shaykh and that all his children had accompanied him to Faure in Macassar. If therefore a marriage had taken place between his alleged daughter Zytie, and the Rajah, then it implies that she would have left her father's home in Macassar, Faure, in order to join her husband at their marital home which, given the estimated date of their marriage (1699), could have been Rustenburg. Vergelegen, as detailed in Section 4, was only built between 1700-1701. Both De Haan and Leibbrandt make reference to Valentijn. De Haan[246] refers to Valentijn's account (Volume 4, pages 1 and 123)[247] in

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[244] H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Rambles through the archives of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1688-1700,* (Cape Town: J.C. Juta and Co, 1887), pp. 176–8, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b571527, accessed 31 Mar 2020.

[245] See text to footnote 57.

[246] "Valentine's description of the persecution of Yusuf… ..Joesuf was sent to the Cape against his expectation, says Valentine, because the native people at Batavia worshiped him as a Saint." Haan, *Priangan: De Preanger-Regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch Bestuur tot 1811*, vol. 3: p. 282.

[247] See footnote 182 and text to footnote 243.

which Valentine makes reference to Shaykh Yusuf's capture. This implies that Valentine may have been aware of Shaykh Yusuf even before he saw his grave during a visit to Reverend Kalden in Zandvleit (in 1705) and met with his alleged daughter, Zytie or Care Sale, during a visit to the Governor at his estate, Vergelegen, also in 1705. (This is confirmed by Jeffreys account below). Given Valentijn's date of departure from the Cape shortly after his visit to Vergelegen, and that Valentijn's visit to the grave therefore had to have occurred [in the 39 days] before his visit to Vergelegen, the fact that during this visit he drew no links between the Rajah's (unnamed wife) and the Shaykh, nor did she enquire after her family, and furthermore that it appears from his (Valentijn's) entry that the Rajah and his wife had entered into marriage in Indonesia (which goes contrary to De Haan), implies that it cannot be confirmed that Zytie was Shaykh Yusuf's daughter.

As indicated in his quotation, Dangor[248] also uses Marie Kathleen Jeffreys as a source. Ms Jeffreys wrote two articles on Shaykh Yusuf in 1939. Like De Haan and Leibbrandt before her, who both worked at the Archives, she was ideally located to do so since she was also employed at the Cape Town branch of the National Archives.[249] This is what she had to say in her article on Shaykh Yusuf which was referred to by Dangor:

> The daughter who was married to Radja Tambora asked to be allowed to remain, since repeated petitions for him to be pardoned had proved of no avail. Two others also elected to stay at the Cape, and as no express instructions had been received forbidding them to remain if they so preferred, these few persons did not proceed to the East in that year.…(I) in 1710, Radja Tambora was pardoned, and allowed to return to Macassar, in recognition of his great age and consistent good conduct since his arrival at the Cape in 1698. And so ended the exile of Sheik Joseph and his family at the Cape. Whether there are still any of his descendants settled here it is well-nigh impossible to say…[250]

That Valentijn knew of Shaykh Yusuf's existence is apparant from

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[248] Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf of Makassar*, p. 19.

[249] Meg Samuelson, 'Orienting the Cape: A "white" Woman Writing Islam in South Africa', *Social Dynamics*, vol. 37, no. 3 (2011), p. 363.

[250] Jeffreys, 'The Malay Tombs of the Holy Circle – VI: The Kramat at Zandvliet, Faure, Part 2: Sheik Joseph at the Cape', p. 197. .

the entries in his account (Volume 4) about his capture. This is also confirmed by Jeffreys[251] as follows:

> Valentijn… tells an interesting story about the capture of Sheik Joseph… Contrary to all expectations, the Sheik was sent to the Cape, and there, Valentijn adds, he himself saw his grave in 1705, near to the farm of the Rev. Pieter Kalden… Valentijn states also that he met Radja Tambora and his wife at Vergelegen, the home of Willem Adriaan van der Stel, on the occasion of his second visit to the Cape, and spoke to them.

Jeffreys sequence of this account of Valentijn's second visit to the Cape in 1705 implies that he visited the grave of Shaykh Yusuf before he met with the Tamboras.

It appears that the following important preceding information in Jeffreys's account may have been overlooked by Dangor. Jeffreys[252] asserts that Cara Contoe, in a petition sent from the Cape,

> …pointed out that *one of her daughters* had married the King of Tambora, an Eastern Prince exiled to the Cape in 1698, who was not pardoned, and others had also married exiles who would have to remain at the Cape for long periods. None of them desired to return without husbands or sons…*The daughter* who was married to Radja Tambora asked to be allowed to remain, since repeated petitions for him to be pardoned had proved of no avail.

However, although a Company Letter (dated 26 March 1700)[253]

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[251] *Ibid.*, pp. 197–8.

[252] *Ibid.*, p. 196. My emphasis.

[253] See H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched, 1696-1708* (Cape Town: W. A. Richards & Sons, 1896), p. 149, http://archive.org/details/precisofarchives00cape_1, accessed 31 Mar 2020. Letter (Number Three (i) Despatched from the Cape, 26 March 1700: "The deceased Moorish priest Sheikh Joseph's family have been informed of your orders. His wives there upon most humbly requested us, *as they were all intermarried, and in order not to be separated*, that they might be allowed to *remain here*, *if not allowed to leave all together*. For that purpose they present you with *the annexed petition* (referred to in footnote 235 below in Letter Three (ii) Despatched from the Cape), humbly praying that they may *all be allowed to return to their country*, and remain here until your orders have been ascertained. This was allowed, with the approval of the Commissioner (Valckenier), and we trust that he has mentioned this subject in his private letters…". (My emphasis).

makes reference to the annexed petition of Karakonto[254], the petition itself is not available to peruse and confirm its contents. I therefore contend while it can be inferred from the Company Letter to which the petition was attached that members of the entourage may indeed have been 'intermarried'[255], and from the Letters from Batavia (dated 28 January 1701[256], 30 November 1702[257] and 1 December 1703[258] in response to it and in which clear reference is made to the Rajah, neither

[254] *Ibid.* "No 24, p. 854, List of Annexures No. 9. Petition of Karakonto, widow of the deceased Maccassarian priest, named Tuanse or Sheik Joseph, addressed to your Honours".

[255] As a consequence, I have inferred in Section 6 that Manjampa Singara was one such royal political exile (Orang Cayeng) as it would explain why his wife, who would have been expected to return, would have want to remain behind with their children to be with or near him.

[256] H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Received, 1695-1708* (Cape Town: W.A. Richards & Sons, 1896), pp. 268–9, http://archive.org/details/precisofarchives00cape_3, accessed 31 Mar 2020. See Letter (Number Four) Received at the Cape, 28 January 1701: "No. 1, p. 1, Ships affairs "As the widows and daughters of the late Sheik Joseph would not embrace our permission to return hither, but, as mentioned in yours of 22nd March, 1700, preferred as yet to remain there, we have no objection to cancel what we [start of page 269 of Leibbrandt's *Precis*] have written on the 23rd November, 1699, about them. Should, however, any of them decide to return on the conditions laid down - by us, you may allow them to do so, and in the meantime allow them a moderate income according to their numbers. The slaves of the Sheik shall still remain in their service. *The request of the Radja of Tambora we have not yet been able to allow, likewise that of the 11 other exiles [Orang Cayeng].*" (My emphasis).

[257] *Ibid.*, p. 314. Letter (Number Five) Received at the Cape, 30 November 170: "We have refused the petition of the widow of the late Macassar priest, Sheik Joseph, named Carra Conte, to be allowed to return to Batavia with her family, minor children, and further relations, both men and women, and for the reasons adduced; also that of the Sultan Nissa Nudum Abdul Rassa, formerly King of Tambora, who had also begged that he and his servant Rinchou might be allowed to return. Carra Conte herself though, or some of her family, if she or they wish to return under the conditions mentioned in our despatch of 23rd November, 1669, and do not go beyond them, may come over, subject to what we wrote on the 28th January, 1701." This implies that the Rajah was not included as a family member or relation.

[258] *Ibid.*, p. 323. Letter (Number Six) Received at the Cape, 1 December 1703: "No. 249, p. 231. "We adhere to our Resolution regarding the petition of the Radja of Tambora and the widow of Sheik Joseph, as embodied in our despatch of 20th November, 1699. It is convenient that the said widow did not again trouble you since our last letter, and here the matter must rest".

this Letter nor the responses to it indicate that a daughter of the Shaykh (and Cara Contoe) was in fact married to the Rajah or that he was a relation of the Shaykh. Moreover, as detailed in Section 3[259], Care Contoe only had one daughter and her name was not Zytie Sara Marouff or Care Sale. The separate reference to the family of the Shaykh and the Rajah is also evident from two further Letters (dated 29 May 1701[260] and 18 May 1703[261]) despatched from the Cape.

