

The forgotten Effendi: Ottoman Muslim theologian, Mahmud Fakhri Emin Effendi, and the real story of the Bo-Kaap Museum, c.1894-1978

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Abstract

This article attempts to re-present the religious and educational activities of a forgotten Muslim scholar, Mahmud Fakhri Emin Effendi, in Cape history. The subject of the article is related to this Ottoman scholar, as well as the story of his house at 71 Wale Street in Cape Town, which is the Bo-Kaap Museum at present. In 1894, fourteen years after the death of Abu Bakr Emin Effendi, the Ottoman Caliphate in Istanbul appointed another Muslim scholar at the Cape, Mahmud Fakhri Emin Effendi. He resided at 71 Wale Street, living there until his death in 1914. After his death, his son, Muhammad Dervish Effendi, followed in his father's footsteps as a Muslim scholar and also stayed in the same residence in the Bo-Kaap. Muhammad Dervish Effendi died in 1940 and left behind eight children. His widow, Mariam, along with the children continued to live in the house at 71 Wale Street. By 1978, when their house was converted into the Bo-Kaap Museum, it was identified as the house of Abu Bakr Effendi in error instead of as the former residence of Mahmud Effendi. This is because Mahmud Effendi did not leave behind any substantial written legacy as his predecessor Abu Bakr Effendi did, and therefore he and his son, Muhammad Dervish Effendi, became forgotten figures in Cape history. This article sheds new light on this matter as a result of new readings of Turkish and Cape archival documents. It aims to correct the historical inaccuracy of the origins of the Bo-Kaap Museum and to highlight the noteworthy activities of a forgotten Ottoman scholar and his family in Cape history.

Keywords: Mahmud Fakhri Emin Effendi; Bo-Kaap Museum; Ottoman Caliphate; Ottoman Muslim School; Abu Bakr Effendi; Muhammad Dervish Effendi; 71 Wale street.

Introduction¹

In 1862, an Ottoman Islamic scholar, Sheik-ul Ilim Mudarris Abu Bakr Effendi (*al-Qurashiy al-Amjadiy*), was sent to the Cape of Good Hope by the Ottoman Caliphate to resolve religious disputes among the Cape Muslims, especially regarding the Ratiep ceremony.² He was the first “Effendi” to serve the Muslim community at the Cape and later passed away in Cape Town in 1880.³ After Abu Bakr Effendi’s death, the Cape’s Muslims were not forgotten by the Ottoman Caliphs. In 1894, Mahmud Effendi (full name, Mudarris Hajji Mahmud Fakih Emin Effendi), headmaster of the Nur’ul Burhan ul School in Castle Street, was appointed by the Ottoman Government as an Islamic teacher at a salary of ten Turkish pounds per month. When Mahmud Effendi died in 1914, his son, Muhammed Dervish Effendi, continued the same religious and educational activities at the Nur’ul Burhan ul School. Mahmud Effendi added significant cultural value to the Cape Muslim community, primarily in spreading Islamic knowledge. Many of his activities were reported on by the local media, but the two “Effendis”, who were not related, became obscured and confused as one man and one family over time.

This happened partly because of a misunderstanding surrounding the title of “Effendi” in South African Muslim society. In fact, the term “Effendi” was a former Turkish title of respect given to a man belonging to the aristocracy. This term was also considered a title for a man of high education or social standing. During the Ottoman era, the most common title affixed to a personal

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- 1 This study is dedicated to the late Prof Robert Shell who always encouraged me to contribute to South African historiography through the use of Ottoman archival materials. I met with him many times while writing this article. I will always remember his fatherly support, inspiration and advice. His sudden death was not only a sad event for his family, but also a huge loss for the academic world; may he rest in peace.
 - 2 J Suasso De Lima, *The Chalifa question; documents connected to the matter* (Cape Town, Van de Sandt de Villiers & Co., 1857); cf. JS Mayson, “The Malays of Cape town”, *Africana Connoisseurs Press, 1963, 19th century British pamphlets* (available at https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=ri9cAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=tr&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false), pp. 19-21; M Adil Bradlow, *Imperialism, state formation and the establishment of a Muslim community at the Cape of Good Hope, 1770-1840: A study in urban resistance* (University of Cape Town, M.A. Thesis, 1988), pp. 198-206.
 - 3 Abu Bakr Effendi was born in Khoshnaw, in a village of Shahrzur in Iraq in 1814. The researchers provided different details about Abu Bakr Effendi’s birth date. However, according to his passport which was issued in French, his birth date was 1814. In 1956, first time Van Selms stated Effendi’s birthdate as 1823. Then Davids stated that as 1835 according to Effendi’s death notice and thus, it is repeated by other researchers. See, A. Davids, *The Mosques of Bo-Kaap: A social history of Islam at the Cape* (Cape Town, South African Institute of Arabic and Islamic Research, 1980) p. 52; S Argun, *The life and contribution of the Osmanli Scholar, Abu Bakr Effendi: Towards Islamic thought and culture in South Africa* (South Africa, Rand Afrikaans University 2000), p. 5; A Uçar, *Unutulmayan Miras: Güney Afrikada Osmanlılar* (Istanbul, Çamlıca Yayınları, 2008), pp. 133-134; V Kees, “Islamic learning in Arabic Afrikaans between Malay model and Ottoman reform”, *Wacana, University of Indonesia*, 16, 2015, p. 286.

name after that of “Agha”⁴ was “Effendi”. Such a title would have referred to an educated gentleman; hence by implication a graduate of a secular state school, even though at least some, if not most, of these Effendis had once been religious students, or even religious teachers. For this reason, both these Ottoman Ulama at the Cape became known as “Effendi”, and consequently, over time, the public confused the identities of their two families with each other.

Mahmud Effendi lived at 71 Wale Street, now the location of the Bo-Kaap Museum. In 1978, while the property was being converted to the museum, it was mistakenly identified as the former house of Sheik Abu Bakr Effendi, instead of Mahmud Effendi. Mahmud Effendi was also mistaken for a local scholar rather than one with an Ottoman lineage. While Mahmud Effendi was born in Cape Town, he followed the Shafi sect of Islam, which was the dominant madhsab followed by South African Muslims. In Mahmud Effendi’s case, he followed the Shafi madhsab because of his father, Hajji Hasan Giyasuddin Effendi, who hailed from the city of Mecca, once a part of the Ottoman Empire. Unlike Abu Bakr Effendi, Mahmud Effendi was fluent in local languages because of his birthplace, the Bo-Kaap. Therefore, Mahmud Effendi was recognised as a South African Muslim and was referred to as “Ghatib Mahmud” (Muslim preacher) rather than Mahmud Effendi.⁵ Because of a strong South African identity, Mahmud Effendi’s family blended into the South African locale, whilst Sheik Abu Bakr Effendi and his family continued to be recognised as Turkish by the South African Muslim community. With time, Mahmud Effendi became a forgotten Ottoman scholar at the Cape, and the real story of the origins of the Bo-Kaap Museum was lost. This article serves to clarify the history of the museum, as well as to raise awareness about Mahmud Effendi’s religious and educational activities at the Cape of Good Hope in light of new archival documents identified in Istanbul and Cape Town.

