TUAN GURU:
THE CAPE MUSLIM PHILOSOPHY EDUCATION SYSTEM

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Abstract

Tuan Guru Imam Abdullah ibn Qadhi Abd al-Salam is the Scholar of Islam who had an important role on the Islamic development in South Africa. He comes from Tidore (North Maluku) who exiled the Cape in 1780 by the Dutch Colonial because of his opposite to Dutch Colonial’s policy of monopoly, slavery, and forced labour. While in prison on his exile at the Cape Town, he completed a number of magnum opus, i.e. Ma’rufah al-Islam wa al-Iman, a manuscript contain with qalam (Word of God), tauhid (Ones of God), and fiqh (Study of laws pertaining to ritual obligation). After his bandaging, he establish a madrasah to educate the slaves and free blacks of the Cape who had become Muslim. The Muslim education in the Cape based on the Ash’ari concepts of takdir, iradah, taqwah, iktisab, qadha, and qadhar. These concepts had made as a basic in formation of Muslim personality.

Keywords: Cape Muslim, Philosophy Education System, Ash’ari, islamic development

1. Introduction

Islam, though present at the Cape since the arrival of the first slaves, never became a vibrant binding force between slave and free black, except for a short period around Shaykh Yusuf’s settlement at Faure in the end of the seventeenth century. From the description of two religious functions of the Cape Muslim of the 1770’s (Bradlow, 1978), we get the impression of a ceremonial, rather than a resistant, Islam being practised. This would have been in conformity with the needs of both the slaves and the free blacks – both of whom needed religion as a cultural expression.

The ceremonial approach still dominates the cultural-religious practices of the Cape Muslim, and it seen in such activities as rampiesny, doopmal (the naming ceremony of the new-born baby with all its trimmings: with crow-foot-like insignia drawn on the forehead, the baby being carried on a tray decorated with flowers) and the kersopstiek (the ceremonial lighting of candles on the twenty-seventh of Ramadan). These practices show how strongly the syncretic mysticism of the eighteenth century has made an impact on the cultural life of the community.

The syncretic mysticism resulted from acculturation. The adaption accommodated cultural traits from the Hinduism and animistic forms of worship into the religious practice of Islam by the newly converted slaves. It was through madrassah education at the Cape that the new cultural traits, together with the religion of Islam, were perpetuated.

The madaris (plural of madrassah), by virtue of their uniform educational approach and its attractiveness to vast sections of the slave and free black population in Cape Town (Hoge, 1957: 87), provided the ideal ecological base for the transmission of cultural and religious ideas. As a result of their transmission and
perpetuation in the madaris and enactment through the mosques, these cultural traits became assimilated and formed an intrinsic part of the communal social life of the slaves and free blacks living in Cape Town during the early years of the nineteenth century.

Such an important role did the madaris play as a comentin force in their communal relatedness, that in 1838, the Reverend James Willis Sanders, a Christian missionary at Stellenbosch, was moved to admiration for the educational efforts of the Cape Muslim community, especially the role of their imams. He writes:

“... they have always deeply sympathised with their brethren in slavery. They have raised a fund to make as many as they could free, and have opened schools for the instruction of the coloured children... the black man has no desire to enter into the Christian church whose gates have been so long shut against him, he prefers joining with those who have been his friends in his distress, who invited and encouraged him to bring his children to the same school, to attend the same mosque, and to look forward to meeting again in the same paradise (Rochlin, 1982: 141)“.

Shell argues that Muslim education encouraged conversion in many ways. The madaris were opened to all, irrespective of race, and thereby drawing otherwise excluded children into the field of Islam. Islam provided an alternative education for those suspicious of the Christianity of the State. But, most important, he said, was the fact that the imams were conducting lessons in Afrikaans, which appealed to the largest linguistic pool of slave-masters. From this embryo, Islam at the Cape developed to become the religion of a third of the population in Cape Town in 1842.