Authors like historian Kerry Ward[262] further embellish information in Valentijn's account (which does not refer to the Rajah's wife by name or that he wrote the Qur'an from memory) of his meeting with the Tamboras in support of the prevailing perception that a marital relationship existed between the Rajah and Shaykh Yusuf's daughter. Ward also cites Dangor, albeit an earlier edition of his book[263], as her reference, which as indicated, he had based on De Haan and Jeffreys. She then makes reference to another wife of the Rajah and thereafter makes no further reference to Sara Marouff (Zytie) who seems to have

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[259] See text to footnote 163.

[260] Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters despatched, 1696-1708*, p. 182. Letter (Number Four) Despatched from the Cape, 29 May 1701: "Your orders of 28th January, 1701. in answer to our despatch of 22nd March, regarding the widows and daughters of the deceased Sheik Joseph, have been communicated to them, but they have humbly requested us to be allowed for the present to live here. According to your wishes we have allowed them a moderate income according to their numbers."

[261] *Ibid.*, p. 225. Letter (Number Five) Despatched from the Cape, 18 May 1703: "No.89, p960 'From your despatch of 30th November, 1702, it further appears that you have declined the request of the Sultan Nissa Nidum, Abdul Radja, ex-king of Tambora, to be allowed to return to Batavia; and likewise that of Caro Conte, widow of the late Macassarian Priest Sheik Joseph, provided that we might allow the latter to go, should she change her mind, and she or any of her sex desire to leave on the conditions contained in your despatch of 23rd November, 1699. But as she has since not addressed us again, or communicated her intentions, we are (of the) opinion that, according to her original intention, she will prefer to remain in this colony among her relatives."

[262] Kerry Ward, *Networks of Empire: Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 210; Kerry Ward, "Southeast Asian Migrants", in *Cape Town Between East and West: Social Identities in a Dutch Colonial Town*, ed. by Nigel Worden (Cape Town: Jacana Media, 2012), p. 89.

[263] Dangor, "A Critical Biography of Shaykh Yusuf".

disappeared into thin air. Ward, by referring to Care Sale as "another" wife of the Rajah, appears not to believe, as some other authors do, that Zytie Sara Marouff and Care Sale are one and the same person but that they were two different wives of the Rajah:

> The other member of Shaykh Yusuf's entourage who elected to remain at the Cape was one of his daughters, Sitti Sara Marouff, who had married the exiled Raja of Tambora, Abdul Basir, at the Cape….[where] the couple remained in exile… Francois Valentijn in his travel account of the Cape describes having met the couple at Vergelegen...Speculations exist that the Raja of Tambora gave Van der Stel a hand-written copy of the Q'uran he had transcribed from memory…. During his second exile, Abdul Basir was accompanied by *another of his wives, Care Sale, their children*, and followers who made up a party of eight.[264]

In 2012 Ward once again refers to the Rajah and his wife but this time does not use any name and therefore does so without drawing any association between him and Zytie Sara Marouff (Shaykh Yusuf's daughter) although she still uses as reference her 2009 book (p210) which does: "The visiting historian Francois Valentijn mentioned that the *Raja of Tambora and his wife* were resident at … Vergelegen, when he called there. The royal exile had apparently transcribed a copy of the Qur'an from memory and presented it as a gift to the Governor."[265]

It is fitting to end with another early source before analysing Ward's conclusions further. Prior to Dangor's thesis (1981), Greyling (1980)[266] asserted that:

> "A daughter of Schech Yusuf was married to the Rajah of Tambora."

Greyling[267] uses an undated reference of Van Selms[268] in support of this statement.

I have managed to look at Van Selms's entry in the first edition[269] of this source. Van Selms adds further interesting information, that not

[264] Ward, 'Southeast Asian Migrants', pp. 210–1.

[265] My emphasis. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

[266] Greyling, 'Schech Yusuf, the Founder of Islam in South Africa', p. 11.

[267] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[268] A. Van Selms, 'Sjeik Joesoef", in *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek*, vol. 1 (Kaapstad: Nasionale Bookhandel Beperkerg, 1968), p. 429. My emphasis.

[269] My emphasis. *Ibid.*

only did a daughter of Shaykh Yusuf marry the King at the Cape, but that she had returned with him to Indonesia:

"'n dogter van J(oesoef) trou aan die kaap met die vors [King] van Tambora, *en keer saam met hom na sy land terug*." Van Selms does not provide a direct reference for this statement, although he does refer to Valentijn, De Haan and Jeffrey's, among others, as sources. While his information appears to contradict what Valentijn, for example, recorded in his account, Van Selms's early entry does align with Kerry Ward's[270] later view that that when the Rajah returned to Indonesia after his first period of exile, his wife, a daughter of Shaykh Yusuf, accompanied him. Ward, however, takes her argument further when she adds that when the Rajah returned to serve a second period of exile, another wife (Care Sale), who was not Shaykh Yusuf's daughter, accompanied him. In other words, she implies that although the Rajah may have been the father of Care Sale's children who had apostasised, that they were not necessarily Shaykh Yusuf's grandchildren. In doing so, it can quite conveniently be maintained that there is no familial link between Shaykh Yusuf and these children.

However, I have detailed earlier in this Section that their daughter was clearly linked to Zytie in terms of her baptismal record. This fact, and the dates of birth (1699 and 1703) and place of birth (Cape) of the two older children who converted after the Rajah's death, and who probably travelled with the Tamboras to Indonesia at the end of his first period of exile in 1710, and returned with them when he was sent back in 1713, do not corrobate her version. Their youngest child (Mochamat Asim), of whom there appears to be no record of conversion, was also born at the Cape in 1716. Of the two middle children, who also converted, and who were born in 1711 and 1713, respectively, one appeared to have been born in Indonesia during the period that the Rajah was pardoned (1710) and the other en route back to the Cape (1713). The Rajah only arrived back at the Cape in 1714 to serve his second period of exile. It appears that the two different names attributed to one person (Care Sale or Zytie Sara Marouff) lends itself to the interpretation by Ward that the Rajah may have been polygynously married to both.

Since Company correspondence clearly links Care Sale (who is also

[270] Ward, *Networks of empire*.

referred to as Zytia in the baptismal record of her daughter) to the Rajah as his erstwhile (widowed) wife, we can only surmise that it must have been her that Valentijn met at Vergelegen in 1705. At the time she and the Rajah would have been the parents of two children (Ibrahim Adenan born in 1699) and Sitina Asia (born in 1703), and both would have been born at the Cape during his first period of exile. They would therefore presumably also have accompanied the Rajah and Care Sale (alias Zytie) to Indonesia when he was pardoned in 1710. In 1704, it was these two children that are generally mistakenly deemed to have remained behind with their mother, Zytie, presumed to be the Shaykh's daughter, who opted to to stay with the Rajah when the Shaykh's entourage departed for Indonesia. This theory will be further refuted in Section 6 (section B, Part Two).

B. Revisiting Clues Hitherto Overlooked in Historical Sources and Which Provide New Evidence That The Rajah's Wife, Zytie (May Have Been Mistakenly Identified As The 'One Woman' Who Was Related To Shaykh Yusuf)

This Section will highlight why the unnamed woman in Shaykh Yusuf's entourage who, when the prolonged (from 1699 to 1704) opportunity to return to Indonesia after his death presented itself, opted to remain behind, was not his daughter nor the Rajah's then unnamed wife but a close relation of Shaykh Yusuf.

It is my contention that important clues contained in information first alluded to by Greyling[271] and repeated with more detail by Upham[272] and Van Rensburg[273], bring to light information in Company correspondence that may have hitherto been overlooked even by these authors themselves, but which provide exciting new evidence that could challenge the available views that it was Shaykh Yusuf's grandchildren that apostasised from Islam.

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[271] Greyling, "Schech Yusuf, the Founder of Islam in South Africa".

[272] Mansell George Upham, "At war with Society . . . Did God hear? The curious baptism in 1705 of a 'Hottentot' infant named Ismael", *CAPENSIS*, vol. 4 (2000), pp. 29–51.

[273] André M. Van Rensburg, "The Enigma of Shaykh Yusuf's Place of Burial", *Quarterly bulletin of the National Library of South Africa.*, vol. 57, no. 2 (2003), pp. 70–85.

According to Greyling[274]:

"In 1681 yet another contingent of political exiles arrived in the Cape. This time they were mostly princes frcm Makassar in Southern Celebes…. Dain Mangale with two of his high officials arrived safely in the Cape… It is possible that some of these princes from Makassar were related to Schech Yusuf because Dain Mangale is referred to as a brother of the ruler Crain Bissee…. Ligtvoet [275] calls Schech Yusuf a brother of the rulers Karaeng Bisei (1674-1677) and Abd al Djalalil (Abd al-Jalil) (1677-1709)."