Despite the good relations between the two Effendi families in the past, they lost their links due to the segregationist urbanisation policies of the Apartheid government. Like both Effendis, many Muslim families were forced to leave their properties in Cape Town. Mahmud Effendi was a close friend of Ahmed

4 Agha is a Turkish term, spelt as “Ağa” which is used after a proper name when addressing a wealthy person with a lot of property and farms in villages. It can also mean landowner and master. See MZ Pakalın, *Osmanlı Terimleri ve Deyimleri Sözlüğü*, 1 (Istanbul, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1971), p. 94.

5 A Davids, *The mosques of Bo-Kaap, a social history of Islam at the Cape* (Athlone, Cape, The South African Institute of Arabic and Islamic Research, 1980), p. 77.

Ataullah and his brother Hesham Nimetullah, sons of Abu Bakr Effendi. They all grew up in the same environment and attended Abu Bakr Effendi's classes in the Ottoman Theological School between 1870 and 1876. In 1886, during a cemetery dispute, Mahmud Effendi supported Ahmed Ataullah in his efforts to reclaim the Tana Baru Cemetery in response to the new colonial policy which denied Muslims access to the cemetery for burials. Like other Muslim religious leaders, Mahmud Effendi also objected to this policy and declared so in a local newspaper.⁶

Both Effendis' consciousness developed in the Ottoman-influenced religious environment of Cape Town, as well as during their studies in Istanbul. As far as can be established, both Abu Bakr and Mahmud Effendi read and studied many early Islamic primary sources, written by Islamic pioneers during their lifetime, such as Imams Bukhara's and Ghazali's books. There is no doubt that these Muslim scholars and their works shaped both Effendis' viewpoints and developed their analytic capacities as Islamic jurists (Qadi). This discussion presents fresh archival resources to provide a brief history of the second Effendi and his accomplishments so that the reader may grasp the significance of the discrete legacies of the two Effendis in Cape history.

The Ottoman Ulama at the Cape of Good Hope

As a result of the religious duties of the Ottoman Caliphate, which functioned under the banner of Pan-Islamism during the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Sultans sent scholars to different Islamic societies across the world; such as Bukharian Sheik Suleiman to Russia; Shirvanizade Ahmet Hulusi Bey to Afghanistan; Ferik Pasha to China; Emin Effendi to Zanzibar; and in the same vein, Abu Bakr Effendi to South Africa.⁷ In addition, Mahmud Effendi and his son Muhammed Dervish, both born in Cape Town, were also chosen by the Ottoman Empire to spread Islamic knowledge locally.⁸

⁶ A Davids, *The mosques of Bo-Kaap...*, p. 76.

⁷ A Kavas, *Geçmişten Günümüze Afrika* (Istanbul, Kitabevi, 2015), pp. 22-27; H Uğur, *Osmanlı Afrikası'nda bir Sultanlık: Zengibar*, 1 (Istanbul, Küre Yayınları 2005), p. 21.

⁸ Ş Mardin, "Some notes on an early phase in the modernization of communications in Turkey", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 3(3), 1961, p. 253; Ş Mardin, *Turkey, Islam and Westernization*, Editors L Layendecker and J Waardenburg (Amsterdam, Religion and Society, 1971), p. 171.

Abu Bakr Effendi

In 1862, for the first time, Mudarris Sheik Abu Bakr Effendi (Al Sayyid Al Amjadiy Al Qureysh)⁹ was sent to the Cape of Good Hope to educate the local Muslim community.¹⁰ Abu Bakr Effendi came from a distinguished and well educated dynasty which goes back to the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W). When Abu Bakr Effendi arrived in the Cape Colony, he attempted to examine the social structure of the Muslim community and reported back to the Ottoman Government. According to his observations, the languages, lifestyles and beliefs among the Muslim inhabitants of the Cape varied greatly. Therefore, there was little common ground to bring Muslim people together.¹¹ To achieve his aims, Abu Bakr Effendi opened an Ottoman Theological School at the corner of Wale and Bree Streets in Cape Town in 1863.¹²

It is evident that the spread of Islam in South Africa in past and present eras was not a straightforward process. This was especially true under early European colonialism and its intolerant laws which created several sociological traumas. Racial discrimination and the absence of religious freedom resulted in a range of difficulties for Muslims to practice their faith. On the other hand, Christian slaves were treated unfairly and not permitted into certain churches. However, all Muslims were allowed to attend the same religious rituals in the same mosque with their masters. Giliomee notes that: “Many slaves turned to Islam in a rejection of the Christian church that was lukewarm about baptising the colonists’ slaves or campaigning for more freedom for the slaves”.¹³ After freedom of religion was granted in 1804, the South African Muslim society began to learn more about their religion. Islamic education became a necessity for the Muslims and as a result, great leaders such as Tuan Guru and Sheik Yusuf spent their lives dedicated to educating and teaching Muslims about their religion. The process of the development of Islam at the Cape occurred slowly under extremely difficult circumstances in a highly stratified and complex social context.

9 The meaning of Amjadiy is the most glorious and most distinguished. The term spells as “Emced” in Turkish. Sayyed is descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, who come from descended Prophet Muhammad who was born into the Banu Hashim clan of the Qureshi tribe which is mentioned in the Qur’an. See F Devellioglu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lügat* (Ankara, Aydın Kitabevi, 2012), p. 247.

10 Correspondence passed between His Highness Aali Pacha, minister of Foreign Affairs, of the Sublime Porte, and the Honourable Pe De Roubaix, Esq., Consul General of the Sublime Porte, Cape of Good Hope: With Annexures Pacha (Cape Town, 1871), p. 27.

11 A Effendi, *Demonstration of religious practice of Islam Bayan ud-din*, translated by M Brandel-Syrier, HF Amjadi Effendi and MAZ Amjadi Effendi (Cape Town, Multi-Rep Printers, 1982), pp. XX-XXX.