The basic elements in this matrix were drawn from the rational traditional philosophy of Sunnism, of which Tuan Guru was a follower. He expounds this philosophy extensively in the Ma’rifah al-Islam we al-Imam, the manuscript compiled in 1781 while still incarcerated on Robben Island. The manuscript become the main textbook of the school, and greatly stimulated writing amongst the slaves as parts were copied as student note-books. Through over 600 pages, the Ash’ari concepts of takdir (predetermination), iradah (the Will of God), taqwah (piety, attained through fearing God, and being submissive to His commands) and ikitsab (acquisition-in the sense that God created the acts of man, and acquires them) – all linked to Qada (the Judgement of God) and Qadar (the Decree of God) – Tuan Guru manages to weave a system of social relations in which the slaves and the or free black slave owners could coexist harmoniously. In terms of this system of social relations, it was possible for a slave to be appointed as imam of a congregation or an assistant Imam of an mosque, for differences between men were not measured in terms of social station or material possession, but differences in the acquisition of degrees of piety (taqwah). (Ajam: 1974: 64).

Tuan Guru appointed Achmat of Bengal as the assistants imam at the Dorp Street Mosque in 1806, the year before he died, though Achmat was still a slave. The Simon’s student school Town Muslims appointed the slave Abdalgaviel (probably Abd al-Hafeez) as Imam of their congregation in 1823 (Ajam: 1974: 183). It was in terms of this appointment that Abdalgaviel applied for a piece of burial ground for his congregation, becoming the first slave ever in whose vafour a land grand was made.

The point is that being slaves would not have prevented them from asserting their authority, for such authority would be in iradah, i.e. the Will of God, as was determined for a person. This is substantiated by the Quran: Obey God, and obey the Apostle, and those charged with authority among you. in terms of Islamic jurisprudence or Fiqh, slaves would not be able to lead the Friday congregational or jumaáh prayers, for which freedom from slavery was a prerequisite. It was argued that the slave, being exempted from paying the compulsory poor rate (zakah), even though he has a nisab (the minimum property on which zakah is due), is incomplete (the communal word is onvolkoem) with regard to expressing the four basic principles of faith – belief, prayer, paying zakah, and fasting-required from the person who leads the jumaáh prayers. This explains why Achmad of Bengal, who was still a slave, and though a very pious man, was not immediately appointed to the position of imam, and why Jan of Boughies in 1836 disputed that he was ever appointed as imam. Nevertheless, within the system of social
relations suggested by Tuan Guru, there was sufficient space for the social mobility of the slave within the Islamic social structure.

The Ma’rifah al-Islam wa al-Imam had a profound influence on the social life of the Cape Muslim during the nineteenth century, it was their basic reference on religious issues, even cited as such in a Cape Supreme Court litigation in 1873. Its basic philosophical position still forms the approach to agida (the Islamic belief system), and became the subject of several Arabic-Afrikaans and Afrikaans Roman script publications in the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth centuries. The most recent of these publications is the Akiedatoel Moesliem – ‘n Kietab for Tougied by M.A. Fakier, published in Afrikaans Roman script in 1983 (Ajam, 1974).

I shall look more intensely at the Ash’ari theological philosophy, and Tuan Guru’s student school exposition of it, further on. At this point it is sufficient to note that this philosophy provided the matrix of the milieu of the Cape slave world, and explains the Cape Muslim determinism with regard to calamities or even politics, articulated in terms of Alles is in die takdier van Allah (Everything is determined by Allah); or every happening being articulated in terms of this perception of predetermination – Alles is in die kadaa-kadar van Allah (Everything is according to the general and particular decrees of Allah).

2. The Cape Muslim Educational System

2.1 An Institution of Assimilation and Cultural Transmission

It was also through the madrassah that the distinctive cultural traits of the community, some directly from the religion of Islam, others from the processes of acculturation and accommodation in a new social milieu, were reinforced and transmitted.

2.2 Reading and Writing - the Rote Learning Modes

Organised madrassah education at the Cape seems to have emerged only in 1793, with the establishment of a religious school in the warehouse of the home of Coridon of Ceylon in Dorp Street. The same premises two years later doubled up as the first mosque in the southern Hemisphere, the Auwal (the First) Mosque. Prior to this, religious education had probably been conducted in the homes of the free blacks, with the only possibility of an organised system having been at Shaykh Yusuf’s sanctuary at faure in 1694. It was at faure during Shaykh Yusuf’s student school time, according to oral tradition, that the Quran was first recited in South Africa (Rochlin: 1982: 141).