Historian/researcher Mansell Upham[276] writes as follows:

"Also left behind, however, was the Robben Island-detained and miserable prince Manjampa Singara:

The Manjampa Singara ordered back by you at the request of the King of Macassar, has, since the departure of his countrymen, called back before this, *and forming the suite of the deceased Sheikh Joseph of Macassar*, been placed on Robben Island, as he appeared to be very dangerous here. For *when he heard that the Sheik and his people, among whom he had a wife or concubine, were going to leave, and that he was to remain here*, he always carried one or two krisses [swords] with him – intending to murder his wife and then run amok. We shall at once inform him of your decision.[277]

He was a prince from Macasar and brother to king there, Craig Bissee [or Karaeng Bisei]. He was exiled to the Cape (1681). In 1685 he and *his sons* accompanied Simon van der Stel on his historic trip to Namaqualand. He was eventually allowed to follow in the (ship) *Overryp* according to a

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[274] Greyling, 'Schech Yusuf, the Founder of Islam in South Africa', p. 10.

[275] A. Ligtvoet, 'Transcriptie van het Dagboek der Vorsten van Gowa en Tello; III, Vertaling', *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde/Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia*, vol. 28, no. 1 (1880), p. 160; Greyling, 'Schech Yusuf, the Founder of Islam in South Africa', p. 19.

[276] Upham, 'At war with Society . . . Did God hear? The curious baptism in 1705 of a "Hottentot" infant named Ismael', pp. 29–51; Mansell George Upham, 'At war with Society . . . Did God hear? The curious baptism in 1705 of a "Hottentot" infant named Ismael', in *Uprooted Lives: Unfurling the Cape of Good Hope's Earliest Colonial Inhabitants (1652-1713)*, vol. 2, ed. by Delia Robertson (Remarkable Writing section of the First Fifty Years Project, 2012), pp. 32–3, www.e-family.co.za/ffy/RemarkableWriting/UL02Ismael.pdf, accessed 31 Mar 2020.

[277] My emphasis. For this quote within the quotation of Upham see Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters despatched, 1696-1708*, p. 330.

despatch (30 June 1707)."[278]

According to Upham[279], the Manjampa "…is found variously (recorded) as Damma Jampa/Daim Megale/*Dain Bengale*/Dain Mangala/Dain Majampa/Dain Manjampa Singara/Dain Majampe/Dain Manjempa Singaeroe." As also highlighted by Upham[280], Valentijn[281], in his account of the Cape, reproduces information provided to him by Willem Adriaan van der Stel relating to the trip that his father Simon van der Stel, then Commander at the Cape, had undertaken on 25 August 1685 accompanied by, among others, "*Dain Bengale and his sons*, *Macassar-folk*". This confrms that the Manjampa Singara and Dain Bengale are therefore the same person.

However, Ward[282] treats them as two separate people and therefore does not make this connection. She indicates that the 'unlucky prince Daeng Mangale' (who went on expedition with Governor Simon van der Stel) arrived at the Cape in 1681 and that he and five of his entourage had returned to Indonesia in April 1689. She further indicates that another Makassarese prince, 'Daeng Manjampa', then 'an old man' who had 'behaved himself well', requested to go home and that the Cape authorities, in terms of a Letter despatched from the Cape to Batavia (dated 30 October 1692), were supportive of his request.[283] However, we know from Upham's quotation above that while his countrymen may indeed have returned to Indonesia, that the Manjampa Singara (or Dain Bengale) had not since he had 'been placed on Robben Island, as he appeared to be very dangerous here'. As also detailed below, the Manjampa Singara only returned to Indonesia in 1707. Despite the clear similarity in their names, Ward[284] further intimates that the "Manjampa

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[278] See text to footnote 291 for this Letter.

[279] Upham, "At war with Society . . . Did God hear? The curious baptism in 1705 of a 'Hottentot' infant named Ismael", p. 66.

[280] *Ibid.*, p. 45. Its note 66.

[281] See François Valentijn, *Description of the Cape of Good Hope with the Matters Concerning it, Amsterdam 1726*, ed. by Petrus Serton and E.H. Raidt (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1971), p. 225.

[282] Ward, *Networks of Empire*, pp. 198–9, 204.

[283] *Ibid.*, p. 199. Note no. 65.

[284] *Ibid.*, p. 209.

Singa" and "Daeng Manjampa" were also different persons as follows:

> Responding to further petitions in Batavia from the Makassarese court for the return of the remaining members of Shaykh Yusuf's followers, Cape officials informed Batavia that they had held Manjampa Singa on Robben Island after determining that he was 'dangerous'.

A Letter despatched from the Cape, dated 12 July 1707, also confirms the eventual departure of the Manjampa along with his wife and two slaves.[285] Van Rensburg[286] further explains the familial connection between the two families as follows: "(o)n his maternal side (Shaykh Yusuf)…was a nephew of King Bisei of Goa."

It appears that Dangor in his latest book[287], although he confirms the maternal and familial links, gives a different account of the relationship between the two as follows:

> Yusuf is said to have been a brother (not nephew) of the princes Karaeng Bisei who ruled as King of Goa between 1674 and 1677 and 'Abd al-Jalil' the 19th King of Goa who reigned from 1677-1709.

Although Dangor has prior to this expressed some reservations in his thesis[288], it now transpires that these two sons (his step-brothers) may have been born from his mother's subsequent marriage to the King of Goa, which would also account for the age difference between them and Shaykh Yusuf. These views would imply that not only was the Manjampa, by association, also Shaykh Yusuf's nephew or step-brother (as the case may be) but that Manjampa's wife and children were, if not his sister-in-law and nephews, respectively, nonetheless his relatives. This would explain why the two Letters in question specifically refer to the 'one woman' and 'her two children' as being both 'of that family'[289] and

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[285] See text to footnote 292 for this Letter.

[286] Van Rensburg, "The Enigma of Shaykh Yusuf's Place of Burial", p. 73. See Section 3 (C) of part one of this article where it is highlighted that his mother was also a relation of the kings of Goa.

[287] Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf of Makassar*, p. 7. See text to footnote 87 and footnote 88.

[288] Dangor in his initial thesis (1981), on page 4, expresses his reservations that they may be brothers as follows: "However, as this claim is made by only one source and as Yusuf was born much earlier (1626), this report is open to doubt."

[289] See footnote 295 for the contents of this Letter.

'belonging to' it[290] and moreover that 'they were all intermarried'[291].

This begs the question: Could the unnamed woman being referred to as the wife of Prince Manjampa, be the same unnamed woman who was referred to in Company correspondence, as belonging to Shaykh Yusuf's entourage but who opted to remain behind with her two children, because her husband was, like the Rajah, also still in exile? She may have been tempted by the prospect of finally being able to return to the freedom and safety that beckoned in Indonesia, but being a dutiful Muslim wife and mother, and judging from the Manjampa's furious reaction, she may have been both loath and afraid to do so. We do not know the ages of the Manjampa's sons but given that they travelled with their father and the Governor to Namaqualand in 1685, some 19 years before Shaykh Yusuf's entourage departed in 1704, implies that they were definitely older than six (the Company's initial cut- off age for male members to qualify to leave with the departing entourage). Their being older would have meant that they too, like the Shaykh's children, were initially not allowed to depart with their mother. Since the death of Shaykh Yusuf in 1699, and the eventual departure of his entourage (possibly with his bodily remains on board) in 1704, negotiations were in place between his family at the Cape and in Indonesia, and the respective Dutch governments for their return home as a unit (rather than a split group where some older members and friends were expected to remain behind in South Africa). Certaintly, Prince Manjampa, although he was not identified by name in the Company correpondence, could have been one of the (eleven) other Eastern royal political exiles (Orang Cayeng) also referred to in the same correspondence. As detailed in Sections 2 and 4, many of these royal exiles appear to have lived at Rustenburg or, a nearby outpost, Ruyterwacht at the time the Rajah was relocated to Rustenburg in and around 1706. The Manjampa was therefore unfortunate to have been isolated to Robben Island. The Rajah, a royal exile known by the Company for his past (and later) attempts to contact his homeland, was hoping to use the opportunity presented by the Shaykh's entourage to return to Indonesia even though he was not as yet pardoned. It is therefore

[290] See footnote 296 for the contents of this Letter.

[291] See footnote 251 and 252 for the contents of this Letter and reference to its Annexure.

contended that it may merely have been coincidental that the Rajah was specifically referred to by name in the same correspondence to ensure that he was not conveniently confused as a family member, and in that way surreptiously escape from the Cape, with his wife and two young children (a boy and a girl) who just happened to be below the age of six, and who, at the time, would therefore have been eligible to return.