12 Editorial, “The Mussulmen at the Cape”, *London and China Telegraph*, 27 January 1864, p. 43.

13 H Giliomee & B Mbenga, *New History of South Africa* (Cape Town, Tafelberg, 2007), p. IX.

Taking the complicated socio-political context into account, it is evident that different local traditions degenerated into incorrect religious practices due to the lack of education and accurate religious guidance. Archival documents show that religious disputes between different Muslim groups became a serious issue for the Cape Colony during the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁴ For example, according to the Ottoman Consulate, Petrus Emanuel De Roubaix, there were disputes between two main groups, Tarif and Abdulmajid, about marriage practices at the time.¹⁵ Despite these negative influences, Muslims continued to observe their faith, in some cases without a religious teacher or leader. According to Davids, this controversial matter was perceived in the following manner:¹⁶

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

Cape Muslims lacked any substantial outside knowledge and devoted themselves to their local Imams without questioning them. Yet, in spite of the difficult circumstances, Abu Bakr Effendi pursued his religious activities at the

14 Davids notes that the practice of plotting against Imams to secure the position for close relatives was common. This is no more clearly illustrated than in the Cape Supreme Court case of "Sahibo versus Abdol Khalill", a Supreme Court case which resulted from the nomination of Hassiem Sahibo as the successor to his father as Imam at the Jamia Mosque in 1885. A Davids, *The Mosque of...*, pp. 54-55. See also, CA, CO 4129 E 6, Memorial, Abu Effendi, regarding his School for Muhammedans, in 1863 Effendi reported in a letter: "An ignorant Imam, whose name is Muhammad Salih ibn Ali Batavi and lives in Mecca and later moved to the Cape. According to M Salih's statements, forgiveness of the sins of Muslims depends on their Imam's opinion, with the result that Muslims have great fear for their Imams. In addition, if you make your Imam angry, your prayer (Ibadat) will not be accepted by Allah at all. Unfortunately believers of the Shafi'i congregation accepted these erroneous statements as facts of Islam. In this regard, for now, I prefer to teach my students the facts of Islam from the Qur'an and Hadiths as much as I can. Allah protects these pure hearted Muslims Insha'Allah". See, Mecmua-i Funun, 1(9), Ramazan 1279-1863; Mecmua-i Funun, I(25-36), 1281, Istanbul, 1865. p. 12.

15 Turkey, Ottoman State Archives, HR. MTV. 608- 22, 1864.

16 A Davids, "Imams and conflict resolution practices among Cape Muslims in the nineteenth century", *University of Western Cape*, 2001, pp. 54-55.

Cape.¹⁷ At his school he taught many students who later became educators in Cape Town. Religious scholars such as Abdul Ragib, son of Achmat van Bengalen, Ghatib Mahmud and later Muhammad Dollie were also students of Abu Bakr Effendi.¹⁸ In addition, Abu Bakr Effendi educated many female students and they too became prominent teachers (Muallima) at the Cape. Archival records provide further evidence about this from the reports around the death of a well-known teacher of Islam, Mrs. Hadji Koolsum Moerat. According to media reports of her death in 1938, “Ma Hadji was highly respected in Moslem circles in the Cape Peninsula. She was a teacher of the Islamic religion and had been a pupil of Sheikh-al Ilim Moofty Sayed Abu Bakr Effendi, founder of the Imperial Ottoman School in Cape Town, and was looked upon as the most learned woman in Islam at the Cape”.¹⁹

This article indicates the impact Abu Bakr Effendi had on the Muslim social environment during his time at the Cape. He pursued his mission up until his death in 1880.²⁰ After his death, his educational activities were continued by his sons, Ahmet Ataullah Bey²¹ and Hesham Nimetullah.²² In 1886, Ahmet Ataullah Bey moved to Kimberley where he opened an Islamic school which was supported by the Ottoman government.²³ This is usually, mistakenly attributed to the first Effendi. In 1901, Ahmet Ataullah Bey left the Cape after being appointed as the Ottoman consul general in Singapore.

Abu Bakr Effendi's other son, Hesham Nimetullah, also became an Islamic scholar. He studied in Istanbul and then in Egypt. When he returned to the Cape he served as the chair of the Muslim Association in both Cape Town and Paarl. However, to continue his religious activities, he moved to Port

17 The books used by Abu Bakr Effendi in his school are now situated in the library of his great grandson Hesham Nimetullah Effendi. An important Muslim scholar and theologian Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Kitab al-'IlalwaMa'rifat al-Rijal*: The book of narrations containing hidden flaws and of knowledge of the men (of Hadeeth) Riyad: *Al-Maktabah al-Islamiyyah* Muhammad Abu Mansur al-Maturidi, *Kitab Ta'wilat al-Qur'an* (“Book of the interpretations of the Qur'an”). As mentioned above, *Al Tafsir'ul Kabir*, by an Ottoman Alim, Sheik Ismail Hakkı Bursevi' *Rühul-Beyân*, and *Mishkat al-Masabih* “collections of Hadiths by Muhammad bin 'Abd Allāh Khatib Al-Tabrizi and also famous religious book *Ihya' Ulum al-din*, “Revival of religious sciences” of al-Ghazālī, *Multekal Ebbur* by Muhammed el Hanafi and *Fikh 'ul Akbar* by Imam-I Azam which are selected in his library.

18 CA, CSC 2/2/11219, 64, Record of Proceedings of Provisional Case.

19 *Cape Standard*, “Death of Ma Hadji”, Thursday, 6 December 1938, p. 2.

20 A Davids, *The history of the Tana Baru* (Cape Town, 1985), p. 57; A Uçar, *Güney Afrika'da Osmanlılar* (Çamlıca yayınları, 2010, Istanbul), p. 243.

21 Anon., Editorial, “A Moslem Candidate”, *Cape Argus*, 18 January 1893, p. 6.

22 Anon., “SA Moslems' Association”, *Cape Argus*, 9 March 1898; Anon., “The Cape Muslim Association”, *Cape Argus*, 19 March 1903, p. 5.

23 Turkey, OSA, 29 May 1890, YA Hus, 235/73 Nezâret-I Umûr-i Hâriciye, Istanbul (Regarding the celebration of Sultan Abdul Hamid II's birthday, the Muslim community in Kimberley in South Africa declared their loyalty to the Ottoman rule in a petition).