Nevertheless, like most aspects of their socio-cultural life, their system of education, as first developed at the madrassah in Dorp Street, also remained fairly static. The educational method was essentially a rote learning process, and the Melayu rhythmic mnemonics – imported from the teaching of the consonant and vowel sounds of the Arabic alphabet – was until recently still used in Cape Town. There is thus hardly a Cape Muslim, over the age of thirty years, who has not been taught Arabic reading in this manner, and does not remember these rhythmic mnemonics. Here is a part of one of them (read in Afrikaans):

“Alief dettis’a; alief bouwa ie’; alief dappan oe’; a ie’ oe’
Ba dettis ba; ba bauwa bi; Ba dappan boe ba’ bie’ boe’
Ta dettis ta; ta bouwa tie’; ta dappan toe; ta; tie; toe’
Tha dettis tha; tha bouwa thie; tha dappan thoe; tha; thie; thoe’
(and so on until the end of the Arabic alphabet).

The rote learning approach is amplified more clearly in the method of the koples boek. In terms of this method the student is required to transcribe a lesson, either from a chalkboard or dictation by a teacher, in a book called a koples boek. The student is then required to memorise it at home (getting the lesson into his head or kop in the literal sense) and recite it to the teacher on the next occasion. If his or her retention is good, the student is given a new lesson and the process is repeated.

It was from these student notebooks, or koples boek, which survived that we are able to gain some knowledge of the teaching method used during the early days of madrassah education at Cape. The author has two such notebooks, dated 1806 and 1908, and several others from various times in the nineteenth century, in his possession. These student notebooks show the continuity of the educational method which existed in the nineteenth century. From them we can also trace the changes in the medium of instruction, from Melayu to Afrikaans, in nineteenth century Cape madrassah education.

Although Islamic education today is terribly fragmented and disorganised, there was a time in their nineteenth century Cape history that the Cape Muslim had a highly organised system of education. It was through this system of education that the Afrikaans language variety of the Cape Muslim community was perpetuated, and as noted earlier, the matrix of the slave world maintained. Then too, through the education concepts and the basic philosophy of this system of education, the needs of the slaves and the needs of the free black slave-owners were held in equilibrium.

2.3 Madrassah Education – Its Organization in the Nineteenth Century

The Cape Muslim Islamic education system started with the establishment of the Dorp street Madrassah in 1793.
As the first institution of the Cape Muslim, it proved tremendously successful. By 1807, this madrassah or school had a student population of 372 slave and free black students, a number which was to increase to 491 by 1825. If we consider that, despite the intense Christian missionary activity, only 86 slaves out of a possibility of 35,698 in the Cape Colony were baptised between 1810 and 1824, approximately six per year the tremendous influence of the school on the slave and free black community becomes evident. We can thus understand the concern of the Earl of Caledon about the activities of the imams who were teaching the slaves precepts from the Quran and to read and to write Arabic (Hoge: 1951: 111).

By 1825 there were two major islamic student schools in Cape Town and one or two smaller ones. It would appear from the available evidence that, though these schools were rivals of each other, they offered basically the same education, and from a perusal of a student notebook used at the school at Simon's student school Town, pursued the same method of education. Nevertheless madaris – in the homes of several imams – continued to emerge in Cape Town and by 1832 no less than 12 Muslim schools existed in the mother city.

This proliferation of madaris necessitated some sort of coordination of the education system. Such coordination seems to have taken place, for by 1854, Islamic education at the Cape was exceptionally well organised and under the control of a single imam moosta (De Kock, 1950), or a “superintendent general of education” in today’s student school parlance. Not only was it the responsibility to coordinate the educational activities of the schools which had been started by white converts to Islam, and which, apart from their Islamic component, were giving “instruction in English and Dutch, writing and accounts”, and which was, “perhaps equal to that of the Christian schools.”

This organised system of education started to disintegrate by the time of the coming of Abu Bakr Effendi in 1862. The Ottoman Theological School, which he established in 1863 never became part of the mainstream educational system and possibly started the rivalry between Abu Bakr Effendi and Achmat Sadik Achmat, who was the imam moosta at the time.