Upham[292], because he considered the unnamed woman who remained behind with her children to be Shaykh Yusuf's daughter and the Rajah's wife, therefore had to believe that their children, who converted to Christianity, were the Shaykh's grandchildren. Upham therefore does not make the logical connection between the Manjampa's family and the Shaykh. Nonetheless, it was the detailed information in his paper about the Manjampa that first alerted me to draw the familial connection and conclusion that I did, and which I believe challenges currently available views similar to that of Upham. It is known from Hoge's linking of Company correspondence to a baptismal record, that Care Sale and Zytie were, by association, one and same person and not, as Ward deemed them to be, two different women associated with the Rajah as his wives in a polygynous marriage. The various aliases attached to Prince Manjampa's name bear no resemblance to Abulbasi Sultan. This would also explain the separate Company correspondence pertaining to the unnamed woman (like the Manjampa's wife who wanted to remain at the Cape with her children because her husband was very much alive) and that pertaining to Care Sale who wanted to return to Indonesia with her children because her husband (the Rajah) had by then died. According to the following two Company Letters, the Manjampa and his wife in any event left the Cape in 1707, presumably with their two sons, who, although they are not specifically mentioned, may have been confused with their two slaves who are mentioned:

> Our last was dated 12th June (1707)….The burgher W. Haak leaves by this opportunity. The ex-Captain Laut, of Gerontale,. Kits el Moeda, and the Manjampa Singara will leave in the 'Overryp'.[293]

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[292] Upham, "At war with Society . . . Did God hear? The curious baptism in 1705 of a 'Hottentot' infant named Ismael", pp. 44–5.

[293] Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters despatched, 1696-1708*, p. 334.Letter (Number Ten) Despatched from the Cape, 30 June 1707.

> Ships affairs. This vessel, the 'Overryp,' takes over to you 12th July (1707), the ex-Captain Laut (see above, letter dated 30th June) of Gerontale, Kitsjel Moeda(;) *Dain Manjampa Singara*(;) and the Malay Intia Poety, both *with their wives*; the first has been allowed to take one and the second *two slaves*....[294]

It appears that in 1710 (the same year, and in terms of the same Resolution, that the Rajah was pardoned), and some three years after the departure of the Manjampa in 1707, that a former slave of his was also pardoned: "Reba of Maccasser, the former servant of Dam Mangale, and also of his master's cousins Carra Rupa and Dam Mansampa...has been sent back here six years ago, and says that a ransom of 60 rijxds [Rijksdaalders] has been paid for his freedom some years ago, and he now lives on the land of Lord Governor Simon van der Stel, with his wife."[295] As detailed in Section 4, in 1708 (after Shaykh Yusuf's entourage had left the Cape in 1704, and the Manjampa and his wife had left in 1707) and 1719 (before his death), the Company appeared to still keep a close eye on the Rajah, given the record of his attempts to leave, and in order to restrict his contact with his homeland. The Rajah was eventually pardoned in 1710, returned to Indonesia, but was exiled back to South Africa in 1714. He would presumably have been accompanied to and from South Africa by his same Indonesian wife who, if the account of Valentijn was accurate, had in the first place come to the Cape with him from Indonesia.

Given his advanced age, several requests were made by Shaykh Yusuf, or on his behalf, for his return to Indonesia. Correspondence pertaining to this request increased after his death in 1699 until his entourage finally departed in 1704. By the time his entourage left in 1704, Shaykh Yusuf was dead but his remains were purportedly also on board.

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[294] *Ibid.*, p. 335. Letter (Number Eleven) Despatched from the Cape, 12 July 1707. My emphasis.

[295] *Resolutions of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa*, no. C. 27 (1710), pp. 96–100, http://databases.tanap.net/cgh/make_pdf.cfm?artikelid=21548, accessed 25 May 2019. I have used 'Google translate' to translate the first part of this extract from the old Dutch and would like to thank Professor F du Toit for the free translation of the second part.

The Company Letter cited by Upham is dated 25 May 1707[296] and was despatched to Batavia from the Cape. This Letter could therefore have alluded to this trip and its planning phases in general and other Company correspondence (received from Batavia and despatched to Batavia from the Cape) pertaining to it since it states that "when he [Manjampa Singara] heard that the Sheik and his people, among whom he had a wife or concubine, were going to leave, and that he was to remain here".

Furthermore, more evidence to justify why the Rajah and Care Sale may be connected to each other is the following. The Rajah was re-exiled from Indonesia to the Cape in 1714. However, it can be gleaned from the Resolution (1720) pertaining to his widow, Care Sale, that given the ages of her children, and the birth of three at the Cape, and two in Indonesia, that she must have accompanied him on both exiles. She appeared not to have remarried after the death of her husband.

We know from the Company Letter sent to Batavia from the Cape (dated 2 October 1704)[297] that one (unnamed) woman was unwilling to leave the Cape with her two children because she was married. This letter clearly indicates that one woman remained behind with her two children. Although it could also have meant the children were married, this was unlikely.

Given the context of her request, and the implication for remaining exiles that they not try and escape with this entourage, we can only assume that her husband a 'prince' was one of the 'Easterns', who like the Rajah were still held in exile. Given that the Company may not have had much interest in the social structures of these families, it was not necessary to explicitly state the name of the woman in the Letter, which to them

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[296] It is also available as follows: Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters despatched, 1696-1708*, p. 330. See footnote 275.

[297] *Ibid.*, p. 249. Letter (Number Seven) Despatched from the Cape, 2 October 1704: "With the 'Liefde' and 'Spiegel' we have, at the request made to you by the Macassar King, Radja Goa, sent to you the widow, children, and family of the deceased Moorish priest, Sheik Joseph, *as the annexed list will show.* (see below *) *As one of the women of that family, and two of her children, because they are married, have earnestly begged to remain here for the present***,** we have, considering that your orders do not say that those who were unwilling to go, should be made to go, left the matter in abeyance for your decision. (*) List of annexures. No. 7. List of the names of the family of Sheik Joseph sent back to Batavia." My emphasis. Unfortunately, this Annexure appears not to have been published.

may have appeared irrelevant or of no consequence. The Letter indicates that she had in fact "earnestly begged to remain here for the present". This could therefore also have been an indication that she did not wish to remain here indefinitely and would presumably want to leave with her family when her husband was pardoned. This theory is corroborated by the response to the above Letter in the Letter from Batavia dated 18 December 1704[298] which again did not deem it necessary to name the woman in question. Although they are referred to in the plural, the actual number of children that belonged to the one woman is not mentioned. However, the Letter from the Cape clearly indicates that there were two children and one woman. The woman in question cannot be Care Sals because both the Letters from Batavia and the Cape make it very clear that the Rajah was not a family member and moreover was not allowed to be part of the entourage, and for this reason it would in any event have been expected of his wife, and their then two children, to have remained behind with him. The clear reference to 'one woman' in both Letters also highlights that there was no indication of a polygynous marriage. The Manjampa's children are also referred to in the plural so this does not negate the notion that the woman and children in question might have been his family.

The Company Letter sent to Batavia from the Cape (dated 2 October 1704)[299] clearly indicates that

> "… we have, at the request made to you…sent to you the widow, children, and family of the deceased Moorish priest, Sheik Joseph, as the annexed list will show. As *one of the women of that family, and two of her children*, because they are married, have earnestly begged to remain here for the present, we have, considering that your orders do not say that those who were unwilling to go, should be made to go, left the matter in abeyance for your decision...".

[298] Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters received, 1695-1708*, p. 345. Letter (Number Eight) Received at the Cape, 18 December 1704: "No. 387, p. 1121. Ships affairs. Banished Chinamen ordered back….'On the 10th instant the 'Spiegel' arrived bringing your letter of 26th September last, according to which the ships 'Liefde' and 'Huis te Overryp' may he soon expected. The first named will bring the rest of the party of the late Sheik Joseph, which will be able to proceed together with those who arrived in the 'Spiegel,' to Macassar. *We say nothing about the one woman who remained behind, and with her children belonged to that family*." My emphasis.

[299] See footnote 295.

All that ultimately really mattered to the Company was that the wives, children and family of Shaykh Yusuf arrive back in Indonesia, which they did, according to the follow-up Company Letter from the Cape (dated 6 April 1705)[300]. As will be detailed in the Conclusion (Section 8), it therefore really matters little that the Annexure (which would have included a list of names at the time of their departure, similar to the one published on his death but pertaining to their names on arrival) was not published.