Elizabeth, on the coastal frontier of the Indian Ocean, and opened a school there. He lived and worked in Port Elizabeth for the remainder of his life.²⁴

Hajji Mustafa Effendi

In 1893, Hajji Mustafa Effendi from Mecca was appointed in Cape Town for the same reason as Abu Bakr Effendi, to educate Muslims.²⁵ However, only one archival record relating to Hajji Mustafa Effendi exists in the Ottoman Archive which indicates that he either went back to Saudi Arabia or passed away in Cape Town soon after his arrival.²⁶ A letter written by Ahmet Ataullah Bey, which was sent to his cousin Omer Lutfi Effendi, highlights the concerns of the local Muslim community surrounding a lack of suitable religious leadership. According to this letter, Hajji Mustafa Effendi was an eminent Imam, but the Cape Muslim community treated him unpleasantly because the sect he followed was Hanafee.²⁷ South African Muslim society mostly follows the Shafi sect due to the impact of the teachings of the Imam, Tuan Guru. For this reason, Cape Muslims requested that new scholars be sent to the Cape by the Ottoman Caliphate.²⁸ A letter in the Ottoman State Archive provides further information and illustrates the subject as follows:²⁹

May it please Your Highness,

We are Muslims living in Cape Town, in Southern Africa who desire to educate our girl children at a school, but as yet do not have a school for girls. For 14 years, the girls have been educated at a Muslim school, which was established by Abu Bakr Effendi, after his death the school remained and conducted by

24 Anon., "South African Muslim Association", *Cape Argus*, 19 March 1903, p. 5; Anon., "Meeting at the Cape", *Cape Argus*, 30 October 1895, p. 12.

25 Turkey, OSA, HR.TO, 24 April 1890 – No: 64/41, Cape Town'daki Müslüman ahalisinin çocuklarını terbiye için Mekke'den celbetmiş oldukları hocaya maaş tahsis edildiği (Regarding the payment of salary to the Muslim scholar who was sent to the Cape from Mecca for teaching students at the Cape of Good Hope).

26 Turkey, OSA, HR.TO, 14 October 1893 (Miladi), No: 66/73. Hacı Mustafa Efendi'nin Cape Town Mektebi Muallimliği'ne tayini ve Kimberli Mektebi'nin hüsün-i idaresi için Müdür Ataullah Efendi'ye bazı tavsiyelerde bulunulması (Regarding Hajji Mustafa Effendi's appointment to the Muslim school in Cape Town and at the same time, regarding some important advice to Ahmet Ataullah Bey for successfully operating the school in Kimberley).

27 A Uçar, *Güney Afrikâda...*, p. 398.

28 CA, GH 1/460, 68, Papers received from secretary of state (London); General 1895, This document gives remarkable information regarding the topic; ... from certain Moslems, British subjects, at Cape Town asking that a Moslem may be appointed and paid as Turkish Consul General at that place (Downing Street, Cape of Good Hope), 25 February 1895.

29 Only names of the eminent figures of the Cape Muslim Society was recorded in this paper as follow, Cape Townies Imam Hashim, Imam M Behardien, Imam Musa, Imam Suleiman, Imam Abdul, Sheik Abdurrahman, Sheikh Mohammed Saleh, Imam H, S Bamildien. Imam Hamza, Imam Talib, Sheikh Abdulkirim, Imam Yusuf. See Turkey, OSA, Y.A, Private, 310\62, 6 September 1894.

his students Hesna Khadija Abdurrahman and Velleyt Mohammed Mufti. At the present, only 80 girl students can attend the school. As a result of the poverty at the Cape, hundreds of girls walk around unattended on the streets. They need to be educated and guided. Due to financial constraints we cannot afford the expense of the school. If Your Majesty may please help the school, we would appreciate it very much. Otherwise, this school may close. At the school, the curriculum comprises of teachings of the Quran, writing and reading and mathematics, there are Tafsir, English and German languages classes. However, for a couple of months, the school does not have sufficient teachers for some of the classes. As obedient Muslims of yours, we only wish help from the Caliphate who has always considered our affairs whenever we struggle.

Signed: 98 local Muslims of the Cape

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, to further pursue and manage the religious and educational activities of Sheik Abu Bakr Effendi and his children, another Ottoman scholar, Mudarris Hajji Mahmud Fakih Emin Effendi was appointed as an Islamic scholar at the Cape of Good Hope.

Hajji Mahmud Fakih Emin Effendi

According to archival documents located in Cape Town, Mahmud Effendi was born at 71 Wale Street in Cape Town in 1851.³⁰ Mahmud Effendi's father was Hasan Effendi who was a prominent scholar in the Ottoman State in the nineteenth century.³¹ Several Ottoman archival documents regarding Mahmud Effendi's activities illustrate his frequent correspondence with the Ottoman Government (Sublime Porte).³² In 1905, an assassination attempt was made on the Ottoman Sultan by an Armenian organisation in Istanbul. In response, Mahmud Effendi and other prominent Muslim leaders at the Cape, sent a letter to the Sultan Abdul Hamid II regarding the failed Armenian assassination attempt. According to this letter, Mahmud Effendi declared his sadness and prayers for the Sultan on behalf of Cape Muslims. The letter ended with signatures by Sheik Abdurrahim, Imam M. Behardin, Sheik

30 CA, Mooc, 6/9/753, No: 1411.

31 Turkey, OSA, BEO, 28/L/1317 (Hijri), No:1449/108612, Ümid Burnu'nda Kab şehrinde bulunan Nur-ı Burhaniye namındaki mektebin muallimi Hacı Mahmud Fakih bin Hasan Efendi'nin maaşının azamı yapılması (Maarif; 108012) (Regarding increasing the salary of Hajji Mahmud Fakih at the Cape of Good Hope and his awarding due to his achievements).

32 Turkey, OSA, BEO 13/L/1317 (Hijri), No:1441/108012, Afrika-yı Cenubide Cape town beldesinde bulunan Nur-I Burhaniye Mektebi Muallimi Mahmud Fakih Efendi'nin maaşının bin kuruşa iblağı (Regarding the salary raise of Hajji Mahmud Effendi who is the headmaster of the Nurul Burhaniye School in Southern Africa).