By the end of the nineteenth century the organisation of madrassah education no longer existed as a single system, and Islamic education was provided by several independent madaris, operated mainly from the mosques in Cape Town. The method of the koples boek and the Melayu rhythmic mnemonics were still in use. An innovation was the production of printed readers in Arabic Afrikaans for the students. Thus, for example, in 1894, Hisham Ni’mah-Allah Effendi caused three Arabic – Afrikans publications, as children’s readers, to be printed in Turkey. In 1907 Imam Abd al-Rahman Qasim Jamal al-Din, who was the principal of both the Habibiyah Madrassah in Athlone and the Al Azhar Mosque Scholl in district Six, published readers for his students (Rochlin, 1982: 79). Madrassah education in the nineteenth century left the Cape Muslim Islamic education with three distinctive Melayu Islamic education terms used even to this day. These terms are: toellies = to write; a-yah = to spell; and batcha = to read.

2.4 Educational Philosophy

The tremendous success of the Dorp Street Madrasah, as the very first educational institution of the Cape Muslim, is attributed to the verve and enthusiasm of the founding imams. Most of them were slave-owners, and all of them under the leadership of Imam Abdullah ibn Qadi Abd al-Salam. His efforts to establish the school earned for him the nickname Tuan Guru, meaning “Mister Teacher”. It was also his theological philosophy which formed the basis of Islamic education at the Cape, a philosophy still pursued even to this day.

Tuan Guru was, according to his will, a geweesent prins vant’landschap Tidore in Ternaten (a former prince of the principality of Tidore in the Ternete Islands). It is difficult to ascertain why he was brought to the Cape. From the few details thus far discovered in the Cape Archives, he and three others were banished to the Cape for conspiring with the British against the Dutch. They arrived here on 6 April 1780, and were incarcerated on Robben Island. While in prison, Tuan Guru wrote the Ma’rifah al-Islam wa al-Iman (Manifestations of Islam and Faith), an extensive and comprehensive exposition of the Ash’ari dogmatic areed of Sunnism which he completed in 1781. On his release from prison, Tuan Guru went to settle in Dorp Street, Cape Town, where he established the madrassah (De Kock, 1950).

Tuan Guru’s theological philosophy, which formed the matrix of the Cape slave world, and the basic philosophy of the educational approach at the dorp Street madrasah, is extensively discussed in the Ma’rifah al-Islam wa al-Iman. In this book, Tuan Guru declares that he is a Shafi’i in theology and an Ash’ari in dogmatics. by this he implied that in ritual practice (Figh or jurisprudence), he was a follower of Imam Shafi, one of the four imams of the Ahli Sunni wa al-jamaah or Traditionalists. In dogma of belief (aqidah) he was a follower of Abu’l-Hasan ‘Ali ibn Ismail al-Ash’ari. This makes Tuan Guru a rational – traditionalist. To understand the rational philosophical-theological arguments of the dogma of belief, as expounded in the Ma’rifah al-Islam wa al-Iman, and which in turn influenced the socio-religious life of the slaves and free blacks, it is useful to look briefly at the historical arguments from which these theological-philosophical arguments emerged.

The founder of Tuan Guru’s student school rational-traditional dogmatic school, Abu ‘l-Hasan ‘Ali ibn Isma’il al-Ash’ari, was born in Basra in 873. He was
originally a Mu’atza, and thus an Islamic theological philosopher who – with others in this philosophical mould-combined certain Islamic dogmas with Greek Philosophical conceptions. To them reason and logic were more important than tradition (i.e. the practices of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) and revelation (i.e. the teachings of the Quran). In 912 Al-Ash’ari abandoned the Mu’atza, and adopted the teachings of the Ahli Sunna wa al-Jama’, being greatly influenced by Imam Ahmad Hambal, the founder of the Hambali school of Sunnism.

Hereafter he devoted himself to the intellectual defence of the Sunni dogmatic position until his death in 935. It is said that the movement towards the rational depend of the central dogma of belief of Sunnism (i.e. the Sunni concepts of aqidah) found its climax in the teachings of two great theological philosophers, al-Mutaridi and al-Ash’ari. (Ajam, 1974: 54).