C. The Apostasy and Conversion of The Rajah's Children in Historical Context: "Crypto-Muslims" or De Facto Christians?

The theology of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) (in Afrikaans, Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK)), a Protestant church with a strong Calvinistic spirituality, was introduced into South Africa in 1652, some five years before the Muslim Mardyckers arrived there in 1657. As indicated in Section 2, by the time the Rajah arrived at the Cape, Islam had already been in existence there for some 44 years. A far cry from the current South African Constitution, which guarantees Muslims (and other religious minorities) the right to freedom of religion and belief, in 1657, the Dutch issued a proclamation prohibiting the public practice of Islam or conversions, the violation of which was punishable by death. In 1657 the Dutch introduced a set of laws (the Statutes of India or Code of Batavia drafted by the Batavian governor Van Dieman in 1642) which were aimed at preventing Muslims from openly practising Islam. As a consequence, Muslims were forced to practise their religion in private and no public congregations were allowed. Muslims faced with the death penalty if they infringed this law and practised Islam in public. However, this ruling did not apply to Christianity and its public propagation, especially by the Dutch Reformed Church. Shaykh Yusuf

[300] Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters despatched, 1696-1708*, pp. 263–4. Letter (Number Eight) Despatched from the Cape, 6 April 1705: "From your letter of the 18th December we gathered with joy that the 'Spiegel' had safely arrived on the 10th December with a portion of the people of the deceased Sheik Joseph, but that the 'Liefde' had not yet arrived with the rest. We hope that she has arrived by this time, *and that the whole lot*, *for your peace and quiet, have been sent on to Macassar."* (My emphasis). This highlights that the Shaykh's head wife, Care Contoe, must have made a strong case and that her persistence eventually bore fruit.

had an entourage of 49, the size of which was akin to a small community or Muslim religious congregation in terms of the Shafi'i school of law to which he belonged. Based on an interpretation of the following laws, he could therefore, for example, have unrestricted congregational prayers and gatherings with his entourage at Faure (where they had been isolated) without technically breaking the law:

> …*The company*…*explicitly granted* (the Mardyckers or first Muslims) *limited religious freedom*. At the Cape as elsewhere in the VOC's possessions, *the statutes* of Batavia *allowed the private - never public - practice of Islam, while prohibiting proselytizing*. Official attitudes toward Islam were thus in place virtually from the beginning and did not change until the end of the eighteenth century (the first period of Dutch rule ended in 1795). Islam was tolerated - never encouraged, yet rarely seriously repressed.[301]

Religious freedom was only granted by the Dutch authorities during the second period of Dutch rule in 1804.[302] On 25 July 1804, some 150 years after their first arrival, the Dutch lifted these sanctions and granted Muslims the freedom to practise their religion publicly.[303]

> It is within this context that on July 25th, 1804, an era of religious toleration was introduced. J. A. de Mist and General Janssens promulgated an ordinance which provided for the equal protection under law "of all faiths and religious societies which... for the furtherance of virtue and good morals worshipped an almighty Being."[304]

Yet, it was still evident from the following accounts in the travelogue of Lady Duff Gordon who visited the Cape in 1861, that little may have changed for Muslims, despite freedom of religion, during the period of British occupation some 57 years later, although proselytisation by imams may have been on the increase:

[301] My emphasis.John Edwin Mason, "'A Faith for Ourselves': Slavery, Sufism, and Conversion to Islam at the Cape", *South African Historical Journal*, vol. 46, no. 1 (2002), pp. 8–9.

[302] Najma Moosa, "South Africa: Indian Law", *The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Legal History*, vol. 5, ed. by Stanley N. Katz (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 283.

[303] Ebrahim Mahomed Mahida, *History of Muslims in South Africa: A Chronology* (Durban: Arabic Study Circle, 1993), p. 14.

[304] R. Shell, "The March of the Mardijckers: The Toleration of Islam at the Cape, 1633-1861", *Kronos: Journal of Cape History*, no. 22 (1995), p. 13.

> Nearly all the people in this village are Dutch. There is one Malay tailor here, but he is obliged to be a Christian at Caledon, though Choslullah told me with a grin, he was a very good Malay when he went to Capetown. He did not seem much shocked at this double religion, staunch Mussulman as he was himself.[305]

> The [Muslim] priest is a bit of a proselytiser, and amused me much with an account of how he had converted English girls from their evil courses and made them good *Mussulwomen*. I never heard a *naif* and sincere account of conversions FROM Christianity before, and I must own it was much milder than the Exeter Hall style.[306]

As indicated at the end of Section 4 (Section D; Part One), this Section will deal with the conversions of the Rajah's four children in the above context and milieu into which they, as children of exiles, found themselves born. The fact that there was limited freedom of religion may have been a plausible contributing factor which may have resulted in the conversion of these children. Poverty, on the other hand, may have been a practical motivating factor justifying their conversion.

According to Islam, "(t)here is no compulsion in religion…".[307] However, Islam is also deemed to adopt an unforgiving attitude to apostasy, with no less than the death sentence as a penalty. Converting from Islam or becoming a murtad[308], as the Rajah's children did, is deemed to be both an abomination and a cardinal sin from an Islamic law perspective, a fact that both Shaykh Yusuf and the Rajah would have been apprised of. In a nutshell, a murtad is a person who is born to a Muslim parent but who later rejects Islam. If such a person converts from Islam to another religion (whether it is Christianity or Judaism), he or she is considered an apostate. If, however, that person was born into another religion, like Christianity and Judaism, he or she is regarded as a

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[305] Gordon, *Last Letters from Egypt*, pp. 19–20.

[306] *Ibid*., p. 54.

[307] Qur'an, 2: 256.

[308] Najma Moosa and Muneer Abduroaf, "Implications of the Official Designation of Muslim Clergy as Authorised Civil Marriage Officers for Muslim Polygynous, Interfaith and Same-Sex Marriages in South Africa", in *The International Survey of Family Law*, ed. by Fareda. Banda and Margareta F. Brinig (Bristol: LexisNexis, 2017), pp. 339–40.

'person of the Book' (*ahl al-kitab*)[309] and an interfaith marriage between a Muslim male and such a female person is permissible without the latter having to convert to Islam. In the case of a marriage between a Muslim female and such a male person, the latter must convert to Islam in order for the marriage to have validity. In both such cases the children born from these marriages will be deemed to follow the religion of their father which will always be Islam.[310]

This begs the question: was the conversion of these children a consequence of a limited freedom of religion or free choice? The Rajah died in 1719 when he was 49 years old and his eldest child, a son, was 20 years old. The first conversion was by this first-born child and occurred in 1721, two years after the Rajah's death. The children's conversions do not appear to make logical sense when only their Islamic upbringing and the lineage of their parents are taken into consideration. However, separate attempts were made by both their parents during their (parents') lifetime to return to Indonesia, but these were unsuccessful. This, together with the straitened circumstances that they had to endure as a family, may have precipitated and merited the conversions, especially given the timing of the first conversion, but does not preclude the possibility that they converted of their own free will.

> "Crypto-Islam is the secret adherence to Islam while publicly professing to be of another faith; people who practice crypto-Islam are referred to as 'crypto-Muslims'."[311]

> "Forced conversion is adoption of a different religion or irreligion under duress. Some who have been forced to convert may continue, covertly, with the beliefs and practices originally held, while outwardly behaving as converts."[312]

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[309] This is the Qur'anic term for people, such as, Christians or Jews, who followed an earlier holy scripture.

[310] Najma Moosa, *Unveiling the Mind: The Legal Position of Women in Islam-a South African Context*, 2nd edition (Cape Town: Juta, 2011), pp. 33–5.

[311] See 'Crypto-Islam', *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Crypto-Islam&oldid=963970123, accessed 31 Mar 2020.

[312] See 'Forced conversion', *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Forced_conversion&oldid=982639853, accessed 31 Mar 2020.

Whether this was the case with the Rajah's children, we will never know for sure.

The Rajah's children were Muslim persons of colour but were not slaves. During the first VOC period (1652 to 1795), the Statutes of India forbade sexual intercourse between Christians and Muslims. Christians could also only enter into marriage with other Christians.[313] It appears from Hoge's[314] account (detailed below) that although the marriages of three of the Rajah's children were indeed preceded by their conversions from Islam to Christianity, one of the sons, Mochamat Aserk, who had by then acquired the status of 'free burghership', entered into marriage with a Christian woman in 1734 before he had become a member of the church in 1746. This appeared to be among the privileges accorded to such persons. It is therefore clear that such interracial marriages were allowed and did not necessarily have to be preceded by conversions. Nonetheless, such conversions were encouraged by the Statutes of India:

> The Mardyckers were prohibited from openly practising their religion: Islam. This was in accordance with the Statute(s) of India which stated in one of its placaats (statutes): 'No one shall trouble the Amboinese about their religion or annoy them; so long as they do not practise in public or venture to propagate it amongst Christians and heathens. Offenders to be punished with death, but *should there be amongst them those who had been drawn to God to become Christians, they were not to be prevented from joining Christian churches*.' The same Placaat was re-issued on August 23, 1657 by Governor John Maetsuycker probably in anticipation of the advent of the Mardyckers to the Cape of Good Hope. The Placaat governed the Cape as part of the Dutch Colonial Empire.[315]

As indicated in Section 5, it is clear from the baptism record of

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[313] Mansell G. Upham, "What can't be cured, must be endured... Cape of Good Hope - First Marriages & Baptisms (1652-1665)", *Uprooted Lives*, vol. 1 (2015), p. 12, http://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/RemarkableWriting/UL01WhatCantBeCured.pdf, accessed 31 Mar 2020.

[314] Hoge, 'The Family of the Rajah of Tambora at the Cape', pp. 27–9. Given that he appears to have been the first scholar to have made the connection between the children and their parents based on the Company Resolution and their baptismal and marriage records, the information contained in this Section is both based on, and summarised from, Hoge's account.

[315] Mahida, *History of Muslims in South Africa*, p. 2.

their second born child (their only daughter) that their mother Zytie (Care Sale) was still Muslim (the Rajah was deceased by then and had therefore died a Muslim). It is therefore doubtful that if she was clearly still able to be recorded as Muslim (Zytie Sara Marouff) on a Christian baptismal register without fear of censure, that she would have had any reason to want to change her religion thereafter to avoid any future problems for her children that could be associated with their mother remaining Muslim.