Ahmed and Hajji Mahmud Effendi.³³ In the same vein, on the occasion of the beginning of the Islamic year (Hijri Calendar Muharram 1319) in 1911, Mahmud Effendi delivered a religious discourse at the mosque, called *Jamiul Muslimun*, and Cape Muslims prayed for the wellbeing of the Sultan because of his donation to the Muslim school in Castle Street.³⁴ Clearly, Mahmud Effendi remained in regular contact with the Istanbul Government with reports regarding religious events and activities in his school. These events and activities were also covered by the local media at the Cape.³⁵

Mahmud Effendi's father, Hasan Gisauddin, moved to the Cape from Mecca in order to lead hajj convoys from South Africa to Saudi Arabia. Hasan Effendi was married to Fatimah (also from Mecca) and they had three children. Mahmud learned basic Islamic rules from both his parents. When he was 12 years old he attended the Ottoman Theological School that had been established by Abu Bakr Effendi.³⁶ Mahmud Effendi continued at this school and first became "Khafiz" (the man who recited Qur'an by heart) and then later "Ghatib" (the learned man who is able to discourse with people at mosques), making him very popular among religious leaders and the Muslim community at the Cape. In 1880, he wrote a religious exegesis of the Qur'an with Arabic script in Afrikaans. This exegesis (Qur'anic tafsir) was the first professional translation of the Qur'an into Afrikaans as a whole verse, or Surat al-Mulk, in the nineteenth century.

When Achmad Davids studied this manuscript he examined it from a linguistic point of view and emphasised its value in the history of the Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims.³⁷ Mahmud Effendi's manuscript was translated into the Latin alphabet from Arabic. The translation below is taken from Davids:

En die koningskap is bai dee hoege Allah ta-aalaa. En waarlik Allah ta-aalaa is baas vir al dee ietsee. En Allah ta-aalaa het het kragh op al dee ietsee. En Allah Allah ta-aalaa het ghamaak dee dood en dee lewe, al bai. (blessed be He who in his hand holds all sovereignty; he has power ower all things. He has created death and life that He might put you to the proof and find out which of you acquitted himself best. He is the Mighty, the Forgiving One.)

33 Turkey, OSA, HR. MTV, 608/5.

34 *Sirat-ı Müstakim*, "Adet", 129 (Hijri 1326), February 1911, p. 416.

35 I have found many local news reports, written in English, in the Ottoman State Archives in Istanbul and sent to the Ottoman Government by Mahmud Effendi. See *Cape Argus*, 21 August, *The South African News*, 25 August 1914.

36 A Uçar, *Güney Afrika'da...*, pp. 402-408.

37 A Davids, *The Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims* (Pretoria, Protea Book House, 2011) p. 122.

Due to its historical value, Mahmud Effendi's manuscript is recognised as one of the milestones in South African literary history. Like his teacher Abu Bakr Effendi, Ghatib Mahmud also contributed to the development of the Arabic-Afrikaans language and literature. According to Davids, his work was categorised as a newer version of Arabic-Afrikaans writing. Davids notes that: "Ghatib Mahmud's manuscript covers a diversity of subjects; it was very carefully prepared, written in red and black ink. The writer was proficient in Malay and Afrikaans and both were used interchangeably for the translation".³⁸

Davids's statements regarding the manuscript of Ghatib Mahmud are very important from a linguistic perspective. Davids was one of the most prominent scholars who studied the literature of Arabic-Afrikaans in almost all aspects. However, Davids could probably not access relevant documents regarding the family history of Ghatib Mahmud. Davids might have thought that as an Afrikaans speaking man, Ghatib Mahmud was a local scholar rather than one with an Ottoman lineage. Surviving family documents provide substantial evidence that members of the forgotten Effendi's family were well aware of their Ottoman origins. Mahmud Effendi's family originated from Ottoman territory, which qualified him as an "Effendi" and therefore also hold the name Mahmud Effendi.

Mahmud Effendi's activities at the beginning of the 20th century were not only recorded in Turkish archival documents but also in local Cape Town newspapers. In 1894, Mahmud Effendi opened a free Islamic school, Nur'ul Burhan ul, in Castle Street in Cape Town.³⁹ According to a local newspaper, on the day of Eid al-Adha⁴⁰ (Feast of the Sacrifice), Mahmud Effendi organised a special meeting at his school and recited the Qur'an with his pupils.⁴¹ In this meeting, Mahmud Effendi spoke of the significance of Eid al-Adha and addressed the people about the role of the Ottoman Caliphate. The meeting was concluded with a prayer for the Sultan Caliph Mehmet Rashad V of the Ottoman Empire.

38 A Davids, *The Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims...*, p. 122.

39 Turkey, OSA, MEMKT; 1894, No:196/57, Ümid Burnu'nda bulunan müslüman ahalinin çocuklarının talim ve terbiyelerini yürütmek üzere tayin edilen Muallim Hacı Mahmud Efendi'nin maaşının doğrudan doğruya kendisine verilmesi (Due to his educational activities for Muslim children at the Cape of Good Hope, salary was paid to Mudarris Hajj Mahmud Fakih).

40 Eid al-Adha means "Festival of the sacrifice", also called the Feast of the Sacrifice, the Major Festival is the second of two religious holidays celebrated by Muslims worldwide each year.

41 Anon., "Moslem sacred festival", *Cape Argus*, 12 December 1910, p. 2.

This free school for children of the Muslim faith was maintained by the Imperial Ottoman Government in Castle Street until 1914. Every year Mahmud Effendi would make a sacrifice of several sheep, the flesh of which was distributed among the poor of his parish at the school. Also, according to the *Cape Argus*, Mahmud Effendi delivered sermons to Cape Muslims with regard to hajj duties and emphasised their importance. One of his activities was recorded in the local media as follows:⁴²

Hadjee Imaum Mahmud Effendi Professor of the Ottoman Arabic School in the Peninsula has conveyed his loyalty to His Highness Sultan Mehmet V. and a prayer for the new ruler has been given out for the Mussulmen community in the Peninsula. Over 70 years ago, Hadjee Effendi's father was a member of the Cape pilgrimage to Mecca and it was on his return from the pilgrimage that a prayer for the Ottoman ruler was included in the service of the Peninsula Moslems. Hadjee Imam Mahmud Effendi was appointed by the Ottoman Government as a teacher of the Ottoman School in Cape Town at a salary of ten Turkish pounds per month in 1894.