The “conversion” of al-Ash’ari to Sunnism and his subsequent differences with the Mu’atza, need not be discussed in detail. It is sufficient to note that the essential difference between al-Ash’ari and the Mu’atza is their rejection of the notion that the Quran was created. Al-ash’ari declared that the Quran was uncreated, and the very speech of God (Ajam, 1974). Al-Ash’ari did not totally abandon reason, but worked out a position which may best be described as the support of revelation and tradition by reason: reason being subordinate to revelation. It is around this conceptualisation that the Ash’ari theological philosophy developed its concepts of aqidah (belief). And it is in terms of this philosophical background that Tuan Guru wrote the Ma’rifah al-Islam wa Al-Iman in 1781.

The Ma’rifah al-Islam wa Al-Iman deals exclusively with the concepts of belief (aqidah) and as such deals with that part of the Ahari’ah (Islamic law) known as the Ilm al-Kalam, i.e. the principles of belief or the knowledge of the existence of God – the Shari’ah being divided into two distinct parts, the ilm al-Kalam and Fiqh. Fiqh is concerned with the practices of the religion, governing its rules and regulations, and hence projected as Islamic jurisprudence.

The manuscript is written in Arabic with interlineal translations in Melayu, occasionally Buginese, in Arabic script. It is vibrant with theological argument. True to the Ash’ari tradition it is supported by reason and dalil, i.e. proofs from the Quran and Traditions. The main concepts of belief are excellently illustrated by diagrammatic explanatory representations. For the reader an understanding is created that in the final analysis, man’s student school station in life, his material position and wellbeing, his very existence, is determined by the Will of God; and it is only in His power to change the destiny of man. Man has been given reason and the power to discriminate between good and evil, both of which are created by God, but man must strive to acquire (ikitsah) good by being submissive to God’s student school Will and attain piety (taqwah). This is the basic philosophy of the Ma’rifah al-Islam wa al-Iman.

The main theme of the first section of the manuscript, after clarifying the concepts of Islam and faith (imam), are the Will of God and the Power of God. The entire social structure functions around these concepts; and man’s student school primary concern is to acquire good and attain piety (taqwah), which is in God’s student school Judgement and God’s student school Power. These concepts are given Quranic support (dalil) by an extensive explanatory translation of Chapter LXVII (Surah Mulk – Chapter Dominion) of the Quran, which chapter expounds the power of god and the Will of God. Man in his struggle to attain piety may, in his sufferings and afflictions, appeal to God who is Just and Merciful. In terms of this, Tuan Guru formulates medicinal spiritual prescriptions, i.e. azimats (talismans) and isharah (remedies) as a means of appealing to God.

These Medicinal spiritual prescriptions, to which no more than ten out of the 600 pages of the manuscript are devoted, are strategically placed throughout the book, each to confirm and emphasis the Will and the Power of God. This does not make Tuan Guru a member of any tariqah or sufii mystical order, but it is in fact a rational-traditional Ash’ari response to two verses of the Quran: the Quran clearly states that in its words are healing powers and the Quran refers to the powers granted by God to the Prophet Jesus to heal the sick with His permission and His Will.

It is the determinism inherent in the Ash’ari rational-traditional theological philosophy which conditioned the slaves in the acceptance of their subjugation, and assured for them good treatment from their free black slave-masters, who feared the “acquisition” (ikitsah) of evil which they might attain through injustice and ill treatment of their slaves. This explains, apart from the fact that this system gave them social mobility, why the slaves generally never resisted their slavery, even after the formation of the Cape slave world.