According to the Company Resolution (1720) Care Sale was 41 years old in that year and was therefore born in 1679. If, hypothetically, she was Shaykh Yusuf's daughter, given their arrival at the Cape in 1694 when she was 15 years old, and her marriage to the Rajah shortly after his arrival at the Cape in 1698, she would have been 19 years old at the time of their marriage. If, however, she was not Shaykh Yusuf's daughter, she may already have been married to the Rajah in Indonesia by the time he arrived at the Cape as can be inferred from Valentijn's entry in his account of the Cape. Hoge[316] indicates that Care Sale was still resident at the Cape in 1740. It is not clear whether that included Stellenbosch (where, as Sleigh indicated (see Section 2) the Rajah had died). Since she was born in 1679, Care Sale would have been 61 years old in 1740. She probably had died at the Cape by the time her fourth son, David, left the Cape for Batavia in 1743.[317] Her death may explain why she never did get an opportunity to eventually return to Indonesia with him. He is also her only child who wanted to return to their roots. As indicated in Section 1, it appears that in the same year (1743) that David left the Cape, that there was a request from Indonesia for the Rajah's remains to be repatriated.[318] This begs the question whether it was coincidental or whether the Tamboras may still have been in contact with family back home?

Hoge[319] refers to the Rajah's children by the same or similar names as contained in the earlier (1720) Company Resolution and uses church membership and baptism registers of the Dutch Reformed Church in

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316 *Ibid.*, p. 27. See text to footnote 227 for the Resolution (1720).

317 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

318 Daniel Sleigh, *Die buiteposte: VOC-buiteposte onder Kaapse bestuur 1652-1795* (Pretoria: Haum, 1993), p. 234.

319 See Hoge, 'The Family of the Rajah of Tambora at the Cape', p. 28. Its note 8.

the Church Archives, Cape Town, as his source. Hoge further details, that while little more is known about Mochamat, the youngest son (he was three when his father died and could have succumbed himself), the others all converted from Islam to Christianity, were baptised, and had entered into marriages with Dutch, German and French partners as follows:

> Ibraim Adahan was baptised as Abraham Addehan (also called de Haan) around age 22 on 2 November 1721 (within 3 years of his father's death). He entered into marriage with a free Christian woman of colour the following year on 20 September 1722. They had five children (two sons and three daughters) and all of them were also baptised. He died in 1735 at the estimated age of 36. As detailed below, Ibraim became a progenitor of the relatives of a prominent Afrikaner family, the Retiefs.[320]
>
> Sitina Asia was baptised as Maria Dorothea Sultania around the age of 23 on 22 December 1726 (within 7 years of her father's death). She entered into two marriages, both with Christian men: the first (from The Hague, The Netherlands) on 30 January 1729 and the second (from Bremen in Germany) on 15 October 1741, and died in the same year at the estimated age of 38. She apparently had no offspring.
>
> Mochamat Aserk became Isaak Sultania and member of the church on 7 April 1746 (around the age of 35, some 27 years after his father's death). He entered into two marriages with Christian women: the first on 31 October 1734 (with whom he had one daughter who was baptised) and the second, a widow, on 27 June 1756. He died in 1765 at the estimated age of 54.
>
> Mochamat Dayan became David Sultania and a member of the church on 18 December 1739 (around the age of 27, some 20 years after the death of his father). He entered into marriage with a Christian widow (a daughter of French Huguenot parents[321]) on 3 July 1740 with whom he had two children (a son and a daughter) and both were baptised. He left the Cape for Indonesia in 1743

[320] See text to footnote 334.

[321] See Jackie Loos, "How Rajah's Children Adapted to Cape Life", *Cape Argus* (12 Sep 2013); "Huguenots", *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Huguenots&oldid=984362642, accessed 31 Mar 2020.

presumably with his family, and probably also died there.[322] As indicated in Section 4, he was probably also born in Indonesia.

The oldest child, a son, was the first to be baptised (in 1721) at the age of 22. Their mother was roughly 40 years old when her husband died and 42 when her first child was baptised. She appeared to have remained monogamously married to the Rajah until his death. The baptisms/conversions of the three other children followed at a much later stage. Given that they were all over the age of 18 at the time of their baptism, they did not require adult permission to convert. In terms of the process followed in the Dutch Reformed Church, church membership would ordinarily follow after the baptism. As is common practice today, such baptisms would presumably be preceded by educational sessions with a minister when they would be expected to answer certain questions to ensure that their conversions were genuine.[323] Whether this process was followed then, is not certain. Presumably it was, and they therefore genuinely desired to convert.

Whether or not their conversions were genuine or had the blessings of their mother is uncertain. However, the subsistence they received from the Company was not enough to support a family of six and some slaves (as inferred from the Company Resolution dated 24 September 1720). When the Shaykh arrived at the Cape, the Cape experienced both severe drought and locust infestation. While the Rajah was en route back to the Cape in 1713 to serve a second period of exile there, the Cape experienced a smallpox epidemic[324]. By the time he arrived in 1714, two more children were born in 1711 and 1713. A further one followed in 1716. Stripped of his title and the privileges that may in the past have been associated with it, meant that maintaining a family of seven and some slaves, during a period of extreme hardship at the Cape, could not

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[322] See text to footnote 17.

[323] Personal communication from Mr D.S Malan, a member of the Dutch Reformed Church, 29 March 29, 2020.

[324] See Shell, "The March of the Mardijckers", p. 7. Where Shell refers to "…the 1713 smallpox epidemic…". Valentijn confirms that "(s)mallpox (was) unknown here before 1713" in Valentijn, *Description of the Cape of Good Hope with the matters concerning it, Amsterdam 1726.*, p. 187. "there was never any smallpox here before 1713; but then there was a very severe epidemic. " in *Ibid.*, p. 217.

have been an easy feat. As detailed in Section 5 (Section A; Part Two), a further Company Resolution (dated 8 December 1722) highlights that this family's financial position had not improved three years later, by which time the oldest son had converted to Christianity (2 November 1721) and entered into marriage (20 September 1722). It can therefore be inferred from his mother having to yet again approach the Company for further support in 1722, that she could not only depend on him, or any material benefit that may have flowed from his conversion, to spare the rest of her family from possible destitution. However, an argument that her children's conversions, in a mileau where there was limited freedom of religion, may have been materially motivated to help alleviate some of the stresses associated with their circumstances, would not be without some merit.

Then, as is still the case in South Africa today, if purely entered into as a religious marriage, Muslim marriages do not confer any lasting benefits to women and children upon death or divorce, and are moreover not legally recognised.[325] However, Christian marriages were and still are automatically recognised as legal, civil marriages and therefore provided a more promising and secure future for the Rajah's children and legitimacy to their offspring. In order to improve their chances to enter into these marriages with Christian spouses, they opted not to remain Muslim. In the case of both the exiled Shaykh and the Rajah, their innocent families were placed in an invidious position because "[w]omen were… exiled alongside their husbands, fathers, and sons, and were particularly vulnerable once their male relatives died."[326] Unlike the Shaykh and his family who arrived at the Cape with twelve children and who were all allowed to return home, the Rajah and his wife were denied their requests to return home. Their five children, four of whom chose to convert to Christianity and subsequently entered into marriages at the Cape with Christian spouses at the time that it was uncommon to do so, were all born during his exile.

It may be difficult to fathom why the Rajah's children wanted to convert to Christianity during a period of Dutch rule when: "[m]any Christian clerics were nonplussed by the lack of appeal that Christianity

[325] See footnote 239.

[326] Ward, *Networks of Empire*, p. 211.

had for slaves and free people of colour….many had no idea of religion at all, but those who did were attracted to Islam 'and will not think of any other creed'".[327] Taylor[328] alerts us to the following reverse case scenario, of a Christian foreigner in Indonesia, whose conversion to Islam appeared to have been more economically motivated than genuine. Hendrik Lukaszoon Cardeel (also known as Raden (later Pangeran) Wiraguna)) was a Christian born and raised Dutchman deployed to Batavia (Indonesia) around 1670 to work for the VOC there. Within the next five years he converted from Christianity to Islam and changed jobs. By 1675 he was both Muslim and in the employ of no less than the Sultan Ageng Tiryatasa of Bantam (Shaykh Yusuf's patron and father in law). Although "(h)is conversion to Islam was signalled by circumcision, Indonesian name, and Muslim marriage"[329], in 1682, barely seven years after his conversion, Cardeel wanted to return to Christianity but had only in 1697, some twenty years later, divorced his Muslim wife. In 1701 he named as his heir a son born to a slave woman and in 1704 he remarried in terms of Christian rites.[330]

An examination of the content of a Company Resolution (dated 13 December 1731), some ten years after his conversion (1721) and marriage (1722) at the Cape, highlights that the Rajah's eldest son, Abraham (formerly, Ibraim), like Cardeel, also appeared to have improved his social and economic standing as a consequence of his conversion and marriage.[331] However, unlike Cardeel, he remained Christian.