Ottoman State Archives provide significant information regarding the circumstances of Mahmud Effendi. In 1890, he left for Mecca for religious studies and returned to the Cape in 1893. Three years after his return to Cape Town, in 1896, Mahmud Effendi gave up his pursuit of Islamic service and resigned from his official post. As far as is understood from the Ottoman documents, Mahmud Effendi's salary was irregular for the next two years.⁴³ In 1897, he was criticised for neglecting his activities by some local Muslims. However, another archival record indicates that during his visit to Mecca, he had become sick and for this reason could not return to Cape Town in good time.⁴⁴ His illness appears to have inhibited his work following his return to the Cape. In spite of these difficulties, Mahmud Effendi continued to work patiently for Cape Muslims in his capacity as headmaster at the Nur'ul Burhan ul School.⁴⁵

42 Anon., "The Moslem school", *Cape Argus*, 7 August 1909, p. 11.

43 Turkey, OSA, MEMKT, 1896, No:241/19. İstifa etmekten vazgeçen Ümidburnu'daki Osmanlı Mektebi Muallimi Hacı Mahmud Efendi'nin kesilen maaşının tekrar tahsisıyla Kimberley'deki Osmanlı Mektebi Muallimi Ataullah Efendi'nin maaşına zam yapılmasının Hariciye Nezareti'ni ilgilendirdiği (Due to acceptable reasons by Mahmud Effendi, continuation of his salary and also the salary raise of Ahmet Ataullah Bey in Kimberley).

44 Turkey, OSA, BEO; 1896 No: 829 /62154 Cape town (Ümid Burnu) Arab Mektebi Muallimi Hacı Mahmud Efendi hakkındaki şikayet asılsız olup bu mektebde tedrisatın ve lisan üzerine icra edilmekte olduğunun ve Dersaadet'ten gönderilecek muallimlerin ahval-I mahalliyeye ihtiyacı ne gibi şeylerden ibaret olduğunun Londra Sefareti'nden istifası (Hariciye,53088) (Regarding a complaint of the local Muslims about Mahmud Effendi neglecting duties at the Cape, essentially understood to be due to a health issue and also advice to certain scholars at the Cape who were sent to Southern Africa from Istanbul).

45 Turkey, OSA, İ.M.F. No:5/1317/L-2, Ümit Burnu'nda Kab Şehrinde Nur-I Burhaniye Mektebi'ni tesiseden Muallimi Hacı Mahmud Fakih'in Hasan Efendi'nin maaşına zam yapılması ve nişan verilmesi (Regarding the salary raise of Hajji Mahmud Effendi).

From 1901 to 1911, Mahmud Effendi received much recognition and several awards for his work. For example, in 1901, he was awarded an Ottoman Majidi gold star (Mecidiye Nişan-ı) for his services as a scholar.⁴⁶ In 1905, he travelled to Istanbul and greeted Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan II, and on his return he went to hajj.⁴⁷ By the end of 1906, the Ottoman sultan declared his appreciation for Mahmud Effendi and his activities at his school at the Cape.⁴⁸ After the appointment of the new government of the Ottoman State, the name of the Ottoman Arabic School was changed from Nur'ul Burhan ul School to Burhan ul Hurriyet (liberal) School, reflecting the essence of the Ottoman socio-political situation at the time and also the transformation in the Ottoman Palace with the appointment of the new Sultan, Mehmet Rashaad Khan V.⁴⁹

Image 1: The house at 71 Wale Street



Source: *Western Cape Archives, Golden Collection*, no. 7190, 1905.

⁴⁶ Turkey, OSA, MF, 1906, 5/1317/L-2, 22/L/1317 (Hijri), Ümit burnu'nda Kab Şehrinde Nur-ı Burhaniye Mektebi'ni tesiseden Muallimi Hacı Mahmud Fakih'in Hasan Efendi'nin maaşına zam yapılması ve nişan verilmesi (Regarding the salary raise of Hajji Mahmud Effendi and his award).

⁴⁷ Turkey, OSA, Foreign Affairs No:l/69886.

⁴⁸ Turkey, OSA, BEO, 1911, 27/Ş/1327 (Hijri), No:3635/272553, Cenubi Afrika Müslümanlarının hissiyat-ubudiyet ve sadakatlerinin mübeyyin Cape Town'daki Mekteb-I Osmani Müdürü İmam el-Hac Mahmud imzasıyla takdim olunan arıza ve Arabça manzumeden dolayı memmun olduğuna dair Padişah'inselamının tebliği (Hariciye) (Due to the loyalty of South African Muslims toward the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, his majesty's warm regards to the Cape Muslims).

⁴⁹ Turkey, OSA, 1911, Hijri 1327 BEO, No.3651/273819. Cape town şehrindeki Burhan-ıHürriyetMektebiMuallimiHacıEmin Fakih Efendi'ninmaaşınazam (Maliye) (Regarding the salary raise of Hajji Mahmud Effendi).

Mohammed Dervish Effendi

The son of Mahmud Effendi, Muhammad Dervish, also lived in the same house at 71 Wale Street following his father's death in 1914. According to a local newspaper, Muhammed Dervish also delivered religious and educational services at the same school in Castle Street.⁵⁰

Moslem Community Rejoicings, Eventful Day at Castle Street School:⁵¹

In accordance with the traditions of the Mohammed faith Sunday was an eventful day among the Muslim community in all parts of the world on account of the Feast after the Eid'ul Fetre fasting. At the NoorhiBerhani Arabic School, Castle Street, a free school to children of the Muslim faith, being maintained by the Imperial Ottoman Government, Mohammed Dervies, a son of the late Professor Imam Mahmud Effendi, former professor to the school, together with his assistant teacher, delivered stirring addresses to the school children and members, exhorting them to do everything that is right and lawful and to read two chapters of the Koran daily and offer up special prayers for the Khalifa-ul Mussulmen Moowlana Sultan Mehmet Rashad V of Turkey and their majesties the King and Queen of England and all the Royal Family. Muhameedans a thousand fold greater than any other night in the period of fasting; the completing of the reading of the Koran by the children and members was fulfilled. Mohammed Dervies (as was always the custom of the late professor), in the name of the Khalifau Muslamene Moowlana Sultan Mehmet Reshad V. and his Government distributed candles among the poor Moslems to enable them to illuminate their homes on the occasion of the Ramadhan Baairam, and also distributed food and other goods to the poor, necessary for their households. The proceedings closed with cheers for the King and Queen of England.

As is understood from the above sources, after the death of Mahmud Effendi, his son Muhammed Dervish became the head of Nur'ul Burhan ul School in Castle Street.⁵² However, due to the war conditions at the time, Muhammed Dervish could not receive financial aid from the Ottoman Caliphate. He had to shut down the school and pursued his educational activities from his home at 71 Wale Street. Muhammed Dervish Effendi became a well-known scholar whilst at the same time being "a chemist who implemented natural methods" and "a bit of a physician".⁵³

50 CA, 3/CT 4/2/1/1/103 481/11..., 1911.

51 Anon., "Eventful day at Castle Street School", *South African News*, 25 August 1914, p. 2; Anon., "Moslem Feast Page", *Cape Argus*, 24 August 1914, p. 3.