It also explains why the nineteenth century Cape Muslim never organised politically, as a community, against the State; but resisted the regulations imposed upon them during the nineteenth century smallpox epidemics, and the closure of their urban cemeteries in 1886 (Mayson, 1865: 137). It was only when the state regulations were perceived as being contrary to takdir (i.e. the pradeterminet Will of God), that the Cape Muslim reacted. Interference in God’s student school Will (iradah) is contrary to a tenet of belief. It is – in Tuan Guru’s terms – attributing to God karahah, defined by him as “the persuasion of God against his Will” which he says is “impossible” (mustakhir as an attribute of God (Mayson, 1865).
The Sunusiyyah, which was formulated by Muhammad Yusuf ibn al-Sunusi, and which became known in Cape Town as the twintagh siefaats, (i.e. the twenty attributes), assert that every believer must know twenty attributes (sifat) necessary in respect of God, and twenty attributes impossible (mustakhil) for Him. The Sunusiyyah is extensively philosophical, for within the twenty attributes necessary for God are seven attributes of form, which have to be distinguished from seven very similar attributes pertaining to form. Within its reasoning context, the Sunusiyyah gives recognition to all 99 attributes of God which Muslims accept.

The Sunusiyyah, as formulated by Al-Sunusi, is reproduced in toto in the manuscript, and translated by Tuan Guru in Melayu in Arabic script. It acts as a convenient embodiment of the basic philosophy which Tuan Guru expounds in the first section of the manuscript.

It is the Sunusiyyah which proved the most popular and convenient part of the manuscript for rote learning; and several copies were transcribed from the original Ma’rifah al-Islam wa al-Iman, with the Melayu translations, as handbooks and readers for the students at the Dorp Street Madrassah. The author has two such copies in his possession and he has examined several others, including the one used by the slave imam, Abdulgaviel, of Simon’s Town, which has remained extant. It represents the most extensive example of the literary exploits of the Cape Muslim Slaves prior to emancipation.

It is also the autho’s student school contention that the sunusiyyah or twintagh siefaats provided the slaves with an understanding of a rational unitary God, which the Christian missionaries with the concept of Trinity could not penetrate. The Sunusiyyah remained the main teaching subject of the madaris in Cape Town until well into the 1950’s student school and 1960’s student school, when the author as a child was required to memorise its concepts and reasoning context without fully comprehending them.

Tuan guru’s student school Ma’rifah al-Islam wa al-Iman, especially the portion dealing with the twenty attributes or the Sunusiyyah, became the main text main of the Drop Street Madrassah during its founding years. The other important subject was Arabic reading. At least one handwritten Arabic primer of the school has survived, and is currently filed in the Grey Collection in the South African Library.

Arabic as a language does not appear to have been taught, though Jan of Boughies was designated Arabic teacher (Ajam, 1974: 154). His duties probably involved teaching the children to read the Arabic Quran. Several handwritten copies of the Arabic Quran were written from memory by Tuan Guru and the former slave, Rajab of Boughies, as additional readers. The recitation of the Arabic Quran is a requirement for the reading of the prayers. This does not necessitate a knowledge of the Arabic language. That Arabic, as a language, was not taught is evident from the very few Arabic loan-words in cape Muslim Afrikaans. Such loan-words from Arabic are mainly confined to religious terminology, where these words were already inflected in Melayu from which language they were bridged into Cape Muslim Afrikaans. Then too, the need for Melayu translation indicates the limited knowledge the student had of the Arabic language.

From one of the student notebooks in the author’s student school possession, it would appear that the basic aspects of wudhu ritual ablution and prayers were taught. In 1797, Tuan Guru translated the Al-Tilmisani, and in 1798, the Talilul-Chairah into Melayu in Arabic script. Both these manuscripts deal extensively with Islamic ritual practice and the related laws. It was, nevertheless, the Ma’rifah al-Islam wa al-Iman which seems to have had the greatest impact on the Cape slave and free black community, and which provided the impetus for Islamic education at the Cape.

If one single factor has to be identified as being responsible for the survival of Islam in nineteenth century Cape Town, that factor is obviously the strength of the organised madrassah education system. Through this system with its rational-traditional theological philosophy the communal cultural and religious traits were reinforced and perpetuated. The Sunusiyyah in particular played a vital role. It gave the Cape Muslim rational answers for their belief in a unitary God.

3. Conclusion

Tuan Guru Imam Abdullah Ibn Abd-Salam had very much popular known in the Cape, but yet not in his place of origin, Tidore. He is the “Founding Father” of the Muslim Philosophy Education System in the Cape. This article is the first step in an effort study about Tuan Guru’s role in founding the Muslim philosophy education system. Forward study connected with Tuan Guru’s role must be taken in the future.

Reference


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