History also abounds with examples of Muslims who converted to Christianity, including the descendants of the Prophet of Islam (Muhammad) himself.[332] It can therefore be both prudent and convenient

[327] Jackie Loos, *Echoes of Slavery: Voices from South Africa's Past* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2004), p. 49.

[328] See Jean Gelman Taylor, *Indonesia: Peoples and Histories* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 171–2.

[329] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

[330] *Ibid.*, pp..171–2.

[331] See *Resolutions of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa*, no. C. 88 (1731), pp. 93–101, http://databases.tanap.net/cgh/make_pdf.cfm?artikelid=22866, accessed 25 Apr 2020.

[332] See "List of Converts to Christianity from Islam", *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=List_of_converts_to_Christianity_from_

to use this comparison to argue that given that there are such cases of voluntary conversion to Christianity, that it may therefore not have been unsual for the Rajah's children to have done so both willingly and out of free choice. It can be argued, though it is doubted that this was the case, that since they may have also been experienced in practising Islam in private as the law bid them do, and as their parents did, that they may have been continuing in this vein. The only indication to the contrary may have been the son who returned to Indonesia. He may have been an orphan by then. Why did he still have the need to do so, if he was a happy Christian? What happened to his family once they moved to Indonesia? Did he/they "revert" back to Islam? This may be another topic for further enquiry.

Although Ministers like Kalden were recruited to the Cape to evangelise, and visiting Minister Valentijn gave sermons at the Castle, this is not a sufficient basis to assume that conversion to Christianity of political exiles and their families was a key goal of the VOC. Unfortunately, the prevailing perception that the Rajah was married to Shaykh Yusuf's daughter continues to be recorded in international scholarship. This is, for example, evident in a recent Ph.D thesis on Shaykh Yusuf by South African scholar Saarah Jappie:

> "…one of his daughters, Sitti Sara Marouf, married the Raja of Tambora, 'Abd al-Baṣīr…".[333]

Similarly, the prevailing perception that it was the grandchildren of Shaykh Yusuf that converted to Christianity continues to be recorded in South Africa. This is, for example, evident in a recent (2018) biography of Tuan Guru, a later such 'Orang Cayeng' (royal political exile), by journalist and convert to Islam, Shafiq Morton:

> The Rajah of Tambora was married to a daughter Shaykh Yusuf. When the Rajah died in 1719, his wife Zytia Sara Marouff, requested repatriation, but it was turned down. Her children became Christian, and the ancestors of the Sultania and De Haan families. The Afrikaner Voortrekker family,

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Islam&oldid=984454031, accessed 31 Mar 2020.

[333] See Saarah Jappie, "Between Makassars: Site, Story, and the Transoceanic Afterlives of Shaykh Yusuf of Makassar", PhD. Dissertation (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University, 2018), p. 55.

the Retiefs[334], are believed to have descended from the De Haans.[335]

There is no doubt that the children of the Rajah and his wife Zytie (or Care Sale) converted to Christianity at the Cape, and that as a consequence their descendants remain a part of its history:

> A…later progenitor of several Afrikaner families was Ibrahim Adehaan, later known as Abraham de Haan. Abraham was the son of Abulbasi, the Rajah of Tambora….He is described in the Cape baptismal registers as an 'elderly freeborn Mohammedan' who, on 2 November 1721 was confirmed as a Christian. He married Helena Valentyn in Cape Town on 20 September 1722 - she was the daughter of Hercules Valentyn of the West Coast of India and Cecelia van Bengale….The latter were married in 1716, long after the birth of their daughter Helena. Adehaan's (three) daughters (and one son) of this marriage (were all baptised and) all married whites…[336]

Although they may have left the fold of Islam, through their conversion to Christianity, they ultimately remained 'People of the Book'.

D. Concluding Remarks

The Council of Policy was the VOC's highest authority at the Cape and its formally documented Resolutions therefore carried great legal

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[334] Although there is a connection with the Retief family, it appears that Robert Shell (in his 1974 BA Thesis) may have wrongly claimed that the controversial political figure, and Voortrekker leader, Piet Retief, was a descendant of the Rajah. See Mahida, *History of Muslims in South Africa*, p. 4. The familial connection appears not to be with Francois Retief (eldest brother of Piet Retief) but with a different Francois Johannes Retief, who was Piet Retief's father's cousin. This information was confirmed by Dr. A. Kok (Head of the NGK Archive and Chairperson of the Huguenots Society of South Africa) on 31 March 2020. For details on this connection see "Van Tambora Rajah", *South Africa's Stamouers*, https://www.stamouers.com/stamouers/surnames-v-z/562-van-tambora-rajah, accessed 31 Mar 2020.

[335] See Shafiq Morton, *From the Spice Islands to Cape Town: The Life and Times of Tuan Guru* (South Africa: National Awqaf Foundation of South Africa, 2018), p. 111. Its note 194.

[336] Heese, *Cape Melting Pot: The Role and Status of the Mixed Population at the Cape*, p. 40; H.F. Heese, *Groep Sonder Grense: die rol en status van die gemengde bevolking aan die Kaap, 1652-1795* (Bellville: Wes-Kaaplandse Instituut vir Historiese Navorsing, Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland, 1984).

weight.[337] The Resolution of the Council of Policy of the Cape (dated 24 September 1720) clearly, and categorically, creates a prior marital link between the Rajah of Tambora and Care Sale (as his widow), and a parental link between them and their five children (four boys and a girl), four of whom subsequently converted to Christianity. The baptismal record (1726) of their only daughter refers to Care Sale as Zytie Sara Marouff and the Rajah as Abulbasi Sultan. Although these names do not appear to correspond with the names in the Company Resolution, they are the same persons but, as explained in Section 2, during this period of VOC rule such vast discepancies in the spelling style of names was not unusual.

I have, through a careful piecing together of threads of historical and other sources, filled in some gaps pertaining to the stay of Shaykh Yusuf and his family at the Cape. A Company Resolution (dated 30 October 1699) clearly lists the names of Shaykh Yusuf's wives and children who arrived at the Cape. The omission of the name Zytie or Care Sals from this list is therefore also an "official" indication that she was not his daughter.

Valentijn's account of his visit to the Cape is an important source describing the early history of the Cape. Given the scarcity of information on these families, his entries on the Rajah and the Shaykh therefore provide important insight. The Rajah was a "minor ruler".[338] According to Valentijn's account, he ruled over a small kingdom in a different part of Indonesia than from where the Shaykh hailed. Moreover, the Shaykh, although also Indonesian, was exiled to the Cape from Ceylon while the Rajah was exiled from Indonesia. There is no indication of who arrived with the Rajah during his first period of exile at the Cape. However, an entry in Valentijn's account indicates that the Rajah's (then unnamed) wife accompanied him to the Cape. She was therefore also Indonesian and relished the opportunity to be able to speak with Valentijn in the Malay language. At the time of their arrival at the Cape, the Rajah and his wife were not as yet parents of any children. Valentijn's account provides important clues that the Rajah's wife was not the Shaykh's daughter and

[337] See Helena Liebenberg, *Introduction to the Resolutions of Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town: TANAP), p. 4.

[338] Ward, *Networks of Empire*, p. 211.

that the Rajah had not married her at the Cape. Given that Valentijn was a man of the cloth, his account must be accorded some credibility and therefore should not be dismissed. With hindsight, we know that the wife who accompanied the Rajah was indeed the same Zytie or Care Sals referred to in the above sources. Valentijn reported his visit to the gravesite of Shaykh Yusuf in 1705, possibly before he had met with the Tamboras. Yet the topic of the Shaykh did not appear to come up during their conversation. If Zytie (Care Sals) was the Shaykh's daughter, would she have allowed his memory to have been erased so quickly? Although they lived in the same district (Stellenbosch) at the time, given the Tamboras' status of isolation, she may not have been able to pay her respects to her father's gravesite in person but that would not have precluded an enquiry at the time. In her appeals to the Company to return home, it was never mentioned that she may have been connected to the family of the Shaykh. The Rajah, who, until his death, did not appear to miss an opportunity to make contact with his homeland, strangely enough during the conversation with Valentijn also did not enquire after the Shaykh's departed entourage, with whom he had tried to depart in 1704, just a year before the meeting with Valentijn.