52 Anon., "Moslem feast", *Cape Argus*, 24 August 1914, p. 3.

53 CA, Mooc, 6/9/6649 69990, Effendi, Gamat Dervish, Estate Papers, 1940.

The real story of the Bo-Kaap Museum

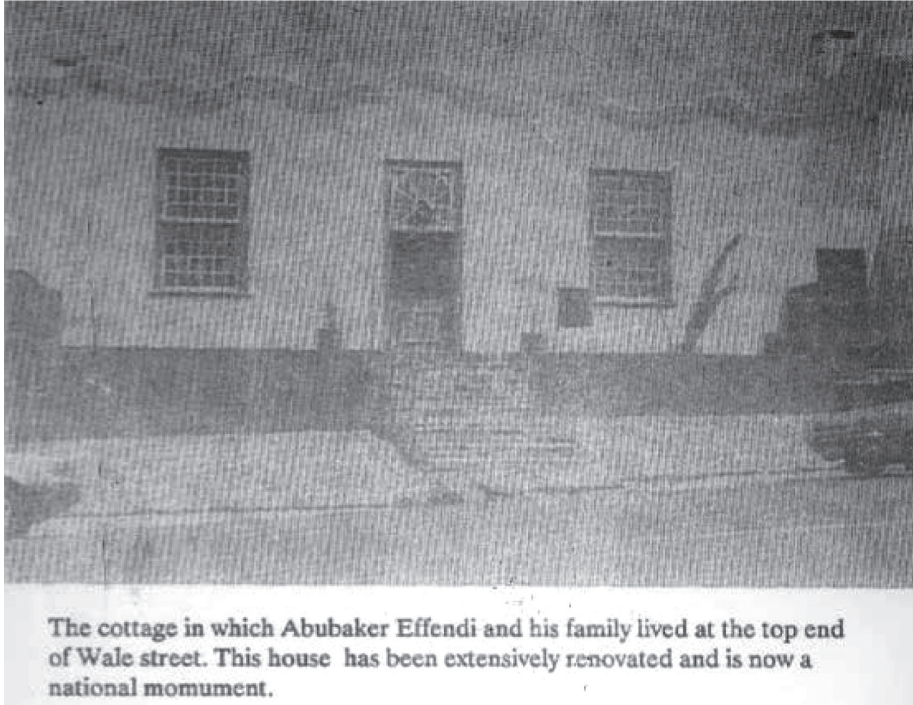
In 1978, the historical house at 71 Wale Street was converted into the Bo-Kaap Museum.⁵⁴ At the time, the historical property was identified as the previous house of Sheik Abu Bakr Effendi, instead of as the former residence of Mahmud Effendi. The local media also mistakenly advertised the property as having been Sheik Abu Bakr Effendi's home:⁵⁵

Cape Town is soon to have a new museum in Wale Street devoted to the history of the Cape Islamic community. The Museum will be established in what was once the home of the Bakr Effendi family, whose story reads like one of the tales from Arabian Nights. Indeed, Abu Bakr Effendi, the religious leader who arrived in the Cape in 1862, was born near the Persian lake of Urmia, one of the regions mentioned in Arabian Nights. He began his religious studies at the madrasa of Shehrizur and continued them in Istanbul and Baghdad. Later he joined his family and after a disastrous harvest, was sent to plead to the Sultan for help. At the same time a delegation of Cape Muslims arrived at the Sultan's court to ask for a religious leader for their community. In return for helping Abu Bakr Effendi's family, the Sultan asked the young scholar to go to Cape Town to lead the Muslim Community. In the Cape, Abu Bakr Effendi wrote a remarkable book, the *Beyan –ud Din* (explanation of the religion). What makes it remarkable is the fact that is the written in Afrikaans using Arabic script. This work can be seen at the Cultural History Museum in Adderley Street. Abu Bakr Effendi's mosque, the only example of Turkish architecture at the Cape, is still in use at the corner of Dorp and Long Streets. The Museum site at 71 Wale Street has been restored under the supervision of Leslie Townsend, one of the co-authors of Bo-Kaap, and will be furnished from the Cultural Museum's collection and from items donated by Cape Muslim families.

54 It was the first time that Lesley and Stephen mentioned the property in 71 Wale Street, Bo-Kaap and he pointed out that this house belonged to Abu Bakr Effendi. L and S Townsend, *Bokaap faces and Façades, a record of the passing scene in Cape Town's Malay quarter with a brief account of its architecture and the Muslim inhabitants* (Cape Town, Howard B Timmins, 1977), p. 12.

55 D Biggs, "Museum links with Arabian nights", *Cape Argus*, 21 January 1978, p. 3.

Image 2: Bo-Kaap Museum mistakenly identified as the family house of Abu Bakr Effendi



Source: OL Effendi, *A travelogue of my journey to the Cape of Good Hope*, translated by YZ Kavakçı (Al-Khaleel Publications, 1991). p. vi.

Then, in 1991, in the translation of a memoir, Sheikh A. Najjar also identified the property as belonging to Abu Bakr Effendi. When Abu Bakr Effendi came to South Africa in 1863, he was accompanied by his nephew Omer Lutfi Effendi who stayed in Cape Town until 1866. On his return to Istanbul, Omer Lutfi wrote his memoir and published it in 1876. The memoir was translated to modern Turkish alphabet from the Ottoman script by a Turkish writer, Hüseyin Yorulmaz, and published in Istanbul in 1994.⁵⁶ In 1991, Yusuf Z Kavakçı briefly translated the memoir into English, entitling it *A Travelogue of My Journey to the Cape of Good Hope* and published it with a foreword by Sheikh A. Najjar. In the foreword, the writer described the property as the family house of Abu Bakr Effendi.⁵⁷

56 ÖL Efendi, *Yüz Yıl Önce Güney Afrika, Ümit Burnu Seyahatnamesi, Haz, HüseyinYorulmaz* (Istanbul, Kitapevi Yayıncılık, 1994).

57 OL Effendi, *Travelogue of my journey to the Cape of Good Hope* (Translated into English from Ottoman Turkish by Yusuf Z. Kavakçı) (Cape Town, 1991), p. VI. Some Turkish writers repeated the same mistaken information in Turkish publications in Turkey. See H Söylemez, "Bir hizmet eri: Ebübekir Efendi", *Aksiyon*, 26 Ağustos 2000 (available at <http://ebubekirefendi.blogspot.com/>, as accessed on 26 August 2000).