As is evident from Company Letters (dated from 1701 to 1704) during the time of Cara Contoe's negotiations with the Company for the entourage to depart as a unit, some nine years before he was pardoned in 1710 the Rajah also sought permission to return to Indonesia. As already detailed, in the Letter dated 30 November 1702, he requested permission only for himself and his manservant, Rinchou, to depart with the entourage of Shaykh Yusuf. It appears that he was hoping that, without the Dutch authorities being any wiser, his wife and two children would automatically be guaranteed passage on the pretext of being considered to be part of Shaykh Yusuf's family. However, the Dutch authorities, as is evident from the Company correspondence (a Letter received at the Cape on 26 February 1704[339] and a Letter from the Cape

[339] Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters received, 1695-1708*, p. 333. Letter (Number Seven) Received at the Cape, 26 February 1704, page 333: "No. 306, p. 733. "More than once the Macassar King Radja Goa has requested us to let him have the widow and children, and also the bones of the late Moorish Priest Sheik Joseph, and as we do not see that any difficulty will result to the Company by granting the request, you are authorized to grant a passage hither to the widow and

in response thereto dated 14 June 1704)[340], appear to have outsmarted him. This was not surprising given that the Rajah had a track record of seeking out available avenues to communicate with Indonesia through passing ships (as indicated in the Letter from the Cape dated 10 March 1708) and through, no less, a Company official with whom he was friendly (as indicated in a Company Resolution dated 25 April 1719). The Rajah attempted until his death in late 1719, to return to Indonesia and so did his wife, Care Sale, thereafter. If Shaykh Yusuf's family, who did not even want his remains to rest in South African soil, did leave behind a daughter on it, other than the Manjampa Singara's wife (also family) who did not intend to stay for a long period, and who subsequently did return to Indonesia with the Manjampa, surely there would have been attempts from their side to get her back?

As for the Rajah, he may be credited as the first person to have transcribed the Qur'an at the Cape, but the Shaykh did not appear to have a daughter married to him and therefore the Rajah's children were not his grandchildren. However, it was the Rajah and Care Sale's children, who were born Muslim, and who subsequently converted to Christianity. They appeared to have done so voluntarily and entered into mixed marriages that transcended both cultural and religious distinctions.

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her children, and to connive at, and allow to pass as if not observed, the removal of the remains of that priest, if they wish to transfer them hither under their own care; *but then you shall also take care that, under the pretext of belonging to that family, other Easterns may not escape who have been banished to the Cape quite apart from Sheik Joseph, and at other times, and who are to be detained at the Cape, until further orders"*. My emphasis.

[340] Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters despatched, 1696-1708*, pp. 245–6. Letter (Number Six) Despatched from the Cape, 14 June 1704: "Sheik Joseph. As regards the widow of the Moorish priest Sleg (Sheik) Joseph, whom in your letter of 26th February you have been pleased to order back at the oft-repeated request of the Macassarian King Radja Goa, we shall give her and her children a passage accordingly. We shall also allow it to pass, by shutting our eyes, and doing as if we did not see it, should they be willing to take under their care and carry away with them the bones of that same priest. To our satisfaction this whole company will be sent over with the first ship that has room. *We shall also take care that no other Easterns under the pretext of belonging to that family, but who are in banishment here, get mixed up in the number, and so escape from banishment. We shall detain them all, and grant them no passage until further orders.* Whether they have dug up, or will have dug up the bones of the said priest we cannot tell, but should they be inclined to do so, they will be allowed to do so without any remark." My emphasis.

As a consequence, it was the Rajah's grandchildren that were born and also baptised as Christian. As indicated, although Kalden was also a man of the cloth, it is doubtful, given his age and the short period that they were immediate neighbours, that he could have influenced the Shaykh to change his faith. Both Kalden and Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel were later dismissed on charges of corruption. This indicates that Kalden's reputation was not above reproach and that he may have been too occupied with his own interests than with engaging in proselytising activities.

It is also ironic that the very Governor (Willem Adriaan van der Stel), for whom the Rajah in 1705 was penning a copy of what could have been the first handwritten Qur'an in South Africa, had five years earlier (in 1700) laid one of the first foundation stones of the very church in which the Rajah's children were to be baptised after his death (in 1719). This church, the Groote Kerk in Cape Town, had adopted the Dutch Reformed denomination of Christianity that was practised at the Cape, and is the oldest church in South Africa.[341] Shaykh Yusuf has been likened to Nelson Mandela and the Rajah penned the first copy of the Qur'an at Vergelegen. It was therefore symbolic that the African National Congress (ANC) executive held its first meeting at Vergelegen after the unbanning of the ANC and Mandela's release from prison in 1990. Drawn to its heritage dating back to 1700, it was not surprising that "Mandela returned to the farm [Vergelegen] as President and also in retirement."[342]

It is therefore contended that the unnamed woman, who belonged to Shaykh Yusuf's entourage, but who opted to remain behind in 1704, was the Manjampa Singara's wife and not Zytie or Care Sals. This unnamed woman was, more likely than not, the wife of a person also linked to the Shaykh's entourage, who may have had no option but to stay. It appears from two Company Letters (sent from the Cape on 2 October 1704 and received at the Cape on 18 December 1704) referring to this unnamed woman, that the Company may not even have known

[341] See "The Groote Kerk", *Cape Town History: A Tourist Guide*, http://capetownhistory.com/?page_id=246, accessed 31 Mar 2020.

[342] For details and an overview of Vergelegen's heritage see. *Vergelegen Museum*, https://www.twoshoes.co.za/work/349-2/, accessed 31 Mar 2020.

her name, and it is unlikely that it would have recorded her name on the list of departing members since she had opted to stay. That scholars, including his descendants, like Ms Sahib, have tried to forge an artificial link with Zytie as the daughter of one of the Shaykh's nine wives has therefore also proved to be a strained exercise.

The Rajah, given the marriage of his children to free burghers (early settlers) at the Cape, may ultimately have left descendants of mixed 'Coloured' and European descent in South Africa and possibly Indonesia (since one of his sons returned there with his family), who can trace their roots to Islam. On the other hand, Shaykh Yusuf, who continues to date to be a revered Sufi saint in both countries, as well as Sri Lanka, may have left no descendants at the Cape, let alone Christian ones, in spite of the shadow of conversion that, to date, is still associated with his name. His descendants from Sri Lanka and Indonesia have visited South Africa. Shaykh Yusuf's legacy lives on at the Cape and remains embedded in the history of both the countries of his birth and death. This article has systematically shown that it can now continue to do so, but, henceforth, untainted by a stigma of conversion.

There is nothing in the Company records thus far perused, and which pertain to the Shaykh and his family, that indicate that Care Sals was, or may have been, his daughter. For this reason, it cannot be proved that it was his grandchildren that converted to Christianity. The Company correspondence between Batavia and the Cape referred to in this article has its limitations since the article merely critically interrogates what has already been written and interpreted by scholars on the topic. During the approximately 150 years (from 1652 to 1795) of the first period of Dutch rule at the Cape "…the Council of Policy wrote millions of word on thousands of folio pages about matters concerning everyday life at the Cape".[343] There may therefore be much more information pertaining to these families that remains untapped. The last word on the subject has therefore yet to be written. Given the commendable work already done by the scholars referred to, this article is therefore but a further step in this direction. The conclusion of these scholars that Zytie (or Care Sals) was the Shaykh's daughter has also reminded us that we have to question our own historical records and that subsequent interpretations

[343] See Liebenberg, *Introduction to the Resolutions of Cape of Good Hope*, p. 4.

thereof may not be as straightforward as was thought to be the case. However, regardless of any deficiencies, the mere fact that these records and sources exist, and that past and present scholars, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, deemed Shaykh Yusuf a viable topic for their research, must be appreciated and commended, for in doing so, his legacy and contribution to Islam in South Africa have remained alive.

Taylor[344] highlights Shaykh Yusuf's political role as follows:

> Shaikh Yusuf voiced what was objectionable about the Dutch: they were the Occidental Other, outsiders, non-Muslims, and (in some places) rulers of Muslims. He established a perspective on Westerners that remains to this day.

However, we have to believe that as a Sufi saint he was content with what fate had ordained for him, because it included his coming to the Cape and dying there. Ultimately, I contend that his place of burial (Cape or Gowa) is an 'enigma' that will remain unsolved. Traditional Muslims believe that the soul transends the body and is eternal.

Shaykh Yusuf's own beginnings (that he may have been fathered by a man of unknown origin) and ending (where he may ultimately lie buried), may be uncertain, but there can be no doubt of his unwaivering faith in, and love for, Islam. More than a century ago Colvin described Shaykh Yusuf as follows:

> He was not only of noble birth, but of unusual piety, a great warrior, a great prince, and also a priest deep in the knowledge of holy things.[345]

More recently he was described as "…a man of character, a leader, a hero".[346] Today he continues to be venerated as a saintly figure in the country of his birth and that of his death. His legacy should be remembered as such.

Ironically, in spite of the wasted years of apartheid (racial segregation) that South Africans experienced until the start of democracy in 1993, and which forbade such marriages, the marriages of the children of Abulbasi and Care Sale, produced children of mixed race already

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[344] See J. Taylor, *Indonesia*, p. 172.

[345] Ian D. Colvin, *Romance of Empire South Africa* (London: Caxton Pub. Co, 1909).

[346] See Greyling, "Schech Yusuf, the Founder of Islam in South Africa", p. 18.

during a period of Dutch colonialism. Shaykh Yusuf, the Rajah and Care Sale resigned themselves to their fate at the Cape and remained Muslim. Despite their conversions, the Rajah's children and grandchildren remained "people of the book" and ultimately believers.

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