Robert Shell made a similar statement in his book in 1997, noting that the aforementioned property at 71 Wale Street belonged to Abu Bakr Effendi.⁵⁸ This mistaken information was repeated by other scholars. In 2001, when journalist Jackie Loos wrote an article about Abu Bakr Effendi, she noted: "... their Wale Street home (now the Bo-Kaap Museum) [was] proclaimed in Arabic in the presence of a number of people..."⁵⁹ One of the sources of this confusion stems from the fact that Abu Bakr Effendi owned another property on the same street, which was situated at the corner of Wale and Bree Streets, and which used to be his Islamic school until 1899.⁶⁰

In contrast to the statements above, there is no recorded house belonging to Abu Bakr Effendi in Bo-Kaap at 71 Wale Street.⁶¹ In 1873, many properties were recorded on Abu Bakr Effendi's name in Cape Town. As noted, Abu Bakr Effendi initially stayed at the corner of Wale and Bree Streets; the property which also served as his school.⁶² After a while, he lived at 90 and then also 66 Bree Street, but also occupied houses on Chiappini Street and Long Street, and owned a garden on the hillside of Signal Hill, as well as in Strand Street.⁶³ Moreover, one of his houses' names was recorded as "Erzurum" which was named after his home town in Turkey.

The main reason why the house was recognised as Sheik Abu Bakr Effendi's home may be explained by the enduring reputation of Abu Bakr Effendi in Cape Muslim society. Due to Abu Bakr Effendi's famous book, *Bayan al Din* (an explanation of the faith of Islam) his legacy has survived in the community. *Bayan al Din* is accepted as the most extensive religious book on Islam at the Cape. It had a tremendous impact on the Muslim society of the time.⁶⁴ Apart from this, Abu Bakr Effendi's children became well known scholars in South Africa. As previously mentioned, another source of the misunderstanding is the title of Effendi in South Africa. Effendi is a title of respect or courtesy, used in the Ottoman Empire as an equivalent to the

58 R Shell, "Between Christ and Mohammed: Conversion, slavery, and gender in the urban Western Cape", R Elphick and R Davenport (Eds), *Christianity in South Africa: Political, social, and cultural history* (University of California Press, Cape Town, David Philip, 1997), p. 270.

59 J Loos, "Troubles from the start in fiery marriage to daughter of converts", *Cape Argus*, 2001; M Hutchinson, *Bo-Kaap, colourful heart of Cape town* (Cape Town, David Philip, 2006) p. 6.

60 CA, DOC 4/1/516 836, Mortgage Bond, Hesham Neamatollah Effendi 1897.

61 CA, MOOC 7/1/4074, Effendi Abu Beker Will 1880.

62 CA, CAP. 316/87, The general director and guide-book to the Cape of Good Hope 1873, p. 17

63 *The general director and guide-book to the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies as well as the Free State, Transvaal and Natal* (Cape Town, 1885) p. 27.

64 A Effendi, *The religious duties of Islam explained as taught by Abu Bakr Effendi*, translated by Mia Brandel Syrier, (Leiden, EJ Brill, 1960), p. VII.

English “Sir”. It was generally given to members of the learned professions and to high ranking government officials, such as “Bey” or “Pasha”.⁶⁵ For this reason, both Ottoman Ulama were called Effendi at the Cape, but with time, this title was mistaken as a surname.

The last generation of the forgotten Effendi

In 1940, Muhammed Dervish Effendi passed away at a relatively young age and left behind eight children.⁶⁶ One of his sons, Meneer Mahmud Effendi, became a well-known rugby player and a promoter of the sport in the Coloured community during the Apartheid era. Due to his religious beliefs, he was classified as Coloured and had to play as a non-white rugby player. Meneer Mahmud Effendi lived at 71 Wale Street until 1978 when he was forced to move out from his home by the Apartheid government. Later in 1978, the house was converted to the Bo-Kaap Museum, but with a crucial mistake: the fact that it was said to belong to Abu Bakr Effendi. Meneer Mahmud Effendi’s son, Nathri Effendi (also known as Tubby), was born at 71 Wale Street in 1954 and is the last living male member of the Effendi family. Nathri Effendi has been interviewed in order to discover more about his family roots and he has kindly provided important family documents for this research. He remains disconcerted about his family’s forced removal during the Apartheid era, as well as the Bo-Kaap Museum’s condition today. Nathri Effendi also notes that local scholars in South Africa have not only neglected the two Ottoman families, both called Effendi, but also confused them in their historical accounts.

Conclusion

Islamic scholars have always been regarded as important for Muslims in the Islamic world. The emergence of the Ottoman presence in South Africa actually started with Sheik Abu Bakr Effendi’s educational activities at the Cape of Good Hope in the late nineteenth century.⁶⁷ However, as an Islamic scholar, after Sheik Abu Bakr Effendi, Mahmud Effendi also had a remarkable

65 ME Meeker, *A nation of empire: The Ottoman legacy of Turkish modernity* (London, 2002) p. 299.

66 CA, Mooc 6/9/6649 69990 Effendi, Gamat Dervish, Estate Papers, 1940.

67 MH Ebrahim, *Shaykh Ismail Hanif Edwards his life and works* (South Africa, Formeset Print, 2004) p. 57.

influence at the Cape, not only from a religious viewpoint but also from a sociological one.⁶⁸ He spoke Cape Afrikaans fluently and was known as Ghatib Mahmud among Muslims in Bo-Kaap instead of Mahmud Effendi, which resulted in the public forgetting his Ottoman connection. Mahmud Effendi and later his son, Muhammed Dervish, served the Muslim community at the Nur'ul Burhan ul Arabic School. They lived at 71 Wale Street in the Bo-Kaap. The house was bequeathed to Muhammed Dervish by his father and then to his son Meneer Mahmud Effendi, but in 1978, the aforementioned property was appropriated by the Apartheid regime and converted to a museum.⁶⁹

Despite all these misconceptions, Mahmud Effendi's legacy cannot be ignored. Cape archival material clearly shows his importance to Muslim society at the Cape. The fact that the house at 71 Wale Street was once the property of the late Mahmud Effendi and that this was renovated and converted to a museum in 1978 are considerable historical insights for Cape Muslims. However, more importantly, the signage and labels in the Bo-Kaap Museum should be corrected in order to give due credit to Mahmud Effendi in Cape history.

68 A Davids, *The Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims...*, p. 121.

69 *Juta's Cape Town Suburban Directory*, "Effendi Mohammed Dervish", 71 Wale Street, 1918, pp. 139, 183.